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FOOD SECURITY AND CONFLICT AMONG SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS IN MBANJOCK-CENTRE REGION OF CAMEROON: A CONTRIBUTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

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To my:

Mother Pauline Bih Wife Nyinmeh Hanna

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ABSTRACT

"Food security and conflict among small holder plantations in Mbandjock, Centre Region of Cameroon: A contribution to Anthropology of Development" was the topic on which we conducted our Ph.D research. Food in most African countries including Cameroon is supplied by farmers who engage in small scale subsistence farming. At the same time large scale plantations exist specialised in the production of food for cash. Therefore, destined for the external market. The large scale plantations were set up in Africa to produce food for cash crops like palms, bananas and many others. This was to meet the needs of the colonial masters. In between, about a century after individuals engaged in small scale plantations to produce food at large scale. These initiatives have not reassured the food availability in the localities where food is produced. A new food system may emerge creating food scarcity and conflicts in that locality. The government of Cameroon following the international convention: MDGs in 2000 and SDGs in 2015 supported initiatives to eliminate hunger, reduce poverty and ensure wellbeing. In 1990, the government adopted, a New Agricultural Policy (NAP). Its objectives were to empower farmers (smallholders) and to diversify the agricultural sector. In 2003, the Cameroon government introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). Agriculture was given a pride of place especially rural and smallholders. This was to ensure that, extreme poverty and hunger were eradicated. Hence, MINADER and MINEPEA gave aid of hybrids seeds, farming equipment like hoes, tractors, trucks, and etcetera to farmers (PRSP 2003). Moreover, in 2010, the president of Cameroon announced the vision 2035 of Cameroon becoming an emergent nation. This vision was then articulated in the Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP). Among other poles, was the agriculture pole which favours second-generation agriculture (agriculture revolution) (GESP 2010).

All these efforts at the international and national levels to contribute to social and cultural life of the community with food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability, small holder plantations would had contributed to food supply, social change, transformations of the farming system and a junction between modern and traditional practices. This prompted us to ask the following research questions. Why is the high presence of small holder plantations in Mbandjock, the Centre Region of Cameroon not necessarily an assurance for food security? The tentative answer was that small holder plantations engage in food for cash production creating new local food systems and conflicts. The objective of the research was to explore and explain the contribution of small holder plantations in local food production. We conducted qualitative research using qualitative method. Participant observation was the main research technique during which Focus Group Discussions, direct observation, in-depth interview techniques were used to generate data associated with these techniques. Notes were taken during fieldwork and the data transcribed and coded. Content and thematic analysis were conducted. Theories of Ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel, Ethnoperspective of Mbonji Edjenguèlè, and cultural dynamics of Georges Balandier help us in interpreting the data. The following findings were obtained. Firstly, Local cultures necessary for small holder plantations include; the land tenure system in Mbandjock, farming ethno methods and ritual performance. Derne nyabe (cleaning of the graveyard) to the Baboute, Mkpass in Mekomba, Messing in Mendouga and Feo Kague (Cock Festival) to the Toupouri people. These rituals guarantee production and reproduction in terms of fertility of the soil and fertility in child bearing. Small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures in Mbandjock as they generate new crop cultivation cultures; the food crops culture and the cash crops culture. Adaptation and dynamics is in symbols, traditions, beliefs, practical knowledge, norms, values and habits in Mbandjock. The overall finding of this research revealed that, small holder plantations culture has increase food availability and decrease food access in Mbandjock. Crops are sold to big exploiters. A lot of conflicts (land grabbing, cultural and farmer grazers' conflicts). These are partly responsible to food insecurity. This research is an exploratory and interpretative research which used qualitative research method. It can open up other perspectives with quantitative research.

Keywords: Culture, food security system, social conflict, smallholder, indigenous peoples, Mbandjock

RÉSUMÉ

« Sécurité alimentaire et conflits dans les plantations des petits exploitants à Mbandjock, région du Centre du Cameroun : une contribution à l'anthropologie du développement » a été le sujet sur lequel nous avons mené notre recherche doctorale. La nourriture dans la plupart des pays africains, y compris le Cameroun, est fournie à la population par des agriculteurs qui pratiquent une agriculture de subsistance à petite échelle. En même temps, il existe des plantations à grande échelle spécialisées dans la production de nourriture contre de l'argent. Par conséquent, destiné au marché extérieur, Les plantations à grande échelle ont été mises en place dans les pays africains pour produire de la nourriture pour les cultures de rente comme les palmiers, les bananes et bien d'autres. C'était pour répondre aux besoins des maîtres coloniaux. Entre les deux, environ un siècle après, des individus se sont engagés dans des plantations à petite échelle pour produire de la nourriture à grande échelle. Ces initiatives locales n'ont pas rassuré la disponibilité alimentaire dans les localités où la nourriture est produite. Un nouveau système alimentaire peut émerger, créant une pénurie alimentaire et des conflits dans cette localité. Le gouvernement du Cameroun, conformément à la convention internationale et aux différents objectifs des développements, les OMD en 2000 et les ODD en 2015, a soutenu des initiatives visant à éliminer la faim, à réduire la pauvreté et à assurer le bien-être. En 1990, le gouvernement a adopté une nouvelle politique agricole (NAP). Ce premier programme d'ajustement structurel a été soutenu par l'Institution de Breton Woods et d'autres grands donateurs. Ses objectifs étaient de responsabiliser les agriculteurs (petits exploitants) et de diversifier le secteur agricole. En 2003, le gouvernement camerounais a introduit le Document stratégique de réduction de la pauvreté (DSRP). L'agriculture, entre autres domaines connexes, a reçu une place de choix, en particulier l'agriculture rurale et celle des petits exploitants. Il s'agissait de veiller à ce que l'extrême pauvreté et la faim soient éradiquées. Par conséquent, le MINADER et le MINEPEA ont apporté une aide aux agriculteurs sous forme de semences hybrides, de matériel agricole comme des houes, des chenilles, des camions, etc. (DSRP 2003). De plus, en 2010, le président du Cameroun a annoncé la vision 2035 du Cameroun devenant une nation émergente. Cette vision a ensuite été articulée dans le Document de Stratégie pour la Croissance et l'Emploi (DSCE). Parmi les autres pôles, figurait le pôle agriculture et environnement qui privilégie l'agriculture de deuxième génération (révolution agricole), la protection de l'environnement et la préservation des écosystèmes (GESP 2010).

Tous ces efforts aux niveaux international et national pour contribuer à la vie sociale et culturelle de la communauté avec l'accès à la nourriture, la disponibilité de la nourriture, la stabilité alimentaire et la durabilité alimentaire, l'agriculture surtout les petites plantations auraient contribué à l'approvisionnement alimentaire, au changement social, aux transformations du système agricole et une jonction entre les pratiques modernes et traditionnelles. Cela nous amène à nous poser les questions de recherche suivantes: Pourquoi la forte présence des plantations de petits exploitants à Mbandjock? La région du Centre du Cameroun, n'est-elle pas nécessairement une assurance pour la sécurité alimentaire ? La réponse provisoire que nous avons donnée était que les plantations de petits exploitants s'engagent dans la production de nourriture contre de l'argent, créant de nouveaux systèmes alimentaires locaux et des conflits. L'objectif de la recherche était d'explorer et d'expliquer la contribution des petites plantations à la production alimentaire locale. Nous avons mené une recherche qualitative en utilisant la méthode qualitative. L'observation des participants a été la principale technique de recherche au cours de laquelle des discussions de groupe, l'observation directe et des techniques d'entretien approfondi ont été utilisées pour générer des données associées à ces techniques. Des notes ont été prises pendant le travail de terrain et les données ont été transcrites et codées. Une analyse de contenu et thématique a été effectuée. Les théories de l'ethnométhodologie d'Harold Garfinkel, de l'ethno-perspective ou de l'ethnanalyse de Mbonji Edjenguèlè, des représentations sociales de Moscovici (1961) et des dynamiques culturelles de Georges Balandier (1971) nous aident à interpréter les données. Les constatations suivantes ont été obtenues: Premièrement, les systèmes de plantations pour petits exploitants sont organisés de deux manières : les plantations pour petits exploitants structurées et non structurées. Deuxièmement, les cultures locales nécessaires aux petites plantations comprennent ; le système foncier à Mbandjock, les méthodes agricoles et les pratiques rituelles. Derne nyabe (nettoyage du cimetière) aux Baboute, Mkpass à Mekomba, Messing à Mendouga, Feo Kague (Fête du Coq) au peuple Toupouri. Ces rituels garantissent la production et la reproduction. Troisièmement, la culture locale de la sécurité alimentaire à Mbandjock est fortement affectée par la présence de deux saisons des pluies et de deux saisons sèches. La conclusion générale de cette recherche a révélé que les plantations des petits exploitants se sont accompagnées d'une augmentation de la production agricole et d'une diminution de la disponibilité alimentaire à Mbandjock, car une grande partie de la production est vendue à de grands exploitants. Celles-ci sont en partie responsables de l'insécurité alimentaire à Mbandjock. Il s'est également produit de nombreux conflits (accaparement des terres, conflits culturels et conflits entre agriculteurs et éleveurs. Ces conflits sont en partie responsables de l'insécurité alimentaire à Mbandjock. Cette recherche est une recherche exploratoire et interprétative qui a utilisé la méthode de recherche qualitative. Elle peut ouvrir d'autres perspectives avec la recherche quantitative.

Mots clés : Culture, système de sécurité alimentaire, conflit social, plantations paysannes, peuples autochtones, Mbandjock

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LISTS OF ACRONYMS

ACEFA	Amelioration de la Competitivite des Exploitations Familiales	
	Agropastorales	
ADIC	Africa Distilling Company	
CFS HLPE	Committee on World Food Security – High Level Forum on	
CIOMS	Connecting Smallholders to Markets Commission Internationale de l'Organisation Mondiale pour la Santé,	
COMAPALM	Complexe Agricole et Palmeraie De Njoré.	
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry	
DELMONTE	Del Monte Tropical Fruit Co.	
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nation	
IRAD	Agricultural Research Institute for Development	
MANOVA	Multivariate Analysis of Variance	
MINADER	The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	
MINATD	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization	
MINCULT	The Ministry of Arts and Culture	
MINEPIA	Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries	
PADC	Projet d'appui au Développement Communautaire	
PAJER-U	Support Programme to Rural and Urban Youth	
PALAF2C	Projet D'Appui a la lute Antifongique	
PAMOL	Pamol plantation Limited	
PEAJEUNE	Programme de Promotion de l'Entrepreariat Agropastoral des Jeunes	
SOCAPAL	Société Camerounaise des Palmiers	
SODECAO	Cocoa Development Company	
SOSUCAM	Société Sucrerie Du Cameroun	
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization	
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Education Fund	
WHO	World Health Organization	

LISTS OF INITIALS

BC.	Before Christ
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme
CDC	Cameroon Development Cooperation
CIG	Common Initiative Group
СТС	Cameroon Tobacco Company
D.O	Divisional Officer
EU	European Union
FG	First-generation farmers
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIC	Groupe d'Initiatve Commune
GM	Genetically Modified
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
HLPE	High Level Panel of Experts
HRH	His Royal Highness
HYV	High Yielding Varieties
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IPCC	Inter-governmental panel on climate change
IRP	International Resource Panel
ISFM	Integrated Soil Fertility Management
ITCZ	Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MG	Multi-generation farmers
NAP	New Agricultural Policy
NCM	Nordic Council of Ministers
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCD	Plan Communal De Developpement
PNDP	Programme National de Développement Participatif
SCR	Social Corporate Responsibility
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals

SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
STDs	Sexually Transmissible Diseases
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNEP	United Nation Environment Programme
USD	United States Dollar

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This general introduction fits the research within the context of research, provide justification for the research, state research problem, the problem statement, and ask emerging research questions and provided with tentative answers and state research objectives. Following from the contextual aspect highlighted by the problem and emergent questions, an exploratory and interpretative methodology approach design is explained considering sampling, the research methods, the research techniques, data collection tools, data collection procedure and analysis interpretation is explained. The ethics of the research, interest of the research, delimitation, and problems encountered as well as the plan of work is presented.

1.0 Context of the Research

This part of the work is talking about the historical aspect of plantation agriculture. It is to give the background of the work. That is to say, things that are taking place related to this work. It will comprise of context at the global level that is the world, Africa context, Cameroon in general and Mbandjock in particular.

0.1.1 Historical context of the research in the world

Plantation, an age-old activity introduced by Europeans in many areas of the world has been evolving. According to Tiffen and Mortimore (1990), Plantation first became a noteworthy agricultural system in parts of the Americas, in about 1550. Between then and 1850, the distinguishing features were the use of slaves, production for export, initial processing on the farm, and a marked difference between the standard of living of the owners or managers, who were usually of European descent, and the workers. The major plantation crops were tobacco, sugar, and cotton. These were frontier institutions, established where land was plentiful, and except for the sugar in the islands, tend to move west with the settlement frontier as older land lost fertility. African slaves were imported because there was no local labour and European indentured labour was insufficient. With the abolition of slavery, many of the plantations in the southern United States went over to share-cropping, and/or mixed farming. In Brazil, from the late 18th century, coffee became the important plantation crop, with cocoa joining it in the 19th century. Low-paid immigrant labour replaced slaves in the coffee plantations. In the West Indies, some of the freed slaves became smallholders on abandoned estates or vacant land, but in others, they became wage labourers. Similarly, Hill (1963); Webster (1963) cited by Tiffen and, Mortimore (1990), postulate that plantations came even later to West Africa. This was with the exception of those areas under German control before 1914, and Liberia, where American-owned rubber estates date from 1926. A huge expansion in the growing of cocoa began in the 1890s and made Ghana and southern Nigeria the leading producers from about 1910 to the 1950s through the savings and enterprise of indigenous farmers and traders. Only the final collection for export was in the hands of competing European trading companies.

0.1.2 Context in Africa

Plantation agriculture was introduced in Africa by European powers during the period of colonisation. The initial dreams for African colonies were that their development would be based on European plantations, producing commodities for export (Jamal 1993; Daviron 2010). According to Thompson (1941); Jamal (1993); Gibbon (2011), plantations were established through sub-Saharan Africa by individual colonists and, progressively, imperial corporations such as Del Monte and Firestone in the early twentieth century. In the east and southern Africa, plantations were most widespread in the colonist economies of Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. Plantations were also established in Mozambique (to grow sugar), the Congo basin (rubber), Tanzania (cashew and sisal), Zambia (sugar) and Uganda (cotton).

The alternative farming systems were investigated by African states, specifically cooperatives, relocation schemes, large-scale irrigation ventures, and mechanised state farms. They managed agriculture through parallel synchronisation, often attaining controls through state marketing boards and parastatal processing (Bates 1981; Maertens and Swinnen 2007). There were also policies to reassure middle-class farmers (Bernstein, 1977; Raikes 1982), in some cases quickening measures that were instigated in colonial rule, including Kenya's 1954 Swynnerton Plan (Clayton 1978) and African farmer development schemes in Zambia (Jayne and Sitko 2013).

Despite the reorientation towards native and state-led agriculture, transnational corporations reserved a presence in sub-Saharan Africa, either through plantations that endured nationalisation in 1982; Unilever had plantations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Ghana, and Nigeria (Graham and Floering 1984) or by supplying R and D, inputs factories with feasibility studies, and management services to state agricultural schemes. At the same time as plantations were being transmuted in the immediate post-

independence period, there was cumulative concern among planners and international development agencies to harness the probability of small-scale farming. The dispute for small farms had been building among colonial authorities since the earliest days of colonialism (Epale 1985; Daviron 2010). So, strategies suppressing native smallholder cash-crop production were progressively relaxed afore independence (Gibbon 2011). Therefore, during the 1960s and 70s, a prominence on small farms instigated dominated rural development thinking, following the neo-populist turn in economics (Harsriss 1982b; Ellis and Biggs 2001).

In 1964, RJM Swynnerton of the CDC visited plantations in Cameroon and acclaimed new models to integrate smallholders, including outgrowing (Epale 1985). Convinced by the efficacy of small farms, foreign investors and donors such as the CDC, USAID and the World Bank became key supporters of schemes that fortified rural development through smallholders. They retained the role for corporate agribusiness to ease their commercialisation (Buch-Hansen and Marcussen 1982; Glover 1984; Clapp 1988; Lele and Agarwal 1989; Little and Watts 1994:8). In 1968's the new Ghanaian government established a Cotton Development Board to inspire smallholder production of cotton, which had previously been produced on estates (Poulton, 1998). Africa witnessed a proliferation of outgrower schemes attached to nucleus estates, described by de Treville and Watts (1986) as a form of *post-plantation production*.

0.1.3 Context in Cameroon

In recent times, smallholder plantations have become an activity that cuts across many countries and localities especially in the third world like Cameroon in general and Mbandjock, Centre Region of Cameroon in particular. Culture plays a role in the development of plantation agriculture. So, since small-scale plantation is a cultural element, it is as well important in the livelihood of the people of Mbandjock, Cameroon. According to the Cameroon National Desk Review, (2012), the agricultural sector in Cameroon is amongst the main occupations for close to 80% of citizens. The number of youths practicing informal agriculture was 82%. People living in the rural areas of Cameroon are mostly occupied with activities related to informal agriculture. In 2010, employment by this sector and location was 75% for informal agriculture and 20% for informal non-agricultural activities in rural areas. Agriculture plays a key role in the nation's economy. It contributes 20% to Gross Domestic Product. This sub-sector employs 70% of the Cameroonian labour force, which is also the

population group most exposed to poverty. The contribution of the agriculture sector to Cameroon's GDP varied between 1,353.4 billion FCFA (20.5%) in 2000 to an estimated 1,652.1 billion FCFA (20.1%) in 2005 (MINADER, 2006). During the periods 2000-2006 and 2003-2005 agriculture contributed to an average GDP of 3.8% and 33.7% respectively (World Bank, 2008). Between 2000 and 2005, crop production contributed 75.31% of Agricultural Gross Domestic Product (AGDP) with 66.56% being from food. Each of these sub-sectors contributed fewer food crops (such as plantains and cassava) to the AGDP. It contributes enormously to the country's economy.

The lack of access to adequate amounts of safe and nutritious food is a public health concern worldwide and particularly, Cameroon. Due to its agro-ecological diversity, Cameroon has great potentials for agricultural production to contributing towards its over 23 million people and beyond; thus, contributing towards feeding the world's approximately 9 billion people. According to (MINADER, 2006), until the late 1980s, Cameroon was considered self-sufficient in matters of agricultural production and played a role of food garret for its neighbouring countries. Since the early 90s, Cameroon began spending billions of francs CFA to import large quantities of food items (rice, maize, onion, tomatoes, milk, poultry, etc) even though relying on national products has a clear comparative advantage. This has been very worrisome as it undermines local production potential and pushes many producers out of the production chain as a result of unfair competition. That is why during the agro-pastoral show in Ebolowa, President Paul Biya stressed the need to modernise Cameroon's agriculture, to increase the productivity of small farmers and encourage the emergence of second-generation production units; that is to say large and medium-size companies. In this perspective, the mechanisation of agriculture must be a fact, given the multiplier effect of machines in the chain of production.

Ball (2016), postulates that, cash crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, bananas, rubber, palm oil, kernels, and peanuts are the most important cash crops. The main food crops largely present in Cameroon and Mbandjock, in particular, are plantains, cassava, corn, millet, and sugar cane. Palm oil production has shown signs of strength, but the product is not marketed internationally.

Johnston et al., (2007), postulated that, in 2004 the estimated production of food crops was as follows: sugarcane, 1,450,000 tons; cassava, 1,950,000 tons; sorghum, 550,000 tons; corn, 750,000 tons; millet, 50,000 tons; yams, 265,000 tons; sweet potatoes, 175,000 tons;

potatoes, 135,000 tons; dry beans, 95,000 tons; and rice, 62,000 tons. Lately, about 45% of Cameroon's gross domestic product (GDP) depends on agriculture. The agricultural sector is said to be responsible for providing food security to both the Cameroonian rural and urban populations via local production. That notwithstanding, with the rapidly expanding population growth, there is increased pressure on agricultural products. According to Molua and Utomakil (1998), low levels of input and equally low levels of government subsidies (for example quality seeds, fertilizers, and herbicides) per capita food production declined from 22.9% and 12.8% as a result of population growth. As a result, one may anticipate a real challenge to the government which has continuously experienced an increase in populations and is currently estimated at 23 million inhabitants.

This situation may further be frustrated by the expected adverse impact of climate change on agriculture now and in the future. For example, based on the third and fourth Assessment Reports of the intergovernmental panel on climate change (IPCC) (Bokoand et *al.* 2007) predicted extreme events due to climate change scenarios, there remain chance that drought in Cameroon may still occur with devastating effect. These effects may include food shortages and long-term food insecurity (Inter-Research, 2008). These point to the likelihood of serious food security problems in Cameroon. This review is a summary of agricultural systems and food crop productivity in Cameroon, with some recommended strategies to improve agricultural practices to ensure a sustainable increase in food production capacity and food security in Cameroon.

As earlier indicated, approximately 80% of the entire population is engaged in the fore mentioned agricultural systems, with small farm sizes, almost 0.5 to 2 hectares per family. Generally, traditional agricultural systems predominate with primitive farming practices and poor management. Agriculture here is still dominated by low use of fertilizers, high labour force inputs, limited soil conservation strategies, and the absence of enabling infrastructure for agricultural development. Farmers still depend on the use of outdated tools (hoes, cutlasses, and spades) and techniques (manual weeding, hoeing, and harvesting). Approximately 6% of the industrious population possess or practice livestock farming.

The MDGs that was introduced in the 1990s to be achieved by 2015, equally, tries to take care of our concern in some of its goals. Like Goal 1 which was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. In the same light, goal 7 was to ensure environmental sustainability and Goal 8 was to develop a global partnership for development. With her target 8 A being to

develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system. This includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction both nationally and internationally.

By 2015, the MDGs gave way to SDGs when all of these goals were not achieved especially in the domain of culture and emerging plantation agriculture. As such, in the year 2015, leaders from 193 countries of the world came together to face the future and, in the end, created a plan called the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This set of 17 goals imagines a future in 15 years that would end extreme poverty in all forms by 2030. End hunger, that is to say, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture. Ensure decent work and economic growth that is to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. The SDGs was also to ensure that industry, innovation, and infrastructure. This implies building resilient infrastructure, promoting inclusive and sustainable industrialisation. More so, the SDGs were to foster innovation, responsible consumption and production. To ensure sustainable cosnsumption and production patterns. Finally, the goals that turn around our research, life on earth, that implies protecting, restoring and promoting sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably managing forests, combating desertification, halt and reversing land degradation, halting biodiversity loss, and safe from the worst effects of climate change. UNDP (2018)

However, these set goals needed to be materialised in smallholder plantations and local food security cultures in Mbandjock, Cameroon. Cameroon has signed a respectable number of partnerships with international organisations as well as developing and industrialised counties in this perspective. Cameroon has lately showed cased a political will to encourage the agricultural sector, most especially within the youth folk. In 2015, precisely on the 10th of February, the message of the Head of State President Paul Biya to the youths on the 49th youth day affirms this as he outlined that, Manual labour, which was neglected, will need to be given its deserved place from primary school. In a country like ours, whose ambitions in the areas of agriculture, mining, tourism, arts, sports, and the environment are an open secret, and where handicraft and small enterprises still occupy a prominent position, it is indispensable to have better training institutions that prepare our youth for these trades.

In this, the head of state was urging the youths and Cameroonian people to go into the agro sector. This Cameroon political will was to be implemented by the different ministerial

departments under the supervision of the Prime Minister. However, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER) and the Ministry of youths and civic education through programmes like "the Support Programme to Rural and Urban Youth (PAJER-U)" inforced the implementation of the SGDs in Cameroon. This program is aimed at creating salaried jobs for youth, and funding micro and junior enterprises, and the Ministry of Small and Medium-size enterprises and handicrafts were each through specific programs put the vision into action. These set goals needed to be materialised in culture and small holders' plantations in Cameroon. Cameroon has signed a good number of partnerships with international organisations as well as developing and industrialised counties in this perspective. But little has been done in the agricultural sector which is considered the brain of development in Cameroon. The Centre Region in which Mbandjock our area of research is found occupies 69,000 km² of the central plains of the Republic of Cameroon. It is bordered to the North by the Adamawa Region, to the south by the South Region, to the east by the East Region, and to the west by the Littoral and West Regions. It is the second largest of Cameroon's regions in land area. Major ethnic groups found in this region include the Ewondo's, Bassa's, and the Vute's. Yaoundé, the capital of Cameroon, is at the heart of the Centre region, in the Centre Region, people from the rest of the country live and work there. The Centre's towns are also important industrial centers, especially for timber. This Region is one of Cameroon's most important cash-crop zones due to its hot, humid climate and welldeveloped infrastructure. Cocoa is king, and it grows in all areas but for the Mbam division. The largest plantations are those outside of Yaoundé and to a greater extent to the northwest between the Nyong and Sanaga Rivers. Other major cocoa centres include the Sanaga River valley near Nanga Eboko and the regions around the towns of Akonolinga, Obala, and Saa. Some of these plantations are owned by peasant populations of Bassa and Ewondo and SODECAO (Cocoa Development Company) is a major owner. The Centre is also home to Cameroon's only sugar-cane plantations, located at Mbandjock. SOSUCAM (Société Sucrerie du Cameroun) is the largest company in the Region with 40 km² (Ball, 2016).

The culture of Small holder agriculture has existed for a very long time in all culture around the world in providing people especially indigenous people with food security. This is what prevails around Africa in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, and Senegal just to name a few. The same situation prevails in Cameroon in general and particularly in the central region where Mbandjock is found. Approximately 80% of the entire population is engaged in the fore mentioned agricultural systems, with small farm sizes, almost 0.5 to 2 hectares per family. This research is therefore focused on food security and conflicts among small holder plantation as it come in contact with symbols, traditions, beliefs, practices knowledge, norms, values and habits in Mbandjock. There are so many activities that surround small holder plantations in Mbandjock. These activities are reflected in food security and conflicts among the Mbandjock people. Each group of people in Mbandjock has unique culture through which they practice small holder plantation activities. This explains why different crops cultivated here have different ways of producing based on the different cultural values the different communities attached these activities.

0.2 Justification of the research

Our instant topic is not chosen for its sake. Two reasons accounted for our choice; there are personal and scientific.

0.2.1. Personal Reasons

The choice of the present research topic is justified by the fact that I have always like when people are confortable with less conflict but food available and accessable. So, in Mbandjock, I noticed the present of so many small holder plantations in Mbandjock yet a lot of conflicts and little access to food. That is the reason as to why on a personal note, I went in for this research and understand these phenomena.

0.2.2. Scientific Reasons

Very little has so far been written on small holder plantations in Cameroon; left alone the place that culture reserves to them in the Centre Region of Cameroon. Pushed by this discovery and the fact that most constitutive elements of certain cultures around the world have disappeared because they were not adequately documented, the researcher then decided to plunge into the topic to keep posterity and partly contribute towards Cameroon ambition of becoming an emerging nation in 2035.

0.3 Research problem

Smallholder plantation agriculture has been an important human culture that help communities to survive and adapt to its dynamics. Large and small holder plantations that grow food for cash contribute to the dynamics in life of the host community through food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability. In these dynamics, a lot has been done to step up food production by small-scale plantation owners. Experiences about this phenomenon in the Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC), MAISCAM, and other related plantations around Cameroon. Small holder plantations are expected to contribute in stepping up the amount of food and the evolving social and cultural life in Mbandjock. At the international and national level, the agricultural sector in general and smallholder plantations in particular has been revamp so as to respond to the social and cultural life of the communities. The introduction of the MDGs in the year 2000 to be achieved by 2015 and the SDGs in 2015 to be attained by 2030 brought agriculture in the lamplight. This is reflected by MDGs goals 1 which was *to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger* and SDGs goals 1 and 2 which respectfully highlighting the need to end extreme poverty and hunger in all forms by 2030, (that is to say, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture). These goals were all ratified by the Cameroon government and implemented in the country (UNDP 2018).

In 1990, the government adopted, a New Agricultural Policy (NAP). This first structural adjustment program was supported by the Breton Woods Institution and other major donors. Its objectives were to empower farmers (smallholders) and to diversify the agricultural sector. In 2003, the Cameroon government introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). Agriculture among other related fields was given a pride of place especially rural and smallholders' agriculture. This was to ensure that, extreme poverty and hunger were eradicated. Hence, MINADER and MINEPEA gave aid to farmers in forms of hybrids seeds, farming equipment like hoes, caterpillars, trucks, and etcetera (PRSP 2003). Moreover, in 2010, the president of Cameroon announced the vision 2035 of Cameroon becoming an emergent nation. This vision was then articulated in the Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP). Among other poles, was the agriculture and environment pole which favours *second-generation agriculture* (agriculture revolution), environmental protection, and ecosystem preservation (GESP 2010).

All these efforts at the international and national levels to contribute to the social and cultural life of the community with food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability, agriculture most importantly small holder plantations would have contributed to food supply, social change, transformations of the farming system and a junction between modern and traditional practices.

Instead, in Mbandjock, we still have low levels of output to meet up with food supply expectation of the people. According to MINADER (2010), in the Upper Sanaga division

where Mbandjock is found, cultivated a surface area of 5,535ha and 5,393ha for corn and cassava respectively in 2007 against a production of 11878 and 45,891tons respectively. The following year which is 2008, the Surface area cultivated for corn and cassava stood at 5,535ha and 5,393ha with a production of 12,478tons and 47,568tons respectively. When compared to the Lekié division of the same Region, the surface area cultivated for corn and cassava in 2007 stood at 8,735ha and 9,119ha respectively. Production was 19,610 tons and 162,534tons respectively. The following year, 2008, Surface area cultivated for corn stood at 8,735ha and 9,119ha respectively with a production of 20,004tons and 162,810tons for corn and cassava respectively. There is equally an increase in the social and cultural life disorders, with the presence of so many conflicts. Farmer gazer conflict, land grabbing, cultural, political, spiritual and economic conflicts common. Veneration of some cultural values of the indigenous people by the settling people like the killing and eating of snake is a taboo to the Baboute people in Mbandjock. Hence, this present research seeks to find out why with the advent of small holder plantation in Mbandjock food supply is low but instead a rise in the cultural, social, political and economic conflicts. From the research problem we developed the research questions.

0.4 Statement of the Problem

The societal element has a role to play in the socio-cultural universe in question. Now that some are being neglected with the advent of new plantations in the Centre Region, what becomes of the fate of the cultures that it embodies? In the research problem, it indicated that, small holder plantation agriculture has been an important human culture that help communities to survive and adapt to its dynamics. Large and small holder plantations that grow food for cash contribute to the dynamics in life of the host community through food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability. The introduction of the MDGs in the year 2000 to be achieved by 2015 and the SDGs in 2015 to be attained by 2030 brought agriculture in the lamplight. This is reflected by MDGs goals 1 which was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger and SDGs goals 1 and 2 which respectfully highlighting the need to end extreme poverty and hunger in all forms by 2030, (that is to say, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture). These goals were all ratified by the Cameroon government and implemented in the country (UNDP 2018). All these efforts at the international and national levels to contribute to the social and cultural life of the community with food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability, agriculture most importantly small holder plantations would have contributed to food supply,

social change, transformations of the farming system and a junction between modern and traditional practices. There is equally an increase in the social and cultural life disorders, with the presence of so many conflicts. Farmer gazer conflict, land grabbing, cultural, political, spiritual and economic conflicts common. Veneration of some cultural values of the indigenous people by the settling people like the killing and eating of snake is a taboo to the Baboute people in Mbandjock. Hence, this present research seeks to find out why with the advent of small holder plantation in Mbandjock food supply is low but instead a rise in the cultural, social, political and economic conflicts. From the research problem we developed the research questions.

It is true that according to Ethno methodologists and Ethno-perspectivists, every society has its way of doing and seeing things. But we think that it is not the reverse that is true. Those who come into a community to establish their plantations are the ones to adhere to the norms of the society in question and not the contrary as we see today. However, three (3) theories; The *Ethnomethodology* theory of Harold Garfinkel, *Ethno-perspective*, or *Ethnanalysis* of Mbonji Edjenguèlè, and the theory of cultural dynamics of Georges Balandier (1971) help in interpreting the phenomenon under study. A good number of elements from these theories are, therefore, retained for the explanation of the different research variables here contained.

Firstly, the notions of indexicality, reflexivity and notion of member derived from the theory of Ethnomethodology is related to the study. First and famous, *reflexivity* states that, the meaning of everything has a direct relationship with the context in which it is produced or originated. The fore is compiled to this study because each cultural element is linked to plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. Specific and having a particular meaning to them, differs from other socio cultures. Hence, the meaning of all cultural elements in this locality contributes in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture. The perceptions of *reflexivity* are related to the study in that it explains and plays a preponderant role in influencing the way people interpret and respond to the signs that they observe or come across in their daily lives in a given society. This is because each cultural element has in another socio culture. Hence, the meanings of all the cultural elements in this locality contribute in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture. This concept of *Notion of member* is related to the study in that; it states that an individual can best interpret a situation if and only if he is part and parcel of the system or structure. This is because to

understand cultural element in Mbandjock, you need to be part of the socio culture or base on their culture to give sense to that phenomenon. In a nutshell, the meanings of the entire cultural element in this locality contribute in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture.

Moreover, the theory of social Representation fits squarely with its concepts of social anchoring as well as that of function to the present study. It explores social anchoring which implies that, members of the society agree upon, and work together to achieve, what is best for society as a whole. That is why the Baboute people practice the ritual of cleaning of the graveyard to achieved protection, abundance, production as well reproduction. Also, with the notion of objectification, In Mbandjock, each cultural element has its function. Therefore, each element has its opinions to be heard to make small holders plantations agriculture function well. Rituals, land tenure, landlords, chiefs, labourers and the presence of SOSUCAM all have a role to play with plantation agriculture in this area. While the chiefs and landlords provide the land and rituals to make the land fertile for the cultivation of crops, foreigners who come in to do plantation in Mbandjock pay land tributes to the chiefs and landlords either in crops or in monetary terms and as well give support to the items needed for performing ritual in Mbandjock. SOSUCAM on the other hand provide technical assistance to farmers. Most of the farmers and locals work in SOSUCAM from which they raise capital to plough back in their farms.

0.5 Research Questions

To examine the culture of small holder plantations and understand the scope of influence on the food security system in Mbandjock Cameroon, it will be very important to ask questions that will guide and facilitate our findings. Two main categories of research questions are posed in this research; namely: the main research and secondary research questions.

0.5.1 General Question

How is the high presence of small holder plantations in Mbandjock a source of food security and conflicts?

0.5.2 Secondary Questions

These secondary research questions are five in number;

- 0.5.2.1. How is small holder plantation schemes organised in Mbandjock?
- 0.5.2.2. Why are local cultures necessary for small holder plantations?

0.5.2.3. In what ways do small holder plantation stakeholders build food security cultures?

0.5.2.4. What are the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation?

0.5.2.5. How do small holder plantations influence socio-cultural order in Mbandjock?

0.6 Research Hypotheses

To provide tentative answers to the questions asked, we make use of a main hypothesis and five secondary hypotheses.

0.6.1 General Hypothesis

Small holder plantations engage in food for cash production creating new local food systems and conflicts.

0.6.2 Secondary Hypothesis

The secondary research hypotheses are five in number. They are as follows:

- 0.6.2.1. Small holder plantations schemes in Mbandjock are organised in terms of farm ownership, type of crops cultivated and farm sizes.
- 0.6.2.2. Local cultures help small holder plantations in providing farm land, traditional farming techniques, and a means of transfer of cultural traits.
- 0.6.2.3. Small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures through the cultivation of both food and cash crops two times a year.
- 0.6.2.4. The adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation in Mbandjock are in new techniques, new tools, new crops and market system.

0.6.2.5. Small holder plantations influence the socio-cultural order in Mbandjock.

0.7 Objectives of the Research

The above research questions and hypotheses were transformed into research objectives. There are divided into two as well; the main research objective and secondary research objectives.

0.7.1 General Objective

To explore and explain the contribution of small holder plantations in local food production.

0.7.2 Specific Objective

The secondary research objectives are as per the five research questions and hypotheses.

- 0.7.2.1. To examine how small holder plantations schemes are organised in Mbandjock.
- 0.7.2.2. To reveal the contributions of local cultures to small holder plantations.
- 0.7.2.3. To demonstrate how small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures.
- 0.7.2.4. To elucidate the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation in Mbandjock.
- 0.7.2.5. To determine the influence of small holder plantations to socio-cultural order in Mbandjock.

0.8 Methodology

This has to do with how both primary and secondary data was collected; the approach, methods, techniques and tools that were employed, the nature of informants that were involved, and how the said data was analysed and interpreted. Since there is no science without a method and no method without science, we had to employ a research method. Hence, methodology is a set of methods, rules, or ideas that are important in science or art. Methodology implies more than simply the methods you intend to use to collect data. It is often the concept and theories which underlie the methods to approach our research objectives and give answers to the research problem. According to Ogolo (1995), research methodology describes the procedure to be followed in realising the goals and objectives of research. Here, the researcher applied the triangulation approach mostly qualitative methods and techniques habitually used in social sciences. Anthropologists believe that no single technique can be used to adequately investigate a problem.

The research uses the qualitative research approach and methods with empirical data obtained from a variety of sources. These sources have been further regrouped into Primary and Secondary sources. In that light, therefore, primary sources essentially include data collected with the use of observation, interview, focus group discussion (FGD), case research, photography, and semi-structured interview.

Fieldwork was conducted for three years from April 2018 to December 2021 in Mbandjock subdivision with a population of population 30,887 inhabitants according to *Plan Communal De Developpement* (PCD) (2013).

0.8.1. Research Design

According to Nwana (1985 and 2008), a design is a strategy used by a scientist to collect and analyse the data necessary to test the hypothesis. To Nworgu (1991), a research

design is a plan or blueprint which specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analysed. Formulating a research design entails choices about fundamental units of analysis, basic research methods to be used, time ordering of the variables, procedures for acquiring data, and techniques for analysis. It, therefore, provides the procedural outline for the conduct of a given investigation. A research design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the research coherently and logically, thereby ensuring you will effectively address the research problem. It constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement of conditions for collection, and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance of the research purpose (Monton, 1996).

The exploratory and interpretive research design is implicated in the course of the research. The latter has to do with working on some randomly selected small holder planters and collecting data from them to get a fair picture of the prevailing situation. The application of this research design is very instrumental; given its scope and pertinence in the resolution of the problem at hand. Case studies in this research enabled the researcher to have a holistic view of the phenomenon of small holder plantations and indigenous food security systems. It helped the researcher to understand the dynamism and complex nature of these activities, thus, examining the natural forms of things.

According to Silverman (2006), qualitative research is usually an explorative process and therefore flexible, iterative, reflective, non-predictable, and contextualised. A qualitative, ethnographic and interpretive research design assisted the researcher to obtain complex and accurate information on small holder plantations and indigenous food security systems in the Mbandjock community.

0.8.2 Research Site

A research setting is a physical, social, and cultural site in which the researcher conducts research. It is simply the physical, social, or experimental context within which research is conducted. The research setting is a vital component of research design/methodology. These play a significant role in determining the subject of research, the participants, the type of data that can be collected and the interpretation of results, and thereby the setting. In this research, the fieldwork was carried out in the Mbandjock subdivision, with a blend of several cultures of indigents and settlers. Mbandjock is the headquarters of the Mbandjock sub-division amongst the seven subdivisions that make up the Upper Sanaga Division of the Center Region of Cameroon. Administratively, Mbandjock is bounded in the North by Nkoteng, in the South by the Batchenga, in the East by the municipality of Lembé Yézoum and Edzandouan, and in the West by the municipality of Ntui. The population is spread over 03 groups and 09 villages. The groupings are constituted as follows: Ndjore with a village (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, Ndjore I and Ndjore II), Ndo with the village (Biboto and Ndo), and Mekomba with village (Mendouga and Mekomba). Geographically, Mbandjock lies approximately between latitude 4.44' N and 11.90' E of the equator and longitude 11.54' E and 11.61' E. It is located some 78Km (48 Miles) away from Yaoundé town on the Yaoundé – Nanga Eboko highway. These villages have a population that may be estimated today at more than 21076 inhabitants, with the youths constituting more than 60%.

This research is situated periodically within the time SOSUCAM was created in the year 1970s and all the realities created with the existence of SUSOCAM up till today in 2023. This period is characterised with so many small holder plantations with food security and conflict issues.

0.8.3. Sampling, Sampling Technique, Sampling Procedures, and Sample Size

The criterion of selection for potential respondants of this work is focused on food security and conflicts among small holder plantations, which concerns many members of this community who are scattered over a large area.

0.8.3.1. Target Population

Target population, also known as the theoretical population is the total group of individuals from which the sample of research might be drawn. A sample is the group of people who take part in the investigation. The people who take part are referred to as participants. Therefore, the target population is the group to whom we wish to generalise our findings. The target population for a survey is the entire set of units for which the survey data are to be used to make inferences. Hence, in this research, the targeted population is the estimated population of 30,887 inhabitants of Mbandjock subdivision according to *Plan Communal De Developpement* (PCD) (2013).

0.8.3.2. Research Population

The research population, also known as the accessible population is the actual sampling frame, from which we randomly drew our sample. Therefore, it is a subset of the target population from which the sample is selected. In this work, the research population is all those delegation of agriculture in Mbandjock subdivision known as registered small holder farmers in addition to agricultural technicians in Mbandjock, some SOSUCAM workers, administrative, traditional, and religious authorities. According to the delegation of agriculture Mbandjock (2020), there are 4250 smallholder farmers in Mbandock, among which we sampled for this research. A proportionate number was taken from all the villages of the subdivision. Therefore, the gender disparity enabled us to gather enough data on the extent to which individuals of both sexes, local and administrative authorities, traditional rulers, owners of emerging plantations, workers in those plantations, and natives of the villages where these plantations are found, apprehended and understood the topic.

0.8.3.3. Sampling

Sampling is a process used in statistical analysis in which a predetermined number of observations are taken from a larger population. It is done with the help of a sampling procedure and a sampling technique. In qualitative research, the criteria of selection for participants are predetermined not the number of participants. In this work, three sampling techniques were used during our research which included; purposive, judgemental and snowball sampling.

0.8.3.3.1. Sampling Technique

With sampling techniques, this reseach employed three sampling techniques. These techniques are; convenient, judgemental and snowball sampling. The researcher chose the above mentioned area of research based on the convenient sampling technique since it will be easier for the researcher to have accessed these emerging plantations in the said region. Also, the judgmental sampling technique helped us to bring out the purpose and the way each of our informants served in our research. Thirdly, the snowball sampling technique permitted us to identify key informants from the informants we had interviewed and rich information about small holder planations and food security cultures gotten from them. This approach was used due to the bulky nature of the research population. This choice is made based on the population threshold.

0.8.3.3.2. Sampling Procedure

Sampling procedure is choosing part of a given population to use and test hypotheses about the entire population. That is to say, choose the number of participants, interviews, or work samples to use in the assessment process; used for random or stratified sampling. The sampling procedure also help in choosing key informants. These key informants led us directly to other recommended informants who came from all over the Mbandjock community. The men and women ranged from 20 to 80 years.

0.8.3.3.3. Sample Size

Sample size refers to the number of participants included in research. This number is usually represented by "n". However, sample size determination is the act of choosing the number of observations or replicates to include in research work in a statistical sample. It is worthy to note that the size of a sample influences two statistical properties: the precision of our estimates and the power of the research to conclude. Therefore, the sample size is an important feature of any empirical research in which the goal is to make inferences about a population from a sample.

In the present research, our sample size is 131 informants who were selected within the research area to give us relevant information needed for this work. We ended with 131 informants because it was at this number of informants that, we reached saturation point. As such, informants were repeating the same information we had gathered earlier. These 131 participants were drawn from two different indigenous sociocultural ethnic groups: Baboute and the Yezoum. They were also chosen from a huge number of settlers' communities predominantly from the northern part of Cameroon, the Anglophone Regions as well as other regions of Cameroon, and even foreigners. We had representatives from MINADER, MINCULT, local and administrative authorities, traditional rulers, owners of emerging plantations, workers in those plantations, and natives of the villages where these plantations is found. The research made use of both males and females. Therefore, the gender disparity enabled us to gather enough data on the extent to which individuals of both sexes apprehended and understood the topic.

0.8.4. Data Collections Methods

Our research made use of two forms of data. That is secondary and primary data. The secondary data were gotten from documentation written around our research topic while primary information was gotten from the informants on the field.

0.8.4.1 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data here has to do with pre-existing information that is related to the subject matter in one way or the other. To have this, we went through what is known as documentary research.

0.8.4.1.1 Document Review

According to Obioma (1988), in every research that one is carrying out, the individual needs to establish a baseline to have a successful take-off and get equipped in terms of previous knowledge. The very first thing we did in this research was to have maximum information on what others have written on issues concerning small holder plantations and the indigenous food security system. This step re-oriented our research topic, research questions, research problem, and hypothesis to avoid repetition, a situation that guaranteed the originality of our research. Subsequently, we were able to know the limits and strengths of the previous works or existing work that made us narrow our research topic.

Most of our secondary data and documented information were gotten from the following places; the university of Yaoundé I central library, the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Human Sciences library, Cercle Philo-Psycho-Socio-Anthropos (C.P.P.S.A), the University of Bamenda library, the American Embassy Yaoundé library, the French Institute of Cameroon (FIC) library, the National Institute of Cartography, UNDP, WHO and UNICEF and a good number of websites as illustrated in the bibliography of this work.

We consulted documents on Anthropology and the socio-culture of the Mbandjock communities, psychology, sociology, history, and geography. These documents helped us to better build our theoretical and conceptual frameworks. In that light, books, articles, journals, theses, dissertations, and websites on the internet were consulted. This is aimed at reviewing existing literature to have an idea of what others have said in the domain of plantation agriculture; not only in the Centre Region but in the World at large. Audiovisual documents were also being made use of. It was mostly acquired from watching and listening to programs that were broadcasted by CRTV radio and television stations, Equinous TV, and other stations. All these were the main sources of secondary data collected. All these was done from when we were admitted into the doctorate school in 2017 till 2022.

0.8.4.2. Primary Data Collections

In this research, we made use of the qualitative research method and more particularly, qualitative research design and her techniques. Qualitative data collection techniques used to get information from the field were; direct observation, life history, in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discusions (FGDs), and photographs. These techniques are elaborated below.

0.8.4.2.1 Interview

This is a data collection method which is a conversation between two persons (the interviewer and interviewee) where questions are asked by the interviewer to the interviewee. We did this in the field to obtain information from the informants concerning the reality under research. According to Tylor and Boghan (1984), it is best to interview in settings where the informant feels most comfortable. But it is important to have some information or experiences with the informant for not all homes or job sites are safe places for interviews to be conducted, especially if many people are living in the same home.

In the case of this work, formal and informal interviews are used with the help of interview guides, recorders to collect data from our informants. A tape recorder or a magnetic recorder (android phones for example) was used to talk individually with the participant from the different social groups mentioned in the sampling. With formal interviews, plantation workers, as well as locals, were interviewed. The type of questions used was open-ended which enabled informants to express themselves freely and exhaustively on the information given.

Also, we used Informal interview which embodied simple discussions with the local population during visits, occasions, walks, and at times in meetings. As such, experiences, opinions, attitudes, and the feelings of the people concerning our topic. This research technique permitted us to get the opinion of others who could not talk about the cultural practices and other issues involved in plantations because it is a very sensitive topic of discussion. Interviews took place when we explained that we are students from the

department of Anthropology, the University of Yaoundé I and not spies to the government and or against their culture. In addition, it was after disclosing that we were carrying out research purposely for academic reasons and nothing more that informant feeled free to talk to us.The topic of research was presented to them titled Small Holders plantations and food Security culture in Mbandjock – Centre Region – Cameroon: A contribution to Anthropology of Development.

However, while discussing with the informants, we had other sub-themes which came up such as taxonomy of emerging plantations and others. From the look of things, it was very interesting to those who participated in this research and made them want to talk without ending.

0.8.4.2.2 Observation

Observation is a research method where data is gathered by watching people, events, and noting physical characteristics in their natural setting. Some observations are overt where the subjects know they are being observed or while others are covert where the subject does not know they are being watched. Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for research".

We spent hours with plantation owners on their farms. As a result, we monitored plantation workers in the Centre Region and with the local population to better understand the issue at stake. We then observed cultural practices, farmers' activities in and off the farm, the farms and crops in the different villages of the subdivision

0.8.4.2.3. Focus Group

FGDs is a research method where about 6 to 8 persons of the same class, social statues, same age group, and sometimes the same gender depending on the subject under research is regrouped to talk on a given topic. This discussion group is always moderated by a facilitator in the presence of a note-taker. However, in the case of our research, four FDGs were conducted with each of the following; plantation owners, plantation workers, the local population, and finally, local authorities. This technique of data collection was very necessary as information on cultural practices, beliefs system, rituals, and rites concerning the perception of the locals were captured. During these FGDs, the participants narrated the genesis of their involvement in plantation agriculture, the cultural practices that either favour

or disfavour plantation agriculture. The numbers of years involved in that activity, how the activity had changed over time and the impact emerging plantations have on the indigenes and the community in which it is practiced was also collected.

0.8.4.2.4. Life History

This consisted of interviewing and researching the life history of people who have something to do with emerging plantations in the central region. This was to identify and discover the unique and common features which are shared by these people for clarity. This method was used to instigate the stakeholders to involve in emerging plantations, talk about their past life history and personal experiences in this domain. This was done to ensure that, what we think is exactly what has been declared in the course of our research. Strategic means were used to make these informants give out their minds as confidential information was disclosed during discussions about the topic in question. They narrated the genesis of their involvement in plantation agriculture, the cultural practices that either favour or disfavoured plantation agriculture. The numbers of years involved in that activity, how the activity had changed over time and the impact emerging plantations have on the indigenes and the community in which it is practiced.

0.8.4.2.4. Iconographic method

The researcher also used photos to illustrate aspects of emerging plantations and the culture of the local people. It was done with the help of a digital camera. The reasons for the pictures were to illustrate and clarify the phenomenon under study. We did take pictures of farmers' activities and practice in and out of the farm. Iconographic data were in small holders' farms, methods of farming, cultural practices in and off farms, growing crops, farm preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, conservation, marketing and consumption.

0.8.5. Data Collection Techniques

The following techniques were used to collect data on the field.

0.8.5.1. Unstructured Interview

These are informal discussions where the interviewer wants to explore in-depth a particular topic with another person in a spontaneous way. It is in this regard that we conducted our interview.

0.8.5.2. In-depth Interview

This technique permitted us to have a one on one discussions with our informants. Through this technique, we had detail informations on our topic from the informants. It consists of conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a precise idea. It is on this note that we had discussions with some groups of small holder farmers, workers and authorities of the locality.

0.8.5.3. Direct Observation

It is a technique of collecting evaluative information in which the researcher watches the subject in his or her usual environment without altering the environment. With this technique, we had to watch all the activities of our informants and took notes. We observed their ways of life, events, farm practices, rituals and how they relate to each other.

0.8.5.4 Focus Group Discussion

From the Focus Group method, we were able to use the Focus Group Discussion technique to acquire information from our participants. It involves gathering people from similar backgrounds or experiences together, to discuss a specific topic of interest. The group of participants is guided by a moderator or a group facilitator who introduces topics for discussion and helps the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst them. Questions are asked about their perceptions attitudes, beliefs, opinions or ideas. A total of 6 FGDs were conducted including with 16 women and 13 men. So, we got data from a total of 29 informant using this technique.

0.8.5.5. Life History

This involves interviewing and researching the life of people of those who have something to do with the subject under research. The researcher, facilitator, and or moderator introduced the topic and instigate the stakeholders to involve in talking about their past life history and personal experiences in the domain. This was done to ensure that, what we think is exactly what has been declared during our research.

0.8.6. Data Collection Tools

In order to register and keep all the necessary informations gotten from the field, data collection tools were used. Data collection tools are the various devices or instruments we

used in the field. Tools used to collect information during fieldwork included; Observation guide, Interview guides, FDG guide, tape recorder, digital camera, notebooks, pens, pencils, razor USB key, and laptop. These tools were used to obtained data related to our research topic during fieldwork. This was in other to avoid forgetting what had already been said in the field of research. The following research tools were then developed and used to collect data for this research;

0.8.6.1. Interview Guide

Our guide was made up of evolving themes on small holder plantations and indigenous people's food security system which helped us to conduct our interview in a conversation form. An interview guide was used for 4 categories of informants, emerging plantations owner, workers in the plantations, indigenes from the area of research, and authorities (administrative, local, and traditional authorities).

0.8.6.2 Direct Observation Guide

We used an observation guide that directed us to the type of phenomenon to be observed in the field. The guide was developed as that of Marriam (1988) focusing more on the physical environment. We mostly used our senses which directed our minds to what we saw. Therefore, it was equally used to observe how the people of these communities lived their daily life, the types of crops, fruits, dominant plantations in this region, the rites, and cultural practices involved in plantation agriculture in this zone. Also, it guided us to observe the way emerging plantations practiced in these areas Vis-à-vis their culture.

0.8.6.3 Focus Group Discussion Guide

Our focus group discussion guide was then drawn from our topic which helped us to have diverse contributions from each participant. FDG guides were used for 3 categories of informants, small holder plantations owner, workers in the plantations, and indigenes from the area of research.

0.8.6.4 A Tape

Moreover, a tape recorder was used to record all information that could not be taken down in the field because at times the informants were fast in giving out information. That was why the researcher recorded the information and later transcribed.

0.8.6.5 A camera

Also, during our research, a digital camera was used to take photos of plantations, cultural practices involved in the plantations.

Finally, block notes, pens, and pencils were used to take down short notes. This was mostly used during our interview with informants who refused the use of a tape recorder.

0.8.7. Data Collection Procedure

These are the various steps we took to carry out our research. The researcher began by obtaining research authorisation from administrative and local authorities to secure our access to the various areas concerned with our work. This was facilitated by the research authorisation signed by the Head of Department for Anthropology, the coordinator of postgraduate school for social and educational Sciences of the University of Yaoundé I, and the Divisional officer of Mbandjock subdivision. After this, the student researcher visited the various areas to which our research will be carried out to notify the traditional authorities about the research. He also explained how the research will be of great help if they collaborated. Before administering the instruments for data collection, the researcher contacted the participants concerned at their convenient time for either an interview session, FGDs session and or life history. The informed consent form and the research authorisation were presented to the respondents. Some of the interviews were done in their homes, farms, ritual sites, and offices for authorities. This was done until we discovered that there were repetitions in their responses without any new information.

0.8.7.1 Interview

We made sure that the informant was comfortable with the places where the interview was conducted. We asked for permission to record some of the interviews using audiotapes. So, all interview sessions were recorded verbatim by using a voice recorder and field notes were written to capture non-verbal cues that were not captured by the voice recorder to supplement the data collected. Each interview started with a general question to know the perception of small holder's plantations and indigenous people food security system in the community. As the discussion was unfolding, other themes emerged in the course of the discussion. When one theme was finally exhausted, we immediately introduced another theme for discussion.

The main question was followed by clarity-seeking questions to allow the participants clarify areas where the researcher sought to increase and generate detailed data until saturation was reached. Following (Spradley, 1979), the nature of our questions was descriptive which asked the participants to describe something, structural which permitted us to discover information about domains of cultural knowledge or contrasts which allowed meaning to emerge from the various forms of the native language. This unstructured one-to-one interview was conducted for two months and we took the names of each place we conducted an interview. Each session lasted for approximately 15 to 30 minutes.

0.8.7.2 Direct Observation

Direct observation helped us to have direct contact with our informants and the research area. Throughout the discussion, informants were observed, enabling us to understand the cultural perception of this practice. Also, the type of food and physical activities were equally observed.

Direct observation made us sees things we wouldn't see or hear. But the key part of it, was to hang out with people as days were passing. This enabled us to build and gain the confidence of some during this process especially within the community. This technique permitted us to see things for ourselves; since there is no short cut to research a reality, to talk like Roumenguère (1982) as she says:

Pour connaître la réalité africaine, il faut se remettre sur les bancs de leurs écoles (...) et y apprendre les milayo : d'abord en sachant les répéter, les chanter, et les danser, puis en les respectant dans sa propre vie quotidienne, et finalement en adoptant les démarches mêmes de l'épistémologie africaine, en faisant contrôler les résultats de sa recherche et de ses progrès par ses maitres africains. (Roumenguère, 1982).

This technique helped us to test the reliability of the information we received from research participants through other means of data collection on the field. This exercise was carried out with the help of a digital camera, a notebook, a tape recorder, and other research gadgets. However, we did not lead ourselves to be observed as Joulin (1983) advocates in his famous concept of observing participation.

0.8.7.3. Focus Group Discussion

An FGD was organised with small holder planters, women, workers, and men of the community. We had a facilitator, a note-taker, and an observer. We asked for permission to record the FGDs using audiotapes. Each discussion started with a general topic to know the perception of smallholder's plantations and indigenous people's food security system in the community. As the discussions were unfolding, other themes emerged. When one theme was finally exhausted, we immediately introduced another theme for discussion.

Participants were attributed numbers during the FGD according to their sitting positions, names were equally written down alongside members. This facilitated us in taking down notes as well as transcription. It helped us to sample various opinions, ideas, behaviours, and attitudes concerning our topic. The impact of these protections was developed into open-ended questions and administered to different actors. Probing was used to understand exactly what an informant said. FGD was more of a discussion where a theme was open to everyone to comment on. We had in some cases ten participants and more which each session ended in approximately forty minutes or more. The tape recorder used during these discussions helped us in our transcription. We did also take the names of each place we conducted our Focus Group Discussion.

0.8.7.4. Life history

With the life history technique, we made sure that the informant was comfortable with the places where the interview was conducted. Those involved were asked for permission to record their experiences using a voice recorder. Some of the case researches were recorded verbatim by using a voice recorder and field notes were written to capture non-verbal cues that were not captured by the voice recorder supplement the data collected.

However, it consisted of interviewing and researching the life history of people of those who have something to do with emerging plantations in the central region. This was to identify, discover the unique and common features which are shared by these people for clarity. This method was used to instigate the stakeholders to involve in emerging plantations to discuss about their past life history and personal experiences in this domain. This was done to ensure that, what we think is exactly what has been declared in the course of our research. Strategic means were used to make these informants give out their minds as confidential information was disclosed in the course of discussions about the topic in question. They narrated the genesis of their involvement in plantation agriculture. These cultural practices either favour or disfavour plantation agriculture. The numbers of years involved in that activity, how the activity had changed over time and the impact emerging plantations have on the indigenes and the community in which it is practiced.

0.8.8. Language Procedure

In this piece of work, our interviews, FGDs, and life history were conducted both in English and French. All the guides we used were written in English, while in the field those who could not speak the English language, we translated the questions into the French language. We equally came across those who could not speak any of the above languages. They spoke in Voute, Yezom, and other languages. These interviews were recorded in the field and transcribed later with the help of those who understood these languages well. However, these informants were chosen because they had a good mastery of our research topic as well as the culture of their communities. These key informants used some of our key concepts in their language giving us the symbolic and contextual meaning of these words. Some of these words are *awou*, *alu*, *mankende* just to name a few.

0.9. Data Analysis

Data analysis is a key element in any scientific work. Our analysis was purely based on the qualitative approach. According to Mbonji (2005), analysis is purely based on resolution, the discovery of answers, and the clearances for solutions by the combination of elements of a statement or problem analysis, therefore, is the discovery of the real sense either symbolic or latent obtained when pieces of text are together.

By analysis, ethno-anthropologist engages to rise, set, unveil, naked make legible, visible, the cultural pertinence of a practice in conformity with a cultural item or fact in their sense of context to extract a substantive meaning and understanding. In brief, qualitative meaning analysis is important in accounting for the social actor's point of view in observed patterns.

We started data analysis as we kick start with our work and continued till when we were done. From the works we read, and about the knowledge we have gathered from Anthropology, we made use of *content analysis;* since the main method used is qualitative method. They were broken into sub-themes to ease up understanding. The analysis helped in obtaining a comprehensive understanding of statements mentioned by informants. Thus,

providing more insight and supporting ideas to the research. Content and iconographic analyses were used. To better manage and analyse our data, we compared and did triangulations on the different sources of data collected during fieldwork. We coded the obtained data so it helped us check our hypothesis and ease the means of arriving at our objectives. Here, we brought out differences and similarities; statistics from documents, and data from the field. Data were summarised descriptively and inferentially with the use of *content analysis* as earlier indicated and *textual analysis*. To update information obtained from other sources, Internet sources were explored.

Mbonji (2005) stipulates that qualitative data analysis is the process that permits us to understand the cognitive process that is the ways natives speak their language as well as terms they apply or use in particular things. There are some rituals, ceremonies, and cultural practices that respondents used in their mother tongue which gave pertinent meaning to our research. Also with the qualitative data analysis, we made use of the column method since our work was thematic with a majority of data from the field. Each time all this was developed, anthropological symbolic meanings and explanations were given to the data.

0.9.1 The steps used in the analysis process

We followed a series of steps to make our analysis. It started first with the manipulation of variables (dependent Variable and Independent Variable). However, according to Nsamenang (2005), the dependent variable is that variable that the researcher observes and measures on the belief that it is the outcome of the experimental condition or manipulation. In this research, therefore, the dependent variable is small holder's plantations. On the other hand, an independent variable consists of the manipulated variable that the student researcher will manipulate to obtain his results. The independent variable in this research was, therefore, indigenous people's food security system.

Secondly, all the data we got from the field in the form of a record were directly transcript and stored in soft forms (in a computer). We read through the fieldwork notes, transcribed documents, and other information obtained from the field. All recorded interviews were transcribed directly into the computer, we read through the field's notes, transcripts, site documents, and other information obtained in the field. Becoming used to the data, marking, or coding that was based on connections, similarities, contrastive points, and points that stood out uniquely. We proceeded by searching for emerging themes and looking

for local categories techniques of collection and applied to see if a point or explanation holds across.

This data helped us to proceed into our work properly, so the next step was then to data making or coding which was based on bringing out the similarities, converging points, diverging points, and unique points together. Moreover, we proceeded to search for emerging themes and looked for the local categories of meaning. Finally, there was the triangulation of data which was done across the various techniques applied in the process of our data collection. This was to affirm if the explanations were true.

0.10. Data interpretation

This section concerns statements regarding the generalities of research findings. According to Widlocher (1986) cited by Andoseh (2015), interpretation is conferred to bring out a meaning of a given phenomenon. In this sense, it could be gotten through acts of wordings and it is transformed into intentional actions. Therefore, interpretation is the reasoning of data and giving them concentrated meaning in the context of research using a well-defined theoretical framework. In this section of our work, the research concentrated on interpreting the research's findings we noticed. To do this, we focused on anthropological concepts in the theoretical framework developed for this research; as such data collected from the field was being given meaning.

Our interpretations were based on Anthropological theories and concepts critically developed in our paradigm. Contrary to the analyses which portray the emic or what Mbonji (2005) called *'l'endosemieculturelle'*, interpretation the other way took out of data. He distinguished interpretation from analysis in that, the latter is dependent on the internal meaning (as conceived by the informant) and the former makes sense out of the theoretical framework constructed by the researcher. To him, analysis precedes interpretation to the analysed data, our theoretical framework was used with concepts like contextuality.

0.11. Interest of research

Whether applied or fundamental, every research exercise has its benefits, which could be direct or indirect. It is usually, on either of the disciplines or the scientific field under which it is conducted (theoretical interest) and the area or population concerned (practical interest). Such is the case at this point. The interest of this research was seen in two angles:

0.11.1. Theoretical interest

The scientific world is like an ocean that collects from the surrounding rivers and for the former to be intact; there must be a continuous supply from the latter. So, we are convinced that this piece of work will immensely contribute towards the extension of the frontiers of scientific knowledge in general and Anthropology of Development in particular. This is in the sense that new facts and more information concerning culture and plantation agriculture will now be put at the disposal of upcoming researchers.

0.11.2. Practical interest

This piece of work will serve as a handbook to local administrative authorities in the management of their communities; not leaving out the fact that it will contribute enormously to the preservation of cultural patrimonies which is one of the main objectives of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Also important is the fact that, this thesis will serve as a mirror through which the Centre Region can be visualised by all and sundry, to talk like Laplantine (1995: 76) as he says: *A Partir d une seule coutume, voire d'un seul objet, [...] c'est toute la société qui seprofile.* This piece of work will also help in the contributions to food security in Mbandjock

0.12. Scope/delimitation of research

The delimitation of this research was examined from five (5) angles; geographical, conceptual or thematic, theoretical, time-wise, and methodological scopes.

0.12.1. Geographical delimitation

Geographically, the scope of this work was limited within the administrative boundaries of Mbandjock Centre Region of Cameroon. It involves specifically localities where plantations are established. Therefore, our research took into consideration the historical background, economic, social, political, geographical location, education, and health system of our research area. The sample size was about 131 respondents. That is administrators of the MINADER, owners of emerging plantations in Mbandjock, centre region, workers of those plantations, and the indigenes or locals where the plantations are found. We also choosed participants based on the socio-linguistic characteristic of our research area. Hence data was collected using an interview guide, focus group discussion guide, life history guide, a tape recorder, a camera, and a questionnaire.

0.12.2. Thematic delimitation

This piece of work which was treated from an anthropological perspective fall within the context of Anthropology of Development. With this thematic or conceptual delimitation, the research focused on some aspects of culture influencing small holders' plantations in Mbandjock. That is to say, this work has dwelled on how aspects of culture can affect the emerging plantations as well as serve as a food security system.

0.12.3. Theoretical delimitation

For the theoretical delimitation, we limited the scope to three (3) theories; The *Ethnomethodology* theory of Harold Garfinkel, *Ethno-perspective*, or *Ethnanalysis* of Mbonji Edjenguèlè and the theory of cultural dynamics of Georges Balandier (1971). So, an overview of the above-mentioned theories and the different concepts that we employed in the course of this research will be presented later in the work.

0.12.4 Periodic delimitation

The research is carried out from March 2018 to June 2021. Secondly, this research project is concerned with the period from 1980 till date, when plantation agriculture started regaining stream in Cameroon.

0.12.5 Methodological delimitation

The methodological delimitation of this research will be the cross-sectional research design with the mixed method (triangulation method) and more particularly space triangulation put into operation. However, space triangulation according to Amin, (2005), is collecting data at different places and sites. It attempts to overcome the limitations of studies collected within one environment, culture, or subculture. Behavioural sciences are both culture and subculture-bound. Cross-cultural studies may involve the testing of theories among different people or regions or they may measure differences between populations by using different measuring instruments.

0.12.6 Ethical considerations

In contemporary anthropological studies, all researchers are expected to apply, respect, and follow ethical principles and guidelines when research involves human subjects, (*Commission Internationale de l'Organisation Mondiale pour la Santé*, CIOMS 2002). This

is because other researchers and those reviewing or supervising research would also find such helpful to themselves, to talk like Bailey (1988). This is, therefore, a confirmation of Firth (1991)'s plea on anthropologists to begin to examine themselves; in which case he was talking about ethical considerations in the treatment of sociocultural issues. This is to be done in what he calls *Social Anthropology*. However, all of these have to do with respect for lives, persons, human dignity, beneficence, and justice as Amin confirms by saying: Ethics refers to well-based standards of right and wrong that prescribe what humans ought to do, usually in terms of rights, obligations, benefits to society, fairness, or specific virtues. In everyday life, such standards include those, which impose sensible responsibilities to humans of refraining from rape, stealing, slander, murder, assault, cheating, and fraud. Ethical standards support the virtues of honesty, compassion, and loyalty and include standards relating to rights, such as the right to life, the right to freedom from injury, and the right to privacy (Amin, 2005).

This takes place in four stages in the research process; that is, at the level of the choice of topic, fieldwork, data analysis, interpretation, and report writing. Such has been the case in our instant work. At the level of the choice of topic, all precautionary motives were taken to avoid tumbling on a topic that could harm or put both the society and research participants at risk. To achieve this, exploratory studies were carried out to test the suitability of the instant topic and to find out whether it is a sensitive topic to the scientific world or not. At the level of fieldwork, the methods, techniques, and tools used were carefully chosen and pre-tested during exploratory studies before they were effectively employed in the field. This was in a way to avoid entrenching into research participants' privacy in one way or the other.

While on the field, however, the main instrument that we used to give every informant his/her right was the *Informed Consent Form*, which is in two parts; with the first part dealing with all information that centres on the research work (information sheet) and part two carrying the participants' engagement in the whole exercise (consent certificate). These documents effectively handed to our potential informants, accompanied by verbal explanations after which they fixed convenient dates and places where the various interviews could be conducted. Also important is the fact that our informants were not prejudiced or coerced in any way and the pictures that were taken came after prior consent seeking and notification letter were each deposited at every administrative unit (*conventional and local*) in the research sites before fieldwork officially commences.

As concerns data analysis and interpretation, data will carefully be presented in a manner that could not implicate our research participants and in a way that could not be used to unveil some of the secrets that local institutions in place incarnate. Here, names of persons and places have been replaced with pseudonyms when citing them in *delicate* cases. However, some of them have simply been waved for obvious reasons. Even though we took the outsider's position (etic approach) when giving meaning to our analysed data, to talk like Pike and Harris (1990), we were careful not to fall prey to exaggerating facts; but rather, interpreted them as presented by the *opinion leaders* and publish only pictures that will be authorised by the latter to illustrate the existing situation in the field.

It is, however, worthy to note that the pictures are taken and posted in a way that conceals the identity of the concerned (victims); a situation that guarantees the protection of their privacy. At the level of report writing, practically the same precautions that was taken during data analysis and interpretation was observed. Here, attention was focused only on the salient issues incarnated by the research topic; hence, dissociating ourselves from unnecessary and cheap polemics. All of these was to be in a way to be in harmony with the communities under research and the scientific world. However, our young and hard-earned scientific spirit was jealously preserved, to talk like Bachelard 1980. No party is it research participants, conventional and local administrative authorities in the communities under research or the University of Yaoundé 1 administration is, therefore, put at risk by this research project in any way.

0.12.7 Informed consent

It is sampling and obtaining permission from an informant before his or her involvement into research for an interview, FGD, and any other technique that needs informed consent. With this research, informant consent was obtained before researching with them. Our informants were the ones who willingly accepted to give us information after all the conditions needed for answers to questions were read to them.

0.12.8 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is simply the management and the conservation of information collected from the field without causing any destruction to the data. We were going to keep the information they gave us as a secret as it will remain in us and will only serve the purpose of our work and will not be disclosed anywhere. So, our informants were assured before being interviewed or asked to partake in an FGD that any information they give was for our academic research.

0.12.9 Privacy

The privacy of our informants was respected as most of our informants did not like to be interviewed in the presence of others. Whenever we were faced with this situation, a private place was organised for the interview and they were assured that at any time, they could withdraw if they felt otherwise in the course of the research.

0.13. Challenges encountered

Our first challenge faced in this work was getting documents about the culture of the different communities in Mbandjock, Centre Region. Though it was difficult, a few were obtained from the library of the University of Yaoundé 1 and that of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Human Sciences (FALSH) University of Yaoundé I library as well as other libraries we visited. The internet was also consulted as well as some individuals, but enough information was not obtained on this subject. Even from the start, choosing a topic was not easy for us. Besides, exploiting documents on this topic was a great problem for the researcher. Most of them were online documents that were to be purchased before accessing them. This posed a great problem to us given our limited resources as a student.

The second complex predicament faced on the field was at the beginning of our data collection. Informants were unhelpful, suspicious, and skeptical of our presence and intentions. The services of some natives were requested to assure them that we were not spies as we were considered at every given moment in time. It is clear that research of this nature needs pictures to illustrate and give evidence of some practices. Most of the reasons advanced revolved around the fact that the snapshots will disturb the functioning of this practice and also bother their privacy. They permitted us to take a few pictures. We also faced the problem of assembling informants for FGD and interviews. This was because of the various times during which our informants were available for the exercise. It was after some failed appointments that we discovered the ideal time was in the evening because during the day, plantation workers especially the local people were concentrated and busy working. So, our presence on the farm was just for observation as the explanation was given later in the evening after work and Sundays when the farmers do not go to the farm.

Some of our informants could not express themselves either in French or English. They could only speak the native language that we also did not master. According to Awah PK (2017),

Language problems seem to be one of the main challenges for conducting fieldwork in all cultures. This needs to be considered during preparing to start ethnographic fieldwork. This is due mainly because of the cultural differences existing between the two in representing home and other. It is worthy of acknowledging strangeness beyond language and fitting it within the context of home cultures to which we are aliens. Whatever approach a researcher takes, it is important that 'outsiders' feel just as competent and accepted as 'insiders,' and vice versa, in making their contributions on the chosen subject of inquiry. This is because every researcher's insight helps to see the full picture and more clearly too. Without both insiders and outsiders making their perspectives, the narrative will never be completed. We can have a wider view of issues by having a wider variety of voices. Competing groups and individuals may have limited access to reality but the variety of voices that echo the reality will widen the scope of knowledge obtained and reported. Strangeness disappears during fieldwork and the writing of the ethnography resulting from fieldwork.

To mitigate this aspect, we negotiated indigenes that could manipulate the local languages and to an extent English and French that helped us in the interpretation of the local languages.

0.14. Structure of the thesis

Our work is divided into eight Chapters. It starts with preliminary pages, an introduction which is structured from a context, justification, and problem, statement of the problem, research questions, hypotheses, objectives, methodology, limitations, and the problems faced on the field. The chapters are arranged in chronological order, from the history of plantation agriculture in the Centre Region.

Chapter one is titled *ethnography of Mbandjock* which is the background of the area under research. It is this part of our work that helps in the presentation of our research area that is its origin, geographical background, location, population, and relief, fertility of the soil, vegetation, hydrology, and climate.

Chapter two illustrates *the literature review, conceptual and theoretical framework;* that is books, articles, dissertations, and theses on culture and its influence on rice production. Some documents on plantation agriculture in Cameroon and elsewhere.

Chapters three showcase *the ethnography and agents of small holder plantations in Mbandjock* Centre Region. This chapter brings out the stakeholders involved in small holder farming in Mbandjock and the different ways in which they intervene including the local chiefs and the local population socio-cultural elements that go alongside small holder's plantations agriculture and its effect on the plantations as well as the people of our research area.

Chapter four is *organisation of small holder plantations schemes*. This chapter outlines the organisation of small holder plantations schemes in Mbandjock in relations to farm ownership, type of crops cultivated, farm sizes, farming systems, categories and spiritual organizations.

Chapter five treats *local cultures and small holder plantations*. In this chapter, we examined local cultures that play a role in small holder plantations. These local cultures here are the land tenure systems for acquiring farm land, traditional techniques used in farming, the protection and preservation methods base in the belief systems in place and the process of transfer of cultural traits from one generation to another in Mbandjock in the course of farming.

Chapter six shows *small holder plantation agriculture and local food security cultures*. In this chapter, we demonstrate how Smallholder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures in Mbandjock in the production, distribution and consumption process. That is to say, they make food available, accessible, stable and sustainable to the people. This is possible because of the physical environmental conditions of Mbandjock.

Chapter seven treats *the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation*. This chapter will bring out the positive or negative impacts of culture on plantation agriculture and in the same light the influence of plantation agriculture on the culture of the people of our research area.

Finally, chapter eight illustrates *small holder plantations and socio-cultural order*. This chapter illustrates how Smallholder plantations influence the socio-cultural order in Mbandjock in four ways. Social order with changes in life styles and community values. Political order where the strong and weak are in conflict for land for cultivation and grazing, cultural domination and conflict between clans. The economic order where the rich impose

on the economic life of the people and finally the spiritual order show case by the traditional and religious authorities.

The chapter ends with a general conclusion. After the conclusion, we have the bibliography, followed by appendices and index.

Conclusion

To sum up this general introduction, we gave the context of the research as plantation an age-old activity introduced by Europeans in many areas of the world has been evolving. Plantation first became a noteworthy agricultural system in parts of the Americas, in about 1550. Plantation agriculture was introduced in Africa by European powers during the period of colonisation. Reasons for the choice of the present research topic are justified by the fact that there has been a lot of debate on how smallholder plantations affect the culture of communities where they are established. Very little has so far been written on small holders plantations in Cameroon; left alone the place that culture reserves to them in the Centre Region of Cameroon. The researcher then decided to plunge into the topic to keep posterity and partly contribute towards Cameroon ambition of becoming an emerging nation in 2035. The research problem elaborated that, with all efforts at the international and national levels, agriculture most importantly small holder plantations are supposed to grow from might to might so as to contribute to social and cultural life. Instead, in Mbandjock, we still have low levels of output which affects the social and cultural life of the people. This took us to the main research question; what is the place of small holder plantations agriculture in the social and cultural life in Mbandjock? To the question, a tentative answer was given which is; Small holder plantation agriculture has modified the social and cultural life of the Mbandjock people. Their eating habits is being shifted from their traditional meals to the consumption of many other crops that do not have origin in the Centre Region. The main objective was then to determine the place of small holder plantations agriculture in the social and cultural life in Mbandjock. The researcher used the qualitative research method with empirical data obtained from a variety of sources. Geographically, the scope of work was limited to Mbandjock Centre Region of Cameroon and is treated from the context of Anthropology of Development. The scope was limited to three (3) theories; *Ethnomethodology* theory of Harold Garfinkel, Ethno-perspective, of Mbonji Edjenguèlè, and the theory of cultural dynamics of Georges Balandier (1971). The research was carried out from March 2018 to June 2021. As of ethical consideration, Informed Consent Form were used which is in two

parts; with the first part dealing with all information that centre on the research work and part two carrying the participants' engagement in the whole exercise (consent certificate). Difficulties faced in this work was getting documents about the culture of the different communities in Mbandjock, Centre Region and the suspicious, and skepticism of our informants. The work is divided into eight Chapters. The first chapter is on the ethnography of Mbandjock.

CHAPTER 1

ETHNOGRAPHY OF MBANDJOCK

This chapter presents the general background of the research area, Mbandjock, Upper Sanaga Division, Centre Region of Cameroon. It discribes the geographical, historical, and socio-economic context of Mbandjock. In this chapter, the physical conditions like location and topographical configuration, human, economic backgrounds and ethnic composition are presented

1.1 Geographical background

Geographically, the setup of our studied area is articulated into; location of the study area, population, relief, soils, fertility of the soil, vegetation, hydrology and climate of Mbandjock.

1.1.1 Location

Mbandjock is the headquarters of the Mbandjock sub-division amongst the seven subdivisions that make up the Upper Sanaga Division of the Center Region of Cameroon. Administratively, Mbandjock is bounded in the North by Nkoteng, in the South by the Batchenga, in the East by the municipality of Lembé Yézoum and Edzandouan, and in the West by the municipality of Ntui. The population is spread over 03 groups and 09 villages. The groupings are constituted as follows: Ndjore with villages (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, Ndjore I and Ndjore II), Ndo with villages (Biboto and Ndo), Mekomba with villages (Mendouga and Mekomba), Geographically Mbandjock lies approximately between latitude 4.44' N and 11.90' E of the equator and longitude 11.54' E and 11.61' E. It is located some 78Km (48 Miles) away from Yaoundé town on the Yaoundé – Nanga Eboko highway.

The topographic landscape is low-lying with an average altitude of 600 to 700m hills above sea level dotted with some. The low-lying nature of the area is drained by numerous rivers and streams that account for the existence of wetlands. These rivers and streams take their rise from the surrounding highlands such as rivers; Mekono, Mengolo, Doua, Nga, Foussen, Assamba, Aya'a, Nvini-Ngono, Nya then flow downwards across the Sub-division and empty their waters in the River Sanaga. The climatic condition of this area is of great importance for small holders' plantations. The sugarcane plantations of SOSUCAM (a subsidiary of Somdiaa) are located east of Mbandjock.

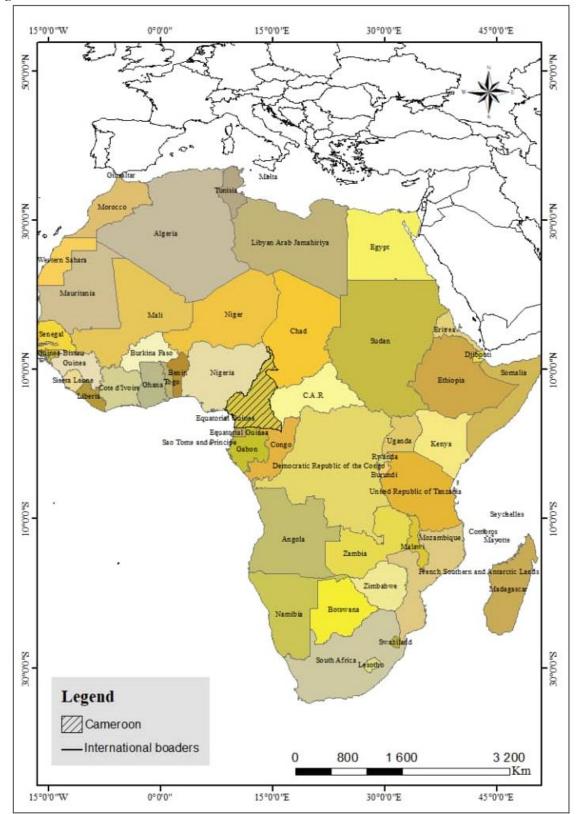


Figure 1: Localization of Cameroon in Africa

Source: National Institut of Cartography (2021)

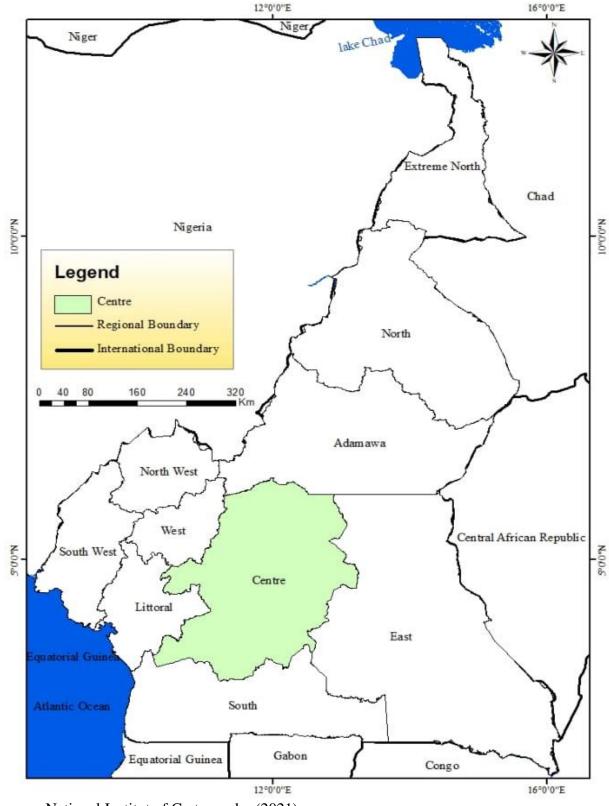


Figure 2: Localization of the Centre region in Cameroon

Source: National Institut of Cartography (2021)

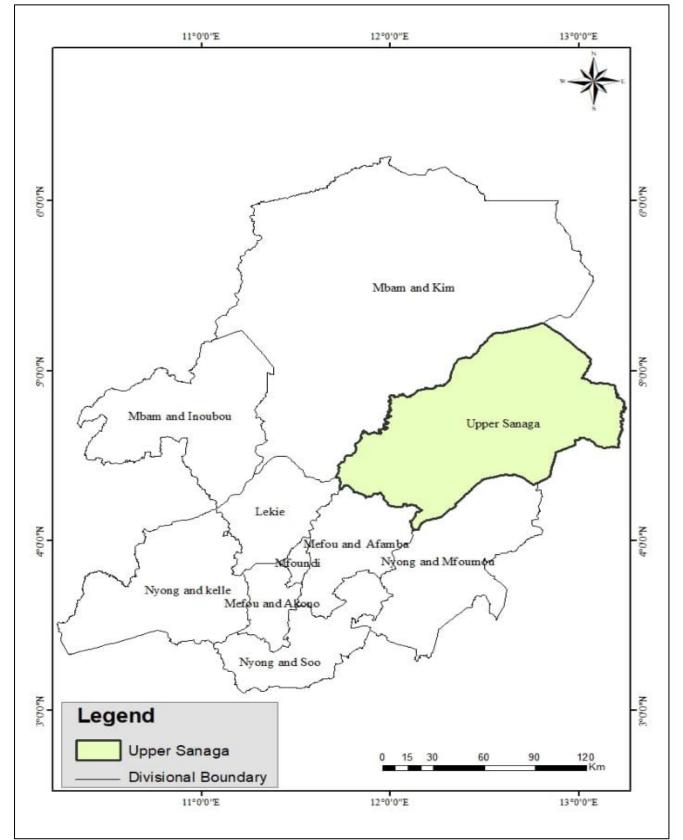


Figure 3: Localization of the Upper Sanaga division in the Centre Region

Source: National Institut of Cartography (2021)

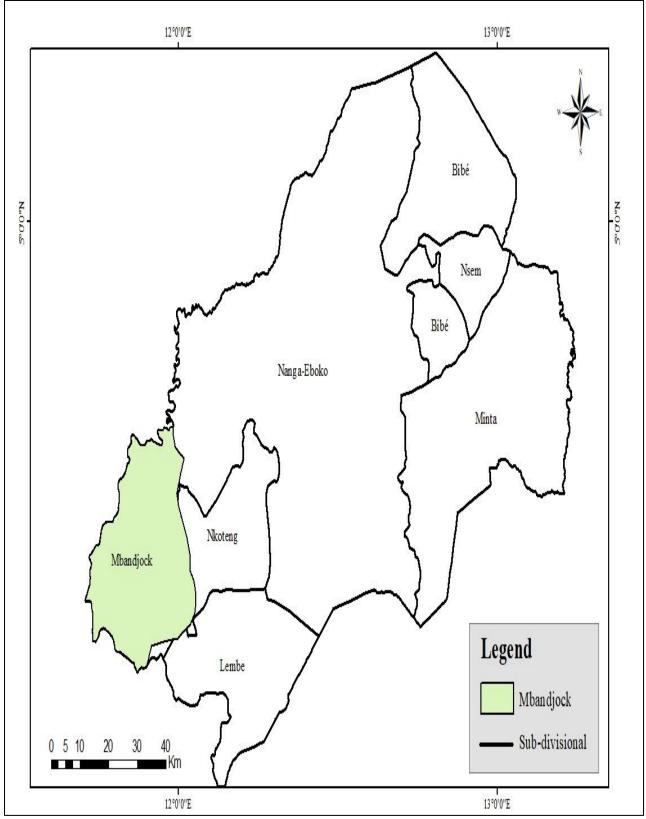


Figure 4: Localization of Mbandjock sub division in the Upper Sanaga Division

Source: National Institut of Cartography (2021)

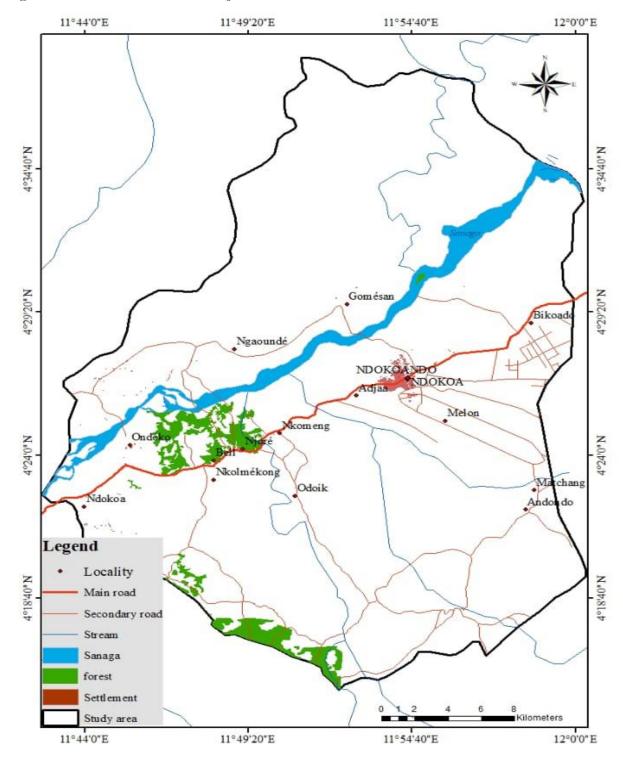


Figure 5: Localization of Mbandjock Sub Division

Source: National Institut of Cartography (2021)

1.1.2. Population

According to the 2005 census, the municipality had 21076 inhabitants1, including 18771 for the town of Mbandjock. In progression, Plan Communal De Developpement (PCD)

(2013), the population of the municipality is estimated at 30,887 inhabitants, that is 34 inhabitants / km2 divided in a scattered way with islands of groupings on both sides of the district. However, the population of Mbandjock is roughly characterised as follows; from 1 to 25 years 32%, 26 to 45 years stands for 30%, 46 to 65 stands for 20%, and from 66 to infinity stands for 18% of the total population of Mbandjock. Amongst the total population of Mbandjock, about 70% of the population is involved in agriculture whereas an estimated 30% are involved in other activities like pottery, weaving, wood carving, trading, construction, and carpentry.

From the Plan Communal De Developpement (PCD) (2013), the population of Mekomba, in general, is estimated to be about 30,887 inhabitants on a surface area of about 889km². This gives an estimated average density of 23.70 persons per km². When compared to the 2005 population of Mbandjock which stood up at 21076 inhabitants and indicate a rapid population growth of about 58.2% in this area. In the city centre of Mbandjock, there are foreigners who are led by their community leaders. They include the Badja, the Mvelé, the Toupouris, the Guisga, the Mazga, the Moufous, the Kara, the Massa, the Mousgoum (Montagnards), the Bassa, the Ewondo, the Sanaga, Nanga, Etong, Manguissa, Banens, Baya, Bafia, Bamileke and a vast Anglophone Cameroon community. Some foreigners come to furnish this mosaic. We can mention Ivoirians, French, Mauritanians, Senegalese, and others. The National Institute of Statistics (2005), the population segmented into male and female were, Male 10956, with 52% and Female 10120 with 48% distributed in both in the rural and urban area as follows; Rural 2305, urban 18771, 89%.

Village	Number of men	Number of men	Youths less than 15 years	Children less than 05 years	Total population
Biboto	120	400	125	175	175
Ndjore	468	689	702	442	442
Ndo	575	753	367	305	305
Urban area	5210	9558	4117	3062	3062
Mendouga	60	73	193	74	74
Mekomba	201	449	163	187	187
Minkouma	75	85	60	30	30
Ndokoa	80	120	128	72	72
Doua	493	726	397	153	153
Total	7282	12853	6252	4428	4428

 Table 1: Distribution of the population of the municipality of Mbandjock

Source: Plan Communal De Developpement (PCD) 2013

1.1.3. Altitude

When it comes to altitude, Mbandjock has a varying gradient with the highest point reading 516 m above sea level and the lowest point reading 389 m. Generally speaking, this plain is poised by low altitude which is an obvious reason as to why it is called lowland. This lowland is made up of wetlands in all the four villages that make up the Mbandjock. This low altitude greatly favours the growth of agricultural products as plantain, cocoyams, cassava, yams, peanuts, maize ...), leaching (poultry), crafts (raffia, mat, basket).

The lowest points which consist of the marshes are principally occupied by farms and *raphia*; meanwhile, the dryer parts are mainly occupied by sugarcane plantations. Also, the Sub-division is mostly occupied by hills which are good for grazing and the cultivation of vegetables and fruits such as pineapple, watermelon just to name a few at the foot of the hills and in valleys.

1.1.3. Drainage

The drainage pattern of Mbandjock centres on relief. The steep centre region slopes are characterised by several *talwegs* from which most streams take their rise. According to Mbandjock Delegation of Agriculture (2013), there are several tributaries like Mekono, Mengolo, Doua, Nga, Foussen, Assamba, Aya'a, Nvini-Ngono, Nya, and the mainstream or river Sanaga. These streams have tributaries that remain dry over long periods of the year. They witness peak discharges only during the heavy rainfalls of August and September. These swamps maintain an ever-green vegetation cover due to the abundant moisture.

1.1.4. Soils

The soils in Mbandjock originated from a thick mantle of granitic intrusion over which lies the bedrock forming a good basement for alluvial deposition. In terms of thickness, these soils vary from a few centimeters to over a meter. The soils of the municipality of Mbandjock have distinctive characteristics depending on whether one is in one area or another. According to Plan Communal De Developpement (PCD) (2013), there are four main soil types in the region, which consist of ferralitic soils, swampy soils, loamy - sandy soils, Lateritic soils.

This distribution is, however, patchy and is not uncommon to find different soil types prevailing within the same area. These soils are derived from the weathering and decomposition of rocks in association with a decomposed organic component. The distribution of soil types, therefore, closely follows the distribution of the geologic framework. The composition of the parent material plays a decisive role in the properties of young soils and may exert an influence on the oldest soils. The Lateritic soils are formed from the weathering of basalts which after oxidation results in the formation of a brownish coloured soil type rich in composition and favours agricultural activities.

The soils are highly permeable with top soils made up of black silt loam. The abundant vegetation on the marsh has less decomposed organic matter on the organic soil profile. These soils have a high water retention capacity that is greatly reduced only in the dry season. That is why many crops cultivation succeeds in this area. The soils are rich and productive, and this can be seen from their high yields. The soils are usually very hard during the dry season because of exposure to the sun by farming activities. In the rice fields, the soils are usually very hard due to the trampling effects of the animals which compact the soils.

This is usually when the floodwaters have retreated, and the seasonal hydromorphic soils are left with green vegetation that serves as fodder for grazing animals. Cattle rearing is the practice here given that the soils here favour the growth of pasture and the presence of watercourses like streams and rivers which attract grazers for cattle rearing. These animals before going allowed cow droppings which enrich the soils and make it favourable for crops production.

1.1.5. Climate and precipitation

Mbandjock Delegation of Agriculture (2013) identify that Mbandjock is characterised by a subtropical climate of the Guinean forest (the wet equatorial type) with an average rainfall of about 1450mm fairly distributed throughout the year. She knows four seasons including two dries (one big and one small) and two rainy seasons (one big and one small) which are distributed throughout the year. Firstly, the big rainy season is between mid-August and mid-November is 03 months. This period of the big rainy season is characterised by great rains not by their duration which by the way is very short but by the abundance and intensity of rainfall. Whereas, from mid-June to mid-July (01 months) is the short dry season. Secondly, the period of mid-March to mid-May which is 02 months is the small rainy season. Meanwhile, from Mid-November to mid-March (04 months) is the large (Great) dry season. This season is characterized by a heat wave. However, this climate change is not fixed. Disturbances due to climate change often disrupt this seasonal calendar. Thus, it is frequent that during the great dry season, unexpected rains occur to again give way to heat. Despite the various disturbances observed during the seasons, the climate in the municipality of Mbandjock remains the same type.

Also, concerning the temperature of Mbandjock, the Plan Communal De Developpement (2013) indicated that the temperature of this region often goes up to 23.5°C to 26.5°C and so the average temperature stands at 24.7°C. Moreover, for PCD, sunshine on the other hand goes up to about 5:20 AM in the day with evapotranspiration of 3,8mm by day which is relatively low. The average maximum daily temperature of Mbandjock is 24.7°C. Temperature varies on a daily and monthly basis. The hottest months are December, January, and February; with a maximum average daily temperature going up to 26°C. This period is characterized by bush fires notably on the fields and hill slopes. The coldest months are; June, July, and August with maximum daily temperatures of between 23°C. This period is also favourable for crops and fruits cultivation.

In addition, SOSUCAM Mbandjock (2015), humidity remains high (at times superior to 90%, the rest of the day hygrometry born falling below 70% only during the long dry season). Concerning wind, Mbandjock like most parts of the country is crossed by two air masses; firstly, the South West Monsoon winds which are humid and dominate the western part of the country. They originate from the St Helena anticyclone but are deviated from their initial track after passing across the equator. They assure the transportation of humidity from the ocean and forest of the South towards the North from March to October. Another important air mass that influences the climate of the area in the southeast Trade Winds originating from the Sahara, referred to as the Hamartan Winds. It originates within the Saharan anticyclone and it accounts for the dry nature of this area between December and March, and it is during this period that these conflicts are at their peak. The point where the two air masses meet is referred to as the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The alternate displacement of this Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone is what is responsible for the two main seasons (the dry and rainy season) we have in Cameroon which is divided into four seasons in Mbandjock. All these conditions prevail in Mbandjock thus this are an obvious reason for the rich soil content and great involvement in agricultural activities.

1.1.6. Relief

Information from the Delegation of Agriculture Mbandjock (2013), the relief of the municipality of Mbandjock is highly dependent on the geomorphology of the region. Thus, the community is established on a vast and high pen plain of an average altitude of 600 to 700

m dotted with some hills. The marshy areas present in the villages and the space urban areas are close to the streams that pass through them. There are hills, plateaus, valleys, and plains.

1.1.7. Vegetation, Flora, and Wildlife

Studies in Mbandjock show that the neighbourhood is a plain surrounded by a variety of hills or mountain ranges and some swamps. It has the savannah-forest transition, characterized by savannahs shrubs with a few islands of the forest.

According to the Mbandjock sub-divisional delegation of Forest and Wildlife (2013), savannah is the main constituent of the vegetation cover in the municipality of Mbandjock although it is in sharp decline due to the extension of the city and large plantations. There are also secondary forests, gallery forests, tree forests, and fallows. The vegetation of this zone is highly influenced by the edaphic and climatic factors of the region. It also constitutes a mixture of flooded swamp forest and flooded prairies. The natural vegetation cover, has witnessed profound changes following anthropogenic factors that have prevailed in the region over the years. As we move from East to West in the Sub-division, we see that it is covered by forest. The gallery forest covers the banks of the talwegs and spans across the region. The lower altitudes are dominated by a tree savannah poised by other tree species. The swampy zones of the East and Southeastern region are occupied by large expanses of swamp forest constituted essentially of Hygrophilous vegetation species; dead palms and other trees are dominant in this area. Most upland vegetation is grassland with little signs of primary vegetation. This can be accounted for by bush burning. Still, according to the Mbandjock sub-divisional delegation of Forest and Wildlife (2013), several species are listed here. They include monkeys, hedgehogs, porcupines, rats, several species of birds, reptiles, and for aquatic life a variety of fish.

1.2 Historical background of the people of Mbandjock sub-division

The historical background of Mbandjock will be articulated according to the origin of the people, their historical evolution, and their migratory movements.

1.2.1 The Origin of the people of Mbandjock

This part presents the different historical backgrounds of the villages within Mbandjock subdivision. It involves the historical background of the Mkomba people, the historical background of the Ndo people, and the historical background of the Baboute people in Mbandjock.

1.2.1.1 Historical evolution

According to Melengfe (2005), historically, Cameroonian people can trace their history as far back as the (12th) century with the general movement of all Tikar groups. This was due to some factors which caused them to move both southward and westward and included; tribal wars, disagreements, search for fertile land for cultivation, land disputes, succession problems, and Fulani raids in the Upper Mbam. Three principal ethic groups have moved into Mbandjock subdivision, which is the Baboute, Yezoum, and Yedah. However, there are many settlers in the subdivision since its creation.

1.2.1.2 Historical Background of the Mkomba People

Mkomba is one of the first villages to settle in this area. Hence, it is one of the founding villages of the Mbandjock subdivision. Before the neocolonial period, Mekomba was the headquarters of the highest chiefdom of the Yezoum and Nanga Eboko people. Mekomba with villages (Mendouga and Mekomba), originated from Nkol bot found in the Likie Division. These people migrated from this area because of recurrent inter-tribal wars that were happening there. So, they moved to Njama in the upper Sanaga Division. While there, the population could not all settle there because the population size was more than the land especially as most of the people were farmers and needed farmland for their agricultural activities. These people further migrated to Akom a place where the land will be able to accommodate the total population; unfortunately, the soil of Akom was infertile for their agricultural activities. The people in Akom also had water problems. Rivers and streams were hard to find, and people could move hundreds of kilometers before getting water.

With all the happenings in Akom, the people were forced to moved and look for a land that will be fertile, have animals for hunting, and most especially streams and rivers where they could do farming and have enough water for drinking. That is why they move to Efan Menon which is today known as Mendouga. This ethnic group had a 1st class chiefdom, a 2nd class chiefdom as well as 3rd class chiefdoms. They had a total of 14 villages that were politically, economically, and spiritually strong and were respected and feared by its neighbours.

As time went on after the independence of Cameroon, the spiritual and political power of these people were gradually reduced especially on the 1st of May 1987 into Mekomba and

Medonga by the political power of Cameroon at that time. The Yezoum people had strong cultural and spiritual powers that made them strong both politically and economically. The political power of Cameroon in order to pernitrate these people without resistance hand to divide this ethnic group. Despite the resistance of the people, everything worked according to how the government had planned.

In Mekomba like any other Yezoum villages in Mbandjock, there exist similar political and traditional structures with the Chief having the same attribute as in the other villages. The Chief is the first in command and is seconded by the first notable who act on behalf of the Chief in case of his absence. The village chief is assisted by the chiefs of homier in the management of current activities. When it comes to making important decisions, the chief consults the homier Chief who is the first notable. After the first notable are the notables followed by the quarter heads and their assistance. There also exists the council of notables where women are represented; which is a very powerful secret society and the highest authority of the village and the Chief oversees the activities of the *council* as well as the council checks the activities of the Chief. However, the Mekomba chiefdom has had eight (8) dynasty with the present led by His Majesty Angoula Biyo'o Jean. Whereas, Mendouga since then, has had six chiefs governing them and the current chief is known as HRM Ava Dieudonne. It should be noted that Mekomba and Mendouga used to be one village not up the 1980s that with the administrative reforms in Cameroon the villages were divided into two. That is Ndo and Mendouga. Mendouga has had eight chiefs and is locally known as Nkomkouma. They have nine notables and many of them are women.

1.2.1.3 Historical Background of the Ndo People

The historical background of Ndo is articulated according to the origin of the people, their historical evolution, and their migratory movements. However, Ndo is divided into two villages (Biboto and Ndo). These people migrated from this area because of recurrent intertribal wars that were happening in the 1940s. So, they had to cross the Sanaga River where they originated, and settled in the upper Sanaga where they later dispersed. As a result of this dispersion, the village Ndo was created. The name of this village originated from a nearby stream wish was dominated by a particular fish species which is called *Ndo4* so, as a result of the presence of this fish species in this area, these people decided to call their new-found land Ndo. Since the creation of this village, two chiefs who are from the same family have been over traditional and cultural affairs here in Ndo which are Mr. Meyo and Mr. Nanga Meyo.

1.2.1.4 Historical Background of the Baboute People in Mbandjock

The Baboute people originated from Sudan. Research tells us that, the then king of Sudan lost one of his wives and asked his soldiers to search for his lost wife and could only return if his wife was found. Since his wife was not found, the soldiers and their families moved to other places for fear of being killed by the king upon return without his wife. These people entered Cameroon through the Adamawa region. They also passed through Mbam et Kim where the traditional ruler of Tibati helped the voute people to cross the River Sanaga with the help of a snake to present site Mbandjock. It should be noted that, while the Baboute of Mbandjock were crossing on the snake's back, one of the mistakenly peered the snake. As such, the snake was angry and had to turn and those who were on his back drowned in water and those who were still on the other side of the river remain while those who had already crossed settled in Mbandjock. That is the reasons the Baboute people in the Mbandjock subdivision do not eat snakes which is a symbol of recognition to the snake that helped them to find their newfound land. This is also the reason we find Baboute people on both sides of the Sanaga River. In 1900, all the Baboutés found in this subdivision arrived at Mbandjock and use force expulsion on the Yezoum, who were the first occupants of Mbandjock. Some few years after precisely in 1906, the Tamba and Tagui who were brothers of the same royal family due to succession dispute spreed into Mbandjock, Mbandjock, Nio Baboute, and Doua. Therefore, these four villages originated from a succession dispute between the children of the late HRH Tangui who was the king of Mbandjock. Here, the chef is also known as *Mveng*. However, the following chiefs from the origin of the village have reign in Mbandjock; Nise (tāālā), Njamjine, Viigna du Audi, Zaamba, Mangû, Ndandûngou dit Zogui, Ndandûngou Dina (-à 1917), Garba Dominique (1951-1957), Ousoumanou Dina (1957-1965), Mvenuane Tindati (intérimaire), Mvemba Dina jean (1965-1977), Oudoumanou Dina (1977-1985) and presently Bawa Dina Jean Paul (1985...). After the king, some notables are 9 in number and assist the chief in his daily activities.

Some few years after precisely in 1906, the Tamba and Tagui who were brothers of the same royal family, separately arrived and settled in Mbandjock and lived in peace. However, in 1917, Tamba died and came with a lot of mixed feelings from the population as some people were sad and others happy. Nevertheless, he was succeeded by Nda Ndoungau Dina. This traditional ruler was loved by most of her people as she always sympathised with her subjects. Nda Ndoungau equally died in 1951 and her brother Garba Dina accessed the throne. Her death brought both Sadness and joy to the land. Those who cried to her were her supporters while her distractors and refusal of the reign of a woman were happy.

In 1951 as Garba Dina became ruler, the first Evangelical Mission arrived and settled in Mbandjock. He encouraged them but some of his people resisted accepting Christianity. Nevertheless, there was the conversion of the population to Christianity. In 1957, Garba Dina died, as usual; there was sadness and joy in the community. This was because, the people that did not support Christianity, those whose lands were taken and given to the missionaries were happy while those who were already converted to Christians were sad. He was succeeded to the throne by Ousmanou Dina.

It was during the reign of Ousmanou Dina that the sugar factory SOSUCAM was constructed in 1964. There was then a boom in the population of Mbandjock as all kinds of workers rush into this zone. The city becomes cosmopolitan and the chieftainship loses its traditional character. Because of all of this, Ousmanou Dina abdicated the throne due to health problems and was replaced by Mvamba Dina in 1965. His abdication from the throne was received with mixed feelings. Some people were sad because someone who was seen by his people as the forerunner of development in the community did not only abdicate the throne but was sick as well. Whereas, those who were happy over his abdication were those who's lands were given by the ruler for the construction of SUSOCAM.

The reign of Mvamba Dina came with another great achievement as in 1967, a railway line was constructed that passes through Mbandjock. The coming of the railway line facilitated the transportation of people and goods, increase business, and the influx of people. In addition, Mbandjock was erected to a sub-division in 1968, which brought in many deconcentrated State services to settle there. However, this facilitated access to administrative services for the population. Consequently, in 1976,s Southerners and Far Northerners came into Mbandjock with a majority as labourers and workers in the SUSOCAM plantations and others as civil servants and business people. Hence, there was an ethnic decline in the population. In 1977 Mvamba Dina died and his brother Ousmanou who had earlier abdicated the throne regains power. Many people thought that he was responsible for his brother's dead. Nevertheless, as some people were sad others were happy with reasons being that a ruler they earlier loved had regained power.

Furthermore, in the second reign of Ousmanou Dina, a Government primary school was created in Mbandjock in 1977. This gave the population access to basic education and it helped to stop the movement of the few people that went to primary school from this zone to other areas like Nanga-Eboko and Yaoundé. It equally encouraged some parents who did not have the intensions of sending their children to school to do so. As such, the literacy level increased from almost zero to a level. During his second reign as well, there was the installation of SNEC by 1985 which gave household access to drinking water (pipe-borne water). This went a long way to check cholera and daharia. Still, in 1985 Mbandjock saw the commissioning of a hospital. The population, therefore, had access to local health care. It helped to reduce malaria and other tropical diseases that were present in this area. As time passed, the hard-working, aging, and tiring king Ousmanou died in 1985 and Bawa ascended the throne. Some people were happy as a new and more energetic king or traditional ruler took over while others were sad because they had become used to the former ruler.

Moreover, in 1995, there was the construction of the Africa Distilling Company (ADIC). This created more jobs and pulled a lot of people into Mbandjock, among which was the arrival of foreign workers. In this same year, a Government High School was created in Mbandjock. It provided pupils access to secondary education. It helped to stop the movement of the graduating primary school pupils from going to other areas like Nanga-Eboko and Yaoundé. However, the number of school-going children increased. That is why, in 2005 since most of the youths were a little knowledgeable; there was a mood movement of young people in SOSUCAM. As the young people get into SUSOCAM, they started asking for better representation of young people in SOSUCAM. In 2006 PADC arrived in Mbandjock to do village-level planning.

In addition, in 2008 there was the arrival of the *Programme National de Développement Participatif* (PNDP) known in English as the National Program for Participative Development in the commune and the realisation of the Mbandjock PDC (Plan Communal de Développement) in the English Communal Development Plan. Similarly, in 2010, came the taring of the National Road N ° 01 which eased the movement of people and goods in and out of the zone. Socially, in 2011 the Chantal Biya cup saw its birth in Mbandjock. Since then, the organization of this cup has emulated the youths of Mbandjock. In 2013 there was the return of the PNDP in the municipality for the development of the Mbandjock PCD.

Today, many tribes have come into Mbandjock. These tribes have fully acquired their settlement and are expanding rapidly as they continue to attract settlers from the neighbouring highlands. The populations of these tribes today are a composition of the Babouté and several ethnic groups: the Badja, the Mvelé, the Toupouris, the Guisga, the Mazga, the Moufous, the Kara, the Massa, the Mousgoum (Montagnards), the Bassa, the Ewondo, the Sanaga, Nanga, Etong, Manguissa, Banens, Baya, Bafia, Bamileke and a huge Anglophone community. So, small holders' plantation agriculture accounts a lot for income generation in the ethnic groups of Mbandjock. Therefore, the movements of people into Mbandjock increases as the days go by. Therefore, the village Ndjore, originates from a succession dispute between the children of the late HRH Tangui who was the king of Mbandjock. The founder of the Ndjore village is HRH Mvemba was one of the children of the then Mbandjock ruler and he was a twin. Here, the chief is also known as Mveng. However, the following chiefs from the origin of the village have reigned in Ndjore; HRHs (Mvemba, Odi, Amati, Mvemba Micheal, Bagdama Amati Rene Deguale). HRH Bagdama Amati Rene Deguale passed on to his ancestors in May 2020 pending a new chief to be crowned. After the king, some notables are 9 in number and assist the chief in his daily activities.

1.2.1.5 Migratory movements

Apart from the indigenous people of the Mbandjock subdivision, many settler groups came into Mbandjock. The first arrivals of migrants in the Sanaga Valley date back to 1963, when the State of Cameroon granted by decree a concession of 10,000 hectares of land to the sugar company of Cameroon. It is a public limited company with capital of 1,450 million CFA francs whose main shareholders are: the State of Cameroon through the S.N.I. (36%), the large mills of Paris (45%), the tankers (Shell, 06%) bankers (06%) and other companies with capital. The motives of each other were just as different as evidenced by the differences in the contribution to the company's share capital. (Zoa Zoa 2008)

In 1963, the first wave of 20 migrants composed respectively of 07 Settler Toupouri, 06 Massa, 05 Mousgoum, 04 Moudang, and 03 Guiziga arrive Mbandjock, they were encouraged by the benefits presented to them by the recruiters in SOSUCAM. Their main mission was to maintain the 80 hectares of nurseries or 04 hectares per person; which will make it possible to obtain in 1966, a field of 800 hectares of sugar cane. We can also see on arrival, the recommendation of the Administrator who had already tried to introduce cash

crops to these populations and who reacted fairly well to their physical effort. The divisional officer was particularly involved in the process of displacing populations from the plains. She was the auxiliary of the State of Cameroon and had to ensure the smooth running of events because it was the credibility of the country. It was necessary to ensure that the State of Cameroon did indeed provide the labour required and necessary for the expansion of the company as indicated in the specifications.

In 1964, another wave arrived in the valley composed of a total of 20 distributed respectively in the same way as the first. It is the poor conditions of the communication routes connecting the two sites that explain these arrivals in small numbers, the road is at this time the only means of service existing since the rail was not yet fully operational. The transport was also carried out in small pick-ups with very low load capacities. The wish would have been to carry a very large mass of population at once because the tasks were urgent and required a valid and profitable world. Recruitment was done at the beginning of the rainy seasons and not before. A very long period of idleness would have deviated the migrants from their main objective and would have increased the burden of the community. It is the true spirit of capitalism that was thus experienced in the valley of Mbandjock (Zoa Zoa, 2008).

In 1965, 29 other individuals arrived, who were reinforced by the mass of 270 in 1966, 67. The recruitment of this important wave took place throughout the year including during the dry season and several pick-ups were used for the transport of populations. Cultivation-related tasks such as phytosanitary treatments and weeding were urgent as the actual start-up of the plant was scheduled for 1968. Therefore, sufficient sugar cane resources were needed to turn sugar cane into sugar since to obtain 10 kg of sugar; it takes about 30 tons of raw sugar cane. This increase should be seen in the contribution of the plains populations. The latter is composed of: 81 Toupouri; Massa; 45 Moudang; Guiziga; 39 Mousgoum and 15 mbum. Over the years, the number of recruits will grow more and spread throughout the year. Three main reasons explain this: the industrialists wish to permanently have a working-class of about 500 people on the spot and now for tasks related to the cutting and those of the maintenance. The extension of the rail between Yaoundé and the north is completed and the actual operation.

As background, it should be noted that one of the most striking events in Cameroon since its independence in 1960 is the creation of a set of industries on the national space to

meet some strong objectives namely: the limitation of imports of products from the West and some industries of the AOF3 and AEF by the revival of local production essential for local household use populations. Before, Cameroon imported some 9000 tons of sugar from neighbouring Congo. National spatial planning through the development of industrial zones, establish the basic elements for the creation of wealth both at the state level with the payment of taxes and households. The redeployment on the national space of a population unequally distributed through the organisation of migrations and the constitution of pioneer fronts. It is in this movement of events that the sugar complexes SOSUCAM I that today constitute the Sugar Valley along the Sanaga River north of Yaoundé were created mainly in the town of Mbandjock in 1965 and those of CAMSUCO was created in Nkoteng in 1975. CAMSUCO is also under concession today by SOSUCAM, thus becoming SOSUCAM II since 1999. The presence of this agro-industry helped to stop imports of Congo sugar largely insufficient for the needs. Its main mission was to supply about 15,000 tons of sugar, which producers expect to satisfy the demand of the resident Cameroonian and foreign populations, thus eradicating the deficiencies observed at certain times of the year in the country.

The size of such a project required diverse and considerable resources in terms of quality and quantity that it was very difficult to find all in the locality where the industry is located. Among other things, it was the human resource that is a key factor in any agri-food production unit; unfortunately, it was poorly available in the Mbandjock region, making it a human desert because, according to Clerk (1944) 6, the population density of the region was less than 01 inhabitants /km2.

Yet, it is this space of men that have been chosen to house two sugar complexes of international stature in their sugar production and distribution options. Concerning the importance of this human resource for the functioning of this industry, it was necessary to go recruiting in the more distant regions of the north, economically backward, where populations are very poorly educated at the western school but, heavily populated (100 hab./ km2) in this case in the plains of Logone in Settler, Moundang, Guiziga and Massa countries on the road Maroua -Yagoua via Kaélé. These populations already constituted in 1974 (Lefebvre. 1974) the 2/5 of the four thousand inhabitants present in the city of Mbandjock. In addition, these populations make up the majority (60.7%) of the immigrant workers living in Mbandjock and from northern Cameroon (Tissandier. J, Barbier. J.C, 1977). Their numerical importance, the distance from their region of origin, and above all their strong involvement in social, political, and economic activities, justify our interest in these popules. It is important to

mention the presence of other migrants from neighboring departments such as Lékié, which is also a densely populated area, Mbam, and even southern Cameroon with 36% of individuals. These keep very close links with their zone of origin because of the proximity of this one; unlike the Settler who have almost cut off contact with the original people.

Several recruitment campaigns were organised for hiring, unfortunately, they were dotted with a set of misunderstandings and explanatory deviations between the parties in the presence that some actors of this Cuvee, interviewed in the site of Mbandjock qualify today with hindsight *Forced recruitment*. These misunderstandings are articulated on three levels. First, the terms of reference relating to the living conditions and work of the Settler as soon as they arrived on the company's site were not respected by the recruiters. It was planned, among other things, to allocate plots of land for production purposes. Agriculture, but this was not the case. Then, they become rather agricultural labourers whose hardness of the task has favoured many de-missions of jobs during the first months. Finally, the distance from their region of origin far exceeded the limits of the savannahs that were usually familiar to them, thus cutting them off from any contact with their people. The travel stories of the migrant brothers stealthily returning from this job-offer expedition were such as to dull the enthusiasm of the Settler who still wanted to be recruited. Faced with this situation, recruiters would have used wild methods to obtain this labour force useful and necessary for the development of agribusiness.

The first immigrants from the north arrived in the area in 1964. From 1965 to 1967, their numbers increased and reached around 500 inhabitants. It was in 1969 that the importance of recruiting workers from the north increased, bringing their number to 673 individuals. In 1970, Tissandier and Barbier's studies count an average of 2400 people, half of whom are northerners. This change in number will continue in 1974, with 1360 Northerners who constitute about 58% of the employees of the company since, in addition to the use of trucks, aircraft are also used to transport maneuvers to Mbandjock facilitating and accelerating their migration. The trend of the sharp increase of Settlers in Mbandjock is further accentuated when they brought their families to settle in Mbandjock, thus, stopping the multiple backs and forth linked to the various interruptions of employment contract and succeeding in re-constituting the regrouping of their family.

These populations with strong physical working abilities, however, illiterate will contribute on the one hand, the growth of industry through their physical work; since they provide the largest contingent of agricultural workers, 56.34% (Tissandier, 1977), on the other hand, to repopulate and dynamist an empty spaceman because of their successive arrivals and their strong propensity to procreate. The data collected in the SOSUCAM staff file, those from the birth records consulted at the communal hospital and the SOSUCAM dispensary maternity clinic during field surveys since 1997, show a wide variation between the births of Settler women and those of other women in the city and even the space complex of Mbandjock and its commune. By daily observations in the various residential areas of Settler and Moundang, it appears that the number of children per household is sometimes greater than eight, even in the case of monogamous marriage. During the descents, we observed that they constitute today, in the locality, the majority ethnic group (Zoa Zoa, 2005).

Northerner settlers to the Mbandjock region were not happy. It was in its beginnings very painful even degrading. To this end, several recruitment campaigns were conducted by the Cameroonian authorities and representatives of the Grands Moulins de Paris, majority shareholders of the company. They were respectively Bagdama Amati Rene, one of the sons of the leader of the Ndjoré group, his majesty Amati, Tobie Oyono Ekoman, sub-divisional officer of Mbandjock, and Denis Pisier general manager of SOSUCAM. The first who became chief of staff and head of the group on the death of his father had to reassure the newcomers as to the hospitality they would receive because it is on the lands of his ancestors that would be implanted the factory for which their services are solicited. The second provided the administration's guarantees for security and the possibilities of displaced populations to develop in their new settlement area. The third was to ensure the physical quality of this workforce following the needs and requirements of the company's expansion. These recruitments were also accelerated because of the ease of communication channels namely: the asphalting of the Ngaoundere-Fort Foureau axis, the completion of the Bélabo-Ngaoundéré railway line, and finally the construction of the Mbandjock air terminal for the airway. But the re-creations of this energetically useful and indispensable labor force launched and led to the north for their descent to the south for an implication in the development of agribusiness, resembled catches of cattle.

The working conditions of these migrants reflect the state of subjugation. Indeed, each employee must complete six lines of 100 meters per day to expect profitability bonuses and avoid penalties that reduce wages. This is already in itself very derisory to allow the individual to live decently enough. Young people between the ages of 20 and 35, who were mostly unmarried, caught up in the fields sometimes during weeding or cattle tracking in the

pastures, sometimes in the villages after all attempts at negotiation were futile. It is known from the readings that these northerners have historically initiated the refusal (Martin JY, 1970). They were trapped in trucks like beasts of burden. They are simply witnesses of their social condition, regional inequalities of development, and the highly traditional character of their way of life. To motivate their departure and avoid remorse, they were promised significant money and better tomorrow. But the refusals persisted and dominated. Hence, the government had to recourse violence, physical and military force for their recruitment. These methods might beat the origin today of any detachment and interest of the Northerners with their region of departure observed in the new generation resident to Mbandjock. In this austere environment where only the cotton crop dominates and gives life to his man and where social structures, nevertheless, require the young man to form a primary or extended family, such promises made their effect despite the humiliating conditions of travel and work. It was an opportunity for young people to raise money and pay for livestock and other side effects needed to take a wife and start a family. To fulfill the customary obligations thus mentioned, young people come in with waves in the locality of Mbandjock for jobs in the agro-industry SOSUCAM. Some parents were simply informed of these departures of misfortune without however their opinion is taken into account even less required. The multitude of frequencies of their arrival is related to the type of work contract in force in the company which is six months and to the period of activities that are exercised there namely sowing, cutting, gleaning, etc. These require a permanent renewal of the workers in front of the hardness of the task which exhausts very easily the individual who works there. Reasons these people and other settlers who came in from other regions opted for secondary activities that could better their lives and those of their families. Thus, they started opening farmland since the Mbandjock zone has fertile land for small farming which is today transforming into smallholders' plantations agriculture with many indigenous populations involved.

Forty years later, the Settler, described as illiterate yesterday, experienced a certain evolution. Rendered in the locality for economic needs, they are today finally implanted in Mbandjock. Even though a few still consider them only as simple wage-earners looking for a non-existent nest egg in areas of origin because of the low development of the main cotton crop as a source of income for the populations of their region or aspire to they to something else. Some of them today participate in the daily activities of the people of this region with the status of the former. Most feel fully involved or integrated with the management of local affairs (Zoa Zoa 2005).

1.2.2 Socio-Economic Activities

This part presents the different social as well as economic amenities found within Mbandjock. These involve sectors like education, health, and religious facilities available within this area.

1.2.2.1 Social amenities

Mbandjock is one of the Subdivisions that make up the Upper Sanaga Division of the Centre Region. It is made up of nine villages in two groupings. The groupings are constituted as follows: Ndjore with villages (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, Ndjore I and Ndjore II), Ndo with villages (Biboto and Ndo), and Mekomba with villages (Mendouga and Mekomba), these villages speak a common language. There is a rich and encouraging educational environment with each village having at least a secondary school and a good number of primary schools. In basic education, there are 14 Public primary schools spread over the Urban Centre and Ndjore with 05Public nursery schools in the Urban Centre, Biboto and Ndjore II. There are also 03 Private primary schools all in the Urban Centre and 02 Private kindergartens in the Urban Centre as well. With Secondary education, there is 01 Government Secondary Schools in Ndjore, 03 governments Secondary High Schools all in the Urban Centre and one Private college in Urban Centre.

The coming of the Christian religion by the Western missionaries in Mbandjock was as far back as 1915. A greater number of the populations in this area are Catholics. We also have other denominations like the Protestants, Presbyterians, the Baptists, and several Pentecostal churches. There is also some Muslim faithful found amongst the Christian population of the nine villages that make up this Sub-division. Within this Sub-division, we have a group of people who still believe in ancestral worship, and they are known as the animists. These animists are strongly attached to the worship of natural objects such as trees, stones, clouds, animals, and so on, which they think contain souls or spirits. The last groups are those who do not belong to the animist, the Christian or Muslim societies, known as pagans. The Christians constitute the greatest number, followed by the animists, the Muslims, and lastly the pagans.

In the health sector, there exists one Hospital in Urban Centre, two health centres in Ndjore and Ndo. Each of these health centres has two medical practitioners and many nurses. The rate of child mortality has greatly reduced over the years compared to what was

witnessed in the past, due to the extension of health services at the village level. There are still many health problems faced within these small health posts, for some do not even have a nurse, and drugs are hardly available for the treatment of common illnesses like malaria, stomach disorders, and so on. Some of the villagers still have to cover many kilometers on foot before getting to the hospital. During such journeys, they may die or incur miscarriages for pregnant women. The level of education in this Sub-division makes us understand that a greater part of the population of our area of study is illiterates, this explains why they are adamant to change.

In terms of energy and or electricity, there are two high voltage networks in the Urban Centre, and two medium voltages found in Ndjore and Ndo. Water supply is characterised as follows; 07 drillings what are known in French as *Forages* distributed over Ndjore, Ndo, and Biboto. The wells present in the subdivision are two in number all in Ndo and Pipe borne Water present only in the urban centre.

Concerning the Youth, there is one CMPJ centre, for the employment and professional training there is a SAR/SM all in the urban centre. In the domain of trade and commerce, there are three markets in Mbandjock. Two of these markets are in the urban centre and one in Ndjore with one Slaughterhouse in the urban centre. With the transport network, there is one bus station found in the urban centre and CAMRAIL who has a railway station in Mbandjock. Bike riders are also present in this zone. Social affairs on its part have one social centre in the town. In the domain of agriculture in general, Mbandjock has an agricultural post and one Zoo technical centre which carters for breeding, fishing, and animal husbandry all found in the urban centre.

Furthermore, with public works, there is one bridge located in Ndjoré and two culverts all in Mekomba. One express road, the National No. 1. Mekomba, Mendouga, Ndo and Biboto each have an earth road making a total of four secondary earth roads in Mbandjock. In the perspective of Industries, Mines, and Technological Development, Mbandjock register three industries all in the urban centre. For sports and physical education, there is one big football field that harbours sports of all types and for posts and telecommunications state services; there is a CAMPOST present in Mbandjock centre city.

Finally, State Services are equally represented here with the presence of the Divisional Officer as the highest personality in the subdivision. Also, Public Security is present in Mbandjock as there is a police station headed by a Police Commissioner. The Gendarmerie and six other sub-divisional delegations are present.

Table 2: Main infrastructures of th	e council area
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Sectors	Type of infrastructure	Numbers	Location
Basic education	Public primary schools	14	Urban Center, Ndjore
	Public nursery school	05	Urban Center, Biboto, Ndjore Ii
	Private primary school	03	Urban Center
	Private kindergarten	02	Urban Center
Secondary schools	Secondary schools	01	Ndjore
·	Secondary High schools	03	Urban Center
	Private colledge	01	Urban Center
Energy	High voltage network	02	Urban Center
	Medium voltage	02	Ndjore, Ndo
Water	Drilling	07	Ndjore, Ndo, Biboto
	Well	02	Ndo
	Drilling	07	Ndjore, Ndo, Biboto
	Pipe borne Water supply		Urban Center
Health	Hospital	01	Urban Center
	Health center	02	Ndjore, Ndo
Youth	СМРЈ	01	Urban Center
Employment and Training	SAR / SM	01	Urban Space
Professional			1
Trade	Market	03	Urban Space, Ndjore
	Slaughterhouse	01	Urban Space
Transport network	Bus station	01	Urban Space
	CAMRAIL	01	Urban Space
Public works	Bridges	01	Ndjoré
	Culverts	02	Mekomba
	Asphalt road	01	Crossing The Town (National No. 1)
	Earth road	04	Mekomba, Mendouga, Ndo, Biboto
Industries, Mines and Technological Development	Industries	03	Urban Center
Social Affairs	Social center	01	Urban Center
Agriculture	Agricultural post	01	Urban Center
Breeding, Fishing and Animal Industries	Zoo technical center	01	Urban Center
Sports and Physical Education	Football field	01	Urban Center
Posts and telecommunications	CAMPOST	01	Urban Center
State Services			
State Services	Divisional Officer	01	Urban Center
	Public Security Commissioner	01	Urban Center
	Gendarmerie	01	Urban Center
	Delegations	06	Urban Center

Source : Plan Communal de Développement (PCD) de Mbandjock (2013).

1.2.2.2. Economic activities

The economic activities carried out in Mbandjock are composed of agriculture, livestock and fishing, crafts, trade, industry, banking and financial services, transport network, accommodation; informal activities are not prohibited and prohibited informal activities. The agricultural sector can be distinguished into cash crop and food crop production. The food crops cultivated here are mostly maize, cassava, plantain, cocoyams, yams, peanuts. The main cash crops produced in this area are sugar cane, palm nuts, and cacao. Food crops like maize, beans, yams, potatoes, cassava, plantains, and so on are now gaining prominence in the place of the abandoned cash crop which makes them more of cash than food crops since the farmers depend on them as a means of generating income.

According to the Delegation of agriculture Mbandjock (2013), agro-industry dominates the urban and semi-Urban area of Mbandjock, in this case, SOSUCAM and Kussell S.A, Western Farm, which has extensive plantations and uses modern machinery. They employ a salaried farm labour force recruited mainly from the urban population. However, along with this cash crop, there is still traditional agriculture that is often used only to satisfy the demand for local consumption. It uses rudimentary tools, low yields, and employs unpaid family labour. Its main crops are peanuts, maize, cassava, sugar cane, plantain, and some fruits. There is, however, a large farm in Ndokoa (Western Farm).

Moreover, fishing is the next economic activity that the people of Mbandjock hold under high esteems. The small rivers, streams, and swamps present in these villages of Mbandjock give room for fishing. It is more intensive and common around the river Sanaga. The types of fish that are caught here include tilapia and mudfish which are sold in the neighbouring village markets and even in the cities when they have been smoked. The fishermen in these areas are mostly youths and a handful of adults. This economic activity has greatly improved the livelihood of the inhabitants of this zone. Also, animal rearing is another outstanding economic activity carried out in the whole subdivision. Cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, are the animals most commonly reared in the Sub-division mainly for commercial purposes. Birds like fowls and ducks are also being reared as a means of generating income for the well-being of the family. The fish farming practiced by the populations of the municipality is essentially domestic and traditional; it is based on some speculations: goats, sheep, pigs, with which the poultry is associated, most often in rambling. Besides this rudimentary breeding, modern farms are using a paid and very limited local workforce. More so, craft and pottery work is also being carried out in Mbandjock. The artisans in the town are mostly basket makers, carpenters, hairdressers, shoemakers, watchmakers, and who practice in both neighbourhoods and marketplaces. These workshops and shows outside of their promoters employ temporary staff or a few young apprentices seeking training.

Furthermore, trade and commerce in this area are dominated by the sale of agricultural products (fresh food) in markets, drinks with a SABC dealer (Azimut's), clothing, medicines, and other necessities (soap, sugar, rice, oil, paper, matches, ...) installs and shops constitute the bulk of the commercial activity of the municipality. In the domain of industry, the municipality has benefited from the installation of two major companies namely: SOSUCAM and ADIC which respectively produce sugar and liquor in large quantities for the demand of local, national, and transnational consumption. These enterprises employ a good part of the population, and in the case of the former, provide the municipality and the communities with financial compensation for the land on which its fields and facilities are located. Apart from the above, there is also the presence of the Western Farm which concentrates on plantations. The presence of agricultural activities and industries also encourages banking and financial services. Their activities boil down to collecting savings and transferring money. The institutions that offer them are Regional, Express Union, and CAPCOL which each have only one agency and employ a maximum of four employees each.

In addition, the transport network is a concern and linked to the economic activities of Mbandjock. Inter and intra-urban transport is also very underdeveloped. The service within the town is made possible by the motorcycle-taxi men activity that recruits from the youths' population. Intra-urban transport contributes though in an insignificant proportion, to the reduction of unemployment among men and young people. These commercial bikes, riding interest many youths, with about 500 involved in the sector. People, food stuff, even rice is transported using motto bikes. The income generated is often used to construct houses, pay school fees for their children, and to open other businesses. It is also worthy of note that commercial bike riding was introduced in Mbandjock in the early 2000s. This enables people, especially farmers to transport their crops and students also use it as a means of displacement. It is also used by women who take it to the farm and while returning home, carry firewood which they use in preparing food for their families. The interurban transport is provided by several automobile operators, but only three are identified as travel agencies: *solidarite, National, and Alliance Voyages*. It is accompanied in this interurban service by buses *clando* and individuals who park on the esplanade of the bus station. There is also a railway station

that links this zone to other towns. To conclude, one will be very correct to say that the kind of economic activity carried out in any of these villages is directly linked to their environment and their culture. Besides the above mentioned is accommodation, there are 04 inns: the municipal inn, Petit Paradis, Savana, and Assamba which serve as hotels in the community. Beyond accommodation, they usually offer other services such as bar and catering. This activity facilitates the stay of foreigners and exchanges with the outside.

Finally, apart from the formal activities above are some informal activities that are not prohibited. It is the call-boxers and other fixed and itinerant tradesmen (restorers, second-hand shopkeepers) who rule on the streets or who walk around the town in search of their daily customers. However, some informal activities have been prohibited. These are activities whose practice is prohibited by law and which, despite everything, are exercised by a few people. This is the case of: Sellers of petroleum products (fuels and lubricants) and drug vendors. Their promoters usually set up around the streets for the sale of fuels and lubricants and in the markets for the second category. In the first category, is often grafted motorcycle repair and other gear (saw motor, generator,); for the second, the sale of manufactured products (groceries, perfumes ...) comes most often in supplement.

Most northerner's settler present in Mbandjock are to their first job as an employee, given their very low or no education at this period in the history of our country things have nowadays considerably evolved. The region from which they originated had significant gaps in access to formal education at the time of recruitment. They were not much solicited by the different industries of the place which would require more qualified personnel, before this call of labor launched by SOSUCAM in 1968. Sometimes, they found themselves in isolation in the plantations of Dizangue rubber and Batchenga tobacco. In short, they had a weak tradition of travel before arriving in Mbandjock. They will work with the greatest interest and energy, both for the development and growth of SOSUCAM and for their personal growth. This job is a bonanza that allows some to meet certain social obligations that are a requirement in their areas of departure, especially the resolution of the thorny issue of dowry and economic autonomy. Through the earnings received for emoluments, they will take women just as they will dock to the modern economy. The manifestation of this stowage is reflected in the purchase of transistors, clothing and the construction of larger and modern homes in which, they will now move away from the housing function, very small, designed for singles and grouped in the form of a concentration camp around the plant that was granted to them by the company upon arrival at the site. Grouped in these special camps, these populations reconstruct the landscape of their region of origin of being all together on the same space. Unhappily their professional, mental evolution and the monetary autonomy they now have, will encourage their dissemination in the Mbandjock reception area.

Initially, the Settler held subordinate positions and held low-level positions. They were mostly used for cane seeding, cutting and gleaning. They were busy in these tasks all day long, folding their spine under the sun or the rain according to the seasons. This confinement to the least important tasks and the minimal salary associated with them is mainly the consequence of their low level of education and the lack of qualifications they complain about in comparison with the salary treatment of the people of the South and neighboring areas much more skilled and trained in business management. The proximity of people from other horizons that are surely more advanced and modern in various aspects of their way of life will also influence the behavior of Settler. They now send their children to school to acquire the necessary and indispensable knowledge and skills that make them real human resources useful for wealth creation, changes in the way of life, the attainment of good and who now demand respect from others. The subordinates of yesterday present to the face of the nation, a highly trained and qualified offspring from the country's leading schools and universities. This offspring now occupies the middle management positions within the company although this is still insignificant for Settler migrants. This one claim more, She aspires now to be respected, to obtain more consideration in the locality of Mbandjock and requires to be consulted in the decision making and the management of the local affairs of this zone in which she lives and of which she contributes to the radiation and socio-economic for more than four decades. These demands join those of the "indigenous" populations who are themselves considered as being left behind because very few of them work in agribusiness. Those employed there also occupy posts of workers. A minority migrant population has had the privilege of being at the center of the management of the industry in disregard of the premises and the main suppliers of the physical strength of work, a basic element of this type of activity. However, the two communities thus ignored and humiliated have not yet put together their demands for a common search for solutions. But that will not be long.

Has there been a return of the Settler to their home region of nature, as a result of the satisfaction of their economic and family needs, to make them mere wage earners? Inindustry in the locality of Mbandjock? The tendency to return to the zones of departure is very small according to the investigations which we carried out and certain facts of society which we observed. In fact, the second deputy who died a few weeks ago, expressed the wish to be buried in Mbandjock, "the city where he spent his whole life and put his energy for local, national and global development". The young generation of migrants has very little connection with the Settler of the land of origin according to the testimonies collected here and there during the surveys. They have unfortunately not been educated to return to the "village" by parents whose clear majority is now deceased. This situation is more preoccupying for young people who have no attachment with the parental soil. A part of the history of a people is thus falsified. But for how long will this be? The movements of democratisation through multipartyism are gradually reviving desires to return to "sources". Some political party leaders use regional and even ethnic membership to get elected; this is the case of the MDR (Movement for the Defense of the Republic) which makes a race to Settler in this sense.

But the consultation of the file of the different voting results in this constituency shows rather these migrants express more sympathy for the party to exclude the enthusiasm observed in the early years of democracy in Cameroon.

1.2.3 Culture of the People

Mbandjock is made of three indigenous ethnic groups distributed in 9 villages. That is; the Baboute; the Yehan; the Yezum. The groupings are constituted as follows: Ndjore with village (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, Ndjore I and Ndjore II), Ndo with village (Biboto and Ndo), and Mekomba with village (Mendouga and Mekomba). In the city center of Mbandjock, there are foreigners led by their community leaders. These ethnic groups include: the Badja, the Mvelé, the Toupouris, the Guisga, the Mazga, the Moufous, the Kara, the Massa, the Mousgoum (Montagnards), the Bassa, the Ewondo, the Sanaga, Nanga, Etong, Manguissa, Banens, Baya, Bafia, Bamileke and a huge Anglophone community both from the North west and South west region. Some foreigners come to furnish this mosaic. We can mention: Ivorians, French, Mauritanians, Senegalese and others. All these ethnic groups that make up the Sub-division have similar cultural practices. This can be seen from their dressing habits; traditional meal, traditional dance, political setup and belief system. Other ethnic groupings and foreigners found here each of come along with some of their cultural elements to blend the culture of people living in Mbandjock, in fact Mbandjock is Cameroon in miniature as far as culture is concern. Due to these cultural blending, there were confrontation between Southerners and Far Northers in the Mbandjock urban in 1976. Since then, no other riot involving two or more ethnic groups was recorded in the municipality of Mbandjock. This ethnic plurality is thus deeply diluted in the high level integration so much so that at the observation the municipality of Mbandjock gives a homogeneous look. Consequently, the absence of conflicts (latent or unveiled) would lead to the conclusion that the different ethnic groups of the city coexist in perfect intelligence.

1.2.3.1 Dressing habits

With dressing habit, the people of Mbandjock commonly dress in the same manner; the women mostly tie on loin (*Rapa*) and the men their traditional insignia during cultural festivities. The villages also have a proportion of their population who practice the Islam religion and are identified by their Muslim regalia (Gandura) and the integration of the Mbororos; have equally made us to find "*gandura*" for men and "*rapa*" for women. The Baboute people commonly dress in the same manner; the women mostly in *rapper* and the men their traditional insignia (*gandoura*) during cultural festivities. These villages also have a proportion of their population who practice the Islam religion and are identified by their Muslim regalia *gandura* for men and *rapa* for women. In our village, women wear rapper and the men wear everything due to the modernism but they wore "*gandoura*" in the past.

In this domain, the people of Mekomba commonly dress in the same manner; the women mostly in *Kaba* and the men their traditional insignia (*eudjomba*) during cultural festivities. The villages also have a proportion of their population who practice the Islam religion and are identified by their Muslim regalia *gandura* for men and *rapa* for women.

From origin, the women of Mendouga village generally dressed in "Kaba Ngondo" in their daily activities and most especially during traditional festivals and occasions. They also dressed so during ritual performance like ritual of widowhood. The women folk transmitted their dressing styles to the girl child. Whereas, the men of Mendouga village dressed in *Torges* and this was transmitted to the male folk from one generation to another. With the coming in of many people into this locality there are multiple ways of dressing now. From foundation, the women of Ndo village generally dressed in "Kaba Ngondo" in their daily activities and most especially during traditional festivals and occasions. They also dressed so during ritual performance like ritual of widowhood. The women folk transmitted their dressing styles to the girl child. Whereas, the men dressed in *Torges* and this was transmitted to the male folk from one generation to another. With the coming in of many people into this of widowhood. locality there are multiple ways of dressing now. The dressing habit here has been influenced by modernization. We can find men dressing in trousers, coats, gowns, just to name a few and women *Kaba ngodo*, shirts, t-shirts, etc.

1.2.3.2 Traditional dance

The traditional dances practiced in these villages are *makongo*, *timbere* and *magouja* dance which is a common dance of the Baboute people. The instruments of the dance include drums. It has as dancers' girls and boys as well as women and men still strong to dance. This dance is usually practiced during their annual festival known as ritual of cleaning of the graveyard (*Derne Nyabe*) in December. This is the period where the village makes the evaluation of the year by making projections on the news. The dance is also performed during *Engane* celebration that manifests joy, victory (birth of a child, an elite, etc.). The common traditional dance that is practiced here is *the Koue* which is a kind of Bikutsi dance specific to the Mekomba people. The instruments of the dance include drums and tam Bou. It has as dancers' girls and boys as well as women and men still strong to dance are usually dress with leaves. This dance is usually practiced during their annual festival known as *Mkpass* in December. This is the period where the villages make the balance shit of the year by making projections on the news. The dance is also performed that manifests joy, victory (birth of a child, an elite, etc.)

The common traditional dance here is the *Essani dance*. This dance is usually practice during burial ceremonies. It is done to reconcile and accompany the spirit of the death to the ancestors as well as transform the death to be ancestors if he/sshe is due. The *Inyengue dance* is another dance practice during marriages ceremonies. This dance is a sort of initiation of young stars into marriage hood. Song carrying messages of a good man and women are song. Songs about love and sex are equally song during these ceremonies. *Abok minkouk* is also a dance performed here during festivals, births, celebrations, achievements, etc.

1.2.3.3 Traditional meal

The common traditional dish of the Baboute people in the Mbandjock sub division is *fufu* from cassava and egusi pudding, it is locally called *nang be mekande*. This meal is eaten every time of the year but most especially at the harvesting period of okro and during the fishing period of the year where the natives gather themselves for the fishing. Crops cultivated here are mostly tubers like; cassava, groundnuts, potatoes and cereals like maize and vegetables like okro. It is accompanied by sweet potato. This meal is often eaten during

major ceremonies like festivals or cultural manifestations, annual celebrations, rituals, birth and death celebrations as well as traditional marriages ceremonies. With the advent of cultural plurarism present in this village, other meals like rice, beans, cocoyam, *corn fufu* and vegetable and fish or meat and potatoes, ndole, eru, etc are equally consumed here.

The common traditional dish of the Mekomba people is the *mvipla'a* which is groundnut paste dish made of smoked meat wrapped in banana leaves. It is accompanied by sweet potato. This meal is often eaten during major ceremonies like festivals or cultural manifestations, annual celebrations, rituals, birth and death celebrations as well as traditional marriages ceremonies. Traditionally, this dish is usually prepared by elderly women because they master the ingredients and spiritual part of the meal. With the advent of cultural pluralism present in this village, other meals like rice, beans, cocoyam, *corn fufu* and vegetable and fish or meat and potatoes, ndole, eru, etc are equally consumed here.

The common traditional dish of the Mendouga people is the *mboal* which is cooked with fish. It is accompanied by cassava, sweet potato at times plantain. The traditional meal is eaten generally in all the seasons of the year but more particularly in the dry season (January) when the rivers and streams have dried up giving room for intensive local fishing. Also, this meal is often eaten during major ceremonies like festivals or cultural manifestations, annual celebrations, rituals, birth and death celebrations as well as traditional marriages ceremonies.

The common traditional dish of the Ndo people is the *Minkong* which is cooked with fish. It is accompanied by cassava, sweet potato at times plantain. The traditional meal is eaten generally in all the seasons of the year but more particularly in the raining season (July). This is because, during this month, the village is naturally blessed with the production of these mollusks when the rivers and streams are full to the brim and flow into bushes giving room for intensive production of mollusk that do well in wet environments. Also, this meal is often eaten during major ceremonies like festivals or cultural manifestations, annual celebrations, rituals, birth and death celebrations as well as traditional marriages ceremonies.

1.2.3.4 Political set up in Nio Baboute and Doua

In the Baboute villages in Mbandjock sub division; Mbandjock, Ndjore, Nio Baboute and Doua, there exist the similar political traditional structures with the Chief having the same attribute like in the other four villages. The chief, who is called in Baboute as *Mveng*, controls the village and has supremacy over his people. After the king, notables who are 9 in number follow. It should be noted that there are women as well as men in the council of notables. The Chief is seconded by Notables who act on behalf of the Chief in case of his absence in their respective order. After the sub chief are the notables followed by the quarter heads. The village chief is assisted by the chiefs of homier in the management of current activities. When it comes to taking important decisions, the chief consults the homier Chief who is the first notable. After the first notable are the notables followed by the quarter heads and their assistance. There also exists, the council of notables where women are represented; which is a very powerful secret society and the highest authority of the village, the Chief oversees the activities of the council, as well as, the council checks the activities of the Chief.

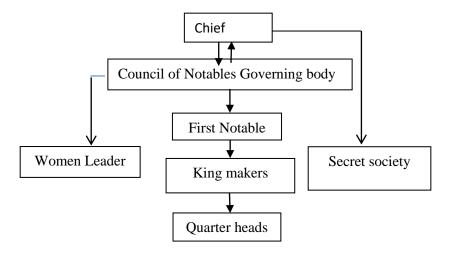


Diagram 1: Political set up of the Baboute villages in Mbandjock sub division

Source: Bonuh che, (2020)

In Mekomba like any other Yezoum villages in Mbandjock, there exist the similar political and traditional structures with the Chief having the same attribute like in the other villages. The Chief is the first in command and is seconded by the first notable who act on behalf of the Chief in case of his absence. The village chief is assisted by the chiefs of homier in the management of current activities. When it comes to taking important decisions the chief consult the homier Chief who is the first notable. After the first notable are the notables followed by the quarter heads. There also exists the council of notables where the women are represented which is a very powerful secret society which is the highest authority of the village. Mekomba village for over the years had eight dynasties with the presence lead by Chief Angoula Biyo'o jean.

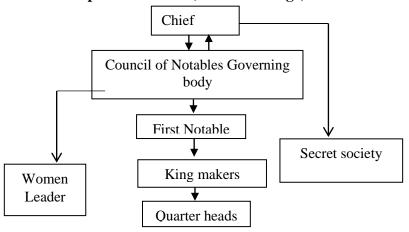


Diagram 2: Political set up of Mekomba (Yezoum village)

Source: Bonuh che (2020)

1.2.3.5 Belief system

The people of Mbandjock belief in tradition, Christianity, Islam and some are in neither of these. Traditionally, in Mbandjock, they have gods in which they believe in and to whom they depend on for their daily activities.

There is a plethora of religions. But the majority of the population is counted around four major religious groups, the most established and the oldest. They are: Catholics, Muslims, Protestants (Presbyterians, Adventists). Alongside these, evolve other Christian groups such as Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses. Although marginal, these latter groups occupy more and more space formerly reserved for traditional religions. To all these monotheistic cults, the animist cults strongly steeped in manners are closely grafted together. The Baboute villages in Mbandjock subdivision have their gods to whom the offer sacrifices, believe in and know that it protects them and their different activities. They believe that these gods even bless their families with children, agricultural activities especially good harvest and even jobs. They get to their god through their ancestors and usually in December during the Voute *festival*, where there is the general *cleaning of grave yards* called the *Derne Nyabe*. This is also the god that protects the village during war and tribal conflicts. In addition, it equally helps to control evil spirits in the village.

These people have the Voute festival. During this festival, the Baboute people perform the traditional end of year ritual also known as cleaning of the graveyard in Baboute *Derne Nyabe*. The sacrifices and rituals are usually done to obtain blessings and protection from their ancestors, production and reproduction. The protection ranges from the protection of individuals, properties and even crops cultivation. It is also, aimed at cleansing the whole village from all the bad things that might have taken place within the past year and to prepare the village for a new and prosperous year for production and reproduction. These rituals are done annually, that is, every December. It is through this ritual that the people of Mbandjock, Ndjore, Nio Baboute and Doua communicate with their ancestors who in return intercedes for them to their gods. Everyone can take part in the festival of cleaning the grave yard since it unites the people of the land with their ancestors and for assembling them together.

The people of Mekomba belief in tradition, Christianity, Islam and some are in neither of these. Traditionally, in Mekomba, they have gods in which they believe in and to whom they depend on for their daily activities. As their supreme god, they have *Nkokoma* and he has so many servants which they pray to through their ancestors. Their gods intervene to them. During their annual festival in December known as *Mkpass*, they offer sacrifices to their gods through their ancestors. They believe and know that, it protects them and their different activities. These gods bless their families with children, good harvest, jobs, rain for their crops, human and soils fertility, peace and blessing, protecting the village during war and tribal conflicts as well as controls evil spirit in the village. They do this through a number of rituals.

In Mendouga village, the belief system is centred on the messing festival. The *messing* festival is an age old phenomena with the Mendouga people which during this festival, sacrifices are given to our ancestors, intertribal fighting competition are carried out where all the nearby villagers choose the strongest wrestler to represent and fight for the village in the wrestling competition. This festival is most often held in December to end the traditional year and start a new one. During the festival their gods through the ancestors are appease to pardon them for the wrong did of the ending year and asked for blessing for the New Year.

The Ndo people of the Mbandjock subdivision have a number of ritual and festivals they performed either during ceremonies or at the end of year. These rituals and traditional festivals include; *Aoluk ritual* otherwise known as the marriage ceremony is an initiation of young men and women into marriage hood. During this ritual, traditional songs and dances such as *Inyengue, Abok minkouk* and *Esani* which are very attractive and nice to watch are done. Song carrying messages of a good man and women, love and sex, hardworking woman in the farm, good food is song. *Awou ritual* commonly known as burial ceremony is done to either to accompany the death to their final destination or practice to transit the death to ancestors or spirits. When this is done, the bad spirit of the death person will be sent and his/her protection spirit impulses to protect his/her love ones as well as give them strength to work in their farms. This ritual is done in order to protect the left behind family from any evil spirit and to keep them trauma free. Also, *le veuvage* to the Ndo people is considered as a ritual. It has so many traditional obligations such as not to greeting or shaking hands with someone and to sleep on bananas leaves for a period of about six months. The widow or widower is washed with certain herbs and water. This is usually happening during or after the burial ceremony. The participants of these rituals are usually the aged people, the same chosen men (chosen by the ancestors) and the brothers and sisters in-law. They play a fundamental role in these rituals because it is believed that they have the ability to protect the left family from any evil. This makes it necessary to take part in these rituals.

To an extent, the burial ritual is seen as a festival especially if the death person was of age and of good character or behaviour. That way, his spirit will be made ancestor who will always protect and bless them and their activities. Hence, the family left behind will be protected from evil spirits as well as guidance. When death ceremony is considered a festival, it is animated by eating, drinking and traditionally dancing and singing such as Inyengue, Abok minkouk and Esani dances which are very attractive and nice to watch.

The common taboo in this village is the tsoh. The practice of the tsoh here is when an individual and or group of people have sexual intercourse with a family member or offspring. It is forbidden here to have sex with anut of your family member as it will be considered as incest. When it is between parents and children and or children of the same parents, it is called incest of the first order and when it happens with siblings of faraway relationships, it is called incest of the second order. Another instance of the *tsoh* is the practice of witchcraft. Witchcraft is the act of killing someone, giving ill luck to someone, transforming into wind and or animals to destroy the crops of people, blocking the reproduction and production of the people, etc. once you do it or discovered in the process you could be ex communicated.

Settlers from the Northern part of Cameroon present here, also, transported their culture here in Mbandjock as they performed their yearly Cock Festival known in Toupouri as *//Feo Kague//*. The Toupouri people are people with origins from the Mayo Danay and Mayo Kani divisions of the Far North region of Cameroon with ramifications as far as Chad. They consider their self as true warriors, and great farmers recognised throughout the

northern area of Cameroon and beyond. These people have a rich cultural heritage which they are so proud of and take it along to whatever destination they find their self's. This is because as warriors and great farmers, they need the intervention of their gods to be strong both physically and spiritually to carry out their daily activities. These people being one of the settlers in Mbandjock that came in the first place to work in SOSUCAM and CAMSUCO sugar cane plantations have come in with their culture in the various domain. The Toupouri people in Mbandjock and Nkoteng each year in respect of their culture and tradition organised in a rotational way, the Cock festival like the same way it is done in their homeland. In 2017, it was organised in Mbandjock while it was done in Nkoteng in 2018, Mbandjock in 2019 and has not been organised since then because of the CORONA -19 pandemic.

Conclusively, this chapter which deals entirely on the background of our area of study helps us to have a mastery of our area of study. The proceeding chapter will dwell on the literature and theories relating to the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The chapter is divided into three main sections: literature review, theoretical framework, and definition of concepts. The literature is thematically reviewed. The main themes reviewed include: culture, small holder plantations, representation, farmig rituals, food security, food systems and conflicts. Theoretical framework present theories related to this research. These theories later facilitate the interpretation of data. The chapter end the definition of key concepts.

2.1. Literature review

This section presents the different representation and views of small holder plantations, indigenous food security system, food security and insecurity system, social and cultural factors influencing agriculture and historical development of plantations.

2.1.1. Small holder's plantations agriculture

FAO, (2002), The current study applied the definition of small holder farmer as defined by FAO,2002 which defined that smallholder farmers are as those marginal and submarginal farmers' households that own or/and cultivate less than 4.0 hectare of land. It constitutes about 78 per cent of the country's farmers as at agriculture census 1990-91. The small holders owned only 33per cent of the total cultivated land; their contribution to national grain production was nonetheless 41 per cent. Their contribution to household food security and poverty alleviation is thus dis proportionately high-and is increasing.

According to the third Cameroonian household survey (ECAM III), majority of farming households engaged in subsistence farming which is the main source of household income (INS1, 2008). Then, when the output prices are stable, ceteris paribus, any increase in subsistence farming production will raise farm income (Kidane & al., 2006). However, these incomes provide access to other food which they cannot grow cheaply (vegetable oils, milk ...). Thus, farm household food security increase when their subsistence farming production is growing to help to provide other kind food that they do not cultivate themselves. Therefore, subsistence agriculture can play an important role in reducing household vulnerability to food insecurity by improving welfare and reducing the effect of inflation (Baipheti & Jacobs, 2009).

Small holder plantations practised farming both for subsistence and economics purposes. According to Francis Dupuy (2001), we can say that economic anthropology is as old as anthropology itself. Anthropologists have all recognized the importance of the economy and the diversity of economic systems in different societies. However, Economic Anthropology, if it is a disciplinary specialization of anthropology, cannot be confused with economic science, with which it shares neither the methods nor the view of the world. Indeed, it presupposes the adoption of an empirical and inductive approach far removed from the deductivist tradition of economics. We can distinguish three main approaches in Economic Anthropology. Formalists retain Lionel Robbins' definition of economics (study of human behaviour as the relationship between ends and scarce means that have alternative uses). Adopting the conceptions of the market economy and homo economics, this ethnocentric vision invites us to think that there is only one form of economic system, ours, which is realized more or less well depending on the society. The second school of thought, the substantive is in the line of Karl Polanyi and George Dalton. According to this approach, the economy concerns the social forms and structures of the production, distribution and circulation of goods which characterize this society at a given moment in its existence, an approach also adopted by certain currents in economics. Polanyi distinguishes societies where the economy is embedded in society (economic behaviour depending at least in part on traditions, rites, social obligations, etc.) and societies that experience a disembodying of the economy (economic behaviour is largely individualized and dissocialized like homo economics). Returning to Polanyi's typologies, we can consider that in any economy there are three principles of redistribution of the products of human labour: reciprocity, centrality (redistribution by a center) and the market, three principles whose relative importance differs according to the type of company. The first principle, reciprocity, dominates in classless and stateless societies, while redistribution through the center is found especially in state societies. Finally, redistribution by the market characterizes societies where the economic sphere is disembodied from the social. For his part, George Dalton endeavours to distinguish market economies from primitive economies (according to the terms of his time) based on the three parameters highlighted by Polanyi - money, foreign trade and the market - the difference between the two systems being not of degree but of nature. In primitive economies the market, if it exists, is far from being central and concerns only manufactured products, whereas in economies.

2.1.3. Local food system

Anthropology deals with the place of local food system in rural development policies in sub-Saharan Africa from the colonial period to the present day. According Claude Arditi (2013), emphasis is placed on the very secondary role played by anthropologists, including

when they worked for the colonial government, in the development and implementation of policies aimed at developing agriculture and animal husbandry. He demonstrates show how and why since the colonial period agricultural practices (cultivation methods, ploughing implements, etc.) and pastoral practices have been misunderstood and have been the subject of demeaning judgments. The slow emergence of an anthropology of development that sets itself the task of considering developers and developed simultaneously is then analysed in France and in the Anglo-Saxon world. The author in a chapter entitled Irrigated rice farming in northern Cameroon or how to make others happy in spite of himself then shares his experience, emphasizing the unproductive misunderstandings personal between anthropologists and developers. A conclusion, intended to be resolutely optimistic, envisages new possibilities of collaboration between human sciences and hard disciplines. This article discusses the place of anthropology in rural development policies in sub-Saharan Africa from the colonial period to the present days. Emphasis is placed on the very minor role played by the anthropologists, even when they worked for the colonial Government in working out and implementing policies to develop agriculture and livestock. It shows how and why since the colonial period agricultural practices (tillage, ploughing implements, etc.) and pastoral ones (cattle fetishism) have been misunderstood and the subject of depreciating judgments. The slow emergence of a development anthropology making it its aim to consider simultaneously developers and developed people is then analysed in France and in the Anglo-Saxon world. Afterwards, the author in a chapter entitled irrigated rice in the North of Cameroon or how to make the others happy in spite of themselves develops his personal experience with an emphasis on unproductive misunderstandings between anthropologists and developers. A conclusion resolutely meant to be optimistic, plans new possibilities for social and exact sciences to collaborate.

(Lowenthal, 1996; Graham 2000), discusses cultural heritage, authenticity and power. For them, there is a great relation between authenticity and issues of identity in agriculture landscape. These are cultural elements that prominent in societies to animate plantation agriculture from generations to generation that served as a heritage to them. In another regard different from the above, Buller (2000), identifies characteristics of France, Austria and Sweden as agricultural standing heritage producer. He indicated that, there are common traits in these three countries that highlight farmers as cultural maintainers and upholders of rurality. Hojring (2000) from another dimension postulated that, college students' perceptions of landscape is mostly an open one and almost industrial agricultural landscape as opposed to a more closed diverse landscape with hedges and patches of wood. For him, students see agricultural landscape as a heritage. In a similar view, OECD (1999, 2001) affirms that agricultural landscape can broadly be divided into two. That is, views from the *outside* (typically tourism and recreation) and *insiders*' views (farmers and other locals in agricultural areas). For OECD, multi functionality is commonly seen as the production of other values further than food and fibre, comprising collective goods such as cultural landscapes and heritage, biodiversity, recreational opportunities, rural settlements and food security. Their central issue for investigation indicated that, collective goods may be decoupled from agricultural production. Worldwide, a number of national studies have been undertaken for the OECD who analyse and show that there is a link between agricultural production and collective goods (Kwon, 2001; Flaten, 2001; Phan-Huyi and al., 2001; Ronningen, 2001).

From a different perspective, Norwegian studies of multi functionality have been dominated by economists. The preponderance of the studies protect a coupled agricultural system based on the argument that plantation agriculture arises mostly for economical beneficial package for maintaining all functions, they also noted that, although some functions of plantation agriculture examined distinctly may be produced more cheaply by others (Romstad and al., 2000; Vatn, 2001). The official Norwegian dispute at the WTO negotiations is to defend a system of payments coupled to production. Dramstad and al., (2001) agreed by noting that, research related to monitoring the Norwegian cultural landscape provides clear indications of a linear linkage between degree of heterogeneity, number of cultural heritage monuments, and degree of biodiversity.

However, Lowe (2001), indicated that most European studies and documents, however, mainly stress economic, social and environmental aspects of maintaining rural agricultural communities, and not directly the relation to cultural heritage. In other international studies of farmers' attitudes towards small holders plantations conducted by (Buller 2000 and Stenseke, 2001), view that, farmers take pride in tidy, productive and well-farmed landscapes. However, differences do exist based on the public standing of farming. Farmers in more intensively farmed parts of the world with more pollution, food scares etc., can be expected to be less outspoken about their role as caretakers and upholders of cultural values. In a concordant view, Strumse, (1996); Daugstad (2002) explained that, the general picture regarding landscape perception studies from an outside perspective is that modern Norwegian

agricultural landscapes are rated more negatively by the public than those landscapes that are perceived as traditional or old fashioned. There is, however, some research indicating variations across generations.

Prior Norwegian studies (Olsson 1998; Daugstad 2002) have argued for a functional system approach to the maintenance of cultural heritage connected to agriculture. For them, the functional system approach is associated both to rural viability and social processes in agricultural communities, to secure knowledge of resource use and management, sustainability, and authenticity. In line with the above, Potter and Burney (2002) describe the EU-strategy to uphold *a multifunctional European Model of Agriculture*. The arguments behind the European Model are mainly similar to those presented by the Norwegian authorities: Farming in much of the EU has, until recently, been compatible with maintaining environmental goods such as biodiversity. This type of farming is marginal and dependent on direct payments for its upkeep, which implies a need for domestic support policies.

More so, in another position of landscape as a cultural heritage, Setten (2002), indicated that from an insiders' farmers' perspective, the overall picture is that they value the productive and well-farmed landscape, whether it is small scale or large open fields. The well-farmed landscape can be seen as the visual representation of an able and productive farmer. It goes in line with Daugstad (2002) which articulate that, landscape studies of both insiders' and outsiders' views also show regional differences both regarding the state of the agricultural landscape and cultural heritage, as well as attitudes towards preservation and use. In a different view point, International preference studies with (Hoisl 1987; O'Riordan, 1990; Højring and Caspersen, 1999; Kaae and Højring, 2000; Tress and Tress, 2003). Show that, the general public rates modern industrialized agricultural landscapes lowest, and prefer "old fashioned" landscapes and/or landscapes with many "natural elements" such as trees, vegetation and water.

2.1.4. Emergence of plantations in the world

Plantation is an age old activity that European introduced in many areas of the world and as time goes it evolved. Acording to Tiffen and Mortimore (1990), plantation first became a noteworthy agricultural system in parts of the Americas, from about 1550. Between then and 1850 the distinguishing features were the use of slaves, production for export, initial processing on the farm, and a marked difference between the standard of living of the owners or managers, who were usually of European descent, and the workers. The major plantation crops were tobacco, sugar and cotton. These were frontier institutions, established where land was plentiful, and except for sugar in the islands, tending to move west with the settlement frontier as older land lost fertility.

2.1.5. Emergence of small holder plantations in Africa

According to Jean-Perre Olivier de Sardan (1991), one would claim that anthropological studies on village reactions to an irrigation programme, or on conflicts pastoralists/farmers, or on urban crime, can benefit from the same academic consideration than that relating to parenting systems or the cosmogony. But the risk would be to pour into a kind of corporatism whiner of Bullied Sub discipline, surely understandable reaction; legit no doubt, but most likely not very productive. Jean-Perre Olivier de Sardan (1991), postulate that, the processes of social change and development provide anthropology of new objects and ask it new questions. Can contribute to renewing on the one hand the problems not only of anthropology, but through it of the social sciences. In order to understand them, it is necessary to perfect new concepts, to develop new investigation strategies, new methodological devices, very heart of an anthropological approach which remains indispensable for understand: for example, the technique of the privileged informant or the analysis are hardly adapted to understanding the process of change social. And yet qualitative approaches or participant observation seem essential to address these questions... Wishes and assets

Similarly, Hill, (1963); Webster (1963) cited by Tiffen and Mortimore (1990), postulate that, plantations came even later to West Africa, except for those areas under German control before 1914, and Liberia, where American-owned rubber estates date from 1926. A huge expansion in the growing of cocoa began in the 1890s and made Ghana and southern Nigeria the leading producers from about 1910 to the 1950s, through the savings and enterprise of indigenous farmers and traders. Only the final collection for export was in the hands of competing European trading companies.

From a different point of view, Graham and Floering (1984), demonstrated that in 1982, in spite of the reorientation towards native and state-led agriculture, transnational corporations were still present in sub-Saharan Africa, either through plantations that endured nationalisation; Unilever had plantations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Ghana and Nigeria, for instance or by supplying R and D, inputs factories, feasibility studies and management services to state agricultural schemes.

Despite the demonstration of Graham and Floering above, Epale (1985) posits that, dispute for small farms existed among colonial authorities since the earliest days of colonialism and as such, tactics to overpower native small holder cash-crop production were increasingly being hassle-free after independence. At the same time, there was cumulative concern among planners and international development agencies to harness the feasible of small-scale farming. That is why during the 1960s and 70s small farms dominated rural development thinking, following the neo populist turn in economics. So, in 1964, RJM Swynnerton of the CDC visited plantations in Cameroon and acclaimed new models to integrate small holders, including outgrowing. To attest the benefit of small holder farming in the 70s and early 80s, Treville and Watts (1986) described that, Africa witnessed a proliferation of out grower schemes attached to nucleus estates, as a form of *post-plantation production*.

In concordance to the conflict that existed in the evolution of plantation agriculture in Africa, Mabogunje (1989) noted that, white colonist farmers were fascinated to agro-climatic areas appropriate for cash- crop and dairy farming such as French in Côte d'Ivoire; Germans in Cameroon; Italian estate owners in Somalia; and British farmers in Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, external plantations and large farms equally profited from state funding and unfree labour. Some colonial governments assisted Europeans and Afrikaners to create diversified agricultural blocks, mostly in southern African countries such as Namibia and Botswana.

From another angle, Pryor and Chipeta (1990) indicated that during the 1970s when native took over plantations agriculture from colonisers, some countries invested in national plantations. They explained that, Malawi, where small tobacco, tea and sugar *estates* were acquired by Malawians contributed significantly to agricultural GDP. In contrast to the case of Malawi, Tiffen and Mortimore (1990), stated that, in Eastern and Southern Africa, crops such as tea, coffee, and tobacco were initially grown by white settler farmers on large farms or estates. These might be financed either by companies (Brooke Bond and other tea groups) but were perhaps more usually financed by private capital and run as large family farms, rather on the model of the frontier plantation of the Southern United States where hired labour was the norm, but in the early days, various forms of forced labour might also be used. In this part of Africa, it was small holder production that expanded after independence.

Mbilinyi (1991), on his own part, explains the tension and contradictions some countries experienced in colonial state policy that surrounded smallholders and industrialised

plantations between the Africans and the Europeans. This was evocative of the struggle between agro-industrial capital and the landed classes in Europe. In the same direction, Loewenson (1992) indicated that, Portuguese settler farms in Mozambique were small or medium-sized, those in Kenya and South Africa were large and co-existed with corporate plantations. Because of these, tensions and ambiguities clashed between most countries men and colonial state policy within the two sectors. Whereas, according to Widner (1993) who drew inspiration from the research of (Bratton 1977; Hinderink and Sterkenburg 1987), when the white colonists withdrew from most countries, their farms were subdivided or taken over by African elites to continue or established their own farms. Most often they were small holders' farms. This was practice particularly in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria.

In continuation, (Jamal 1993) acknowledged that, plantation agriculture was introduced in Africa by European powers during the period of colonisation. The initial dreams for African colonies were that their development would be based on European plantations producing commodities for export. Since then, numerous plantations struggled and have never been experience an overriding mode of production or land use in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, Daddieh (1994) argues that, some countries invested in national plantations, such as Côte d'Ivoire, aiming for autonomy in oil palm.

In another development of plantation agriculture in Africa, Little and Watts (1994) in accord with (Buch-Hansen and Marcussen 1982; Glover 1984; Clapp 1988; Lele and Agarwal 1989) prominent that, convinced by the efficacy of small farms, foreign investors and donors such as the CDC, USAID and the World Bank became key supporters of schemes that fortified rural development through smallholders while retaining a role for corporate agribusiness to ease their commercialisation. Moreover, O'Laughlin (1995) affirmed by saying that, the result was prevalent nationalisation of plantations, including but not exclusively in communist countries such as Ethiopia, Mozambique and Tanzania. Rutherford (1997) with views from (Cole 1962; Stocking 1983; Mbilinyi 1991) concede that, throughout and after the Second World War, some more blocks were set separately for ex-soldiers and other colonists in Sudan, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

From a different standpoint, Poulton (1998) prominent that, in 1968 the new Ghanaian government established a Cotton Development Board to inspire smallholder production of cotton, which had previously been produced on estates. But Ellis and Biggs (2001) instead show that during the 1960s and 70s a prominence on small farms instigated to dominate rural

development thinking, following the neopopulist turn in economics. Better still Berry (2002) propounded that, in the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberal structural adjustment reforms encouraged the liberalisation of African agriculture, and states lost their monopoly marketing power as parastatals and marketing boards were dismantled. Small holders also lost government sources of credit, extension services and inputs. An opening was created for private enterprise to penetrate African agricultural markets, including through contract farming. Since being nationalised, many plantations had struggled with managerial problems, run-down infrastructure, commodity price decline and the rising labour costs that the TNCs had faced. As their state farms and plantations foundered, indebted governments began actively encouraging foreign investment to increase foreign exchange from cash-crop exports.

Labour has also been changing as far as the evolution of plantation agriculture is concern in Africa. Therefore, Sender and Johnston (2004) in the same direction as (Acland 1971; Jamal 1993) propounded firstly that, the continuing entrance of unionisation and worker legislation in African countries after independence made labour more expensive for corporations. Secondly, their land properties became gradually susceptible to takeover by new African governments with a populist agenda of Africanisation.

Minot and Ngigi (2004) had a different perception of the changing trends of agriculture in the African continent. They made a cross sectional view of both French and English Africa and offered that, from the 1970s onwards Africa's horticulture market expanded, mainly in Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire. Lindholm (2006) in a similar view like (Guenther 1977; Sylvain 2006) noted that, external plantations and large farms equally profited from state funding and unfree labour. Some colonial governments assisted Europeans and Afrikaners to create diversified agricultural blocks, mostly in southern African countries such as Namibia and Botswana. Instead, Carswell (2007) in a different take explained that from the 1920s the Uganda government also decided to focus on commercial peasant farmers rather than plantations.

Concerning farming schemes, Maertens and Swinnen (2007) notify that an alternative farming system was investigated by African states, specifically cooperatives, relocation schemes, large-scale irrigation ventures and mechanised state farms. They managed agriculture through parallel synchronization, often attaining controls through state marketing boards and parastatal processing. In the same light, Kanyinga and al (2008) proceeded by

saying that, during the post-independence era, most of the agricultural land in African belonged to political elite or had links to the new parastatals. In another farming scheme, Kaminski and al (2009) like Brambilla and Porto (2005) advance that in 1990s, Burkina Faso and Zambia both liberalised their cotton industries in turning to private contract farming schemes with inputs and extension services provided by the contractors. For Haki Ardhi (2009), in a similar opinion like those of (ILO 1994; Tiffen and Mortimore 1990; Marini 2001) opinion that, numerous countries denationalised plantations as part of structural adjustment programmes including Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda, whose governments appealed to investors to rehabilitate sugarcane and sisal estates. Still as part of the agricultural schemes in Africa, Neven et al (2009) indicated that, buyers for export and increasingly for domestic retailers chose contract farming as a means to tightly control the provenance and quality of produce.

In a complete diverse outlook, Vermeulen and Cotula (2010) pinpoint that, in the late 1950s and 1960s, once nation states won independence from colonialism, challenges facing external plantations developed. At the same time Daviron (2010) said, as plantations were being transmuted in the immediate post-independence period, there was cumulative concern among planners and international development agencies to harness the probable of small-scale farming. The dispute for small farms had been building among colonial authorities since the earliest days of colonialism. To confirm this, Gibbon (2011), said recent evaluations indicates that plantations and large-scale farming have accounted for an average of 5-7.5% of cultivated land in sub-Saharan Africa over the past century

From a different perspective, Gibbon (2011) with some reflections from Thompson (1941) acknowledge that, plantations were established through sub-Saharan Africa by individual colonists and, progressively, imperial corporations such as Del Monte and Firestone in the early twentieth century. In east and southern Africa, plantations were most widespread in the colonist economies of Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, although plantations were also established in Mozambique (to grow sugar), the Congo basin (rubber), Tanzania (cashew and sisal), Zambia (sugar) and Uganda (cotton).In the same standpoint, Gibbon (2011) noted that, in this region, native commercial farming and trading were already well reputable and plentiful of the pressure to improve plantations came from external companies. Convergently, Gibbon (2011) posits that, strategies suppressing native smallholder cash-crop production were progressively relaxed after independence. That is why he said, in the years following the World War II, agricultural labour markets developed as

forced labour was phased out, and plantations were forced to contest for labourers among themselves and with opposing employers such as South African mines and factories. Some plantations took on a patron client nature in an effort to motivate and retain workers. Therefore, Gibbon (2011) in the same perspectives with Oya (2007) summarises three main pathways along which medium- and large -scale African agriculture industrialized during the 1960s and 70s. There are: (1) establishment of large state farms and schemes, sometimes using nationalised plantations, settler farms and farming blocks; (2) accumulation from below, supported by policies to encourage prosperous, middle-class farmers; and (3) elite capture of pre-existing farms, other arable land and associated state resources. Unfortunately, empirical data on the historical extent of these large-scale and capitalist farms in sub-Saharan Africa is limited. The large -scale farming sectors in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa contracted

In a new perspective, in the late 80s and 90s, some Africans countries started with the privatisation of most corporations in general and plantations in particular. As such, Patnaik and Moyo (2011) write that, many years after independence, neoliberal privatisation came up. For them, the neoliberal privatisation process has been criticised by some observers as a means of re-commodifying public goods and facilitating the renewed takeover of communal resources by political and agribusiness interests which are often considered one and the same. Wherea Oya (2012) gives three reasons for the decline of foreign corporate plantations since 1960. For him, the challenges facing external plantations developed once nation states won independence from colonialism in the late 1950s and 1960s are; Firstly, from the ideas of (Watts 1994; Vermeulen and Cotula 2010) he points out that, the continuing entrance of unionisation and worker legislation made labour more expensive for corporations, Secondly, from the works of (Acland 1971; Jamal 1993; Sender and Johnston 2004) he keen out that, land properties became gradually susceptible to takeover by new African governments with a populist agenda of Africanisation. Thirdly, he demonstrated that, they had inaugurated to make supplementary money up and downstream, away from real production, in areas such as shipping and marketing. Moreover, Prowse (2012) in line with (De Treville and Watts 1986; Simmons 2002) theorise that, Changes were also taking place in the international agro-food regime, including concentration of the industry into powerful retailers with buying arms, growing demand for high-value horticulture crops whose production needs careful oversight, and technical developments in processing, storing and transport. In a more African base approach of the development that has taken place in the agricultural sector in Africa, Jayne

and Sitko (2013) pinpoint that, African farmer have started the development of their own schemes that could answer to their needs and pinpoint Zambia as the number one example.

2.1.5. Cultural influence of small holder's agriculture

Scott, J. (1977), demonstrating keen insights into the behaviour of people in other cultures and a rare ability to generalise soundly from case studies, Scott offers a different perspective on peasant behavior toward smallholder plantations. According to (Jonovic and Messick, 1986; Salamon, 1992) some socio-cultural factors influence agriculture. They prominent that, uncountable small holder farms are able to pass down wealth in the form of knowledge, equipment, land, capital, and credit. These families may also socialise heirs to replicate family tradition and carry on farm legacies. In an adjacent view from that of Silva of factors that influence agriculture, (Jonovic and Messick, 1986; Gasson and Errington 1993) eminent that, part of the development of a farm can also result from taking advantage of a future heir's off-farm work experience, knowledge and skills and can increase the chance of creating a successful farm operation that revitalizes the operation. Silva (1999) differs a little bit in that, she postulated that, the farms are freehold land but often there is neither a legally partitioned plot nor a boundary marked by a formal survey. Boundaries are socially sanctioned boundaries for operational purposes. This latter form of tenure is a serious handicap in using land as collateral and also a problem affecting land transfer. Land tenure in the colonies especially does not help dynamic commercialisation of farm operations.

Also, researchers like (Bennett, 1982; Salamon, 1992; Gasson and Errington, 1993; Lobley and Potter, 2004), have demonstrated that household-level motivations, cultural and social values, and socialization have a primary influence on farm structure, management, and adaptation. They equally found out that, social fulfilment through farming and ranching consistently ranks as a primary motivation to continue ranching despite low profits and development pressure. All farmers must balance economic and non-economic goals, which have historically benefited agriculture and ensured the persistence of family farms and ranches.

Moreover, Mailfert, (2006) propounded that, FG farmers have been found struggling to access capital, land, credit, and information which are all influencing plantation agriculture production each in its own capacity. The National Agricultural Statistics Service (NASS), (2007), differ from the Mailfert in that they instead indicated societal and cultural factors subjective by farmer race and ethnicity that influenced agricultural productivity. According to

them, the increasing ethnic diversity of farmers (Hispanic, Asian, Native American, and African Americans) increases focus on programs such as New Americans New Farmers, reinforce the need to understand how the role of culture influences farm structure and transition. Each ethnic group has unique historical and cultural legacies that influence their goals, motivations, values, access to land, and resources, which, in turn, influence the way each group structures their farms and envision the future.

From a different angle, NASS, (2007) also posit that gender also influence agriculture production, they noted that, farm transition policies and programs need to address the differences between male and female farmers, as women now account for 14% of principal farm operators. For NASS, some these gendered values have been correlated with specific farm structures; including the prevalence of and preference for low-input production, cooperative farm markets, direct marketing, value-adding, and craft development. These differences directly impact current and future farm structure and land management decisions. In a similar point of view that indicate gender and sociocultural factor that influences plantations, (Chiappe and Flora, 1998; Trauger 2008) conducted Surveys of the wider female farm population and found out that, women emphasize not only the environmental and economic benefits of sustainable agriculture, but are also more likely to emphasise the link between agriculture and community sustainability and wellbeing.

Furthermore, Barbieri and Mahoney (2009) found out that age was another factor that influenced agriculture. For them, younger farmers, especially those new to farming, were more entrepreneurial and willing to tolerate risks associated with innovation because they were not restricted by previous investments in traditional farming assets. However, in addition to the high barriers to entry, FG farmers can face great obstacles if they have limited farming skills. Additionally, many new entrants start farming later in life after they acquire the monetary resources needed to purchase land and equipment. At the time of entry, older FG farmers most likely have older children. Developmentally, it can be more difficult to socialize older children into a new way of life. If socialisation is a key process, the question is *will FG farmers be able to socialize their children into agriculture, and what values will they pass on?*

More so, many others authors see generation as a factor that influence agriculture. According to Clark, Munroe, and Mansfield, (2010) view that, multi-generation farmers and first-generation farmers can lead to intense specialisation and overcapitalisation in one specific production system which can make adaptation to new production and marketing systems difficult. In accordance with the above, Inwood and Sharp (2012) illustrious that, multi-generation farmers (MG) and first-generation farmers (FG): farmers who do not come from a farm family; the term FG is distinct from *Beginning Farmer* which is defined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) as an individual farming 10 years or less are two sub-groups of farmers that embody different motivations for farming. On the surface, MG and FG farmers demonstrate similar economic motivations for achieving and maintaining a livelihood. Nevertheless, each group embodies a distinct set of economic and non-economic values that sunderlay the strategies MG and FG farmers use to structure their farm operations. Differences in goals can have nuanced, but profound, effects on the socialisation of future heirs to farm life and the investments made to accommodate the next generation.

From a total different view point Sisira Pinnawala (2014), pointed out that, there are conditions and forces of both the physical world and the social world within which agricultural operations take place. On the part of the natural world, there are variable and uncertain forces such as weather (rains, floods and draughts) and more static conditions such as ecology and environment (climate, soil etc.). On the part of the social world there is a whole host of socio-cultural relations and the behaviour and attitudes of different operators of which farmer is the main component. For them, there are two core components social factors influencing agriculture productivity in Sri Lanka, namely, the farm and the farmer. The farm is not just a piece of land with crops but an organized set of relationships and operations centred around a piece of land set out for certain agricultural activity aiming at a certain production. Productivity becomes part of this as a determinant of the level of production. Farmer on the other hand is the operator who works within these set of relationships to achieve the objectives of the given farm activity, namely, production of a given crop. As part of achieving production objectives productivity also becomes part of farmer's operations.

More so, Sisira .P, and Herath .H. A, (2014), indicated land tenure as a social factor influencing agriculture productivity in Sri Lanka. For them, there are two types: in the dry zone settlement schemes, under both the Mahaweli Scheme and in the old Colony Settlements, there is a tenure type that prevents commercial transfer of land. Agricultural operators in the new settlements do not own their land as freehold and are prohibited from transferring their land to another party. This tenure type has been introduced to prevent land fragmentation but it has not succeeded in preventing land being either transferred or subdivided through informal deals. The second type of land tenure characterising the farms is the one found in dry zone *purana* villages and in the villages in the rest of the country.

According to Maclean, U (1977), sumptuous rituals are performed with the first harvest; the Greeks celebration was known as "festival of flowers" and was celebrated in March, coinciding with the spring equinox. The First Fruits festivals are celebrated in January by Saharan African tribes. Thesmorphoria, the Greek festival revolved around the goddess of agriculture Demeter, to celebrate the reunion between Demeter and her daughter Persephone, this celebrated the revival of the growing season. Usually, shamans or priests oversee the complex process of rituals, the hierarchies were quite rigid. Among the Kayan people of Borneo only the priests guide the elaborate rituals, information is passed on orally. Within any ritual shamans and priests are given profound status, they have an abundance of knowledge and can perform seeming miracles. Daoist priests underwent gruelling training, giving them the unique ability to understand meteorological conditions and to know when weather conditions were favourable for rain rituals. Most rituals have at their core a feminine bent as female deities are associated with birth, fertility and nurturing.

2.1.6. Food security and insecurity system

In this portion, our literature will illustrate food security influenced mainly by variables such as climates, political instability, poverty, low productivity, lack of infrastructure and currently commercial activities done by small holder farmers. Food insecurity observed in sub-Saharan Africa which is widespread chronic food insecurity and the agricultural exports contribution to economic growth in less developed countries.

2.1.6.1. Food security

Food security is the access of all people at all times to enough food for an active health life (World Bank, 1986). Furthermore, food security is defined as ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food that they need (FAO, 1983). This new concept included securing access by vulnerable people to available supplies; consequently, attention was called to the balance between demand and supply side of food security equation (FAO, 1983).

In another perspective, food security is achieved at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO 1996). Food security has been in the public eye for many decades. The example provided by Tannehill (1988) of Julius Caesar struggle with the spiralling cost of food subsidies in ancient Rome shows the historic trend of interests in the

evolution thinking of food security. The FAO report indicates that the food security concept started in the 1970's at a global food crisis meeting that was discussing the international food problems. The reduction in the food supply and instability of prices on basic foods led to the World food conference that was held in 1974 (ODI 1997).

From another stand point, Maxwell (2001) characterised the history of thinking about the food security since the 1970's as a progressive conceptual development. Since the mid-1990s, more approaches based on the livelihoods approaches have dominated the discussions of poverty and food insecurity analysis. Since then, there have been more programs initiated to embark on fighting the food insecurity level in the world. Different approaches have been adopted to assess, monitor and map the way forward of food insecurity and vulnerability. A number of models have been developed and adopted by development countries in order to curb the problem of food insecurity. In the case of FAO, for example, they came up with a program of refining the social economic analysis by expanding national food availability to include household and individuals (Devereux 2004).

However, food security can be determined by different components which are related to the definitions provided earlier. Stevens (2000) explains these components of food security as the determining sets of factors. These components are availability, accessibility, utilisation and vulnerability. All the form components conform to the definition of the World Bank (1998) which is the guarantee (availability) of having access (accessibility) to enough food (utilization) at any given time by all people (vulnerability) (Stevens 2000). The southern Africa countries most have a bad climatic condition as reported by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP 2005) and SADC monitoring unit. Furthermore, these poor weather conditions result in low production of Agricultural goods thus affecting food availability and utilization. Whereas, in 2002, FAO defined food security as a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO 2002). "When all people at all times have access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs for a productive and healthy life" is the definition brought by USAID Bureau for Africa (1986). It goes in line with FAO (2002), who said broadly, food security is a flexible concept as reflected in the many attempts at definition in research and policy usage, even a decade ago; there were about 200 definitions in published writing. Therefore, the current study adopted the concept of food security as it has been defined by FAO (2002) since it is built on three pillars which are food availability, access and consumer preference (URT, 2009).

In the African perspective, Mwaniki, (2005) states that the major challenge to food security in Africa is the underdeveloped and underperforming agricultural sector that is characterised by over-reliance on primary agriculture, low fertility soils, ecological degradation, significant food crop loss both preand post-harvest, low levels of education, social and gender inequality, poor health status, cultural insensitivity, natural disasters, minimal value addition and product differentiation and inadequate food shortage of preservation that result in significant commodity price fluctuation. All factors, however, can be related in some fashion to two basic causes: insufficient national food availability and access to food by households and individuals. In the same way, Kidane et al (2006), posit that, the evolution of the problem varied in different parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In seven sub-Saharan African countries (Angola, Chad, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique and Namibia) the proportion of the undernourished substantially decreased, while others have gone through a deterioration process. About 80% of the increase in 18 the proportion of the undernourished is observed in conflict countries, where famine has been widespread.

2.1.6.2. Food insecurity

According to FAO, (2004), the type of food insecurity observed in sub-Saharan Africa is a combination of widespread chronic food insecurity, resulting from continuing or structural poverty, transitory emergency-related food insecurity, which occurs in periods of intensified pressure caused by natural disasters, economic collapse, or conflict.

W.O. Fawole, E. Ilbasmis and B. Ozkan, (2015), in this work examine the increasing food insecurity in Nigeria and the implications on the stability of the country in particular and Africa in general. This study tries to x-ray the food insecurity in Nigeria and Africa in general. This is important in order to alert the stakeholders in the agricultural sector on the implications of the rising food insecurity in the country in recent years. The findings of this study indicate that key food security indicators used for the study such as prevalence of undernourishment, food inadequacy and numbers of undernourished people are on the increase in Nigeria from the year 2009 to 2014 according to the latest survey. The implication of this is that if the trend is not halted as quickly as possible it is a time bomb that may pose grave security risks and danger to the country and African sub-region as a whole being the most populous black nation. In order to prevent this, the immediate causes of the rising food insecurity as pointed out in the study must be identified while appropriate measures such as

consistent policy framework for agriculture, provision of infrastructures, population control through birth control, provision of storage facilities and abolition of trade barriers among others are suggested to solve the food security challenges in Nigeria and by extension other African countries.

In alternative view based on the works of Von Braun et al, (1994), while food availability is still a problem for some countries, the root cause of food insecurity in developing countries today is believed to be the inability of people to gain access to food due to poverty. The study by Mwaniki (2005) supported this view and reported that the root cause of food insecurity in developing countries is the inability of people to gain access to food due to poverty. In support to the above, Bonnard (1999), outline that much of the sub-Saharan African population, particularly in rural areas, experiences some degree of hunger over the rain or "hungry" season, when food stocks dwindle and roads become muddy and impossible. Grain was short during the planting season and the problem was largely attributed to poor allocation of resources and poor rationing (Bonnard, 1999). Migration of male labour was also recognised as a cause of seasonal hunger.

2.1.6.3. Agricultural exports and food security

Dawson (2005) studied the contribution of agricultural exports to economic growth in less developed countries. The author used the two theoretical models in his analysis, the first model based on agricultural production function, including both agricultural and non-agricultural exports as inputs. The second model was dual economy model i.e. agricultural and non-agricultural where each sector was sub divided into exports and no export sector. Fixed and Random effects were estimated in each model using a panel data of sixty-two less developed countries for the period 1974 - 1995. The study provided evidence from less developed countries that supported theory of export led growth. The results of the study highlighted the role of agricultural exports in economic growth. The study suggested that the export promotion policies should be balanced.

From an additional perspective, Aurangzeb (2006) studied the relationship between economic growth and exports in Pakistan based on the analytical framework developed by (Feder, 1983). Auther tested the applicability of the hypothesis that the economic growth increased as exports expanded by using time series from 1973 to 2005. The findings of the study showed that export sector had significantly higher social marginal productivities. Hence the study concluded that an export oriented and outward looking approach was needed for high rates of economic growth in Pakistan. Kwa and Bassoume (2007) examined the linkage

between agricultural exports and sustainable development. The study provided the case studies of different countries that were involved in agricultural exports.

Nadeem (2007) provided the empirical analysis of the dynamic influences of economic reforms and liberalization of trade policy on the performance of agricultural exports in Pakistan. The author examined the effect of both domestic supply side factors and external demand on the performance of agricultural exports. The major finding of the study was that export diversification and trade openness contributed more in agricultural exports side factors performance. The results of the study suggested that agricultural exports performance is more elastic to change in domestic factors.

In a converging way, Sanjuan-Lopez and Dawson (2010) estimated the contribution of agricultural exports to economic growth in developing countries. They estimated the relationship between Gross Domestic Product and agrarian and non-agrarian exports. Panel co integration technique13 was used in analysing the data set of 42 underdeveloped countries. The results of the study indicated that there existed long run relationship and the agriculture export elasticity of GDP was 0.07. The non-agriculture export elasticity of GDP was 0.13. Based on the empirical results, the study suggested that the poor countries should adopt balanced export promotion policies, but the rich countries might attain high economic growth from non-agricultural exports.

2.1.6.4. Achieving food security

Although in Tanzania, food security is influenced mainly by variables such as climates, political instability, poverty, low productivity, lack of infrastructure and currently commercial activities done by small holder farmers. However, from the layman's point of view food security is a personal problem. It can be resolved by either growing the food or buying it (Topson, 1999). If adequate food is grown for the family, this is classified as subsistence farming. If a person wants to buy food, the situation becomes more complex. It means income has to be generated for food purchases. It is known that this income will not come from subsistence farming in the Southern African region as subsistence farmers only create 3% of their income from farm produce (Tapson, 1990).

2.1.6.6. Relationship between food crops commercialisation and food insecurity

Food crops commercialization tends to generate more household income due to its comparative advantage over subsistence production (Kennedy and Cogill 1987; Dorsey 1999). However, unless rural markets are well-integrated and risks are low to influence

household decision behaviour, the shift from subsistence to commercial crop production may have an adverse consequence by exposing households to volatile food market prices and food insecurity. Scott, J. (1977), says economic activities and relationships depend on moral norms and ethical dispositions. All economies can be understood as moral economies, market and non-market, capitalist and non-capitalist, modern and pre-modern, state and state-less, gift and household. First, capitalism is moral because unlike socialism it respects individuals, their rights, and their pursuit of happiness. In fact, capitalism requires this respect for individuals and rights. Therefore, capitalism often is defined as a social system, not an economic system, which protects individual rights.

Moreover, compared to the smaller but more continuous flow of income in the form of cash and food from food production system, higher income from crops commercialisation in lump-sum payments is usually spent within a short time and more on non-food commodities (IRADR, 2012/13). This problem is exacerbated in the absence of wellintegrated financial systems that promote savings from crop commercialisation income.

Considering several earlier studies cited in Randolph (1992) and the literature reviewed in this work, it appears that the most common approach used in measuring the degree of commercialisation at a household level has been using the proportion of sales from the total value of agricultural production (Braun 1994). This is actually the revealed marketing decision of a household, particularly for commodities that are potentially used for sale and home consumption (Randolph 1992). Others use different types of ratios such as marketed outputs or inputs to the total value of agricultural production or total household income (Braun, *et al.*, 1994). Moreover, food security will be measured by quantifying income derived from selling foods crops and the quantity left as 'food reserve' of a household per season. From the numbers, it is easy to estimate whether such income has enabled a household to move out of the poverty levels or not, and whether 'household food reserve' is sufficient for the entire year.

In food crops commercialisation, it is assumed that resources are being diverted from food consumption to market crop production which results in lower food availability from own production and more dependence on local food markets (Immink and Alarcon, 1993). In support of this view, there are studies that witness the adverse effects of smallholder commercialization on nutritional status of households, particularly preschool children. A study by Dewey (1981) in rural Mexico provided evidence that dietary diversity, dietary quality, and nutritional status of preschool children can be negatively associated with lower crop diversity and increased dependence on purchased foods.

Randolph (1992) also found that agricultural commercialisation in Malawi exerted a negative Influence on child nutrition, especially during the nutritional stress seasons. In addition, based on a case study from sugarcane-producing households in the Philippines, Bouis and Haddad (1990) also argued that raising household incomes appears to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for substantially improving pre-schooler nutrition. This is noted due to the fact that higher-income households preferred to spend more of their cash crop income on non-food items.

However, whether the income from commercialisation is directly linked to household food consumption and whether all household members (particularly, women and children) also have equitable access to these gains appears to be an empirical issue. A common debate on the linkage between commercialisation and nutrition is that income from commercial crops is under the control of men (Kennedy and Cogill 1987; Immink and Alarcon 1993; Tinker 1979) and used more for non-food expenditures (Kennedy and Cogill 1987).

2.1.6.7. Conflict among small holder plantations

According to Coser (1956) cited by Dennen, J. M. G. V. D. (2005) defined social conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. It has often been pointed out that hostile stereotypes, prejudice, threat perception, general hostility, and aggression (however conceptualized) are more likely to be the result of conflict than its cause (Bernard, 1951; de Vree, 1982; among others). Conflict is the Clash, competition or mutual interference of opposing or incompatible forces or qualities (as ideas, interest, wills). It goes in line with Berger & Luckman (1966) cited by by Dennen, J. M. G. V. D. (2005) who posit that conflict is a situation of incompatibility of interests, goals, values, needs, expectations, and/or social cosmologies (or ideologies). Ideological conflicts especially have a tendency to become malicious. Hence, according to Galtung (1965), an action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal states. In the case of one actor the conflict is called a dilemma, L'embarras de choix, or intra-individual conflict, consisting of incompatible motivational behavioural tendencies (approach/approach, or avoidance/avoidance, and approach/avoidance Conflict.

2.1.6.7.1. Type of conflicts

Taxonomy and dimensions of conflict: Objective vs. subjective; horizontal vs. asymmetrical; Fractionating vs. cross-cutting; zero-sum vs. variable-sum; absolute vs. relative; realistic vs. Projected; violent vs. nonviolent; perceived vs. no perceived; regulated vs. unregulated; indirect (parallel striving) vs direct (mutual interference); unconscious vs. conscious; impersonal vs. Personal; continuous vs. intermittent; communication absent vs. communication present; large Admixture of cooperation vs. relatively pure antagonism; object-centered vs. opponent-centered; Based on scarcity vs. based on incompatibility, inconsistency, etc.; economic goals vs. non-Economic goals; no disruptive vs. disruptive; etc.

According to Freeman (1972) cited by Dennen, J. M. G. V. D. (2005), there are two basic and polar types of conflict structures. To know: Overlapping conflict structures exist when opponent groups are cleaved apart by differences on all significant value fronts economic, political, educational, religious, ethnic, racial. Adversaries are opponents on all. There are no cross-cutting attachments to common values. There is No common ground upon which to compromise, no incentive to negotiate. Opponents ascribe to Each other less than human qualities reflecting their lack of shared values. Violence is condoned by both groups in order to protect against the extreme threat represented by the other. Rofikoh Rokhim et al (2021), usually, it caused by the company who has a legal document to use the land, but actually, the local community has been used that land since the old generation. The conflict caused by negative externalities usually happens between the company and local smallholder, caused by the production process's environmental impact. However, land ownership conflicts are becoming an issue of more concern because of the impact that smallholders feel directly. Conflicts caused by negative externalities will come to the surface when third parties provide information or knowledge about the smallholders' impact. However, conflict management between companies and smallholders remains to prevent conflicts from occurring and on a large scale.

Cross-cutting conflict structures exist when opponent groups are in opposition over a Limited number of cleavage fronts, but are allied in common cause in other significant conflicts. Actors in disagreement over one or more value preferences find shared attachments when they Approach other issue areas. Here lay the roots of social cohesion. Cross-cutting cleavages over Values stitch society together by facilitating constantly renewed willingness to negotiate disputes and seek ground for compromise. Total involvement of an actor in any one conflict against any Single opponent is precluded. Roles and statuses include interaction with a range of opponents One some issues who are allies on other conflict fronts. Multiple involvement in cross-cutting social cleavages precludes polarization on any one axis and keeps social groups open to ideas and innovations from each other. Cross-cutting cleavage patterns make for low propensities to engage in violence and for high propensities to tolerate change, deviance, and innovation. It goes in the same line with, Rofikoh Rokhim et al (2021) who posit that, most of the conflict between the company and smallholders happens due to obscure land ownership and negative externalities. However, to prevent the conflict's border impact, the company should have an appropriate method to manage their conflict. Even though the local community does not use violence during the conflict against the company, conflicts may still negatively affect the trust and legitimacy of local communities toward companies. Therefore, we argue that socialization and mediation approaches are successful methods for conflict management.

2.1.6.7.2. Conflict resolution

Conflict-resolution mechanisms: Chance mechanisms, oracles, ordeals, regulated warfare, fights, Private duels, judicial duels, verbal duels, debates, mediation, arbitration, courts, voting (Galtung, 1965). According to Rofikoh Rokhim et al (2021), the company uses the socialization and mediation approach to manage or resolve the conflict more successfully rather than using a legal approach. We also conclude that integrating social and environmental issues into the core strategy of the company's decision-making process can prevent the loss of profit, business, and reputation of the company. This strategic approach will ultimately encourage company's investment in one region and business sustainability. Besides, an efficient and comprehensive conflict management approach can increase the company's business investment and reduce its business risks. Therefore, we consider that conflict management that primarily addresses the conflict between palm oil plantation and smallholders is essential to achieve sustainable business.

Rofikoh Rokhim et al (2021), also argue that integrating social and environmental issues into the core strategies of the company's decision-making process is necessary because conflict is one of the factors used to make sound business and investment decision-making. So, they found that conflict management can likely encourage business investment in the company and reduce the company's operational risks and costs. In Mbandjock, Land ownership conflicts occur on smallholders' estates against governments and companies. Smallholders do not have land ownership in legal papers. This situation will impact the legal power of smallholders when companies try to resolve the conflict through the legal approach.

Therefore, other types of conflict management, which are non-legal approaches, can be considered more efficient in resolving the conflict. For instance, the company that uses the socialization and mediation approached is more successful in manage or resolve the conflict. The conflict management method used by the company will impact the conflict resolution period. However, Rofikoh Rokhim et al (2021) added that, Conducive social relations in one region will have a positive impact on the company's business operations. Even the local community does not use violence during the conflict with the company, but conflict still negatively affects the local community's trust. Improved social relations resulting from the conflict management process can foster local community trust toward the company, enhancing its reputation. In our study, most of the conflict happens due to uncleaned land ownership and negative externalities. However, to prevent the conflict's adverse impacts, the company should develop a practical and comprehensive approach to managing or resolving it. The local smallholders themselves tend to take different actions to different companies, depend on different methods to manage the conflict that is applied by the companies.

2.1.6.7.3. Empirical review or originality of study

This part is concerned with a critical review of similar studies carried out and published to show the originality of our present study. That is to say how our work is different from other studies. To do this, the researcher articulated the main ideas of literature he came across vis-à-vis the present study. Literature is reviewed here in five main facets of culture and emerging plantations considered in the present study, namely; the perception of people on emerging plantation, socio-cultural prescriptions to be taken into consideration when establishing plantations, emerging plantation practiced, dynamics of the practice of emerging plantation and the socio-cultural impacts of emerging plantation on communities.

Firstly, in an exhaustive analysis Gorodnichenko and Roland (2011), in a study titled *Which Dimensions of Culture Matter for Long-run Growth?* They assume that culture plays a key role in inspiring agriculture and hence explaining long-run economic growth. They hypothesiSe that culture is a basic force underlying formal agriculture and long-run economic growth. They find that there is a two-way connection between culture and agriculture, thus suggesting that agriculture is in part determined by culture. They show empirically a strong fundamental effect from culture to long-run growth and the level of agriculture. Their findings are dependable with the predictions of their theory, signifying that a more individualist culture should lead to more innovative agriculture and hence greater economic

development. They clearly show that culture makes an imperative influence to economic development which is independent of agriculture.

Secondly, Voigt and Park (2008), in another study title *Values and norms matter on the basic determinants of long-run economic development* proxies for values and norms (culture) use the GLOBE study on culture, leadership and organization, in which different values and norms reflect agricultural firm behaviour, in particular different leadership models. Voigt and Park's (2008) hypothesis is that in the long-run there will be a close correspondence between culture (values and norms) and institutions, since those institutions which are incompatible with the prevalent values and norms are likely to disappear.

They use a simultaneous equation approach and examine the influence of culture both directly and indirectly via institutions. As for the direct effect of culture, their results are rather mixed: when using the rule of law as a measure for institutions, culture does not have a significant effect beyond that of the rule of law; when using a measure of political institutions, some values have a significant effect. As for the indirect effect of culture, the results are not convincing either way. In sum, Voigt and Park (2008) find that some norms matter for economic development, but this impact greatly depends on the choice of institutional proxy.

Also, Guiso (2006) focus is on elucidating how culture affects farming. Relying on a literature in biotic psychology, he suggests using a new mechanism for culture when regressing culture on farming. It has been revealed that the culture of a particular group of people influence their farming habits of a particular crop by farmers as shown in his study. As a measure for culture Guiso (2006) uses the first principal component of four measures (power distance, individualism/collectivism and uncertainty avoidance, from Hofstede (2001), and distrust (WVS). By using the IV estimation strategy with Toxoplasma gondii as an instrument, his main finding is that culture exercises a significant effect both on farming. Its results are robust for a large set of control variables.

Furthermore, Giuliano (2004) shows that plantation management of US families are affected not only by economic conditions, but also by cultural heritage (for example the structure of the family in their country of origin). Similarly, Fernández Olivetti and Fogli (2004) and Fernández and Fogli (2005) show that cultural heritage affects the choices of farming activity carried out. Finally, Ichino and Maggi (2000) document that in Italy preferences for shirking on farming are driven by a place of birth, which can be interpreted as a proxy for the cultural background.

More so, according to the Nordic Council of Ministers (NCM) (2000) in a document titled "Jordbruksland skapetskultur verdier utfordringer i et tverrsektorielt samarbeid". They argued that the legitimacy of agriculture's cultural environment values can only be preserved through active agriculture and a living farm culture. In contrast, the Naturopa Magazine presents the link between landscape and cultural heritage values and active agriculture as negative. Agriculture is accessible as a business and an economic activity, modern and highly industrialised, and, hence, a destroyer of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, one positive strong link is made regarding local traditional knowledge and agriculture, stressing the prominence of upholding local traditional knowledge in resource use and landscape management. The essence here is that agriculturally related activity is good as long as it dates back to a preindustrialized farming system. Drawing from the above mentioned, there is no doubt that there exist a link between the two studies because while the former presented that, agriculture's cultural environment values can only be preserved through active agriculture and a living farm culture, the later presented the link between landscape and cultural heritage values and active agriculture as negative which differ from the present study that instead in one of it facets seek to present the socio-cultural prescriptions to be taken into consideration when establishing plantations.

Finally, OECD (1999) in a study titled "Cultivating Rural Amenities. An Economic Development perspective." tried to bring out the impact of farmers on the practice of agriculture. OECD argues that, the farmer's role is that of cultural carrier and emphasizes that, farmers at times are seen as carriers or guardians of rural customs and traditions and an ancient lifestyle. However, OECD underlines that farm life has changed, and these customs and traditions have become a part of folklore, especially in tourist areas. Rural customs and traditions may be transferred to new generations through the farm population, but also through clubs and cultural organisations. With more than a few opinion polls in OECD countries have shown support for farmers and agriculture as a lifestyle. However, in a similar study by Abler (2001, p. 8) title, "A synthesis of country reports on jointness between commodity and non-commodity outputs in OECD agriculture" states that opinions of the public to some magnitudes are sentimental and "do not replicate the realities in rural areas today." It has been suggested that the military may have an important role in the future in managing agricultural areas no longer linked to food production, and at the same time preserving food security. Another proposal is that "agricultural parks", similar to national parks, can maintain significant landscapes and agricultural structures, thereby giving

possibilities for recreation, experience and cultural heritage. In general, the OECD documents conclude that several aspects of agriculture's cultural heritage may be separated from active agriculture.

The above literature pivots on either the farmer's impact on agriculture practices or plantation on culture in different parts of the world which differ from this work as it seek to analysed the perception of people on emerging plantation, socio-cultural prescriptions to be taken into consideration when establishing plantations, emerging plantation practiced, dynamics of the practice of emerging plantation and the socio-cultural impacts of emerging plantation on communities in Mbandjock centre region of Cameroon.

2.1.6.7.4. Perspective and orientation of the study

Consequently, it is pedestrian to acknowledge that the works of different authors in documentaries, articles, journals, dissertations, thesis and books that we consulted have significantly contributed to the advancement of the present research work; specifically, through their various analyses on issues related to plantation agriculture in general and culture and small holder's plantations agriculture in particular. This does not, however, mean that their works were exhaustive; for every research work has its frontiers. In fact, most if not all of the authors had worked around characteristics and functions of culture, cultural heritage and plantation agriculture, historical development of plantations, social and physical factors influencing agriculture; most of them did not take into consideration culture as an aspect in plantation agriculture. Also, most of the authors limited to the tangible (physical) aspect of plantation agriculture forgetting to know that, the intangible (super natural) aspects also play a great role in plantation agriculture. In addition, most of the authors we consulted concentrated on well-established plantations failing to take a look at the small holders and or emerging plantation agriculture. Moreover, a considerable portion of the authors were geographers, historians, etc and very few works of Anthropologist. This means that they are simply social science researchers in that domain who can only explore and propose solutions to prevailing phenomena but cannot actually participate in solving the problems in question.

However, this work goes ahead to examine how output of crops cultivated in Mbandjock generally remain low even with the present of all the research, supports, inputs donated by governmental agencies, international organisations, NGOs and even individuals in this sector. So, the question that arise is that, would the Sustainable Development Goals with 17 goals end extreme poverty in all forms, end hunger that is to say, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture, ensure decent work and economic growth that is to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all by 2030 in Cameroon? As well as the attainment of Cameroon vision of 2035 becoming an emerging country? Certainly not; without taking into consideration the culture of the people this is the gateway to every development or progress.

Meijer (2015) consider farmers' perceptions as their views of a given technology in terms of their felt needs and prior experiences. In relation to land degradation, Pulido and Bocco (2014) define farmers' perceptions as the causes and status of land degradation as detected and expressed by farmers on their lands. The decision of farmers to adopt soil conservation practices begins with their perception of erosion as a problem. These perceptions are shaped by farmers' personal characteristics (e.g., age, education, conservation attitude, norms beliefs) and the physical characteristics of the land (e.g., slope) (Ervin & Ervin, 1982). Farmers' perceptions and adoption of soil conservation practices have been widely studied (Ervin & Ervin, 1982; Meijer, et al., 2015; Pannell, et al., 2006; Pulido & Bocco, 2014; Reimer, et al., 2012). In all these studies there is a consensus that farmers' perceptions towards technology attributes influence their adoption behaviour of those technologies. Reimer et al. (2012) found farmers' perceived characteristics of the conservation practices was a powerful prediction of adoption within two watersheds in the United States Midwest region. Besides technology attributes, studies suggest that farmers' perceptions towards adoption of soil fertility management practices are strongly linked to their experiences and knowledge about the practices in question (Meijer, et al., 2015; Reimer, et al., 2012; Warren, Osbahr, Batterbury, & Chappell, 2003). For instance, (Meijer, et al., 2015) argue that the knowledge farmers have about a new practice closely relates to their perceptions towards such a practice which together frame the farmers' attitude as whether to adopt the practice or not. Ervin and Ervin (1982) argue that farmers' personal characteristics such as age and education also play a critical role in framing their perceptions towards adoption.

Building on the concept of systems resilience Carpenter, Walker and Andereis (2001), Prokopy et al. (2008) broadly consider farm and farmer characteristics that enhance a farmer's ability to adopt as capacity. It is "the ability to maintain the function of a system as it undergoes some type of change" (Prokopy et *al.*, 2008:302). Prokopy et *al.* (2008) and Baumgart-Getz et al. (2012) argue that the key capacity variables considered to be important in influencing farmers' adoption decisions include age, education (formal education and farmer [extension] training), income, farming experience, tenure, social networks, labour, capital and information. While both Prokopy et al. (2008) and Baumgart-Getz et al. (2012) use this concept (capacity) to combine both farmer and farm characteristics, most adoption literature separates them (Reimer et al. 2012; Meijer et al. 2015). In this study, we chose to adopt the latter categorization since one of the categories (farmer characteristics) relates to the management ability of the farmer, while the other category (farm characteristics) relates to farm resources (Chomba, 2004). Adoption literature of agricultural technologies posits that the decision to adopt technologies including ISFM practices, is affected by both farmer and farm attributes (Bategeka, Kiiza, & Kasirye, 2013; Kassie, Jaleta, Shiferaw, Mmbando, & Mekuria, 2013; Knowler & Bradshaw, 2007; Lambrecht, Vanlauwe, & Maertens, 2014; Marenya & Barrett, 2007; Meijer, et al., 2015; Mugwe et al., 2009; Prokopy, et al., 2008). For instance, based on household size, households with more adults are more likely to adopt ISFM (Integrated Soil Fertility Management) since many of the ISFM practices are labor intensive (Kassie, et al., 2013; Lambrecht, Vanlauwe, & Maertens, 2014; Marenya & Barrett, 2007). As household size increases, the likelihood of adoption of ISFM practices is expected to be high. The ISFM is a set of soil fertiliser, organic inputs, and improved germplasm combined with the knowledge on how to adapt these practices to local conditions, aiming at maximising agronomic use efficiency of the applied nutrients.

2.2. Theoretical framework

In this section of the research, an overview of the theories used in the study was brought out. The theoretical framework grows out of the research focus, guides the design of individual studies, and structures our research presentations and publications. This study adopted the Ethnomethodology theory of Harold Garfinkel, Ethno-perspective or Ethnanalysis of Mbonji Edjenguèlè, and the cultural Dynamics theory of George Balandier. The three theories answered all the different aspects of the study. However, in the above mentioned theories, only the concepts or parts of the theories that interprets our work is employed in this study.

2.2.1. Ethnomethodology

The term ethnomethodology, etymologically comes from four Greek words which are: *ethnos, Meta* and *hodos* and *logos* which means a people, way/path and science/discourse in that order. Therefore, ethnomethodology is the science of a people's ways. As earlier mentioned, this theory is a product of Garfinkel (1968) and according to him, however,

members of every group have ordinary *methods* to define their situations, coordinate their activities, take decisions and be served with their social organisation or environment's knowledge to exhibit typical regulatory drives in their daily lives. He goes further to emphasise that ethnomethodology is that methodological orientation which treats practical sociological reasoning as empirical objects of study. It therefore seeks methods that individuals use in their respective societies to interpret their situations and at the same time to accomplish their daily activities or tasks.

In brief, Ethnomethodology is a people's way(s); that is, their methods of dressing, eating, speaking, hunting, worshiping, exchanging, maintaining law and order or ensuring social control, managing both internal and external conflicts; treating the sick and the dead; protecting the environment and ensuring sustainability. It also has to do with allocating responses to drives and interpreting their conditions and the world around them (world view). This theory has three fundamental principles, which are: indexicality, Reflexivity and the notion of Member. These concepts give meaning to some aspects of this study as are examined in the subsequent paragraphs.

2.2.1.1. Indexicality

Indexicality is a concept that was initially formulated by a linguist/Mathematician by name Bar Hillel in 1954. Here, it states that the meaning of everything has a direct relationship with the context in which it is produced or originated. According to Garfinkel indexicality is derived from the notion of *indexical expressions*. The latter appears in ordinary language philosophy; wherein, a statement is considered to be indexical insofar as it gets its meaning in the context in which it is embedded. This phenomenon in ethnomethodology is generalised to all forms of language and behaviour and is said to be beyond control because of the need for the establishment of scientific descriptions and explanations of social behaviours. The consequence of this contextual dependence in a speech or behaviour segment can range from the problem of establishing a *working consensus* in the description of a sentence, concept or behaviour.

2.2.1.2 Reflexivity

The term *reflexivity* comes from the word reflex which has to do with responding to stimulus. It is much visible in behaviours and plays a preponderant role in influencing the way people interpret and respond to the signs that they observe or come across in their daily

lives in a given society. This is because every people have their ways of giving meaning to phenomena; that is to say, reflexivity varies from one context to another (time, space and culture); hence, people from different backgrounds cannot interpret or react to events or signs the same way. This concept is, therefore, implicitly linked to the principle of indexicality because they all have to do with domiciling realities in their respective contexts. However, addicts of ethnomethodology oftenly apply the queue as an example of what reflexivity is all about. According to this illustration, a queue exists because individuals have the zeal to participate and be recognised as such. This, therefore, means that everyone in this exercise has the same image of the queue.

2.2.1.3 Notion of member

The notion of member constitutes the base of Ethnomethodology. In fact, it covers the other underlying principles of the theory and as the appellation implies, it states that an individual can best interpret a situation if and only if he is part and parcel of the system or structure. This statement is confirmed by Mbonji Edjennguèlè (2005) who says, the notion of member is important because ethnomethodology says of the member that he has some competence, to say his vision of things, to act under the impetus of ethnomethods; which vision is shared by all members of the group "all-of-oneself" manifesting itself particularly in communication where the interlocutors understand it in a nutshell; or serve by indexicality to place things in their contexts, otherwise, there would be breaching or rupture.

This assertion however renders the individual a member according to characteristics such as age, gender, race, and class; with *status position* as a measuring rod.

2.2.2 Ethno-Perspective

Otherwise known as Ethnanalysis, Ethno-perspective was put forward by Mbonji Edjenguèlè in the year 2005. The term Ethno-perspective etymologically comes from two words: *ethnos* which is the analytical study of ethnic groups and *perspectives/perspectus* or *perspicere* which means to penetrate or explore. Therefore, ethno-perspective is the way, manner or the approach that Ethno-anthropologists apply to study phenomena in a given society at a particular time, to talk like the architect of this perspective. The Mbonji Edjenguèlè (2005) goes further to clarify us on what it is all about by saying that: Ethnoanalysis, or ethno-perspective, is not the perspective of the ethnoanthropologist, which would be the projection of his subjective and / or theoretical self onto another cultural reality.

It is speleology, semiology or archeology of meaning from a cultural body; it is structuring and elaboration by totalizing articulation. Ethnanalysis or ethno-perspective is the meeting between the ethnic endowed with meaning and the ethno-anthropologist arranging and explaining this meaning.

According to him, all cultures have their specificity and this can only be best explained and appreciated by bearers of that socio-culture. He terms this *indigenous meaning* of cultures. Given that he is not the first or the lone person to have talked about the concept of ethnanalysis, he put forward what is known as the trilogy of ethno-perspective to differentiate his work from those of Levi-Strauss (1958), Poirier (1968), Izard (1982), Augé (1989), Crapo (1993), Hardon (1999) and others. We are referring here to three main principles that serve as the yard sticks of this approach. They are as follows: - Contextuality/sociocentrality, -Holisticity/globality/totality, - Cultural endosemy/endosemy.

2.2.2.1 Contextuality or sociocentrality

This concept has to do with the dynamisation of phenomena under study and institutions to be analysed in the socio-culture where they are produced. This is because all social facts can or ought to be explained only when they are placed in their respective contexts which can either be temporary, spatial and/or socio-cultural; for it is at this juncture that the researcher can be able to give befitting and credible interpretations to each of them. This therefore means that disparity in contexts will lead to varied interpretations. The author argues to that effect that the ngondo festival of the Sawa-Douala can never be understood if it is not attached to the geography of the Littoral and its water elements; because every people exercise their intelligence and creativity in order to elaborate specific responses to their present situations according to their respective environments. This argument, therefore, serves as a passport that leads the researcher to his study site for three basic reasons. These are: - All cultures have their own specificities, - Every society has its behavioural pattern, -All societies have their own philosophy of the world around them (world view). By doing this, therefore, the researcher finds himself answering the questions: Who? How? Where? And When? As the author Mbonji Edjenguèlè (2005) affirms that: by integrating social actors in their behavioral deployment and institutional, in their role expressions, their social play, their embodiment or to say the cultural item that the ethno-anthropologist strives to analyze, the circumstantial context is interested in who: who, how: how, which thus enrich the where: or, when: when.

2.2.2.2 Holisticity or globality

Also known as totality, this principle treats culture as a complex whole, to talk like Tylor (1871); that comprises social institutions that are interdependent or interrelated. This includes: the history, kinship, marriage and religious systems, architecture, dressing style, political organization and medico-economic practices of a people. These traits operate and derive their meanings from the relationship that exists among them and through one of these elements, the whole society or social structure can be profiled, to talk like Laplantine (1995). In brief, the concept of holisticity states that Ethno-anthropologists do not study social institutions as isolated entities; but as interwoven wholes. This situation in effect gives way to the effective application of the deductive approach (from particular to general) which is a celebrated method in anthropological studies.

2.2.2.3 Cultural Endosemy

Cultural endosemy or endosemy is a concept that etymologically comes from two words: *endo* and *semy* which means inside/ within and meaning/significance respectively. Therefore, endosemy refers to the meaning(s) that members of a given sociocultural attach to their existing realities of life at a particular time. According to the precursor of this concept however, all cultures are ways of life and those who live these modes invented them with meanings invested on every constitutive element of the whole in that cultural universe. He goes further to say that this meaning can be respected or ignored, conscious or unconscious with regard to the participation or nonparticipation of members in any activity of the group exercising the item to be explored on the one hand and the impregnation degree or mastery of the group or sub-group's values on the other hand. So, it is the place of Ethno-anthropologist to give members of the socioculture under study the opportunity to interpret their cultural traits or codes; since endosemy according to Mbonji Edjennguèlè is: "*La reconnaissance de l'existence du sens à l'intérieur de toute culture et l'exigencedu recours à ce sens intrinsèque, inhérent, endogène dans l''entreprise ethno anthropologique*". Mbonji Edjennguèlè (2005).

2.2.4 The theory of cultural dynamics

This is a theory of Western modernisation since Tonnies (1995), Weber (1958), and Durkheim (1964) as well as the contemporary research on individualism and collectivism, it has an often tacit (understood or implied without being stated) assumption that a culture has changed unidimensional (unidimensionality is used to describe a specific type of measurement scale. A unidimensional measurement scale has only one dimension. In other words, it can be represented by a single number line) from a collectivist past to contemporary individualism. However, this theory has phenomena of cultural dynamics. In 1971 George Balandier, came up with another dimension of this theory. This time known as the dynamic anthropology.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, two models dominated anthropology: functionalism and structuralism. In reaction to the drifts of evolutionism and diffusionism, these two streams have banished history from their explanatory field. A current will emerge in reaction to this lack of consideration for social change. Balandier's generative analysis emerges with the analysis of the experience of historical and social changes, which characterise African states after independence. Its main theoretical consequence can be summed up in the questioning of evolutionism and the idea of the immobility of so-called "primitive" societies. In fact, this idea dominated a colonial ethnology (which later became anthropology). For Balandier, in fact, developing societies "bring together a configuration that is always in the process of being made and unraveled, and in this same movement it manifests all the importance in two instances, or operates the powers of various orders (policy in the broad sense) and the generators of meaning (cultural body in the broad sense). In other words, with decolonization, African societies are undergoing transformation as they trace their colonial politico-economic system through a system of political autonomy. They always have been, given that they went through the phases of transformation linked to a colonial period, as Balandier shows with regard to the Fang of Central Africa. So-called "archaic" societies thus become scientifically dynamic and their customs and traditions can now be read as elements of social change, and therefore capable of digesting cultural elements coming from "elsewhere" (the West).

According to George Balandier (1971), new research leads to a better measurement of the space of freedom and specificity in any society. They are revealed by an approach that can be qualified as *generative* to which degree social configurations are fluid. Constantly in the process of being made and determining all their meaning. They show that there is no such thing as a flat society or reduced to a single dimension and that there is none that does not carry several *possibilities* from which social actors can orient their future. It is for this reason that Balandier invites in the study of any human society, African in particular, to pay attention to internal dynamics and external dynamics.

The perspective of dynamic anthropology is to apprehend social reality through history. This perspective goes against the systems of explanations of the time: functionalism and structuralism which, for Balandier, are in the illusion of the long permanence of societies. The notion of function participates in the perpetuation of culture and, therefore, in the permanence of the system and the notion of structure designates what is the essence of man, it is therefore invariable in space and time. Moreover, according to Charbonnier, G (1969), Lévi-Strauss made a distinction between cold societies and hot societies. The term cold society refers to societies close to historical zero temperature. These societies see themselves as repetitive in nature (cyclical time) and will deny their historical dimension. They oppose hot societies which, on the contrary, value this historical dimension. Functionalism and structuralism will, therefore, focus on what works or what is stable, without taking into account the dysfunctions, which are the source of social upheaval. In opposition to these currents, Balandier proposes a new anthropology. This social dynamic depends on two factors: External factors that is the system of external relations (relations with other cultures, phenomenon of acculturation eg, colonial context, etc.). And the internal factors that is within companies themselves (life cycle). Relationally, it pays attention to the effects of external relations, of the environment on the internal structures of societies. It is, therefore, a matter of a dynamic from within as well as a dynamic from without. This vision is opposed to the dichotomies strongly valued by functionalism and structuralism: static / dynamic, stable / unstable, tradition / modernity replaced by a dialectical approach between forces of rupture For Balandier, any society generates order (continuity) and disorder and continuity. (rupture).

To demonstrate the process of social change, Balandier said dynamic anthropology will seek to remedy the great defect of the dominant theories which inscribe the societies studied in a perpetual present. Balandier writes of Africa: the myth of timeless Africa, applied to repeat itself as it is from generation to generation has crumbled. Africa, a timeless continent par excellence, has gone through profound upheavals not only since the culture shock of colonization but already long before with conquests, exchanges, trade, slavery, Islamisation, etc. African societies have never been societies without history. We understand them as societies without history because we know little about their history. Dynamic anthropology will restore time to these societies, go through the process of social change that is to say, and reintegrate a dynamic process. Balandier will distinguish two forms of change: A sought-after change that is part of social planning (controlled) and part of continuity. It is the evolution of any social system (can lead to a revolution). A change that will fundamentally change the functioning of the social system (the revolution). Quote from Balandier, also taken from Meaning and Power: The crises undergone become the revealer of some of the social relations, of some of the cultural configurations, and of their respective contributions. They lead to consider society in its action and reactions, and no longer in the form of structures and timeless systems. Tensions and conflicts will serve as materials for the analysis of social dynamics. For the dominant theories which emphasise order, logic and stability, Balandier will substitute an anthropology which insists on the dynamics inherent in social reality. The social system is made up of order and disorder. Balandier will therefore be interested in the internal movement of societies and all that reveals it: conflicts, tensions, disputes, crises (attentive to dysfunction).

There are at least four basic sources of cultural dynamics like importation, invention, selection and drift. With the external changes, we refer to the system of external relations (relations with other cultures, phenomenon of acculturation eg, colonial context, etc.) and internal changes, we refer to changes within companies themselves (life cycle). Relationally, it pays attention to the "effects of external relations", of the "environment" on the internal structures of societies which can better explain our work.

Importation is phenomenon of cultural dynamics which means new cultural information that has not existed in a given culture, but which has existed in different cultures, is added to the former culture by virtue of transmission from the latter.

Also, invention is another concept of cultural dynamics which means modification of cultural formation and or creation of cultural element that has not existed in another form in the culture of a group is added to the culture without importation.

More so, selection is a cultural dynamics phenomenon which cultural information is selected in for further reproduction or selected out to be removed from a culture. Finally, we used the concept of drift in this work which is a random process of change in prevalence of cultural information over time. Nevertheless, invention and importation are concerned with the addition of information to a culture, whereas selection and drift can change the prevalence (or frequency of occurrence) of cultural information upward or downwards, and in some cases potentially cause a loss (subtraction or removal) of cultural information as well. There are two general questions directly link to cultural dynamics.

The first is about what, that is, descriptive cultural dynamics what cultural information exists, how prevalent it is, and how its existence and prevalence has changed and will change over time.

The second class of question is about how, namely, the mechanism of cultural dynamics how a change occurs by what mechanisms. These questions also tend to different level of analysis. Typically, descriptive cultural dynamics are concerned with macro-level trends of appearance and disappearance of cultural information, as well as increasing, decreasing, or steady state trajectories of cultural information prevalence in a group.

2.2.5 Interpretation of work with the theoretical framework

Our choice of this theoretical framework is, however, not guided by the superiority of the chosen principles over others; but by their suitability in the analysis and interpretation of our data. A good number of elements are, therefore, retained for the explanation of the different research variables here contained.

Firstly, the notions of indexicality, reflexivity and notion of member derived from the theory of Ethnomethodology is related to the study. First and famous, *reflexivity* states that, the meaning of everything has a direct relationship with the context in which it is produced or originated. The fore is compiled to this study because each cultural element is linked to plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. Specific and having a particular meaning to them, differs from other socio cultures. Hence, the meaning of all the cultural element in this locality contribute in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture.

The perceptions of *reflexivity* are related to the study in that it explains and plays a preponderant role in influencing the way people interpret and respond to the signs that they observe or come across in their daily lives in a given society. This is because each cultural element has a meaning in Mbandjock that at times is different from the meaning the same element has in another socio culture. Hence, the meaning of all the cultural elements in this locality contribute in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture.

This concept of *Notion of member* is related to the study in that, it states that an individual can best interpret a situation if and only if he is part and parcel of the system or structure. This is because to understand cultural element in Mbandjock, you need to be part of

the socio culture or base on their culture to give sense to that phenomena. In a nutshell, the meanings of the entire cultural element in this locality contribute in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture.

More so, these concepts of Contextuality or sociocentrality, holisticity or globality and endosemy all resulting from the theory of Ethno-Perspective compiled to the study. Contextuality or sociocentrality shows the dynamisation of phenomena under study and institutions to be analysed in the socio-culture where they are produced. This is because all social facts can or ought to be explained only when they are placed in their respective contexts which can either be temporary. Therefore, cultural element concurrent to plantation agriculture in Mbandjock can be given meaning only in their socio cultures.

Holisticity or globality is associated to the study in that it states that, in other to study and understand culture and plantation in Mbandjock one will need to understand their history, kinship, marriage and religious systems, architecture, dressing style, political organisation and medico-economic practices of a people. If not, we may be tempted not to understand and give good meaning to their cultural elements since most of them are linked.

Endosemy is allied to the study in that, endosemy is the meaning(s) that members of a given sociocultural attach to their existing realities of life at a particular time. Therefore, all the methods, techniques, practices, rituals and every other thing done for plantation agriculture in Mbandjock are their ways of life and invention with meanings invested on every constitutive element of the whole in that cultural universe. As such should be taken into consideration when presenting, analysing and giving meaning to phenomenon in these socio culture.

2.3 Definition of Concept or conceptual framework

In every science, there are conceived and utilised terms and expressions to designate and signify singular and well circumscribed realities; that is, terms and expressions employed in a given scientific field which carry constructed and univocal meanings, to talk like Mbonji Edjenguèlè who says:

Quand Ruth Benedict parle des «pueblo» comme des hommes à type psychologique apollonien ou apollinien, quand Lévi-Strauss parle d'atome de parenté ou de «pecking order», Melville Herskovits de représentation ou Johann Jacob Bachofen de matriacart, Max Muller d''hénothéisme ou d''animatisme, il

s'agitde décrire des situations précises avec des mots précis. Mbonji Edjenguèlè (2005).

Our focus here is, therefore, to go through light on both conceived and borrowed key words used in the present research project. The purpose of this initiative is to facilitate the reading and understanding of the entire work by the general public. In that light, therefore, the following concepts will be defined: culture, plantation and agriculture.

2.3.1 Small holder plantations

There have been a lot of difficulties to find a clear cut definition of small holders' plantations. Nevertheless, there are definitions related to this concept. Goldthorpe (1983) and Graham and Floering (1984) cited by Tiffen, and, Mortimore, (1990), define plantations as agriculture with an industrialised management system (specialised management methods, systems of production control, well-defined responsibilities and close delineation of purpose, hierarchical authority relationships and a supervised/disciplined labour force). In a similar view, Tiffen, and, Mortimore, (1995), opinion that, plantations characteristically have a small specialised management team supervising a large labour force. The labour force may include skilled workers but they are not required to take managerial decisions. In this the plantation is strikingly different from the small family farm, where there is a managerial element in the work of a large proportion of the labour force, and where the managers do not specialise in a single crop, but divide their attention between several complementary activities.

So, Berdegué and Fuentealba (2011) said, Small holder or family-based agriculture is defined as a social and economic sector made up of farms that are operated by farm families, using largely their own labor. Therefore, they include two categories that could be controversial. The subsistence farmers, who derive a large fraction of their income from non-farm sources, including non-farm employment, remittances and cash and in kind social welfare support. Second, a sub-sector that is smaller in number of farms, but of much greater importance when it comes to economic participation; these are commercial family farmers who may employ one or two permanent nonfamily workers, but where still much of the farm work and of the farm management is done by family members.

According to Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (DAFF) (2001), several terms are used in South Africa to describe the group of farmers whose activities are not commercially sustainable. These terms include smallholder farmers, subsistence farmers, small growers, small-scale growers, emerging growers and resource poor farmers. Koranteng (2010) cited by Ojediran, (2011), said the term emerging farmer is broadly used to refer to

farmers who practice agriculture that is not commercially sustainable. Ojediran (2011), the emerging farmers' practice subsistence agriculture. These farmers usually lack suitable farm land of adequate size, access to local as well as international markets, and technical support in the form of extension and mentoring services. As such, they cannot be regarded as commercially viable. In a more formal context, this farming sector is viewed with a general lack of enthusiasm. Also, Investopedia (2016) cited by Brotto, Pettenella, Cerutti and Pirard (2016), asserted that, an emerging market is any area that is taking steps toward developing a market-oriented forest sector economy, and has the potential to provide a viable and significant market for forest commodities or forest products.

CFS HLPE (2013), a small holding is: "... An agricultural holding run by a family using mostly (or only) their own labor and deriving from that work a large but variable share of its income, in kind or in cash. The family relies on its agricultural activities for at least part of the food consumed be it through self-provision, non-monetary exchanges or market exchanges. The family members also engage in activities other than farming, locally or through migration. The holding relies on family labor with limited reliance on temporary hired labor, but may be engaged in labor exchanges within the neighborhood or a wider kinship framework." Dalberg Global Development Advisors (2012), Small holders are defined as those farms operating a land of 2 ha or less. Dan (2006) "China presents a unique type of small holder farming. Collective land ownership ensured that every rural family has user rights for farming. According to the WCA there are close to 200 million small holder farmers in rural China, and up to 250 million according to Dan (2006). The average farm size is less than 0.6 ha and is declining over time."

Therefore, in this work, a small holder's plantations or an emerging plantation is any unorthodox crops, fruits and or trees growing firm that is making steps toward developing it production by machines, hybrids seeds, large scale, market-oriented and cultural acceptance with potential to provide a viable and significant impact through its commodities to stakeholders involved.

2.3.2 Sociocultural practices

In other to come out with a clear meaning of sociocultural practices, we had to comprehend many authors. According to Bennett, M., (1993) postulated that, cultural practices are the manifestation of a culture or sub-culture, principally in view to the traditional and customary practices of a particular ethnic or other cultural group. In fact, it applies to any person manifesting any aspect of any culture at any time. In a more practical

understanding, it commonly refers to the traditional practices developed within specific ethnic cultures, especially those aspects of culture that have been practiced since ancient times. In another view of sociocultural practices, Ko, (2008) affirmed that, socio-cultural practices are the distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or a social group.

In a similar understanding, Florea, and Florea, (2011), Socio-cultural environment consists of models of individual and group behaviour which reflect attitudes, values and habits. For him, some authors had completed socio-cultural environment with demographic factors, ethnic and other factors which reflect changes in the geographical population distribution, migration from rural to urban areas or toward an economic developed area.

Nevertheless, in this piece of work sociocultural practices are those activities, behaviour, values, methods, attitudes, symbols and habits be it spiritual or physical that people have and practice that make them belong to a particular group, society and or people.

2.3.3 Representation and perception

According to Frances (1988), perception is the sum total of psychological traits and attitudes which are attributed to members of a given group. Whereas, Nsamenang (2005) viewed perception as the act of interpreting a stimulus registered in the brain by one or more sense mechanisms. The interpretations of this environmental stimulus differ from one individual to another as a result of the fact that it is influenced by many factors such as: past experiences, feelings, values, beliefs, imagination and culture.

Similarly, the Gestalt theory as portrayed by Satia (n.d) indicated that in perception, the physical state of an individual determines the nature of what is to be perceived. It occurs when there is an experience, which is concrete or symbolic and is influenced by values and goals of an individual. It is built on the human senses, which are auditory, visual, tactile, gustatory and olfactory. They are determined by the physical state of the individual's mind at a given time. Belloma (2005). In addition, perception can be viewed from a social point of view as stated by Belloma (2005). According to her, we talk of social perception when the perceptive activities of the individual are influenced by the society in which he/she lives, proper sentiments, judgments and desires.

Hence, perception according to this study is the world view of a particular people that is their awareness, their understanding, the meaning they give to phenomenon, their beliefs and the way they see things and people around them as they come into contact with certain environmental stimuli.

2.3.4 Culture

Culture as defined by Tylor (1789) is a complex whole that involve morals, beliefs, laws, customs, arts, tradition, religion and any other ability or capability acquired by man as a member of a given community. It goes in line with Mbonji Edjenguélé (2005) who sees culture as the ways of life of a given population of which they use in solving their daily problems of how to eat, drink, sleep, and make love, shelter...

Furthermore, Spencer-Oatey (2008) indicated that, culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour. Hence, Hofstede (1991) cited by Spencer-Oatey, (2012) makes the important point that although certain aspects of culture are physically visible, their meaning is invisible: their cultural meaning ... lies precisely and only in the way these practices are interpreted by the insiders. Similarly, choice of clothing can be interpreted differently by different groups of people, in terms of indications of wealth, ostentation, appropriateness, and so on. To give the dynamics of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952); cited by Adler (1997) and by Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012) posits that, culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefact's; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action.

Therefore, culture according to this study, refers to the actions, reactions, productions and all other elements that accompany a society in their daily life found in all age groups taught by the oldest to the youngest. Plantation agriculture was introduced in Mbandjock in the colonial period and was then integrated in the culture of this people. Hence, the older generations have been teaching the younger ones in these zones with crop cultivation.

2.3.5 Ritual

A ritual is a connection established between present moment and original reality. The word ritual refers to symbolic action, which focus a certain kind of power through the use of natural signs and symbols. Rituals range from simple gestures such as bowing or shaking hands, to elaborate ceremonial dramas, such as the coronation of the traditional chief, modern chief etc. Hsun Tzu (1967) spoke of the significant role of ritual in the following memorable words:

When rites are performed in the highest manner, then both the emotions and the form embodying them are fully realized... Through rites Heaven and Earth join in harmony, the sun and moon shine the four season's process in order... and all things flourish. Men's likes and dislikes are regulated and their joys and hates are made appropriate. Those below are obedient, those above are enlightened, all things change but do not become disordered; only he who turns his back upon rites will be destroyed. Are they not wonderful indeed? Hsun Tzu (1967, pp.23).

Ritual is a sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place and according to set sequence. They include not only the worship rites and sacraments of organized religions and cults, but also rites of passage, atonement and purification rites, oaths of allegiance, dedication ceremonies, coronations and presidential inaugurations, marriages, funerals and more.

The chapter addresses literature on culture, small holders' plantation and the food security system in Mbandjock. The thematic literature comprises of representation, the factors which accounts for this practice, its dynamics, food security system and its impact on the community. With the help of empirical review, we gave originality to our work and the research gap and finally the theoretical framework which highlights the theories relating to the study. It ended up with conceptual framework which defined the different concepts in this work. It helped to give meaning to our research. We will now look at the different agents (stakeholders) involved in small holder plantations in Mbandjock.

2.3.6 Social conflict

Social conflict is the struggle for agency or power in society. Social conflict occurs when two or more people oppose each other in social interaction, and each exerts social power with reciprocity in an effort to achieve incompatible goals but prevent the other from attaining their own. According to Dennen, (2005), one of the most powerful sociological explanations of social conflict is that of Karl Marx, who posited a class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie intrinsic to capitalist, industrial society. This notion is powerful in being dynamic, intuitively persuasive, and appearing to fit well with history. According to Coser (1956) cited by Dennen, (2005) defined social conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to

neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. It has often been pointed out that hostile stereotypes, prejudice, threat perception, general hostility, and aggression (however conceptualized) are more likely to be the result of conflict than its cause (Bernard, 1951; de Vree, 1982; among others).

However, in this research, social conflict among small holder plantations is usually between individuals farmers, sexes, ages, races, tribes, villages, companies, nationalities, sections, classes, political parties and religious sects. In Mbandjock sub division, several of these oppositions are goes on at the same time, but the more numerous they are, the less menacing is any one. Every type of conflict interferes with every other class in society at the same time.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNOGRAPHY AND AGENTS OF SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS IN MBANDJOCK CENTRE REGION This chapter presents the ethnography of all the stakeholders involved in small holder plantations in Mbandjock. The enthnography is presented in two ways, to know: Structured and unstructured small holder plantations. The structured small holder plantations cultivate crops mainly for the market and use machines for farming.Whereas unstructured small holder plantatons are individual farmers and common initiative groups. They cultivate to sell to the structured small holders and mostly use family and friends labour. They also consumed part of their produce. The chapter furthermore present the agents of small holder plantations. The agents are all the stakeholders that participate in small holder farming.

3.1. Ethnography of small holder plantations in Mbandjock

Ethnography of small lholder plantation in Mbandjock presents an analysis of all the different farms that have the characteristic of small scale plantations. Some of these smallholders are companies, cooperatives, common initiative, individuals, and farmers' ventures. Most of these small holder plantations have ethnicity bases. Their level of activities and role is articulated below,

3.1.1 Cooperatives

These cooperatives exist mostly with maize, cassava, cocoa farmers, and banana and plantain farmer. They have looked for permanent and temporal workers. There are also board members. Agribusinesses are the different companies or firms that practice agriculture in Mbandjock. These are companies which are developed and recruit workers for their production. They have a board of directors, general managing various departments and labour. A majority of their work is done by machines. That is for cleaning the farms, they used to spray their farms, till the soils with machines as well as planting and at times harvest with machines to produce hundreds of tons yearly. It is because of the presence of these structures that small holder's exists in Mbandjock. These small scales most often supply their end product to these big holders.

3.1.2 Agribusinesses

Agribusinesses in Mbandjock are small holder plantations run by a family using mostly family labour and developing from their farms a large but variable share of their income, in kind or in cash. The family relies on its agricultural activities for at least part of the food consumed be it through self-provision, non-monetary exchanges or market exchanges. The family members also engage in activities other than farming, locally or through migration.

Dalberg Global Development Advisors (2012), Small holders are defined as those farms operating a land of 2 ha or less. Therefore, in this work, a small holder's plantations or an emerging plantation is any unorthodox crops, fruits and or trees growing firm that is making steps toward developing it production by machines, hybrids seeds, large scale, market-oriented and cultural acceptance with potential to provide a viable and significant impact through its commodities to stakeholders involved. Some of these agro firms are;

3.1.2.1 West End Farms PLc

West End Farms Cameroon was created in 1980. It was then incorporated as a limited liability company in July 2001 and as a private limited company in September 2010. This smallholder firm has as current capital FCFA 553,500,000. This structure has an anglosaxone cultural background. Most of her board members have origin from the Northwest region of Cameroon. Apart from two board members, all the other board members are from the Northwest Region of Cameroon. A majority of workers and farm labourers have origin from the Northwest Cameroon. For what concern the members of the board of directors of West End Farms, they have as Chairman of the Board Major General Ivo D. Yenwo with origins from Northwest region. CEO and board member Mr. MANJOH JULIUS BIME, from Northwest Cameroon, Mr. John Paul Besong Board member, Southwest region of Cameroon, Mr. Colin Watson, Board member, a British, Mr. Godfery Molo Yenwo Board member from the Northwest region of Cameroon, Mr.Dennis Matangira, Board member, Mr. Mathew Ngawel, Marketing Director, Mr. Stephen Chenwi, Administrative Director, Mr.Bernard Fabonge, Pig Farm Manager, Mr. Cho-Ngwa Isabelle, Financial Director all of the Northwest region of Cameroon. These illustrate the level of ethnicity orientation of smallholders in Mbandjock.

However, their business sector is Piggery and grain cultivation. West End Farms specialises in the fully mechanised cultivation of cereal crops such as maize, soya and sorghum mainly for pig feed. They are also involved in Fattening of Farms on hired bases by individuals and other small holder firms who do not have the facilities. This small scale structure because they cultivate maize and soya beans for sales and the production of pig feed which they keep have large network of butcheries in the city of Yaoundé. One of our informants explained that, In fact, we are involved in arable production - industrial maize crops for food production for wholesale and retail. This small holder firm present to be top Class in Pig Genetics in Cameroon and the Central Africa sub region with a 600 Sow Unit as of 2020 with plans to expand to 1,200 Sows by 2022. 100% Lean and Healthy Pork. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/02/2021).

In terms of marketing of product, they have taken leadership in Mbandjock and environs. That is No 1 commercial pig producer, Top 3 commercial maize/soya farm in Cameroon. West End Farms also do partner with other structures in their production system. According to one of her workers,

The AAF SME Fund, managed by Databank Agrifund Manager Limited (DAFML), successfully closed its first transaction with an investment in West End Farms (WEF) in December 2012. This SME venture is one of the leading mixed farming enterprises in Cameroon with farms and a cattle ranch across various locations in the country. Zebu Investment Partners is a pan-African focused private equity group with specialty interest in agriculture and food production value chains. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/02/2021).

This means that, SME venture West End Farms is one of the leading mixed farming enterprises in Cameroon with farms and cattle ranches across various locations in the country. The Zebu also, invested in West End Farms (WEF) through Africa Food Security Fund I, which is managed by Zebu Investment Partners. According one of one of her field managers,

Our partners do not hold direct relationships with the companies that investment funds invest in. Instead, they hold relationships directly with the fund. When investing through investment funds, CDC takes an active role as a limited partner to the fund, working with the fund manager to ensure best practices, including in environment, social and governance matters, and investment management oversight. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/02/2021).

This means that, their partners do not only give in investment funds but they take an active role as a limited partner to the fund. This help for effective control and avoids mismanagement of funds.West End Farms like most of the small holder plantations in Mbandjock have ethnicity orientation. That is why most of the labourers, workers and managing team of the structure are from the Northwest region of Cameroon. These northwest settlers in Mbandjock working in the West End Farms also came along with their cultural traits which they practice in high gear in Mbandjock. Hence, the presence of acculturation and enculturation actually take place here.

In brief, West End Farms PLc is a Cameroonian company that does Agro-pastoral production in premium mode. They produce corn, soya beans for agriculture, and then

produce pork, beef, poultry and sheep. West End Farm is involved in the cultivation of crops like maize, cassava, and the keeping of pigs and fowls. They used the maize to feed the pigs and fowls. They have both permanent and temporal workers. Most of the works are done with machines. The seed they used are hybrid seeds at time nursed by them or bought from IRAD and other seed nursing enterprises. The smallholders in this locality also sell their products especially corn to the West End Farms PLc. They sell their maize to GUINESS Cameroon S.A, LES BRASSERIES DU CAMEROUN and other companies.

3.1.2.2 Complex agricole de Medonga

This firm is owned by one of the indigenes of Mbandjock. They produce both cash crops and food crops. They cultivate cocoa, plantain, and keep pigs. In this firm two categories of workers are distinguished, permanent and temporal workers. The permanent workers are those involved in the day to day activities of the company. The temporal workers on the other hand are those whose services are often needed seasonally. These temporal workers most often intervened during the cleaning of the farm, planting and harvesting.

Photo 1: After monitoring and streaming plantain in a large farm



Source: Bonuh che, February 2020

Machines are involved in all the levels of production in this company for the cultivation of crops. This company also nests hybrid seeds as well as buys seeds from IRAD and other seed nursing enterprises. The total land surface used is 180ha. A majority of their land is used to cultivate cocoa, while the remaining land is used for growing plantain and the

keeping of pigs. Statistics from the delegation of agriculture in Mbandjock (2019) indicated that, 5.8 percent of the research indicated that their labour source is their family, 52.3 percent of the research indicated that they use an association of friends as their source of labour, 24.4 percent of the research indicated that they use hired labour and 17.4 percent of the research use machines in their cultivation. This implies labour is mainly done by friends and hired labour.

3.1.2.3 KURSEL S.A

KURSEL SA is one of the companies located at the Mbandjock city centre involved in food crop production and also promoter of smallholder plantations agriculture. The company mainly practice agricultural production for commercial purposes. Some of their activities carried out include; Extensive cultivation of maize, palm trees farming and the keeping of fowls.

KURSEL S.A like most of the small holder plantations in Mbandjock also has ethnicity orientation. The owner of this structure is from the Northern part of Cameroon. Even the name KURSEL has origin from Fulfulde language which means meat. Anthropologically, it means that the Kursel S.A is a company that provide food for everybody and great employment for people. Hence, the symbolic representation of this structure is that it provides food security, employment and even a uniting factor of both the people from the northern regions and those down south. To demonstrate the ethnicity orientation of small holder plantations in Mbandjock, the owner and most of the labourers, workers and managing team of the structure are from the Northern Regions of Cameroon. These northerners' settlers in Mbandjock to work in the KURSEL S A also come along with their cultural traits which they practice in Mbandjock. Hence, the presence of acculturation and enculturation actually take place here. The cock festival which they practice yearly in Mbandjock is another demonstration of the presence of their culture.

The cultivation of these crops takes place during the raining season. Each activity listed above is best explained as follows. KURSEL SA also buys from the local small holder farmers all around the sub division. Their harvest and what the company buys from smallholders are usually sold to GUINESS Cameroon S.A, *LES BRASSERIES DU CAMEROUN* and other companies. During one of our numerous visits to the KUSSAL SA firm, one of the workers articulated how they proceed in maize farming in their structure. He said,

to cultivate maize, we proceed as follows; the tractors is use to dig the ground and make it loosen and the grass on the farm off rooted alongside softening of the soil. After a period of time, when the grasses most had decayed, he then used planting machines to plant. While the machine digs holes and the maize in the machine container enters the holes, fertiliser is added to the maize for rapid germination. The maize planted is either bought from IRAD or from abroad. They buy specific variety mostly the hybrid red maize and or the hybrid white corn. As the maize is growing, they put fertiliser one more time and labourers are hired to treat the grasses with herbicides and insecticides. Thereafter, we wait until the maize is dry. When the maize is dry and ready for harvest, the company do a special recruitment from the population at a given wage rate. The maize harvested is taken to the base of the company where there is a machine used in seeding the maize and separating it from dirt's. Another machine dries the maize and sends it to the third machine which selects good grains and separates it from bad grains and the maize is collected in bags from the running tube like a tap. From then it is weighed, and different masses are written on the bags. It is stored in stock waiting to be sold. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/02/2021).

KURSEL SA like most large production units in Mbandjock sub division do not only concentrate on maize as they equally cultivate palms for the manufacture of palm oil. In the process of palm growing, KURSEL most often buy their plants already nursed and ready for planting. Sometimes they also nurse their own palms. When they do it, most palms take 100 days or more to germinate. There is great diversity in palm seed sizes. They vary from 5 mm in length to the largest seed of the Lodoicea maldivica weighing more than 20 kg.

Palm trees are flowering plants meaning angiosperms. They are monocots which seeds produce a single, leaf-like cotyledon when they sprout. Palms can grow very fast. A Fish Tail Palm can grow to 10 meters (thirty feet) in as little as six years when conditions are optimal. It usually grows more than a foot a year and can reach its full height in 20 years or less. Palms can grow very fast. It usually grows more than a foot a year and can reach its full height in 20 years or less.

Palm nuts are harvested from the farm and are boiled in big metallic pots. After boiling the palm nuts, he uses the machine which grinds the palm nuts and squeezes it so that the oil should be released. The oil that comes out is mixed water and is being put back in the metallic pots and boiled again. When boiling, the water evaporates leaving the oil in the pots. The oil is then allowed to cool. It is then filled into big containers. The oil is then sold to some firms like the soap industries.

3.1.2.4 Complex Essimi Menye

Complex Essimi Menye was created in 2014 by Mr Essimi Menye, the then minister of

finance, agriculture and rural development in Mendouga village of the Mbandjock subdivision. The complex is charily engaged in cocoa production and animal rearing (cattle, sheep, pigs and goats) as their main activities. The cocoa farm covers about 100 hectares with more than 500 labourers. These labourers are mostly settlers from different tribes that live together in a camp. These labourers have a supervisor that managed and controlled the smooth functioning of the activities. He gives report about the activities, the salaries of the employees and the problems encountered during the year.

Animal rearing here is also an important cultural activity in this complex. Cattle's rearing is the most common. They practice intensive cattle rearing. Here, the machines usually till the land where cattle are been reared that extend to about 20 hectares of grass land. Next to the tilling is the introduction of a variety of grasses to this area that serve as pasture to the cattle and the sheep follow. This is done mostly during the rainy season by the employers of the complex. Most often, the shepherd is the Mbororo and the Hausa that live with their families usually separately from the other employers of the complex. The small holders in these localities engaged either in cocoa production usually as well sell harvest to these firm.

This complex has in recent years engage in farming maize and cassava so as to be able to feed the huge population of their workers. They also do sale some of their food crops to some of the brewery companies in Cameroon.

Like the other small holder structures in Mbandjock, Complex Essimi Menye equally has ethnicity orientation. The owner himself, being an Eton and the managing team is made up of mostly Eton people with some Anglophones from the Northwest region being a part. These settlers occupy position of labourers in the farms and other menial jobs around the structure. These northwest settlers in Mbandjock, working in Complex Essimi Menye came along with their cultural traits which they practice in Mbandjock. Hence, the presence of acculturation and enculturation actually take place here. The type of food this people eat is becoming very popular in Mbandjock.

3.1.2.5 Complex la palmerai

Complex la palmerai is another agricultural firm created in the 2000 in two locations, Mendouga in the Mbandjock sub division and Ndji in Bachanga of the Likie division. They are involved principally in palm oil production. Their production unit used to be in Mendouga village. This institution was initially based independently in Mendouga from its creation till the year 2000. During this period, palm nut was harvested and transformed to palm oil in Mendouga. With time, their equipments' got bad and they now transport all the palm nuts cultivated in Mendouga village to Ndji where they have more good machines in palm oil production. The complex la palmerai had also merged with another palm oil producer based in Ndji village. This is the more reason, the palm nut from Mendouga is transported to Ndji where it is processed into palm oil.

Palm nut cultivated in Mendouga village covers about 25 hectares. These complex employs both women and men mostly from Ndji, nearby localities and settlers from the North and North West regions of Cameroon which can be summed to about 250 labourers. These labourers live mostly in Ndji with few of them living with their families in Mendouga to control and supervise the activities in the palm nut farm. During harvesting, all the labourers assemble in Mendouga's camp to ease the work. However, these economic institutions have attracted many people in our locality and have led to a continuous socio-economic development. They contributed to about 30% of the 228976 litters of palm oil produced in Mbandjock in 2020 (sub divisional delegation for agriculture Mbandjock 2020).

3.1.2.6 Nkolo Laurent

Nkolo Laurent is another big agro firm found in Mbandjock that cultivates maize, soya beans and keep fowls. They also transform the maize and soya beans. Parts of the finish product are used to feed the fowls. They also make used of both permanent and temporal workers. Machines are equally used in this company for the cultivation of crops. Most of the work is man power works. The seed they used are hybrid seeds at time nursed by them or buying from IRAD and other seed nursing enterprises. They have 80ha of land. The firm also buys from the local small holder farmers in the sub division. Their harvest and what the company buys from smallholders are usually sold to GUINESS Cameroon S.A, *LES BRASSERIES DU CAMEROUN* and other companies.

3.1.2.7. Common initiative groups

These are farmers who cultivate a common crop and who come together to either work a common farm or organise to work individual farms but bring together their produce. They sell their crops as a group, and ask–for subvention as a group. Members of these common initiative groups usually do work together in their farms. Even when they hire labour and or machines to work in their farms, they contribute and pay or take money from their profit to pay labourers. In Mbandjock, we have the following common initiative groups; COMFEV that cultivate cassava in Nyassi, CODEFIRM also cultivate Cassava in Mbiboto, *ENYING-Moi* in Ndjoré II at camp puné.

I am registered with a common initiative group. We are all women involve in maize and cassava production. We are registered with the sub divisional delegation of agriculture. Two years ago we were called by the sub divisional delegate that we have assistance from the government in terms fertilizers for our farms. We really went there and collected, they said we will be receiving yearly but since then we have not received again. This year she called us to start organising ourselves and that we may receive a similar support this year. Sincerely, that support help me boost my production that year and I am very grateful. (Interview in Mbandjock 09/04/2020)

This implies that, the presence of common initiative groups encourages small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. Even the government through the sub divisional delegate assist farmers in terms of fertilisers and other farms material. This support from government is usually not constant. The farmers most often wish to be receiving yearly but most often it is once a while. Nevertheless, support help boost production in small holder plantations group in common initiative groups.

3.2. Agents of small holder plantation and food security in Mbandjock

These stakeholders are the government, the local council, companies, cooperatives, common initiative, individuals, traditional and religious authorities, labourers, and farmers. Their level of activities and role is articulated below,

3.2.1. The government

The government intervenes in the agricultural domain through the sub-divisional delegation of agriculture for Mbandjock. The whole sub-division has 3 workers, a subdivision delegate based in Mbandjock centre all alone and two agricultural technicians in two agriculture posts. One takes charge of farmers and farm in Ndjoré I and II while the other person is in charge of farmers and farms in Ndo. The government, through these technicians, assists in the following way:

They give guidance and coordinate the activities of the farms. They assist farmers to create their farms. Indicate which portion of the land is good for different crops. They also assist farmers on how or methods of cultivation. Like how many meters away from each

other crop. They give guidance on the variety and types of hybrid seeds and crops to cultivate. They further monitor farmers on the type of insecticide, chemicals and fertilisers to use in their farms. They also assist the D.O in settling conflicts between farmers and cattle grazers and even land disputes in the sub division.

Even with the changes in the availability of financial resources, many farmers are ignorant of its existence and even when they know, it becomes difficult to have access to it. One of our respondents acknowledges by saying,

Many farmers in Ndjore had limited access to financial assistance either from the government or financial institutions. Most of us are not aware that heavy investments led to heavy profit. We also saw the problem of lack of collateral security (land) that could enable us access loans considering the fact that all financial institution depends on that for loans to be granted. Whereas, I know smallholders play an enormous role in food supply for the people and most especially vulnerable groups as we feed selves and bring up children with the help of these small scale farming, under a food security the businessmen and women from big cities come and buys products directly from us at a guaranteed price and distributes them to a network of markets. (Case research in Ndjore 18/10/2018)

In the African traditional religion, man believes he can master his own destiny with the right power and the goal of religion is man's happiness and good. Hence the importance of 'religious' rituals as ceremonies are all considered means of obtaining the powers needed to attain a happy and good life. As such man will use whatever ritual necessary to deal with the challenges in the spirit world, the physical world and the of human relationships in order to ensure success in his life as African ontology puts man at the centre (Steyne 1990, Turaki 2008). That is why the people here make use of their cultural, physical as well as services provided by the government to achieve their farming of small holder's plantations. So, some farmers, time to time through MINADER, give assistance to farmers in the country at large and Mbandjock in particular through so many Projects. Some of which will be seen below.

3.2.1.1 ACEFA (Amelioration de la Competivite des Exploitations Familiales Agropastorales)

The government through this project, supports farmers in advice and materials. They advise the farmer on how to cultivate or keep animals or birds. This way, they experience high yields as compared to when there is no support. In Mbandjock; this program has sponsored two projects at the tune of one million each. One of the projects in the domain of the transformation of fowl feeds and the other one sponsored by the same project sponsors a small scale farmer to create a magazine where crops cultivated in this zone are stored. However, crops stored here are maize, plantain, cocoa, cassava etc which is found in *Camp Panié*. This was affirmed to our research by one of our informants, who said,

When I was informed about this project, I thought it was a mere government propaganda. I went home and discussed with my elder brother who encouraged me to try as he said we lost nothing in trying. I slept over it, gave it a second thought and decided to go in for it. I then wrote a project on the storage facilities of crops in my area up to the tune of one million. I deposited this project care of the sub divisional delegation of Agriculture in Mbandjock. Some few months after, I was called to give some more details about me and the projection in question which I did. A few months later I was informed that my project was one of the projects to benefit from ACEFA sponsorship that year. Technicians from the delegation of agriculture visited the site and work started thereafter. Today with this warehouse I, help so many locals to store their produce like maize, cocoa, just to name a few. Some people keep their crops for few days, some for months and some even a year. They pay just a few francs for us to be able to maintain the facility. (Case study in Camp Panié 18/02/2021)

Many people in this area today are happy, for the warehouse project which helps them to store their produce and use them at their convenient time. Before, their crops used to get bad because of lack of storage facilities and the situation is gradually changing.

3.2.1.2 PEAJEUNE (*Programme de Promotion de L'Entrepreariat Agropastoral des Jeunes*)

Another program through which the government used to assist small scale farmers in Cameroon in general and Mbandjock in particular is the PEAJEUNE. This program of MINADER is mainly for the youths of 15-33years of age. They support in the form of materials in domain like, maize, cassava, pigs, and fowls. They sponsor based on the fact that, the project owner contributes 10% of what is needed for the project to be functional. However, this project has not gone unnoticed in Mbandjock as two youths has benefited from the program. One is involved in the keeping of pigs and the other in the cultivation of maize. In concordance with the above, one of our informants acknowledged that,

One of the criteria of this project was to provide 10% contribution as project owner before the government comes in and give the remaining part of the project. When I was writing the project I had no money so I did not know what I will give as my 10% contribution. So I gave it a second thought and decided to use the land my father had earlier donated to me to build a house when I have money to offer as my 10% contribution to the project and it was approved. That is how I benefited from that project. So I used the land and constructed temporal structures to keep pigs and today I count about 300 pigs which produce piglets for me. I also use part of the farm to cultivate maize which I use to feed the pigs. The pigs also provide manure for me which I also sale. That is their excrement is used as manure in the farms in replacement of fertilizers. From this project I have generated other businesses, I am married, have built a house and have two kids now. The worry I have here is that of theft and low prices at times. (Case study in Mbandjock 13/06/2019)

From this project, other youths in this area have also gotten interest in pigs-keeping and have initiated their personal projects in pigs-keeping which have provided employment for them.

3.2.1.3 PALAF2C (*Projet d'Appui a la lute Antifongique*)

Apart from the above mentioned programs through which the government used to support small holder farmers in Cameroon, there is also PAUF2C which is a program through which the government supports farmers working tools. They give material instruments like cutlasses, hoes, knifes, wheal bent etc. They support all categories of farmers but cocoa famers. This assistance is done nearly every year at the beginning of the farming season.

There is also the program PALAF2C through which the government assist indigenous agriculture in Cameroon. This program supports farmers with products and chemicals for the treatment of their corps from the time crops are planted. This is done once a year. They support with products like insecticide, pesticide etc. It should be noted that it is done in Mbandjock once every year. However, it is worthy to note that, just few farmers benefits from this support, as such the impact is not really felt These mixed feelings about this project was acknowledged to us by one of our informants by saying,

I registered with a group of women as a common initiative group involve in maize and cassava production with the sub divisional delegation of agriculture. Two years ago we were called by the sub divisional delegate that we have assistance from the government in terms fertilizers for our farms. We went there and collected. Upon collection, they said we will be receiving yearly but since then we have not received again. This year she called us to start organising ourselves and that we may receive a similar support this year. Sincerely, that support help me boost my production that year and I am very grateful. The only problem is that they lied to us that it will be coming every year and we made our program knowing that it will come only for them stop giving. (Interview in Mbandjock 09/04/2020)

From the verbatim above, we have noticed that, the spirit of the project is a very good one and can go a long way to ensure food security as well as increase food production in the Mbandjock community. This will emply preserving the food culture of the Mbandjock people. Nevertheless, the introduction of this project made some farmers condition themselves to the yearly reception of the support from the state. Hence, the failure to make this agricultural support from the government regular can contribute to food insecurity in Mbandjock.

3.2.2 Mbandjock council

The Mbandjock council plays a role in small holder plantations and food security system in Mbandjock. In Mbandjock municipality, agribusinesses dominate the urban and peri-urban area. Some of these agribusinesses include: SOUCAM, Kussell SA, Western Farm and complex agricole Mendouga just to name a few which have large plantations and use modern equipment. They employ a salaried agricultural workforce recruited mostly from the urban population. However, alongside this cash crop, there is still a traditional agriculture which is most often used only to meet the demand of the agribusinesses as well as for local consumption. It uses rudimentary tools, its outputs are low and employs unpaid family labour. Its main crops are: corn, cassava, sugar cane, plantatins and some fruits.

However, there is a large agricultural farm in Ndokoa (Western Farm). These structures in one way or the other, pay taxes to the Mbandjock council. It is with the help of the tax collected from the different firms, local farmers and small scales farmers that the council carries out its projects. The taxes collected from these structures also help the council to provide improved agricultural seeds to farmers, provision of farming equipment's to local farmers, opening of farms to markets roads and the creation of local markets just to name a few. The council also give guidance and coordinate the activities of the farms in Mbandjock. That is, the council assist farmers to create their farms, indicate which portion of the land is for agricultural activities as well as the part received for infrastructural developments. One of our informants indicated that,

Though the council do not do these things regularly, the Mbandjock council at times support the local farmers by, giving them hybrid seeds in maize, cassava etc. They give guidance on the variety and types of hybrid seeds and crops to cultivate. They open their roads (farm to market roads). Especially in Mbandjock and Ndjore villages. I think I have once seen a council worker in charge of agriculture come to our farms areas to talk to us farmers on how or the methods we should use in cultivation. I also remember that when the late former mayor, Chief Mbandima of Ndjore village was still strong, he used to come and give some farmers insecticide, chemicals and fertilizers to use in their farms. These really help us farmers but it was short live. If the council can continue with these types of gestures, we smallholders will do better to help in food security in our local council area. (Interview in Ndjore, Female Farmer, 14/07/2020) The Mbandjock council is faced with so many challenges in regard to small holders' plantations activities in their municipality. Some of these are: insufficient land, prevalence of crop pests, archaic agricultural techniques, lack of agricultural inputs, insufficient technical supervision, rudimentary production tools, low use of improved seeds, low product transformation, difficulty of conservation, non-existence of a storage warehouse, low yield of farmers, difficulty of transformation, low production, low income, discouragement, undernourishment, low yield, rotting of agricultural products, low flow of products, self-consumption, famine, poverty, and poor nutrition. Nevertheless, the Mbandjock council is and in the nearest future working to solving these issues. One of the council's executives notify to our research team,

The council in her mission of providing social reliefs to her population are projecting in the development of collection tracks, provision of agricultural machinery to farmers' organizations, training in modern agricultural techniques, distribution of improved seeds to farmers' organizations, training of producer organizations in microcredit research, construction of the agricultural post of Ndo, creation and construction of an agricultural post at Mekomba, the creation of village phytosanitary brigades Biboto, Ndjore, Ndo, Urban Space, Mendouga, Mekomba, Minkouma, Ndokoa, Doua. (Interview in Mbandjock, Female farmer, 15/07/2019)

Also, the council acknowledges that, the small holders' farmers' lack means of conservation of products, farmers experience low purchasing power, insufficient supervision, lack of warehouses and purchasing centers, seasonal disturbances, rudimentary working equipment, scarcity and high cost of improved seeds and dilapidated offices of the delegation of agriculture. All of the above act as a drawback to small holders farming activities in Mbandjock municipality.

To remedy these situations, the Mbandjock council intend to create a multiplication centre of agricultural seeds, organise a capacity building of producers, to sensitise the populations to animal husbandry in enclosure, the assignment of additional staff in existing framing services, renovation of the delegation office, provision of equipment in computer and rolling material and the construction of the CEAC Urban Space.

The Mbandjock council also intervene in the small holders' plantations farming and food security system in Mbandjock. Here, the Inter and intra-urban transport is also very little developed. The service within the town is made possible by the activity of motorcycle taximen who are recruited from among the young population. This activity is regulated by the council. Intra-urban transport contributes, in a non-negligible proportion, to the reduction of unemployment among men and young people. As for interurban transport, it is provided by several operators, but only two are identified as some travel agencies (Solidaeite and Alliance Voyages). It is accompanied in this interurban service by coaches ("clando") and individuals who park on the esplanade of the bus station provided by the council.

3.2.3The SOSUCAM Foundation

This is a foundation owned by SOSUCAM Company which assists local farmers in Mbandjock especially the village and SOSUCAM workers who own farms. They act by, giving them hybrid seeds in maize, cassava etc. They open their roads (farm to market roads). Especially in Ndo village, they pay teachers of the village school in Ndo. This company also assist farmers in the transportation of their goods to the local market of Mbandjock when they are coming back from their plantations.

Photo 2: SOSUCAM van dropping up farmers from the farm to the Mbandjock Market



Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

According to one of our informants,

the road network linking the village to the economic and political capital of the sub division had hindered their production and progress, ranging from fertilizer delivery and marketing of crops. This had accounted for the presence of many intermediaries who bought their products at a cheaper price from them and sold at a higher price in cities like Mbandjock centre, Yaoundé and Douala, etc making huge profits while the poor farmers remained poor as such affecting their livelihood negatively. (Case research in Mbandjock 14/01/2021) However, SOSUCAM really help us to transport our produce from the villages behind their plantation to bring to the Mbandjock urban market. This has gone a long way to remedy the transportation problem though a lot need to be done.



Photo 3: SOSUCAM van offloading farmers' goods in the Mbandjock Market

Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

These farmers profit from the SOSUCAM van to transport themselves and their farm produce from their farms to the market. Also, the villages like Biboto, Ndo and Mendouga that are behind the SOSUCAM plantation equally make good use of these SOSUCAM transporting van.

3.2.4 Farm labourer

In Mbandjock, labour used to be provided in the farms by the family. That is to say family labour. The father, the mother and the children constituted the labour force. The bigger the family was, the bigger the farms and high yields or output of the family. That is one of the reasons men used to marry many wives so as to have so many children that will be used as their labour force in the farm. Also, family friends, group of friends used to arrange and work in a rotational way in each other's farms. This culture is gradually changing now as scale farms used family labour and at times hire labourers to work in their farms. Some big farmers and to an extent most agro business firms go to the northern regions and North West region to bring people to work their farms. Some work until the end of year before receiving payment. Most often the workers end up having issues with their bosses for non-payment of their labour and or the poor payment of labour. There are three categories at which labour is

organised in the farms in Mbandjock. The individual level, common initiative groups, cooperatives and agro business levels. Apart from the indigenous people of Mbandjock sub division, there are many settler groups that came into Mbandjock. The first arrivals of migrants in the Sanaga Valley date back to 1963, when the State of Cameroon granted by decree a concession of 10,000 hectares of land to the sugar company of Cameroon. (Zoa Zoa 2008). These settlers from the northern part of Cameroon came in as labourers in the companies present in Mbandjock. One of our informants testify;

My father told me that, in 1963, a first wave of 20 migrants composed of 07 Toupouri Settlers, 06 Massa, 05 Mousgoum, 04 Moudang and 03 Guiziga respectively arrived Mbandjock, they were encouraged by the benefits presented to them by the recruiters in SOSUCAM. Their main mission was to maintain the 80 hectares of nurseries or 04 hectares per person; which will make it possible to obtain in 1966, a field of 800 hectares of sugar cane. In 1964, another wave arrived in the valley composed in total of 20 distributed respectively in the same way as the first. In 1965, 29 other individuals arrived, which will be reinforced by the mass of 270 in 1966, 67. The latter is composed of: 81 Toupouri; Massa; 45 Moudang; Guiziga; 39 Mousgoum and 15 mbum. The Administration of that time tried to introduce cash crops to these populations and who reacted fairly well to their physical effort. My parents who were settlers indeed provided the labour required and necessary for the expansion of the companies in the sub division. Over the years, the number of recruits grows more and spread throughout the year. Three main reasons explain this: the industrialists wish to permanently have a working class of about 500 people on the spot and at the moment for tasks related to the cutting and those of the maintenance. The extension of the rail between Yaoundé and the north is completed and the actual operation. (Case research in Mbandjock 14/01/2021)

Among other things, it was the human resource that is a key factor in any agri-food production unit; unfortunately, it was poorly available in the Mbandjock region. This makes it a human desert because, according to Clerk (1944), the population density of the region was less than 01 inhabitants /km2. In addition, these populations make up the majority (60.7%) of the immigrant workers living in Mbandjock and from northern Cameroon (Tissandier. J and Barbier. J.C, 1977). Their numerical importance, the distance from their region of origin and above all their strong involvement in social, political and economic activities, justify our interest in these peoples. It is important to mention the presence of other migrants from neighboring divisions such as Lékié, which is also a densely populated area, Mbam and even southern Cameroon with 36% of individuals. These keep very close links with their zone of origin because of the proximity of this one; unlike the Settlers who have almost cut off contact with the original people.

In 1970, Tissandier and Barbier's studies count an average of 2400 people, half of whom are northerners. This change in number will continue in 1974, with 1360 Northerners who constitute about 58% of the employees of the companies since in addition to the use of trucks, aircraft are also used to transport maneuvers to Mbandjock facilitating and accelerating their migration. The trend of the sharp increase of Settler in Mbandjock is further accentuated when they bring their family to settle in Mbandjock thus stopping the multiple back and forth linked to the various interruptions of employment contract and succeeding in re-constituting the regrouping of their family.

These populations with strong physical working abilities, however, illiterate will contribute on the one hand to the growth of an industry through their physical work. This is view of the fact that they provide the largest contingent of agricultural workers, 56.34% (Tissandier, 1977). On the other hand, to repopulate and dynamist an empty spaceman because of their successive arrivals and their strong propensity to procreate. By daily observations in the various residential areas of Settler and Moundang, it appears that the number of children per household is sometimes greater than eight, even in the case of a monogamous marriage. During the descents, we observed that they constitute today, in the locality, the majority ethnic group. (Zoa Zoa, 2005). All of these people work like labourers in small holder plantations in Mbandjock.

What made us to engaged so much in small scale farming was our working conditions as migrants which was that of subjugation. It was a must for each migrant employee to complete six lines of 100 meters per day to expect successful bonuses and or avoid penalties that reduce payments. This was already in itself very pitiful to allow the individual to live decently enough. Young people between the ages of 20 and 35, who were mostly unmarried, caught up in the fields sometimes during weeding or cattle tracking in the pastures, sometimes in the villages after all attempts at compromise were futile. It is known from the readings that these northerners have historically initiated the refusal. (Interview in Mbandjock 16/01/2021)

It is an opportunity for young people to raise money and pay for livestock and other side effects needed to take a wife and start a family. In order to fulfill the customary obligations thus mentioned, young people come in with wives in the locality of Mbandjock for jobs in the agro-industries. Reasons these people and other settlers who came in from other regions opted for secondary activities that could better their lives and those of their families. Thus, they started opening farmland since the Mbandjock zone have fertile land for small farming which is today transforming into smallholders' plantations agriculture with many indigenous populations involved. Forty years later, the Settler, described as illiterate yesterday have experienced a certain evolution. Rendered in the locality for economic needs, they are today finally implanted in Mbandjock. Even though a few still consider them only as simple wage earners looking for a non-existent nest egg in areas of origin because of the low development of the main cotton crop as a source of income for the populations of their region or aspire to do something else because of the low income of their origin conton production. So, they prefare to travel down south to Mbandjock that can offer them employment opportunities in SOSUCAM and other firms present in Mbandjock. Some of the former. Most feel fully involved or integrated in the management of local affairs. (Zoa Zoa 2005).

3.2.5 Individual

At the individual level in Mbandjock, farmers may have their family farm inherited from their forefathers, given to them by the village and or bought. This is the case with most of the settlers in Mbandjock. Here, they used the different individuals in the household to work in farms and most often for consumption and surplus sold. They used tools like hoes, cutlasses, rakes just to name a few. This is done in their private farms or family farms. This culture is gradually changing as even families now hire labourers to work in their farms since their children most often are in school or in workshops to learn trades.

3.2.6 Grazers in Mbandjock sub division

Small holders farming in this region have also led to grazing in this area. Small holder farming and grazing are all agricultural activities practiced in Mbandjock. These two activities have a common meeting point which is the land. Grazing in this area partly depends on small holders farming and to another extent, small holders farming for cattle rearing. Small holder farming in Mbandjock have impacted grazing activities. One of the new cultures established in Mbandjock is the inter relationship between smallholder plantations and grazing. It was testified to us by one of our respondents who said,

> the presence of cattle rearing in Mbandjock play a very good role in influencing smallholder farming as cattle are being used as drought animals to cultivate smallholders and till the soils. Some of us smallholder farmers use the cow waste products in our farms. Since cattle equally produce dung that is being used as manure in the cultivation of crops such as; maize, beans and vegetable, their presence in Mbandjock is an addition to smallholder farming. It has helped us instead of fertilizer to make our crops grow to use cow dung and urine which is more natural in crop fertility. Also, the cattle produce milk

that gives energy to the farmers and meat which is a source of food and proteins to the farmers. (Interview in Mbandjock 16/01/2021)

Based on the above, a new culture of farming is emerging in Mbandjock in the cultivation of crops by small holder plantations. This culture is more natural and economical to the farmers. It helps the soil to rapidly regain it loss fertility.

The introduction of SOSUCAM in the 1970s made so many people to migrate to this area and herdsmen were not left out. However, Mbandjock subdivision have rich soils, topography and good climatic conditions that favour the production of a variety of crops like maize, cassava, beans, plantains, coco yams and sugar cane among others. This climatic condition equally favours the growth of grass that cattle reared in these areas feed on. These cattle rearers are mostly in Mbandjock village, Biboto, Ndjore, and Doua villages. In the rainy season where they make good use of the grass found in the bushes and forest around the sub division. The dry season that runs from November to March is consisted of transhumance activities. During this time or period, there is acute dryness that is coupled with the disappearance of water from the hills tops and only available in valleys and along the river Sanaga. This factor has caused the herdsmen and their cattle to move towards the valleys, smallholders' fields or wetlands. In this process they encroach into smallholders' fields or the valley in search of pasture. This is only after small holders have been harvested that herdsmen move down to the small holder farms to benefit from the small holders' stock, fresh grass around the wet small holders' farms and water around the rivers and streams.

Moreover, after the harvesting is done, cattle owners then send in their cattle to feed on the remains and fresh grass found in the small holders' farm. The traditional ruler plays a very important role in these activities as cattle owners pay some compensations or yearly tributes to the different Chiefs of the Mbandjock villages.



Photo 4: Muslim community and cattle rearer pay tributes to the Mbandjock chief

Source: Bonuh che, December 2020

They equally act as intermediary between farmers and grazers because they resolve conflicts that arise between farmers and grazers should there are any destruction caused by the animals. While on the farms, the different cattle owners put their cattle in segments. As concerns the cattle's feeding, they feed on fresh grass, and fresh grass around smallholder farms. After every two or three days, the grazers give salt to their animals which help to stimulate the eating habit. During their three months stay around the farms, cow dung is collected by the local farmers and later used as manure when the next planting season comes. This dung helps to enrich the smallholders' fields making the soils to become more fertile. Hence increase in yields.

3.2.7. Small holder farming and livestock breeding

Livestock breeders in Mbandjock sub division are also agent of smallholder plantations. Both the Baboute and the Yezoum people in Mbandjock sub division do not only cultivate crops but also keep animals as a source of livelihood and income. As such, they had to put some strategies in place to better their standards of living (livelihood diversification). The farmers believe keeping of livestock such as fows, goats, sheep, pigs etc contributes in one way or the other to their livelihood and food security. Most of these farmers sell the goats and pigs to even renovate their houses, pay for medical bills, pay for education, buy clothing for their children and husbands at times and other farming inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, and food products they do not produce like rice.



Photo 5: Goats own by smallholders feeding on farmers produce farmers in Ndjore

Source: Bonuh che, December 2019

Another phenomenon here that is peculiar is the fact that most farmers that are of age, that is farmers above 60 years of age complained that they could no longer participate actively like before; consequently, affecting them negatively and their households tend to livestock breeding which help them to run their farms and families. However, keeping of livestock have a lot of challenges as there is a lot of theft of these animals or bird by thieves. These animals also eat their crops and most often attributed to witchcraft and only the rituals performed during their annual festival can help remedy the situation as their crops are protected;

Most of the birds are kept by women and family labour used. For the pigs and goats, it is mostly done by men and family labour used and or hired labour from settlers with origin from the Northwest and Northern part of Cameroon. Some of the locals as well as settlers have common initiative groups that work together in the keeping of either piggery or poetry. As such, they harvest and market produce together and share the profit. Some of the maize they cultivate is transformed and use as feed to either the pigs and or fowls.



Photo 6: Poetry by a group of women in Mbandjock village

Source: Bonuh che, December 2019

Very few famers that can be numbered, usually give vaccines to either their fowls or animals. This is done mostly by the settlers and it could be understood as they are coming from another culture and so tend to practice what is done in their cultural zone in this locality.

Marketing of produce such as cassava, plantain and fresh corn is done in the farm. That is most buyers come from Yaoundé and are taken to the farms by the farms owner and harvest the quantity they may want to buy and sell directly in the farm. They use money made from the sales of farm produce to do savings in Njanggi groups, take care of the family, send children to school, build their houses, etc.

3.2.8 The chiefs and the local community

The chiefs and their population have a lot of contribution in small holder plantations and food security in their respective villages in Mbandjock sub division. It ranges from the provision of land for farming, the protection and guaranteeing of production and reproduction through their different rituals. In fact, they do these through their belief systems. One of the cultural activities done involved in small holder plantations is the performance of rituals. These are cultural heritage that the people of this region took over from their forefathers and transmit from one generation to another. However, Mbonji (2005) illustrated that culture is the ways of life of a given population of which they use in solving their daily problems of how to eat, drink, sleep, and make love, shelter... Therefore, culture refers to the actions, reactions, productions and all other elements that accompany a society in their daily life found in all age groups taught by the oldest to the youngest. Crop cultivation was intensified in Mbandjock when SOSUCAM and the people integrated in their culture. Hence, the older generations have been teaching the younger ones in these zones with crops cultivation. This is affirmed by Parson, T (1949) who said culture...consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes. The rituals practice in Mbandjock have been from generation to generation and have significant consequences on smallholders' plantations. A majority of small holder farmers in Mbandjock sub division offer rituals to their ancestor in relation to crops cultivation.

3.3. Small holder plantations and era of agricultural changes in Mbandjock

Smallholder plantations have engineered some changes in agriculture in different periods. In line with the eras of agricultural changes in the world, the people of Mbandjock also have specific periods in which agricultural activities emerged. These periods and the characteristic of the period are outline below.

3.3.1. African agricultural era/ the pre-colonial agricultural era/ the Neolithic era

The African agricultural era also known as the pre-colonial era is when agriculture emerged across the world. In the western world, this period was called the Neolithic era in 10,000 BC. This African agricultural era was also witnessed by the people of Mbandjock. It is during this era that they started the transition from hunting, fishing and gathering to domestic agriculture, densely populated settlement, more trade, and greater property ownership. During this pre-colonial time, the people of Mbandjock used tools like sticks and shape stones for their agriculture. It is also important to note that it is in this time that the Arab Agricultural Revolution occurred between the 8th–13th centuries. It is in this period that their migration of group of people from the northern part of Cameroon to present settlements. The people of Mbandjock migrated from Sudan during this period as such, they came along with new crops and advanced techniques in agriculture spread to the Muslim world. This people domesticated crops like maize and cassava just for home consumption.

3.3.2 Colonial African agricultural era

The colonial African agriculture era is the period when the Africans came in contact with European colonization. It should be noted that they introduced cash crop production in Africa, Cameroon and Mbandjock to be more specific. They introduced cocoa, palm plantation in this area. It is also during this period that the British Agricultural Revolution was going on that is from the 17th–19th century. It was the extraordinary growth in

agricultural production due to increases in labour and land productivity given that Africans were taken as slaves to work in European plantations. The industrial revolution in Europe also intensified in this period. Major developments and innovations include: crop rotation, fodder crops, improvement of ploughing so that it could be pulled with fewer cow or horses, the removal of common rights to establish exclusive ownership of land, development of a national market, increase in farm size and selective breeding. It is during this period that cocoa plantation became dominant in the Mbandjock area. They have more hybrid seeds for maize, cassava and vegetables.

Growth spurts based on producing food for local markets have likewise been the case: hybrid maize in Zimbabwe in the first half of the 1980s, in United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia in the 1980s are examples where small farm production has been organised by state agencies. Smaller-scale booms in marketed food crops include rice in the inland delta of the Niger (Diarra et al. 1999), open-pollinated varieties of maize in the middle belt of Nigeria (Smith et al. 1993), horticultural exports from Kenya (Minot & Ngigi 2003), and peri-urban production of dairy, fruit and vegetables for the city of Kano (Mortimore 1993).

3.3.3 Green Revolution Era

The green revolution era falls within the time African countries were in their preindependence, independence and post-independence. The green revolution went around the world especially in the developing world that is African countries. The Green Revolution materialized between the periods of 1930s–1960s, an increase in agricultural production. This period was characterised with technology transfer initiatives between 1950 and the late 1960s, which increased agricultural production worldwide, predominantly in Africa with high vielding varieties (HYVs) of cereals, fertilizers, irrigation, and new methods and tools for cultivation, which is machine. It is during this period in Mbandjock that SOSUCAM was created that led to influx of people in this region to work in the newly created company mostly as labourers. The workers of SOSUCAM both indigenes and settlers intensified small holder plantations in Mbandjock. With SOSUCAM implantation, crops like Sugar cane, maize, cassava, cocoa, plantain, palms were introduced in Mbandjock sub division. It is during this time that the people of Mbandjock came in contact with machine for cultivation. SOSUCAM used tractors in cultivation. Now cultivation by machines and highbred seeds, fertilizers is becoming common in the Mbandjock area. Hence helping toward food security cultures.

3.4 Era of agricultural changes in the world

Since the introduction of agriculture, there have been many changes pertaining to this activity. These changes did not occur in the same time or place but it has eras or periods in which it occurred. Nevertheless, since culture is learned, copied, elastic and transmittable, changes in agriculture easily moved from one place to another. The very first agricultural era called the first agricultural revolution also known as the Neolithic revolution, Neolithic demographic transition occurred in 10,000 BC. The revolution emerged in the following regions; Turkey, Mesopotamia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian. According to James Henry Breasted (1990), the area was described as *Fertile Crescent* also called the Cradle of Civilisation. This period was characterised with the transition from hunting and gathering to settled agriculture, densely populated settlement, specialisation and division of labour, more trade, the development of non-portable art and architecture, and greater property ownership developed. These settled communities permitted humans to observe and experiment with plants to learn how they grew and developed. Their agricultural activities were irrigation, domestication of plants and animals, pottery, and deforestation which allowed the production of surplus food. There were eight principal Neolithic crois cultivated: emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, peas, lentils, bitter vetch, hulled barley, chick peas, and flax. Tools like the polished stone tools were used for cultivation. At the end of the Neolithic era, metal tools were development.

The second era in agricultural development is the Arab Agricultural Revolution that occurred between the 8th–13th centuries. It is in this era that new crops and advanced techniques in agriculture spread to the Muslim world. It is also in this period that there was the extensive diffusion of useful plants to medieval Spain known in Arabic as al-Andalus. The region was fertile and prosperous with plentiful water, full of fruit from trees such as the olive and pomegranate. Islamic scientific knowledge of agriculture and horticulture also grow rapidly. According to Antonio Garcia Maceira (1876), the Arab agricultural revolution witness improvements in animal husbandry and irrigation such as the *sakia* water wheel. These changes made agriculture far more productive, supporting population growth, urbanisation, and increased stratification of society.

The third major era in agricultural development is the British Agricultural Revolution, or Second Agricultural Revolution that took place from the 17^{th} – 19^{th} century. It was the extraordinary growth in agricultural production in Britain due to increases in labour and land

productivity. During this period, agricultural output grew faster than the population and productivity remained among the highest in the world. It is worthy to note that, the increase in the food supply contributed greatly to the rapid growth of population in England and Wales, from 5.5 million in 1700 to over 9 million by 1801. The Agricultural Revolution has hence been named as an origin of the industrial revolution. There was a change of the farming method from fallow to crop rotation. Crops that dominated in this era were turnips and clovers and increased livestock numbers with the used of manure that added further to soil fertility. Major developments and innovations include: crop rotation: Fodder crops, particularly turnips and clover, replaced leaving the land fallow, improvement of the Chinese plough so that it could be pulled with fewer oxen or horses, the removal of common rights to establish exclusive ownership of land, development of a national market free of tariffs, tolls and customs barriers, transportation infrastructures, such as improved roads, canals, and later, railways, land conversion, land drains and reclamation, increase in farm size and selective breeding.

The fourth agricultural era is the Scottish Agricultural Revolution that emerged from the 17th-19th century, this period experiences a modern and productive system. They improved Scottish lowland to farmland and transformed of Scottish agriculture from the least modernised systems to the most modern and productive system in Europe. The basic pre-improvement farming unit was the *baile* (in the Highlands) and the fermetoun (in the Lowlands). In each, a small number of families worked open-field arable and shared grazing.

Third Agricultural Revolution also known as the Green Revolution emerged between the periods of 1930s–1960s, an increase in agricultural production, especially in the developing world. This period was characterized with a set of research technology transfer initiatives between 1950 and the late 1960s, which increased agricultural production worldwide, predominantly in the developing world. These new technologies included high yielding varieties (HYVs) of cereals, particularly dwarf wheat's and rice, fertilizers, irrigation, and new methods of cultivation that is mechanization. The Father of the Green Revolution was Norman Borlaug Ronald (2013) who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970. He is credited with saving over a billion people from starvation. The basic approach was the development of high-yielding varieties of cereal grains, expansion of irrigation infrastructure, modernization of management techniques, distribution of hybridized seeds, synthetic fertilizers, and pesticides to farmers. However, below is a table that demonstrates the different agricultural eras in the world and the types of crops and tools used.

S/N	Era	Date	Crops	Tools
01	The Neolithic	10,000 BC	emmer wheat, einkorn	Polished
	era		wheat, peas, lentils, bitter	stone tools,
			vetch, hulled barley, chick	Metal tools
			peas, and flax,	
02	Arab	8th-13th	Fruit, olive and	Metal tools
	Agricultural	century	pomegranate, animal	
	Revolution		husbandry	
03	The British	17th–19th	turnips and clovers,	Metal tools,
	Agricultural	century	vegetables, flowers, fruits	Machines
	Revolution			
04	Scottish	17th–19th	Cereals, vegetables, fruits	Metal tools,
	Agricultural	century		Machine
	Revolution			
05	the Green	1930s–1960s	Cereals, wheat, rice,	Metal tools,
	Revolution		vegetables, fruits	heavy
				Machines

Table 3: Era of agricultural changes in the world

Source: Adapted Bonuh Che (2020)

The table above demonstrates the different agricultural eras in the world and the types of crops and tools used. The oldest era is the Neolithic era which took place in the 10,000 BC with crops like emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, peas, lentils, bitter vetch, hulled barley, chick peas, and flax dominating the era. The tools used were polished stone tools, Metal tools. The most recent era is the Green Revolution which ran from the 1930s–1960s dominated with new feeding culture and production of crops like Cereals, wheat, rice, vegetables, and fruits with the used of Metal tools, heavy Machines.

3.5 Resistance to the changes

The introduction of a new method of doing things and or a technology is a tactical phase in renovation. The changes are determined by a blend of factors, with the primordial being thorough understanding of the targeted society. Essentially, if the change does not go well with what the people know and believe, the new ideas will receive resistance. This happens because people's perceptions and mind-sets are fundamentally fashioned by past experiences. Nevertheless, it is worthy to note that, resistance is a natural phenomenon to be recognized in the introduction of new know-how. If one failed to recognize the importance of resistance, the innovation will have failed to meet the purposes of its introduction. Supplementary value that would have been appreciated by the receivers of the change or innovation will be missing. According to Yanu, Endar Prasetyo, et al (2018),

Resistance indicates readiness to accept change entailed in innovation. So when a change is needed for long term benefit, all the hindering factors deserve a considerable study to be addressed in sensible manner. As appropriate technology implementation aims to reach people prosperity, identifying resistance becomes integral part of technology transfer strategy. Therefore, two designs i.e. hardware and software design, must be prepared. Hardware design includes the type of technology itself, while software design includes various aspects in the community, i.e. social, culture, economy and environment. These aspects must be recognized and understood so when resistance to technology innovation arises, we will know the source of the problem; which is why and how such resistance arises.

It becomes very difficult for the people of Mbandjock to take to change especially change in the practice of agriculture. Most of the famers are small holders and as such see change as a far fetch something. When it even comes to issue of status or arts of the ancestors, there is still resistance as many turns toward Eurocentric arts like the status of the Virgin Mary for protection and blessing. According to Moussima Njanjo (2017), the first and laudable challenge of the African and European arts is to find a balance between an ethnological and aesthetic approach to the arts of the African continent. European artists sought in the arts of Africa for solutions to the plastic problems which they posed without however knowing their characteristics and cultural meanings. One of the meaning or symbols of the African arts is that of protection, blessing and healing. In Mbandjock, the arts of their ancestors provide them with protection, blessing and abundant harvest in their farming activity.

Both the hardware and software design agricultural innovation here is hard to immolate. This is affirmed by one of our informants in Ndo village who notify that,

one of the people from government that always come here when we start the farming season always tell of to clear the farm with cutlasses and not to bunt, asked us to till the soil before planting and asked us to buy seed for planting. We usually accept when he is around and when he goes we do not continue. It is really funny to us, how can we waste our time to clear the farm for many days that we can bunt it in just some few minutes or an hour and safe the time to do something else. We grow up and saw our grandparents, parents burning the bush and planting yet have good harvest and now he want us to be wasting time for nothing. Even the seed, where will we get money to buy when we have seed at home or can take from the neighbour when we do not have. Last year he came and gave of maize to plant and my wife used it to cook fofo corn. (Interview conducted in Ndo, 11/03/2020).

The introduction of this new ways of farming faced challenges most often because of the failure to take into consideration the socio-cultural ways of life of the people. The few people that take into consideration changes are usually people with some degree of education.

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Schumacher (2008), propound that, the introduction of innovations is meant to no other than giving optimal benefit to users and determine appropriate technology implementation strategy that respects the conformity with socio-cultural factors. In the same vein, Yanu Endar Prasetyo, et al (2018), affirmed that, appropriate technology implementation facilitates the transformation of values in the community. Though change is certain, an unplanned change will result in long term damage. It is understood that innovation will not be accepted immediately by a community if the values entailed in innovation still need some adjustments with local values.

Change or transformation is inevitable in all human societies. These changes can be natural or planned. According to Skogen, (1997), a planned change is attainable by empowering people through implementation of appropriate technology aimed for community innovation. Novelty is a planned change by means to improve the practices in question. In Mbandjock, since the existence of agriculture in this region changes in agricultural techniques, tools and even culture have at times occurred planned and at times naturally. It is planned when the indigenous people shifted from principally hunting, fishing and gathering to settlement agriculture with both cash and food crops cultivated. These people have most often remained dormant to the use of fertilizers, hybrid seeds and the hiring of machines to work in their farms like most settlers will do. They tend to prefer their old habits of using crude tools, burning of the bush or forest to plant. Also, their customs, tradition and spiritual practices in the farm have been liberalized. As indigents are free now either to participate or stay away from it which was not the case before. However, change is most often hindered by resistances from either individuals or groups in a particular community. It goes in line with Soelaiman, (1998) who posit that resistance happens because most social organizations have certain defense mechanism against social changes coming from outside the community.

The natural changes occurred in Mbandjock when these people came in contact with settlers since the colonial periods and most especially when SOSUCAM was implanted here and people came from all over Cameroon with their own culture to work and settled in Mbandjock. These settlers have their own ways in which they cultivated and as they are really many, the indigence without noticing started adopting changes in their ways of farming though in a very minimal way. This is confirmed by one of our informants from the Northwest who is a small holder settler in Mbandjock,

when I came to Mbandjock to work in SOSUCAM, I found out their soils were fertile as such, as a worker in SOSUCAM, I rented Iha of land and started my cassava and maize farming, I usually clear my farm and gather in hips before I burnt, I will hire labour and at times tractors to till the soil and form furrows before planting. I applied fowls droplets in the farms and at time fertilizers in the maize section. At the harvesting period many natives saw how I always have good harvest even more than those who that cultivated on bigger portion of land than me. Many of the indigence around my farm used to say I came with rituals from Bamenda and applied in my farm even though what I applied is just to protect my crops from thieves. As we speak most of my neighbours have being copying my system of farming. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 19/03/2020).

People all over the world and Mbandjock in particular, take change in a very resilient way. This is affirmed by Diamond, (1996) who propounded that, ritualistic organization defences (*externalised ego defences*) act as a challenge to reality, defensive screens that conceal problems, deny conflicts, and resist change. Therefore, this mechanism sometimes hampers the diffusion of innovation. Nevertheless, Shaul Oreg (2003) highlighted six main factors of resistance to innovation that can be as well experience in Mbandjock.

3.5.1 Loss of control

Individuals may resist changes because they feel that control over their life situation is taken away from them with changes that are imposed on them rather than being selfinitiated. In Mbandjock, this situation is a reality as the people are so jealoused of their customs and traditions. This is common in the type of crops they cultivate which is mostly maize, cassava and plantain. They hardly adopt new tools, crops and hybrid seed in farming. This is asserted by one of our key informants,

In terms of tools used, there have not been greater changes in the usage of tools, nearly all the smallholder's farmers' used rudimentary tools but for some agro firms that uses but rudimentary tools and machines. With seeds, indigence usually used surplus of last year harvest as their seeds though very few people buy hybrid seed from IRAD who usually sensitize and make their seeds available to farmers. With regard fertilizers, the people are very resistant however, the people are gradually using of manual, animal deification and now fertilizers, pesticide and insecticides mostly by big farmers and agro firms. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock 15/05/2019)

The above statement shows that, farmers in Mbandjock resist to changes because they feel that accepting new changes is accepting that the control of their culture and life situation is taken away from them. These people are so jealoused of their customs and traditions. Nevertheless, the people are gradually using of manual, animal deification and now fertilizers, pesticide and insecticides mostly by big farmers and agro firms.

3.5.2 Cognitive inflexibility

It still seems likely that some form of cognitive rigidity would be implicated in an individual's resistance to change. In Mbandjock, smallholder farmers are thinking inflexibility to the labour means. Most of the labour force is family and friends and mostly the agro poles used hired labour and machines. According to one of our participants;

Labour is mostly provided by the family and group of friends who arrange and work in a rotational way in their friends' farms. Most often, the agripole go to the Northern regions and North West region of the country to bring people to work their farms. Only some of them and very few big farmers used machines to work in their farms. The indigence is very reticent to this phenomenon. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock 05/04/2019)

This means that, In Mbandjock, most of the labour force in small holder plantation is provided by family and friends. The exception is mostly the agro poles who used hired labour and machines. These labour force in the agripole usually come from Northern regions and North West region of the country to bring people to work their farms.

3.5.3 Lack of psychological resilience

It may also be that less resilient individuals are more reluctant to make changes because to do so is to admit that past practices were faulty, and therefore change entails a loss of usual and familia activities. In Mbandjock, most of the small holder farmers with indigenes dominating settlers in these aspects are psychologically less resilient as they become defeated when they see big farmers and agro firms using machines in cultivation and seasons of cultivation. Another informant explained that,

Very few smallholders cultivate crops like maize in two seasons. And cassava that takes 6 months to get ready is also cultivated two times a year. Some few "big farmer" and agro firms exist who use machines. A majority of farmers use manual labour with rudimentary tools like holes, cutlasses. While the later big farmer's use machines like tractors. Most of the cassava is produce here by locals and indigence of Mbandjock first for consumption before surpluses for sale. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock 05/04/2019

This is the effect of psychological resilient as the indigence are defeated psychologically when this agro firms cultivate two times a year and used machines as such tend to hold on to their old habits.

3.5.4 Intolerance to the adjustment period involved in change

New tasks require learning and adjustment, and it may be that some individuals are more willing and able to endure this adjustment period. It is thus reasonable to expect that people who resist change would exhibit a weaker need for novelty.

3.5.5 Unwillingness to give up old culture

When individuals encounter new stimuli, familiar responses may be incompatible with the situation, thus producing stress, which then becomes associated with the new stimulus. However, the resistance to change in the agricultural domain in Mbandjock cannot be over insisted. To implement any innovation or change in any aspect of life especially smallholder agriculture in Mbandjock a number of things should be taken into consideration. Some of which are; social, economy and culture condition that needs to be considered before the putting in place of an appropriate technological innovation. As noted by Yanu Endar Prasetyo, et al (2018), resistance is a reaction expressing people's unreadiness to accept new knowledge, skill and technology. It normally arises towards planned social changes, through technology innovation especially when implemented in rural community with limited access to information, knowledge and technology. Given this condition, the community will tend to hold on to their local knowledge. It goes in line with Vojislav (2002), who stipulated that, rural communities are not only believed to be more inclined to tradition than to innovation, but also offer the systematic resistance to innovations.

In Mbandjock, smallholder farmers resist changes in their practice of farming because they think it is a threat to their power over individual farmers. It is more likely for the peasant farmers here to resist changes in practicing small scale farming because they think that it will decrease their power over their farmers and farm activities and transfer it to initiators of the change. In such a way, the threat of power is one of the causes of resistance to change. Even the local authorities fear of losing control over indigenes. The change process sometimes had reduced the level of control that traditional rulers and notables had over their subjects. As such these rulers make the farmers to resist the proposed changes if the change process will require a reduction of their control power.

Also, the farmers here resist changes because they think that the agent of the change will increase control over the farmers. The fear of losing their managerial control most often made farmers to become resistant to such proposals for change. The farmers look at the changes sometimes simply as something that will decrease or increase their products or other economic privileges that some farming brings to them at the moment before the implementation of the change process. It is normal to expect that those people who feel that they will lose the portion of their products will resist the change.

In Mbandjock, most of the farmers involved in resistance to agricultural changes do so for their image, prestige, and reputation. Each small scale farmer wants adequate image, prestige, and reputation that are important to the farmers and their product. These changes can make a drastic shift in these farmer's benefits. If this is the case with the proposed change, then it will produce dissatisfaction. So, image, prestige, and reputation are some of the causes of resistance to change by farmers in this locality. In that light, most smallholder farmers feel the threat of comfort. This is because changes in many cases result in personal discomfort and make farmer's life more difficult. They make a transfer from the comfort of the status quo to the discomfort of the new situation. Farmers have the skills to do an old job without some special attention to accomplishing the task. Each new task requires forgetting the old methods of doing the job and learning new things that lead to waste of energy, and causes dissatisfaction, hence the resistance to change in this locality.

In Mbandjock, most small scale farmers depend too much on others. These farmers depend on large scale planters, other stakeholders and even individuals based on the current support they receive from these powerful donors. Each time a change process come and is a threat to them especially on land and labour issues, they will cause the peasant farmers to be resistant to the changes. These mostly happened because the farmers concerned usually do not understand the real purpose of the proposed changes. When farmers do not understand the process, they usually assume it as something bad. Hence, it will cause resistance to change by peasant farmers that could have been edified by the later.

Moreover, some of the small scale planters have mistrust to initiators of agricultural changes in Mbandjock. Since these farmers do not have trust in the initiators of the process, the change process most often is not accepted. Their different evaluation and perception affect the new changes. Majority of those peasant farmers consider the proposed changes as a bad idea, therefore resistance to change. This is affirmed by one of our respondents in Ndo village;

Most often I do not quickly go in for changes in my farming system for fear of the unknown. Changes in many cases, leads to uncertainty and fear. So for me it is normal for people to feel the fear of uncertainty. So when I feel uncertainty in a process of transformation, I think that change is something dangerous. Especially as it is not our habit here in Mbandjock. Our work in large part is based on habits, and work tasks are performed in a certain way based on those habits. So when the changes require shifts of those habits, there is always dissatisfaction from these proposals. I already have some experience with a previous agricultural change process. So, I know that new agricultural techniques processes are not an easy process. Therefore, my experiences simply make me know that most of the change processes in the past was a failure. So, this is why I am always reluctant to changes. (Interview in Ndo, 23/04/2020)

For peasant farmers in Mbandjock, new farming technologies at times are a threat to interpersonal relations. Farmers are often friends with each other and they have a strong social and interpersonal relationship inside and outside the farming community. Agricultural change processes that are seen as a threat to these powerful social networks in the community that can affect these farmers are simply resisted. It is done most often because of limited resources. A normal problem in every farming system is to have limited resources. Here peasant farmers' resources are limited, as such with the proposed agricultural changes those resources are threatened hence the resistance to change is more likely to occur. These farmers most at times, are not provided with adequate information about agricultural changes that are to be implemented. Therefore, most of the resistance to agricultural changes in Mbandjock is because of the later.

Conclusively, the agents of small holder plantations and food security here include; the government, the local council, companies, cooperatives, common initiative, individuals, traditional and religious authorities, labourers, and farmers. The government intervenes in the agricultural domain through the sub-divisional delegation of agriculture for Mbandjock. The government through some project support farmer in advice and materials. Another program through which the government used to assist small scale farmers in Cameroon in general and Mbandjock in particular is the PEAJEUNE. There is also PAUF2C which is a program through which the government support farmers working tools. There is also the program PALAF2C through which the government assist indigenous agriculture in Cameroon. With this program, the government supports farmer with products and chemicals for the treatment of their corps. Another stakeholder involved in small scale farming in Mbandjock in providing food security is the SOSUCAM Foundation. This is a foundation owned by SOSUCAM Company which assists local farmers in Mbandjock. They provide hybrid seeds, farm equipments' and fertilizers and provide at times transportation of farmers' goods from their farms to the market. They also assist the farmers in the education of their children by recruiting teachers, giving scholarships, providing infrastructures and other social amenities. Also, private individuals constitute part of the agents of small holder farming in Mbandjock that guarantee food security. In Mbandjock, labour used to be provided in the farms by the family. At the individual level in Mbandjock, farmers may have their family farm inherited from their forefathers, given to them by the village and or bought. So they used it to cultivate crop and provide food to their families and the community at their respective levels. In addition, common initiative groups are also part of the stakeholders involved in small holder's plantation to guarantee food security in Mbandjock. These are farmers who cultivate a common crop who come together either work a common farm or organised to work individual farms but bring together their produce and sale as one person. They also apply for support and aid together. Cooperatives are another category of smallholders' stakeholders in Mbandjock. These cooperatives exist mostly with maize, cocoa farmers, banana and plantain farmer. Also, agro businesses intervene in the guarantee of food security in Mbandjock through smallholder plantations. The Agro businesses are the different companies or firms that practice agriculture in Mbandjock. Some of them cultivate maize, plantation, cassava, cocoa and some even add the keeping of livestock to the activities. Finally, the chiefs and their population have a lot of contribution in food security in their villages. It ranges from the provision of land for farming, the protection and guaranteeing of production and reproduction through their different rituals. Part of the population of Mbandjock equally believes in God almighty and this group of people call themselves Christians. Following next is the chapter which presents the organisation of small holder plantations schemes.

CHAPTER 4 ORGANISATION OF SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS SCHEMES

This chapter present findings of the research in relation to the organisation of small holder plantations agriculture. This organisation revolves around; identification, representation, characteristics, categories of small holder plantation and farming system. It also discribes the organisation of small holder plantations in terms of experience, farming style and local people demands.

4.1 Identification of small holder farmer

Here, the research sought to identify who the locals consider small holder farmers and what it represents to them. In Mbandjock, most of the small holders' farmers are the owners of their farms as such it represents wealth, power and prestige to them. According to the Baboute culture, not all those who cultivate crops are land or farm owners. The real farms owners according to the Baboute people are those who inherited land from the forefathers and to an extend those who buy land. According to their custom, settlers in Mbandjock do not own land. So the land the rent and or buy to work on can be taken over from them if they are not working in accordance with their culture. Nevertheless, the situation is gradually changing today as most of the farmers that are settlers now own land. Labourers and farm renters merely work in the farm but in principle do not own land.

According to one of our respondents,

Smallholder farmers are persons who own farms, farm labourers, people who rent farms and most especially those who inherited land are those considered as smallholder farmers in Mbandjock. This is because all the category of people I gave you cultivates crops in one way or the other. They either cultivate the land they rent, buy and or inherit to farm crops for consumption or for marketing which all ensure food security. The farms labourers on their own part either rent or beg a piece of land to cultivate crops for basic consumption at times for sale. So the work their masters farm and find little time to work theirs. . (Interview conducted in Mendouga, 13/04/2019)

Based on the above, it shows that the majority of farm owners are small holder farmers in the locality. This research identifies that most of the small holder farmers in Mbandjock are the owners of their farms. It varies with Meijer (2015) who possit that farm renting is mostly practice in Europe, America, Asia as well as in the northern and southern parts of Africa. From the viewpoint of these previous researchers, our research differs with their research since it identifies that most of those who are considered as small holder farmers in Mbandjock are the owners of their farms with very few of them renting these farms.

4.1.1. Features of small holder plantations

The Yezom, Baboute people, in fact indigenes of the Mbandjock sub division have so many common characteristics of what they term small farms. The representation of small holder farms here is based on the type of crop cultivated, the size of farm, and the tools used in cultivation. Most small planters here practice mix cropping with the help of local tools and technology. They use very little land (usually around 1-10 hacres) and often using very little to no expensive technologies. Here, Small farms are sources of employment; sources of food and sustenance. Many small holder families produce a large fraction of the household's food. Even though they cultivate mainly for sales, much of their agricultural output is consumed within the household. Very few farms employ large numbers of hired workers; the exceptions are large plantations that produce sugarcane, cocoa, maize, cassava and a few other export crops. As a result, most of the workers in the agricultural sector in Mbandjock are selfemployed as they own their own farms; very few own farms yet are employees in SOSUCAM and other mainstream firms. Nevertheless, Alie Kamara et al. (2019), propounded that, the nature and characteristics of small holder farming systems in Africa are highly diverse and there is no universally accepted definition of small holder farming. Therefore, small holder farmers as those cultivating less than 2 ha, relying mainly on family labour, with limited capital (natural, physical, social, financial, and human), low-inputtechnology, and limited access to markets.

One of our informants affirmed that, small holder farms in Mbandjock have the following features:

Small holder farms have boundaries with peace plants; their farms act as a shelter; their produce are for commercial purposes and their farms act as a cultural heritage. Lastly, smallholder farms are the main large farms in the locality. The main characteristic of smallholder farms are based on the type of crop we farm. (Interview in Mbandjock 16/04/2018).

This is in line with Prokopy (2008), who broadly consider farm and farmer characteristics that enhance a farmer's ability to adopt as capacity and that, it is the ability to maintain the function of a system as it undergoes some type of change. Baumgart-Getz (2012) argue that the key capacity variables considered to be important in influencing farmers' adoption decisions include age, education (formal education and farmer training), income, farming experience, tenure, social networks, labour, capital and information are all elements of the characteristics of small scale farms. While both Prokopy (2008) and

Baumgart-Getz (2012) use the concept of capacity to combine both farmer and farm characteristics, most adoption literature separates them. In this research, we chose to adopt the latter categorization since one of the categories of farmer characteristics relates to the management ability of the farmer. Meanwhile the other category of farm characteristics relates to farm resources. Meijer, et al., 2015; For instance, based on household size, households with more adults are more likely to adopt Integrated soil fertility management (ISFM) since many of the ISFM practices are labour intensive. As household size increases, the likelihood of adoption of ISFM practices is expected to be high.

4.1.2. Farming system

Small holder plantations in Mbandjock are organised both in subsistence and extensive farming. The subsistence farming represented mainly by individuals small holders and extensive by the agribusinesses present in Mbandjock. Some of them practice mono-cultivation, some mixed faming and others Shifting cultivation. Most of the small holders practice mixed cropping where cassava, maize, groundnuts are practiced on the same plot. Mostly the agribusinesses practice mono cropping. To an extent, they still practice mix cropping. This farming system is done by individuals, Association, cooperatives and labourers in the agribusinesses firms. The extension of small holder plantations is often connected with increases in production in the short run and reductions in the long run. One of the agriculture technicians we met in the field told us that,

The expansion of maize production land in Cameroon led to increased maize production in the short run but a reduction in the amount of maize produced in the long run. The farmers here claimed that extension of smallholders' plantations provides more land for cultivation but forgetting to know that in the long run the area that has been deforested for this extension becomes vulnerable to all types of erosion and low soil nutrient storage and consequential decreases in soil organic carbon and nitrogen. While most farmers continue to depend on increasing small holder plantations to increase production in most of Mbandjock, this method of adapting agricultural systems to declines in production has been presented in many studies as one of the main problems of food security in Africa. To make a bad case worse, the prospects of increasing small holder plantations further in most of Africa are progressively diminishing as less and less land is becoming accessible. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, 96% of forest area loss is as a result of agricultural extension. (Interview in Biboto 18/03/2018).

The above interview can be elucidated by the fact that the local farmers do not have access to other methods of expanding production such as high capital-intensive equipment and inorganic fertilizers. They consequently depend on the only available resource; that is, land to produce more. As presented already, it is believed that the more land you use for production, the higher your yields. However, in the long run, such extension would rather reduce production due to insufficiencies in soil organic carbon and nitrogen and high levels of erosion.

Grounded on the findings it is indicated that most of the small holder plantations use mixed cropping system of farming. Rosegrant and Cline (2003) argued that the expansion of agricultural land is one means of boosting up production that is sufficient in meeting rising demands for food. As such, they argued that smallest farmers in west and central Africa use the mixed cropping system of farming as well and a good number of them use monoculture and shifting cultivation.

4.2. Organisation by categories of smallholder famers

A farm in Mbandjock represents a parcel of land keen to produce food, live stocks, consumables and fuel. It can be of any size, since there are several types of farming and different sizes have different productions. It is also worthy of note that, farmers who have farms in less than one hectare are mostly for home consumption while those who have farms from 0 to about 2 hectares are for subsistence and surplus are sold. And finally, those who have from 2 hectares and above are solely for commercialization. In this category we find big farmers, West End Farm, Nkolo Laurent, Complex agricole de medonga, COMAPALM just to name a few in Mbandjock.

Nevertheless, Ruthenberg (1976) cited by Monju (2012), said, "farm as a system is considered as a set of related sub-systems which form a hierarchy of farms: micro-organism in the soil [...], crop-producing system". He continued by saying that "some of the subsystems involved are "machine" system (tractors) and other biological systems (plant, soils, animals), while the workers belong to the social systems. Woermann (1959) in his view of the farm cited by Ruthenberg (1976) cited by Monju (2012) said "a farm is taken to be an organized economic unit in which crops and livestock production is carried out with the purpose of producing an economic net return" thus Monju insisted a farm is organized to achieve the immediate objectives of the farmer who is manager.

Also, according to FAO (2014), farms' categories are defined on the basis of their relation to markets and their capacity to innovate. These categories include: Subsistence and near-subsistence small holders, who produce essentially for own consumption and with little or no capacity to generate surplus production for the market; small farms that are either

market oriented and commercial, generating surplus production for a market (local, national or international), or have the potential to become market-oriented; and large farms, showing characteristics of industrial ventures. On a similar note, the EU (2011) proposes a classification of small farms, to be used in alternative or in parallel to the one relying on the land size, based on the proportion of own-consumption of the holding.

This is similar to the situation that preview in Mozambique as *Censo Agro- Pecuario* (1999/2000) *Instituto Nacional de Estadística Mozambique*, in the Agricultural Census Mozambique posits that farms are classified according to the size of their cultivated area or livestock population. They distinguish between small, medium and large farms. In particular, small farms are farms with less than 10 ha of cultivated area without irrigated land, fruit trees or plantation, or less than 10 head of cattle, or less than 50 head of sheep/goats/pigs or less than 5000 head of poultry. There exist three categories of farms and farms owners in Mbandjock. To know; small, medium and big exploiters.

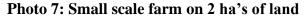
4.2.1. Small exploiters own 0 - 2ha's

The first category of exploiters, farms and or farms owner represents those farms who ranges from zero to two hectares of land. With this category, a member of the household owns, operates and manages the farm, either in part or fully. However, there are two categories of small exploiter here. To know; farmers with below 1ha of land and those with between 1 and 2ha.

Firstly, marginal farmers who exploit below 1 ha of land are mainly for survival or subsistence purposes and little surplus for market just to be able to get other household needs. In Mbandjock most subsistence farmers use all its produce for family consumption and to generate income for the family. However, according to FOA (2017), small holders are producers with less than 5 ha, 5 TLUs and 1000 USD of revenues, using an absolute physical threshold and a relative economic threshold. Specifically, considered producers with less than 2 ha of operated land and 5 TLUs and with less than the bottom 40% of agricultural revenues.

Secondly, small farmers between 1 and 2 ha. This category is near-subsistence smallholders, who produce essentially for own consumption and with little capacity to generate surplus production for the market. The farm is customarily operated by a family, where all the members work in the farm only slightly during their leisure time from the main employment, which is also their source of income. They work directly on the farm; they do not hire non-family permanent labour but may occasionally resort to temporary hired

workers. It goes in line with Berdegué and Fuentealba (2011) define small holder or familybased agriculture as a social and economic sector made up of farms that are operated by farm families, using largely their own labour.





Source: Bonuh Che (2019)

4.2.2. Medium exploiter owns 2 - 10ha's

A medium farm ranges from 2 to 10 ha of land. With the medium exploiters, there is a minimum share of labour between the proprietor and his or her relatives. These farms are usually not registered as a joint stock company or other type of commercial company. Like in the small exploiter, with the medium exploiter farmers, sit is equally divided into two, to know; semi-medium farms between 2 and 4 ha; and medium farms between 4 and 10 ha. It also satisfies a series of upper limits on the endowment of assets: farm size, cultivated size of the farm, and machinery assets, planted area with fruit trees and irrigated area.

According to the World Bank extreme poverty line and the average household size: smallholders are defined as producers with less than 5 ha, 5 TLUs and 5152 USD of revenues and using an absolute physical threshold and a relative economic threshold. Specifically, we considered producers with less than 5 ha of operated land and 5 TLUs and with less than the bottom 40% of agricultural revenues.



Photo 8: Small scale farm with plantain on 5 ha's of land

Source: Bonuh che (2019)

4.2.3. Large exploiter owns 10 and above ha's.

Large farms or large exploiter are farmers who exploit land above 10 ha. These are big farmers with large farms, showing characteristics of industrial ventures. It also satisfies a series of upper limits on the endowment of assets: farm size, cultivated size of the farm, and machinery assets, planted area with fruit trees and irrigated area. Below is a photo of a large farm showing characteristics of an industrial venture.



Photo 9: Large scale farming with maize on 24ha's of land

Source: Bonuh che (2019)

Among these three categories of farmers or plantation exploiters, there also have three distinctive categories which are, those who cultivate crops mainly for food or consumption at family level, the second categories are those who cultivate for food and sale excess. The third Category is mainly those who produce for sales like the agripole in Mbandjock. According to one of our respondents,

Also, among these categories are also classified spiritualism in production. Those who belief in God prayers in their farms and crops. Those who beliefs in traditional belief like rituals, sacrifices and others. Those who mixed both traditional rites and Christianity. Those who are neutral and depend only on clericals. Those who do not use anything. (Interview conducted in Ndjore, 03/06/2019)

The findings show that the farms are considerably farm enough to be considered as smallholders' plantations.

4.3. Cultural representation of small holder plantations

Small holder plantations in Mbandjock represents a source of items to their different rituals. From their belief system, the produce from the farm is used as sacrifices to the ancestors and their gods. The people of this locality believed that, good and prosperous farmers are those who participate in the end of year festivals or rituals. According to their customs and tradition, the respective villages of Mbandjock sub division give sacrifices to their gods and ancestors during each end of the traditional year festivals and or rituals. This is aimed at cleansing each village from all the bad things that might have happened in the previous year. It also prepares the village for a new and prosperous year for both production and reproduction. Hence, farming especially small scale farming is not kept aside. That is why good harvest is another important reason why the rituals are performed in these different villages.

The farms are organised such that, they can produce crops that can be used as items for festivals and rituals. In fact, these villages every year give sacrifices to their gods especially that of good harvest so that their crops can produce well and eventually give them good harvest. Therefore, since most of the indigenes or locals of these villages are agriculturally incline, it is not left out. It is perceived that those who do not participate in these activities are left at the mercy of witches and wizards. Generally, the Mbandjock people believe in the existence of witchcraft. They believe that when crops are grown, these people pass through heavy winds, rains, birds and other animals to destroy crops hence causing low productivity. Since witchcraft is a metaphysical practice that can better be understood by those who

practice it. The advantages of this practice if any is only known by those involved. However, as far as this work is concerned, witchcraft plays a drawback role to farming in the Mbandjock villages. Those involved, either kill people who could work on the farms or destroy crops in the farms leading to low production in this region. Hence, witches and wizards are a great set back to crop production in Mbandjock. In order to fight against this, the people turn to their gods for protection to whom they offer sacrifices and arrange concoctions to apply on their farms to protect their crops.

One of our key informants told us that,

This ritual is done for the good harvest of all crops cultivated in the village. When this product is prepared, it is given to farmers to mix in their seeds before planting making the gods to bless the seeds so that it can produce good quantity and quality. (Interview conducted in Mendouga, 13/04/2019)

For them, when these sacrifices are given to these gods through their ancestors, the farmers will experience a very good harvest in all their crops such as maize, cassava, plantains, cocoa, groundnuts, beans, as well as hunting. It should be noted that these gods at times influence the type of catch made out of fishing.

Small holders in Mbandjock also organised not to kill snakes in the course of farming. If a small planter wants to be successful in his or her farming activities, he needs to avoid killing any snake. The Baboute people who make up four villages of the Mbandjock sub division have as totem the snake. This snake is believed to have helped them cross the river Sanaga to settle in their present side. As such, they do not kill or eat a snake. This is another very important aspect that favours crops production among the Baboute people which are the majority in the sub-division. They have a stronghold and secrets with the snakes and treat it with particular attention. The people do not kill these creatures for fear that they will be punished by the gods as well as a means to show gratitude to the snake for having helped them cross the river Sanaga to settle in their fertile land today. This fear of killing any reptile makes the farmers not to be more effective leading to low productivity. However, to increase production, anyone who kills any of these reptiles is being cleansed through the ritual of cleansing. The cleansing ritual has been of utmost importance because it has helped to revive many farmers who would have been dead for killing any reptile unknowingly. So, this has gone a long way to boost the food crop production, since farmers are certain of a remedy.

More so, it is perceived in Mbandjock that showing solidarity in times of joy or sorrow determines crop production. Death is a very drastic issue that hinders farming here. This is because, the death of any villager in general and the passing away of the chief in particular causes farmers not to farm for a number of days or weeks depending on the type of death. The death of a normal villager takes two days for quarter members and about a month for the family member to mourn and not to work in their farms. That of His Royal Majesty takes one week for the entire village and equally about a month for members of the Royal family not to work in their farms. While in our field work in Ndjore village, their chief passes away as such, farming was retarded for some weeks.

In the same direction, one of our informants, affirms the consequences of working in the farm when someone is death by saying,

The chief who died was a very powerful man and we cannot joke with his dead. We know so well that if we go to the farm we will meet him. First of all, we know here that if a farmer visits his/her farm in the vein of a deceased person, he will meet the deceased's ghost in his farm which will not only bring ill-luck on his crops but will equally bring ill-luck on him as a person. So we cannot even try with the passing away of our chief who was so powerful. (Interview conducted in Ndjore, 11/04/2020).

All these hinder farming and equally reduce the number of working days especially when a chief pass away. The weeks or months spent in mourning affects farming greatly. This is because before the end of the farming season, about two, three to four people died in a quarter making the people to lose much time in mourning than working in the farms. Equally, when these farmers stay at home mourning for so long a time morning some of their crops are being destroyed in the farms either by water, eaten up by birds or grains just fall off causing low production. So the issue of long period of mourning in this region should be looked into and long lasting solutions provided like reducing the days reserved for mourning.

Part of the population of Mbandjock equally believes in God almighty and this group of people call themselves Christians. Some of our key informants told us that they no longer believe in their traditional god and as such do not give sacrifices to any other god but for the Almighty God. Christianity has, therefore, become part of the culture of the people here. That is why they usually dedicate their farms to God Almighty for his protection and to bestow them with the strength to work on their farms. Christians in this area also take their seeds to churches for pastors and priests to bless so that God can intervene and make their seeds to geminate well so as to produce good yields. Some Christians go as far as spraying holy water blessed by priests and pastors on their farms to protect them from witchcraft. After harvesting, the best part of their produce is taken to God as a thanks giving in the different churches where they fellowship. Those who are not able to bring their 10% of their produce, bring money to appreciate God for abundant harvest. This situation is more practical with rice farmers since their produce are really bulky, they prefer to sell and take a percentage of the proceeds to church. Nevertheless, the harvest thanks giving are given to God to thank Him for the good harvest and to eventually solicit His blessing for good harvest in the next planting season.

4.4. Small holder plantations generate food

The practice of small holder plantations organisation is such that they generate food in Mbandjock. It is perceived that; small holder farms play a substantial role in maintaining cultural diversity of food supply in Mbandjock sub division. This is explained by cultural *endosemy* where members of the Mbandjock socio culture attached to their existing realities of life at a particular time. All cultures are ways of life and those who live these modes invented them with meanings invested on every constitutive element of the whole in that cultural universe. That is why, the different crops cultivated in Mbandjock and those brought in by settlers have been given meaning or inculcated in their culture to answer to the issue of food supply.

Hence, one of the characteristics of small scale farming is mix cropping as such that culture play a very important role in the variety of food these local people consumed. Smallholder farmers need access to inputs and financial services; they need training in livestock and crop management, and to improve their capacity to manage their farms. They need to rekindle their farming activities with their culture as rituals; festivals and rites play an irreplaceable role in farming. The activity plays a very strong role in the lives of the Baboute and Yezom people as they use their farm products like part of the items during festivals and rituals. Agricultural activities have also promoted the need of a secure tenure system to the land they farm and other resources. This is affirmed to us by one of our participants in case research, who said,

Agriculture at any level is a business. The successes of our small farms generate extra cash that help transform these rural areas into vibrant economy. So as our rural economy is strong, there is higher demand for locally produced goods especially the cassava, maize and plantain cultivated. The benefits of small farms reach far beyond the Mbandjock area themselves. Cities around Mbandjock consume food and other farm produce cultivated hence these activities provide decent employment for a population that would otherwise need to migrate to urban areas in search of work. It has also help to make provision of cultural activities like festivals, traditional rituals and even our land tenure system. (Case research in Mendoga 22/10/2020)

Based on the above findings, it can be concluded that small holders' plantations in Mbandjock play a vital role in the lives of its owners and the people of Mbandjock as a whole. This is in line with Alie Kamara et al. (2019), who stated that, small holder farmers played a significant role and concludes that, the drive towards economic growth and development in Africa. Through an African-owned agriculture-led development will be meaningless if adequate investment is not focused on addressing the challenges and exploiting the opportunities faced by the smallholder farmer. In particular, gender specific roles, needs and priorities must be taken into consideration so that efforts to boost agricultural development will benefit both men and women.

4.5. Small holder plantations and improvement of agricultural production

In another view, small holder plantations in Mbandjock represents increase in agricultural produce. It is noticeable that small holder plantations organised to have the potential to lead to increased agricultural production. Small scale farmers in this sub division are the main sponsors in smallholder agriculture. They start by cultivating small portion of land probably inherited from parents and or beg, buy or rented small portion of land where they begin. As time goes on, they plough back profit and the farm increased both in size and yields. Their system of production is both composite and dynamic. In order to design strategies that efficiently sustain their own investments with the help of investments by other actors such as the public and private sectors, it is essential to have a picture of some of the key contributions of small holder plantations to food supply.

In Mbandjock, the increased food supply has not been predominantly due to the green revolution that began in the late1960s across the developing world as it seems to be. Their representation is that, the customs and tradition that the people adopt here for farming such as protecting the farms with helps, offering of scarifies to ancestors to check wind, too much rain, too much sun as well as making soils to be fertile and abundant harvest gives a good signal on the potential of small scale farmers to certify food security in Mbandjock. However, green revolution in Africa which was characterised by increased application of higher-yielding diversities of maize, rice and wheat, with much greater use of manufactured fertiliser

and crop protection chemicals, usually reinforced by irrigation came just to complement the indigenous know how on food supply. We cannot talk of agricultural development and food supply in Mbandjock without talking about the outstanding role small holder agriculture plays. The majority of farms in Mbandjock is small holdings. This is admitted to us by one of our informants,

If you see the efficacious agricultural growth here in Mbandjock today, it is as a result of increased production from smallholdings. Most of our families' farms here use local tools like hoes; cutlass and very few people get hybrid seeds. We equally thank our ancestors for always accepting our sacrifices and in return protecting, giving us abundance and good health to work in our small farms with which we feed our families and even most members of our community. (Interview in Mekomba 13/08/2020).

From the above findings, although production data are rarely reported in the developing world by farm size, most scholars argue that small holders have made a large contribution to the upsurges seen in the green revolution. This view is strongly supported by Wiggins et al (2013) who maintain that most of the supplementary production from the green revolution, at least in Asia, came from family farms of less than ten hectares, many significantly less. The technology based around enriched seeds was neutral to scale: pertinent on very small fields. Initial adoption of the new seeds may have been by the larger family farmers, but within a decade most smallholders in areas suited to the new varieties had adopted them. Also, World Bank, (2007), and the World Development Report (2008) note that agricultural production is imperative for food security as it is a source of income for the majority of the rural poor, especially due to the highly adjustable nature of domestic production, limited tradability of food staples and foreign exchange constraints in terms of the ability to purchase imports. Therefore, increasing and stabilising domestic production is vital for food security. Still according to Wiggins et al. (2013) four-fifths of the developing world's food is produced on about half a billion small farms. It should be pointed out that small holder farmers utilise the most ecologically, climatically, vulnerable landscapes, hillsides and floodplains to earn their livelihoods hence capitalising the land that could be rendered uneconomic by large scale farmers. Small holder farmers are at the forefront of the world's efforts to deal with climate change, environmental degradation, and poverty and food insecurity.

Apart from the increase in agricultural production by small holder planters in Mbandjock, their views are that they face challenges like lack of improved seeds, fertilisers and technologies in their farms a situation that is very much complex. The complication arises from multiculturalism brought by the influx of people from diverse societies into Mbandjock upon the creation of SOSUCAM in the 70s, diversity of climate, soils and the range of suitable crops. Nevertheless, it is apparent to bring these improved inputs and support farmers to use them more efficiently that is why small farmers here gather as common initiative groups and cooperatives to hire tractors to dig their farms. Small holders plantations are generally seen as essential cultural and agricultural growth in poor rural areas which can reduce poverty through three comprehensive ways: the direct impacts of increased agricultural productivity by well to do public or private structures supporting small scale planters which will basically increase incomes on the rural poor; benefits of cheaper food for both the urban and rural poor; and agriculture's contribution to economic growth and the generation of additional opportunities in the non-farm rural sector. Rockefeller Foundation (2006), is in line with this by conserving that the poor enactment of small holders' plantations is blamed on low or the non-use of high-yielding crop varieties that are extensively used in other parts of the world, hence increasing yields depends typically on increasing the area cultivated. In the same view, Wiggins et al (2013) point out that if better seeds and technologies could reach the farmers, the inefficiency and food shortage risks could be significantly reduced.

In Mbandjock, agriculture is seen as a source of food that is the greatest undeviating way by which household production converts their consumption. Individual and families' production has more impacts on smallholder farmers' activities as their food consumption and nutritional status is usually determined by what they cultivate. The representation of the Mbandjock people is in line with that of Irz et al (2001) who found strong evidence that increases in crop yields led to a decrease in the number of poor by about 0.7 % (at the US\$1/day limit). It was also found out that for every 10 % increase in farm yields, there was a 7 % reduction in poverty in Africa and more than a 5 % reduction in Asia. However, growth in manufacturing and services did not show a similar impact on poverty reduction. In another cross-country research, Christiansen et al (2010) found that a 1 % increase in agricultural per capita GDP reduced the poverty gap five times more than a 1 % increase in GDP per capita in other sectors, especially among the poorest people. Lipton (2005) notes that agriculture's possible to reduce poverty exceed that of non-agricultural activities.

4.6. Differentiations of the farms

In the villages in Mbandjock sub division farms are differentiated according to size and types of crops cultivated. Small size farm is owned by individual or families mostly indigents. The tradition practice by the individuals that owns these small size farms is mostly mixed subsistence agriculture, where at least 03 different crops in the farm, this type of farming is mostly for consumption and little sales are been made to meet up the family expenses. The land used for this purpose usually is land inherited from grandparents and often shared amongst siblings and family members. The land at time is given to friends and strangers on rent. This type of system leads to land fragmentation that makes it difficult an uneconomical to use machinery.

On the other hand, large size farms in this locality are most often owned by cooperatives, common initiatives groups, agribusinesses and some individuals who still run large farms. These large farms are characterized by mono cropping, here the crops cultivated are mostly for sale and export, some of the crops grown in large scale are maize, cassava, plantain, coco yams, groundnuts, sugar cane, cocoa, and palms. They use both semi-skilled, skilled and unskilled labour in their farming process. Their produce or crops are for the market.

4.6.1. Population size

Population size is one of the factors that determines farm differentiation in Mbandjock. Farm sizes used to be very small in this area but as time went on and the population increased, the farm sizes also moved from very small farms to bigger farms hence larger areas of cultivation and competition for land. In this light the farmers are forced to increase their productivity because there is a high consumption capacity, at the same time if not consumption can be reserved in future.

4.6.2. Farming techniques

Farming techniques also determine farm sizes in Mbandjock. *Modern techniques*, which include mechanisation and fertilizers, warrants lager farms therefore increased food production. While, *traditional techniques* with one of its characteristics being small farm sizes keep production lower. In Mbandjock only a few farmers use heavy machines in agriculture, which make it labour intensive and the results is low outputs. Many farmers are not yet aware of the innovations that exist in the agricultural sector. The above is explained by the fact that they do not have the means to purchase farm equipment.

4.7. Mixed farming

Another representation of small holders' plantations in Mbandjock is that, they generally practice mixed farming. Data from field indicated that most small scale farmers employed mixed crop method to adapt to food culture and security. Mixed cropping is one of the traditional farming practices perceived as a good method of cultivation here and used by all ethnic groups in this research area to improve crop yield and make food available all through the year. In this subdivision, 96% of small scale farmers practiced this farming system where certain crop types are cultivated concurrently on the same piece of land by farmers to reduce time, energy, the depletion of soil nutrients and soil moisture. Small planters practice this farming type so as to assure good harvests even if one crop fails to produce well, the others will guarantee food availability hence food security. It was concurred to us by one of our respondents, who said,

We, small-scale farmers practice this system to pledge harvests if other crops fail due to conditions beyond our control. So we practice mixed cropping methods to ensure a good harvest. Our farm sizes also place an essential role in this mixed farming system because more crops are cultivated on the same piece of land depending on the farmers' choice and farms location. (Interview in Ndo 28/08/2018).

These findings are in line with previous research of Mngumi (2016) in Tanzania which highlighted that most cultivated fields within the research area were characterized by two or more crop types dependent on the farmer's preferences and farm location. In the same line, Ghahramani and Bowran (2018) argued that mixed farming methods have attributes that can be adopted for case studies on the awareness of impacts climate variability and change on agricultural production. However, the above conclusion flow in the same direction with empirical evidence of (Beedy et al. (2010); and Magrini et *al.* (2016) which posit that growing both trees and crops on the same farmland has the benefit of decreasing risk of evapotranspiration during extreme heat wave.

Indigenes of Mbandjock perceive mixed cropping or multiple cropping as a farming system which provide greater yield stability in variable environment. Environmental variability may result in yield instability. When more than one crop is grown this instability is reduced because different species may not be equally affected by an adverse situation. Instability is often caused by pests and diseases. So they believed that mix cropping provides soil protection in that, damages caused by rain and wind due to soil erosion are reduced when the period of the year during which the ground is protected is increased. Therefore, welldesigned multiple cropping systems would provide higher yields and a greater gross return per unit area with the extra input being labour. One of our participants told us during a focus group discussion that,

Multiple cropping systems make available a steady and diverse supply of food to us. This scheme also reduces storage losses as different crops are harvested at different times. Some can be stored in the farm because of easy decay like cassava. More to that, crops planted at different times of the year have different weed species as well as different weeding periods associated with them. Hence, this rotation of crops helps prevent stockpile of any one serious weed species. The more different growth cycles the crops have in your rotation, the fewer weeds will be able to adapt to the field. (FGD in Mekomba 14/08/2019).

However, most of the small holder plantation practice mixed cropping. Below is a photo of a representation of what indigenes perceived of small holder farming of mixed cropping.



Photo 10: A farm where mixed cropping is practiced

Source: Bonuh Che (2019)

In the picture we can find maize, cassava plantain and cocoyams in a typical indigenous farm. Small holder farmers, here, continued to let us understand that, the practice of mixed cropping is better than mono-cropping, as mixed cropping guarantee the availability of food even in the case of food crisis period as compared to mono-cropping which with any damage from whatever source, they will go without food. This is affirmed in similar research by Makuvaro et al. (2018) who testified that mono-cropping is a poor technique in farming. Therefore, cultivating the same similar crops on the same plot year after year leads to pests and disease outbreaks and concentrates nutrient uptake from the same soil depth, leading to nutrient depletion.

4.8. Production to marketing of crops

In Cameroon, a large majority of agriculture is for subsistence. Agriculture or agricultural produce are directly consumed, large plantations are rare and belong to the multinational, cooperative and well to do people. Produce intended for mass marketing are bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, oil palm, sugar cane. Small holder farmers' populations in Mbandjock practice subsistence agriculture much more now producing for the market, the large planters, GICs and cooperatives are their popular means of commercialising agricultural produce of small holders' farmers in Mbandjock.

The marketing of farms produces in Mbandjock is done in two ways, the traditional and modern methods. In the Traditional method, the 10 villages presented as follows; Ndjore with village (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, Ndjore I and Ndjore II), Ndo with village (Biboto and Ndo), Mekomba with village (Mendouga and Mekomba), and Mbandjock-town provide market days where the local communities meet up with their farm yields in each specialty, since the various villages have unique crops which do well at different temperatures. Mbandjock town provides 2 market days which act as the main market where the farmers sell their produce some of which are maize, beans, vegetables, potatoes, cocoyam, plantains, bananas, groundnuts, market gardening produce. While crops like palm nuts and cocoa are sold mostly to both local and international businessmen. Palm nut is transformed at times by the indigenous people for direct consumption. To demonstrate crops marketing system, one of our informants articulated how farm produce are marketed in Mbandjock.

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Therefore, the marketing of farms produces in Mbandjock is categorised in two main levels, the traditional market culture which have existed from generation to generation. It is mostly done within the sub division in their local markets. Whereas, the modern culture marketing of small holder farms output is done now in big markets in the country, to multinational entrepreneurs and or international businessmen.

4.8.1. Trade by barter

Trade by barter is still practiced in Mbandjock though in a much reduced way. Some farmers here practice trade by barter, they exchange goods for goods. This is common with local farmers. Some aspect of trade by barter in Mbandjock is seen mostly in the dry seasons, where food supply becomes difficult to individuals who never stored food, or large family sizes which requires more consumption food. In this season the local communities bring out crops which they have to exchange with crops which they need. This aspect of trade by barter often slow town marketing, and it's very stressing. Example of trade by barter practice in Mbandjock is commonly seen with local liquor vendors. When production of maize is limited individuals will move to the liquor vendors and give them help, and some bring forth other crops in exchange for maize. This process is often notified and it's being practice up till date. The indigenes and settlers from the Northern regions of Cameroon based in Mbandjock mostly do this practice which is cultural to them.

4.9. Farming experience

Another representation of small holder farmers in our research area is that they are very experienced. The number of years a farmer has spent cultivating crops on a farm is considered as agricultural experience. Having many years of farming practice implies that one is better cultured about crop production; in Mbandjock sub division experienced farmers used adaptive schemes to effects change and improve crop production. In the same line, Ade´gnandjou and Barjolle (2018), consequently concluded that farming experience helps with the easy implementation of any adaptation techniques. This research also revealed that households with knowledge in agricultural production of not less than 10 years are more productive as they include cultural, economic and geographical values in farming style. However, contrary to what is happening in our research area Hassan and Nhemachena (2008), posit that, the age of a farmers does not matter when it involves adaptation methods for crop production, but rather the number of years involved in farming activities that count the most. Farmers here had to adopt different policies to increase crop production as farming is the main occupation of the majority of the population. Based on the present survey data, the representations are generally that smallholder farmers are most often considered as

experience farmers because of their better comprehension and adaptation strategies they used yearly especially when their yields improved.

Most of our participant acknowledged having changed or modified their farming practices to adjust to the changing times with innovations in method, seeds and tools though not totally staying away from their cultural norms. They do this through adopting strategies like, diversifying crops, planting new crop varieties and investing socio cultural activities of the community to favour crop production. The findings have shown that farmers' representations on small holder farming have an impact on livelihoods, as most have consequently changed their farming practices in response to their representations. This is affirmed by one of our informants who said:

When my mother I and I used to go to the farms in those days, we burnt our bush gather and wreg and the few grasses that remained we burnt again after which we planted. The areas where we gathered the grass to burn produced the highest yields that came out of the farm. We did not apply any fertilizer not because we did not have the means but because we did not even know it existed. Let's not even talk about cultivation using the tractor. We did not know about the existence of the tractor. When all these things came with the coming of SOSUCAM when I was a little grown up, we learnt about it newly and usually live Ndjore to Mbandjock centre to run around the SOSUCAM farms to see how the tractor was working. Today, I happily hired the tractor for cultivation in my farms especially when I have the means. (Ndjore 01/01/2021).

Most of the participants in this research indicated that, they had gradually moved from local seed to using hybrid improved seeds or have diversified to new crops, as a small holder farming adaptation strategy. Parallel studies highlighted by Gunathilaka et al. (2018), in a report titled: Adaptation approaches to climate variation in perennial cropping systems options, barriers and policy implication in Sri Lanka. Indicated that, 59.7% of participants agreed that cultivation of higher crop production varieties make up for decreased household food; 94.5% claimed to have adopted planting for shorter cycles, while 98.5% of them had shifted planting dates by delaying the planting season for some crops. It goes in line with Epule et al. (2017), who presented that changing crop planting dates was employed as a small holder farming adaptation strategy in the Sahel regions and, due to the prolonged dry spells, 88.6% of households have adopted crop varieties which are more drought to leant. Therefore, showing how experienced they were in farming which comes to acknowled that small holders are perceived in Mbandjock sub division as experienced farmers.

4.10. Small holder plantations influence pricing of produce

Small holder plantations in the villages of Mbandjock sub division is organised and have the capacity to influence prices of local commodities in their local market. It is of paramount importance to note that due to the fact that the demand for staple foods is inflexible, small increases in supply ahead of demand can lead to considerable falls in prices. According to Wiggins et al (2013: 12), worldwide, between 1960 and 2000, the prices of maize, rice and wheat in constant terms fell by 69%, 72% and 66% respectively on world markets. Most of the increase in the volume of cereals that made the fall of prices came from developing countries, rather than from the developed countries. Given the strong contribution of small holders' plantations to increase production, it has contributed to falling food prices. Wiggins et *al.* (2013) indicated that since the mid-2000s, prices have spiked and remain above their 2000 levels: but they are still well below prices in 1960.From the early 1960s, world food production per person has increased by one third. In the developing world, in Asia the quantity has doubled, in South America increased by more than 80%, and only for Africa has production has increased slightly more than population growth.

Likewise, it should be noted that small holder farmers are the main food producers in developing countries. Increased small holder agricultural production means more food enters the marketplace, leading to lower food prices and better diets. The relationship between agricultural policy and food prices includes a range of supply and demand factors that affect the prices of numerous marketed food and non-food crops. This in turn, affects the incomes of net sellers and the ability to ensure food security (including diet quality) of net buyers. This is predominantly critical for rural and urban people in developing countries who spend a large percentage of their incomes on food expenditures (Johnson-Welch et *al.*, 2007: 23). Small farms also contribute to food security in rural areas where high transport and marketing costs can drive up food prices. At the national level, the higher land productivity of small farms enables poor countries to attain self-sufficiency in staples, such as in cereals, roots and tubers, and livestock. Rural households provide an important market for domestically produced manufactures and services (Hazell and Roell, 1983 cited in Diao, et *al.*, 2007).

4.11. Small holder plantations independent and dynamic

Furthermore, small scale farmers in Mbandjock are organised to be independent and dynamic. They take their decision alone with little or no influences from agricultural experts

in the sub division on the type of crop to cultivate, market and consume. They change from one style to another base on their own judgment and culture. The changing of planting dates and the cultivation of shortening cycle crop varieties solely depend on the small planters though the delegation in charge of agriculture here from time to time organises sensitization campaigns on the farming style and types of crops to be cultivated in Mbandjock. The decision by majority of small holder farmers to employing shorter-cycle crop varieties, to adapt to climate discrepancy, especially, when they were not sure about the local climatic conditions and if they are not accessing climate consultative information well in advance is all taken by these small scale farmers. This independent and dynamic strategy employed by small holders' farmers is as a result of seasonal rainfall variability. Therefore, the constant climate variations have required small holder farmers to change planting date patterns and adopted crop varieties with shorter cycles as another adaptation strategy in alignment with their food cultural habits. In recognition with the above, one of our participants presented that,

When we do early planting of crops especially maize and vegetables, these crops dry and wither due to prolonged dryness and extreme heat. And we cannot harvest quickly because of the problem of serious lack of infrastructure for storage facility. In the past years I used to sow seeds during the beginning of the rainy season, but the current shorter rainfall season, which now runs from November to February make me to change and concentrate on shorter-cycle crop varieties. Since I made the decision to change the planting dates, it has declines the effects of crop damage or loss from prolonged weather conditions and epidemic of crop diseases and insect pests which in turn result in poor harvests and food insecurity. (Case research in Mbandjock, 18/03/2019).

This research pinpoint that changing planting and harvesting dates are the main strategies smallholder farmers decide to use in adapting to unfavourable farming conditions. In line with the present research. Hence, changing planting dates and crop varieties are the frequently preferred adaptation strategies by smallholder farmers in Morogoro, Tanzania. However, farmers in this research maintained that it was now unadvisable to practice early planting because of the low and variable rainfall. Another representation of small holders' plantations and the indigenous peoples' food security system in Mbandjock is crop management. Here, the management practices required for farming includes; application of fertilizers, control of weeds, drainage or irrigation, disease and insects.

4.12. Fertilizer application of small scale agriculture

It is perceived here that only well to do farmers and big exploiters of so many hectares of land apply fertilisers to their crops. They are mostly those who cultivate for market purposes. However, soil fertility is the capacity of the soil to supply the necessary nutrients for good crop production, and fertilizer is the addition of nutrient to the soil. So, in Mbandjock, chemical fertilizer is used by the market oriented farmers to supply the needed nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. The chemical test of the soil, plants or both are used to determine fertilizer needs and the rate of application is usually base on the system the cropping system of crop to be grown, and the financial return that may be expected from the crop. Methods of the fertilizer application include scattering (broadcasting) and mixing with the soil before planting, row application before or at planting time and row application during plant growth also called side dressing. Application of liquid fertilizer is also done with the use of machines, in irrigation water and foliar application with the use of sprayers.

4.13. Capability to control weed

Weed control also play a role in the representation of small holder plantations in Mbandjock. Through weed control, indigenous small-scale farmer's categories farming in Mbandjock. It is perceived that, small planters will do weeding with the hand and much man power whereas well established small scale farmers will use chemicals for weeding the grass in the farm. Nevertheless, weed are plants growing where they are not wanted which reduces crop yield, increased production cost, and may harbour insects and diseases that may attack crop plants. In Mbandjock, the methods used to control weeds include hand weeding mostly by small planters and at times *big farmers*, application of chemicals acting as herbicides and a combination of mechanical and chemicals means. This is mostly by well-established farmers though some small planters time to time practice it. One of our informants told us in an interview that,

I apply Herbicides to my maize farm. These herbicides are selective chemical weed killers are absorbed by the plant and the amount and type of herbicides that can be used to protect crops depend on the tolerance of the specific crops to the chemicals. Most herbicides are applied as spray and the appropriate time for application is determined by the composition of the herbicide and the kind of crop to be treated. Pre-planting treatment are applied before the crop is planted, pre-emergency treatment are applied after and crop is planted but before its seedlings emerge, from the soil, and post emergence treatments are applied to the growing crop a definite stage of growth. (Case research in Mbandjock, June 2020).

From the above findings, the methods used to control weeds in Mbandjock, include hand weeding which practice by small planters. The large exploiters and smallholder plantations, at times apply chemicals that is to control weed. Well-established farmers dominate this practice though some small planters time to time practice it.

4.14. Disease and insect control

Insect and disease attack to crops in Mbandjock sub division our research area is perceived to be a spiritual attack either by witches and wizards and or by the anger of the ancestors. They believe that their enemies can attack their crops and destroy them through insects and diseases. As a remedy, they participate in rituals of protection of the crops which is a yearly event in most of the villages of Mbandjock. However, those who believed it is natural that insects and diseases can attack crops go in for biochemical control with insecticide. The production of suitable crops requires severe disease and insect control procedures. Crop yield may be lowered by disease or insect attack, and when plants are attacked at an early stage of growth the entire crop may be lost. Reduction in the quality of crops may also be caused by diseases and insects. Most of those who do this practice are the well to do farmers with so many hectares of land cultivated.

When these big planters discover that a particular plant pest is identified they select and apply proper control measures. Use of control at the times when the first insects or diseases are noticed is usually most effective. Effective disease control usually, requires preventive procedures. Chemical fungicides may be used to control disease but the use of disease resistant plant varieties is the most effective means of control. Insects are usually controlled by chemical insecticides that kill through toxic action.

4.15. Small holder plantations organisation to harvesting

Small holder plantation farmers in Mbandjock are well organised when it concerns harvesting. This organisation is in two dimensions. To know, the locals or indigenes and the market oriented farmers. For the indigenes, harvesting is based on cultural farming calendar and the readiness of the crop. Whereas the market oriented farmers do harvesting based on the stage of development of crops when harvested affects the quality of the product reaching the consumer. Factors determining the harvest date include; the genetic constitution of the crop variety, the planting date and environmental conditions during the growing season. Successive harvest dates may be obtained either by planting varieties having different maturity date or by changing the sequence of planting dates of one particular variety. For example, the number of days from planning to market maturity in Mbandjock is; tomato is 70-90 days while maize is 100-150 days (100-120 days) from time of transplanting.

4.16. Organised emerging plantations food storage

Small scale farming in Mbandjock is also determined by storage facilities. While those who cultivate in small quantities hardly have storage facilities those who cultivate in large quantity have storage facilities. The custom of the Baboute people generally do not have ban, they produce and consume. The ministry of agriculture and rural development have organised and constructed a warehouse where farmers store their harvest. However, postharvest facilities are an important need in improving agricultural production. Those who have good storage facilities are seen as low level farmers. This is affirmed to us by one of our informants, who articulated that,

Storage facilities like ban, warehouse and others represent modern farming to me and only some advanced small holder farmers do have them here in Mbandjock. We easily find these facilities in the agribusiness firms like WEST FARM, Complex Mendouga and Ngolo Laurent Complex. Whereas, indigenous farmers here who cultivate for consumption do not really care much about storage facilities. Hence, small scale farmers with storage facilities represent wealth to us and those with peasant storage facilities are non-even are considered peasant farmers who cultivate mainly for consumption and little surpluses sold. (Case Study in Mbandjock, June 2020).

From the case study, we can notice that, storage facilities like ban, warehouse and others represent modern farming to the people of Mbandjock sub division. All the small holders' plantations do have them. These storage facilities are very important as some crops are very perishable at harvest which means that if left under normal environmental conditions their quality will deteriorate rapidly. This is the case with vegetable, roots and tuber crops. Other crops such as cereals require storage facilities which will reduce pest such as weevils. If a farmer is not sure for a means to store farm products, there will not be need to cultivate large quantities. This is the case with small planters in Mbandjock. It is the well to do farmers that have storage facilities. Nevertheless, the presence of good storage facilities, farmers can make more profit from their produce since there is the opportunity of selling them when the demand is high at higher profit.

Naturally, there is a continuation of life processes in crops after harvest. Changes that occur in the harvested, non-processed crop include water lost, conversion of sugars to starches, conversion of starches to sugars, flavour changes, colour changes, sprouting, rooting, softening and decay. Some changes result in quality deterioration, other improve quality in those crops that complete ripening after harvest. Post-harvest changes are

influenced by such factors as kind of crop, air temperature and circulation, oxygen, and carbon dioxide contents and relative humidity of the atmosphere, and disease causing organism. To maintain the fresh crop in the living state it is usually necessary to slow the life processes though avoiding dead of the tissues, which produces gross deterioration and drastic differences in flavour, texture and appearance. Crops for storage must be free from mechanical, insect, and disease injury and should be at the proper stage of maturity.

Туре	Durable	Semi-perishable	Perishable
Example	Cereals	Root and tubers	Vegetables, meat
Stability factor	Low moisture content	Low temperature balance metabolism	Low temperature
Deterioration	Insects, molds	Injury	Microbial
Storage life	Months – years	Days-months	Hours –days

 Table 4: Food storage categories

Source: Bonuh Che (2019)

Food preservation methods can stabilise food and convert them to more valuable and convenient forms. Food preservation methods will include, fermentation, processes by which milk becomes refined e.g. dairy products processes converting sugarcane to sugar, processes converting grain to baked products. These techniques help to convert perishables to semiperishable or durables. It could also help to convert unpalatable constituents to desirable functioned foods. The more farm product can be processed, the higher their demand will be and the higher their production will be.

4.17. Plantation agriculture and jobs availability to locals

Plantation agriculture in general and small scale farming in particular, have a great impact on the employment and job availability situation in Mbandjock. The opening of large estates either for cash or food crops has a direct relationship with job trends in this area. In areas where the physio-human conditions are pleasing, the milieu becomes a nerve centre of primary and secondary job opportunities. It is traditionally noted from studies that soils and climate are the primary most favourable factors of agro industrial and subsistence agriculture (Lieugomg, 1995, 2000). The volcanic soils and the humid tropical climate with rain fall going up to 2010mm and mean annual temperatures of more than 28°C has greatly favoured the promotion of agro industrial activities.

In Mbandjock, this activity includes the production of sugar cane, banana, oil palm, cocoa for cash crops and cassava, maize, plantain, vegetables and fruits for food crops. Due to the production of these raw materials, industrial activities have developed for transformation that has engineered a lot of rural exodus from the other regions of Cameroon especially from the three Northern regions, the Northwest and west Regions as youth's rush into these basins for jobs in both small scale plantations and the large plantations. In another area with similar conditions that harbour plantation agriculture similar to SOSUCAM in Mbandjock, prior to the socio-political dilemma in the southwest and northwest regions of Cameroon the Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC), which is the biggest agro pastoral plant in west and central Africa has a work force of about 22036 workers, being the second highest employer after the government. Found on some 42,000 hectares of agricultural land, the state parastatal employs both permanent and temporal, skilled and unskilled labour with staff operating in 3 levels; the senior service, intermediate and labourers. Also, Alhadji Baba Dampullo, a Cameroonian multimillion dollar entrepreneur who operates a number of tea plantations in the Anglophone part of the country, stands as the country's largest private employer. Ndawara tea estate, for example, provides wide employment opportunities for youths, both educated and uneducated throughout the Ngoketunjia and Boyo Divisions in the Northwest region. Other huge employers include the Mukete estate in Kumba, Southwest region of Cameroon, an agro pastoral venture owned and run by the Mukete royal family. The on-going Anglophone crisis has made most of its workers to relocate to Mbandjock where they have jobs.

Wherever plantation farming is undertaken, the generation of jobs becomes the major success story of that particular area which is what is prevailing in Mbandjock where SOSUCAM and other large plantation exist. It is because of the implantation of SOSUCAM that small holder farming emerged in Mbandjock and is creating many jobs in this area. However, agriculture in general and small scale schemes stand as one of the most important and widely felt outcome of plantation agriculture in Cameroon. It is labour intensive and requires both skilled and unskilled labour in the cultivation process. In a nutshell, plantation agriculture has been visibly instrumental in the battle against unemployment in Cameroon as many are employed in the sector. In Mbandjock, agriculture is one of the main sources of employment. It has come to curb unemployment in the entire communities by employing if not all residents a majority of them either directly or indirectly and even those from distant regions to make up for the lack of labour. This is affirmed by one of our informants I have been in agriculture from childhood till now. My father had a cocoa farm from which we were brought up. My wife and I worked all our lives in SOSUCAM from which we build our house and send our children to school. It is also from my salary in SOSUCAM that I bought 2hectas of land in those days and opened my cassava and maize from which we eat and also sale to meet up with our other needs. My children that school in the university in Yaoundé all work in our farm during the holidays from which their school fees and other school needs come. As I talk to you my first son has employed three boys from the north region who are opening four hectares of land to cultivate plantain and cassava. In fact, we do not have employment problem, annually we can even make about 1.5million from our cassava farm. (Interview in Ndjore 04/09/2020).

This implies that, small holder plantation is a source of employment to most of the Mbandjock city duellers. Small scale farming is off rooting unemployment in the communities through employment of most of them directly or indirectly. It is also, a pull factor for settlers from distant regions to make up for the lack of labour.

Moreover, some people, including widows and single mothers, are drawn into plantation labour by poverty and landlessness. In other circumstances, plantation employment is more an opportunity to diversify income sources and raise cash for special purposes. Preexisting poverty and inequalities in land ownership are likely to be exacerbated by plantations. Several farmers also are involved in other activities aside from small holder plantations in a bid to absorb the shocks associated to decreasing harvests. These have been termed as complementary occupations. In the study sites, some farmers have resorted to a divergence of their livelihood by not depending only on small holder plantations. This option is good because during periods of stagnation or declines in yields, the farmers can rely on their supplemental occupations. Common options used here include the rearing of livestock such as cane rats, goats, rabbits and poultry. Others depend on small businesses such as sole proprietor shops in the localities that sell basic domestic utilities. Additional occupations are very important in various natural resource management decisions. Divergence of livelihoods also called livelihood planning has been termed as one of the most essential socio-economic methods of absorbing the shocks involved in environmental resource decline; it reduces the degree of dependency on farming and gathering by providing substitutes for the local populations. One of our respondents confirmed the employment situation in Mbandjock,

That is to say, with the coming of the SOSUCAM in the early 1970s and the cultivation of smallholders' plantations, many sons and daughters from this region and the country at large have gained either direct or indirect jobs. Due to this activity in the sub-division, about four thousand jobs have been created. The SOSUCAM employs about 148 direct workers, more than 500 seasonal workers, about 1500 smallholders' plantations farmers and about 1000 labourers. Also, there

are about 1000 people that do business in the smallholders' plantations sector either as traders, smallholders' plantations mill owners or commercial agents of smallholders' plantations. This has come a long way to eradicate rural exodus as the youths of this area now stay back to fit themselves in one of the domains in the smallholders' plantations sector. Some of these youths raise money from smallholders' plantations to buy motto bikes which equally helps in the transportation of the small holder plantations from the farms. Similarly, small holder plantations have created employment which has let to immense development as many in the division have gained employment from the coming smallholders' plantations and others firms other than SOSUCAM like NODISCAM, Complex Nkolo Laurent just to name a few and many other firms that deal with crop production. These firms have machines that need skilful and knowledgeable operators. So there has been employment in this aspect because each machine service requires about 3 to 10 workers to facilitate the work. This has greatly helped to develop the locality and equally save it from banditry that emanates from idleness. The money they got from the mills, they used them for developmental projects. This aspect of employment is also seen from the perspective of unskilled labourers. This kind of labourers are employed to clear the farms, till the soil to prepare it for planting of small holder plantations, weed the farms when grass turn to grow faster than the smallholders plantations crop and finally to harvest the crops during the harvesting season. This kind of employment generates enough income to the unskilled workers. (Case study Mbandjock, SOSUCAM worker, 04/09/2020).

Hence, Small holder plantations products have equally led to the growth of business employment. This is because many inhabitants of this area have taken upon the buying and selling of small holder plantations as a first hand profession. These traders buy crops at the raw state directly from the farmers and in many cases rebrand in the case of cocoa and sell it either in retail or wholesale to the consumers. Many of these traders too turn to export this brand of small holder plantations to their external consumers located in neighbouring countries such as Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, etcetera, at a more expensive amount and as such a greater income earned. These traders generate much income from this trading and some of them have become so influential and rich from the profit they generate from the crops business.

In a nutshell, all the above mentioned generate income in all the various sectors thanks to the introduction of small holder plantations farming in Mbandjock. So, they use the income earned to increase their living conditions and that of their families, and to equally develop their community. The findings imply that most of the small holder plantations carryout this activity for the sake of their crops being cash crops. The respondents mostly indicated that the crops the harvest are mainly sold to the markets in Cameroon and out of the country with just a small portion of it reserved for their personal consumption. Even the respondents who indicated that the crops were cultivated because of the aspect of them being a family heritage identified that if the activity was not profitable, they won't have involved into their cultivation.

4.18 Plantation and special attention to indigenous people demands

Unlike the Yezoum people, cultural values who from origin had been small planters, the Baboute people from origin had been hunters and fishers. Only a small degree of farming was done mostly to farm crops that will act like complement to their catch from hunting and fishing. The changing culture for the intensification of crop farming in Mbandjock subdivision after the implantation of SOSUCAM in this locality saw these people involving in crops farming in small scale while firms engage in large plantations. Large plantation farmers are those that develop farms of over 100 hectares and more. In Mbandjock, it is usually the big elite class in the cities and town that own these plantations. These plantations are highly capitalised and require huge investments of hundreds of millions. Frequency and volume of chemicals used is often very high. The administrative management and labour division are also being practiced for profit optimization. In Mbandjock, attention is given to the indigenous population through the application of social corporate responsibility which entails preferential treatment in the hiring of workers. As a policy for the plantation owners, priority is given to job seekers from the community of plantation site. With exceptions however, labour is often localised and highly dependent upon distance from the plantations. Depending on the skills needed, there is a likelihood that inhabitants nearer the plantations are favoured than labourers coming from distant areas. Exceptionally, high skill workers are often hired from without the communities where the plantation is established. This is primarily due to unavailability of skilled labour around these plantations due to the low level of education in Mbandjock.

Plantation agriculture had been an agent of social infrastructural growth in Mbandjock. For a plantation to operate effectively, a number of structures are required which when put in place does not only benefit the owners but also the local population. For instance, there is a direct relationship between ruralurban marketing and transport networks. The plantation produce is either sold in rural markets or transported to urban areas. Thus, there is always the need for an improvement in rural roads to facilitate the movement of produce from the plantations. Mbandjock have benefited from this scheme which includes the grading and expansion of rural earth roads and the construction of bridges. These facilities are of high

benefit to the indigenous farmers. Also, other infrastructure such as schools and medical facilities have been put in place since the implantation of SOSUCAM and small scale farming in Mbandjock. This has necessitated the construction of schools, health centres, dispensaries water catchments and other social facilities for the wellbeing of the labourers and their families.

Photo 11: SOSUCAM donates a structure to Government Bilingual High School (GBHS) Mbandjock



Source: Bonuh che, December 2020

The setting up of plantations also resulted in the extension of electricity power lines to these areas which previously did not have electricity. All these facilities have been beneficial not only to the plantation owners and their workers but also to the indigenes of Mbandjock. For example, because of the introduction of plantation here, many schools have been opened here which made it possible for several youths to be educated who could have otherwise been illiterates. Mbandjock which never had schools saw their first schools put up when SOSUCAM was created. This did not only foster education by providing infrastructure but also by helping natives cater for the expenses through employment as plantation workers. This is affirmed by one of our informants, who said,

Before the coming of SOSUCAM in Mbandjock, we had no schools talk less of medical facilities. The few children that went to school did so either in Nanga, Obala and or Yaoundé. When someone was sick mostly indigenous medicine was used and only those who were considered wealthy could go to Yaoundé for their treatment. Another advantage that we local people have benefited from plantations is that we can also

respond to some of our social problems instead of waiting for the reaction of the central government. With coming of SOSUCAM and small scale farms now in Mbandjock, the government started opening establishments, hospitals and leisure spaces.....let me tell you, we did not even have roads but SOSUCAM help and opened roads leading to this village Ndo and Doua. They maintain it every year. We can now transport our crops to the market with the help of SOSUCAM vans. We can also cite donations of all kinds to orphanages and poor households. So, smallholder farming and plantation agriculture have change Mbandjock seriously. (Interview in Ndo 2020).

This means that, the coming of SOSUCAM and small-scale plantation in Mbandjock, the government and SOSUCAM have created hospitals, Schools leisure spaces and other social amenities. SOSUCAM in one of her social contracts with the local community help in opening roads leading to this village like Ndo and Doua and maintain the roads and others every year. Transportation of crops to the market at times is with the help of SOSUCAM vans. However, all these facilities are beneficial not only to the plantation owners and their workers but also to the indigenes of Mbandjock.

4.19. Farming procedure

In relation to the practice of small holder agriculture, this research has found that the main variation approaches used by farmers to enhance production in the Mbandjock sites are: extension of small holders' plantations, help from relatives and other dependents, additional occupations and use of organic fertilizers. The role of policy, government, tribal and religious leaders appears to be weak based on the population perceptions. In the area of farm management or on-the-farm options, a number of sub-categories can be identified. The first constituent has to do with the quantification of farm inputs. This category includes the quantification of farm inputs through the amount of fertilizers that farmers can apply on their farms which may well prevent crops from perishing because of too little or too many fertilizers. The advantage here is that the farmers will be able to know the fertilizer requirements for their crops by placing the device over their crops; this evades a situation in which farmers just apply fertilizers without knowing the actual plant fertilizer requirements. It was affirmed to us by one of our respondents;

Here we have cooperative farming but very few farmers are involved in 100% we can only say about 5% of the smallholder farmers do practice cooperative farming, while about 6% to 8% of the smallholder farmers do work in Association of friends, but with about 42% of the smallholder farmers, work in their farms is done by family members, seconded by work done in our farms by hired labourers which represent about 22% of the small planter, and about 13%

of small scale farmers do involve Individual/family Labour and Hired labour for their farming activities. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

This implies that, it can be said that most of the farmers depend more on problem solving mechanisms than on the social-support mechanisms with the exemption of help from relatives. Nevertheless, agricultural technicians have a role to play in farming in Mbandjock. The part of policy, regime, tribal and religious leaders and agricultural technicians appears to be weak based on the population perceptions on the area of farm management or on-the-farm. These agriculture technicians educate the local farmers though in a very minimal way on the quantification of farm inputs like hybrid seeds, tools and fertilizers that farmers can apply on their farms which may well prevent crops from perishing because of too little or too many fertilizers.

4.19.1. Diagnosis of the food production system

An agricultural production system is the socio-cultural and physical representation of a people, the approaches and the reality on the way of thinking, participation and deciding in their food production process. We can also say that this is the set of measures taken to ensure the proper functioning of the agricultural sector of a given socio-cultural group. Here, we take into consideration: the indigenous culture, land tenure system, the well-being of farmers, nature protection, put products acceptable to the consumer on the market at a good price, respond to demand from industries and ensures the sustainability of farming. The diagnosis of the food production system in Mbandjock consists of all the elements that make food production to get on well. It consists of the cultural, social, physical and financial activities with routine calendar. The enculturation of the traditional meals and even crops of settlers and even beyond have greatly influenced the local food production system of the Mbandjock sub-division. Hence, the development of this section of our work will tend around; history of alimentary system in Mbandjock, factors of transformation and differentiations of the farm, differentiations of the farms, marketing of crops and consumptions (that is the transformation of the crops to meals for feeding).

To conclude, the organisation of small holder plantations schemes for the scope of this work is the way small scale farmers are organised to develop through interaction between indigenous people, settlers, labourers and the plantation owners. This organisation scheme continuously adjusts to environmental, socio-cultural and politico-economic conditions of Mbandjock. When developing a small holder plantation, one should not be restricted to researching indigenous knowledge, buttery to consider the whole set of variables influencing farmers' current state of knowledge. Small holder farming in Mbandjock is seen as the means to the eradication of poverty and hunger. They do so by contributing to sustainable development through the creation of employment and maintenance or enhancement of natural capital, improvement of food security and enhance their cultural heritage. The next chapter then presents small holders plantations land tenure system and farming techniques in Mbandjock.

CHAPTER 5

LOCAL CULTURES AND SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS

This chapter discribes local cultures necessary for small holder plantations. It is divided into four parts. The land tenure system in Mbandjock, farming methods and ritual performance. The land tenure system has two laws bounding land distribution: the customary law and state laws. It explained the three main methods of production techniques in Mbandjock: Rudimentary method, The Semi-advanced cropping method and the modern farming method. Finaly, it presents local beliefs in Mbandjock that constitude part of the local cultures for small holder plantations.

5.1. Land tenure system in Mbandjock

The people of Mbandjock have a land tenure system adapted to the culture and community. Acquisition of land is the way by which people use to get land for exploitation. Some people used the family lands, others buy land yet others rent land to do farming. It is also first-rate to know that, there are customary law and state laws that guide the activity. It could be acquired for farming, building, and or other industrial activities. According to Mope Simo (2011:8),

Land acquisition in Cameroon is a tenure matter. Therefore, a government problem which could not be separated from the dispensations inherent in the customary rules and modern land tenure system, nor from the contemporary democratization process. The disparate customary precepts of land tenure and European codes which regulated management decisions on how land-based resources were used for immediate needs and long-term sustainable investment motivated the formulation of the national land reform package in 1974.

The government came out with this regulation in the land tenure system so as to guarantee the acquisition of land to all Cameroonians and even an average Cameroonian. It is this regulation that helps to organise the acquisition of land in Mbandjock for the cultivation of crops especially cassava and maize farms. More Simo (2011: 10) continued by saying,

The purpose was to establish uniformity and greater rationality in organization, rights and security of tenure (Republic of Cameroon, 1974). Legally this meant that any parcel of land could be bargained and bought/sold like any other commodity in a free market. The country's land tenure institutions determine the rights and obligations of individuals, local communities, private and public administrations in access to land, forests, water and other natural resources. Land tenure relationships are a good indicator of social relationships in the local, regional and national contexts. The ultimate objective of the modern land la w promulgated in 1974 remains the promotion of development by decentralizing land from chiefdoms or small peasant groups. Generally, the twin processes of land grabbing and commoditization can be traced back to the implementation and strengthening of institutional arrangements embedded in this legal instrument...

It is from the understanding and guide lines laid by the customary rules and modern land tenure system that small holders got land for the cultivation of crops in Mbandjock. There are four main ways of land acquisition in Mbandjock. It could be by buying, renting, gifts and or naturally. This is affirmed by one of our respondents in an interview granted to us in Mbandjock,

Also, as of what concern land access foreigners usually rent or buy land for the practice of this activity. Locals usually use family land....., the women are the men property so land exists if bought by a woman belongs to her husband. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 15/05/2016).

Therefore, customary, everybody has a right to land ownership but differ a little in the case of the woman whom herself is considered as a man's property. Land ownership by women in Mbandjock is very complex. The Mbandjock tradition indicates that a woman is a property of the man as such if she buys land, the land automatically belongs to her spouse. If a woman gets married and have no children, as soon as the husband dies, the land will be taken over from her by the family. However, the modern land tenure law preview land ownership to everybody; be it a man, woman and children. Since Mbandjock is in Cameroon, the law is also applicable.

Not like some rural areas in Cameroon, most of the inhabitants in Mbandjock community are natives to the area and propose that they have direct control over land use activities in the lands. Migrant settler farmers on the other hand, compete with indigenes for access to land from the natives often at a less favourable land use agreement. According to Kasanga (1998) unlike indigenes, migrants do not have a right in communal lands. The fact that a good number of residents are natives may have long-term user rights to agricultural land and forest land. Thus, they may be interested to plant trees on their land. The natives normally have continual access right to degraded forest lands that they need to meet their basic livelihood needs and the right to enjoy of the benefit accumulating from exploitation and development of the degraded plantation lands.

For the migrant farmers, not having the right to use a land area for a long period of time, and making decisions about the crops that they plant there, or the system mechanisms that they could adopt reduces assurance in tenure security. Migrants who acquired land for agricultural purposes would be expected by his or her landlord to re-negotiate about the land use terms if he or she would like to adopt a different land use practice, for instance, plantation

for long term like palm trees and cocoa. Local farmers view plantation for long term on their lands as an extension of forest reserves, and also an extension of foreigner control over their lands. This then provides the disincentive for such category of local people to engage in land and natural resources management for long-term productivity. Where there is some kind of arrangements for plantation for long term, the arrangements are often skewed in favour of the land owners.

In relation to the financing of small holders' plantations, a significant bottleneck for small holders trying to access formal credit is a lack of collateral, resulting from their lack of secure land tenure. Habitually, banks and other financial institutions in Cameroon oblige a land certificate (or collateral with equivalent stature) before considering whether or not they will make available finance to farmers or small enterprises. Nonetheless, small holder land tenure is a historically complex issue in Cameroon. In many regions, communal property rights exist; land ownership is recognised by other villagers without printed documentation. In some cases, farmers can obtain a local land certificate from the village head, but this has a lower legal status than a land title. In informal lending schemes, or for small loan amounts, such a document may be accepted, but it is usually not recognized as full collateral by formal loans. The process of obtaining formal land titles is often very complex and expensive for farmers. In an oil palm cultivation region of the Central, the process of checking the land, interviewing neighbours and other stakeholders, and issuing official documentation is manually carried out by official agents. As a consequence, many small holders cannot access long-term replanting finance for obtaining land tittles. This situation limits food production and consequently food security in this locality.

Governments can play a vital part in resolving tenure issues by simplifying procedures and reducing the costs for smallholders to obtain land titles. The programs are recently launched by the Government of Cameroon to quicken land registration. NGOs and companies can also play their part, by providing the essential funds or conducting land mapping exercises. Smallholders plantation owners with formal land titles will not only have better access to long-term financing, they will also be better protected against land grabbing or land conflicts connected to inheritance. Efforts to augment the formalisation of land titles can be completed by the development of new mechanisms in the financial sector which allows farmers to lend against crops in the ground.

5.1.2. Medium of acquisition of land for plantation

The findings in this portion of the thesis are presented to meet up with the researcher's quest, to know the various means through which the small holders' plantations owners acquire their land for farming. Some inherit land, others buy land, some rent land and others acquired land as a gift. Ownership of smallholders' plantations is a complex situation in Mbandjock. Some people are involved here either as labourers in these plantations and or technicians who brings the technical know-how in the farming process and or as land owners.

Based on the finding, it was noticed that most persons involved in small holder farming are not small holder's plantations owners, but mainly persons who work in such plantations. Most of the persons involved in the cultivation of cocoa and other long term crops have ownership of their lands and a good number of people who cultivate maize, cassava and other short term yielding crops either rent their land or give to manager for a short period of time. Kasanga (1998) concluded that land used for the cultivation of long term trees like palm, plantain and cocoa are mostly owned by the plantation farmers rather than rented.

5.1.2.1. Traditional means

Land is owned in Mbandjock by the whole village and not an individual. The villages' land is usually managed and taken care of by the chief and the notables. If a villager wants to use any part of this land, he or she will need to consult the chief and his notables who will then give him or her authorisation for usage. The chiefs and villagers usually give some conditions for foreigners to exploit their land such as bringing wine to the chief and villagers, food for villagers, digging and building boreholes for water and supporting of village projects.

However, if one exploits their land without their knowledge and respect of the conditions that will be given to him/her by the villager, they can be vulnerable to many negative repercussions. For instance, one can cultivate his or her crops and they decide to stop rain from raining in his or her farm but raining elsewhere. They can as well make, nightfall occurs even during the day.

They can also send lightening to attack and destroy your crops and even human beings This is confirmed by one of our informants in a focus group discussion (FGD),

As of recent, somebody obtain a license from Yaoundé authority and came to Mbandjock and ignored the local people as he and his team went into the forest or bush crossing a small stream, some old mothers came out and consulted their gods and the stream got full for over four days preventing them from coming back. They had to stay in that forest for four days. (FGD conducted in Mbandjock, 15/05/2019).

This affirmation in the FGD above means that, the entire community owns public land in Mbandjock. Since it is owned by the village, the chiefs are the ones in control of these lands. Hence, the chiefs and villagers usually work out conditions and give to exploiters, for their lands. Some of these include: bringing of wine to the chief and villagers, food, digging and building boreholes for water and supporting of village projects. So, if one fails to respect the conditions, he/she could cultivate his or her crops and they decide to stop rain from raining in his or her farm but raining elsewhere.

5.1.2.2. Inheritance

One of the ways by which people acquire land in Mbandjock is through inheritance. This is usually family land that children and siblings of a given family have. That is to say land left over by parents to their children and grand children. Most of the lands in Mbandjock are family lands, as such; all members of the family have rights to the family land. But a girl or a woman already married may not have that right. The availability of this land here help in the provision of crops and consequently help in food security in Mbandjock.

5.1.2.3. Land acquisition by buying

Land can be acquired in Mbandjock by buying either from the indigenes who own the land, from the chiefs or from someone who had bought land before and want to sell again. One can buy land from the custodians of tradition that is to say the chiefs of the different villages of Mbandjock. Generally, the land bought from the chiefs is usually village land and have so many conditions to follow given by the population to those concerned. A greater portion of the settler population in Mbandjock is involed in small holder plantations agriculture. This means that, with the involvement of settler in crop production through small holder plantations, there is a great possibility for sustaining food security in Mbandjock.

5.1.2.4. Land acquisition by renting

One can rent land from these categories of people; the chiefs, family land, owners of land. Land renting vary from family to family, person to person. Some people rent 1-hectare of land for 25 000 frs, others for 30 000 frs yet others for 35 000 frs and even 40 000 frs. It should be noted that, some people give their lands in exchange of part of the yields or product from the farm. That is to say if you cultivate maize on a rented piece of land, you will give some part of the maize to the land lord. In order to ensure food security in Mbandjock, those

who do not own land or have the means to buy land, goes in for land renting which also contribute for food supply and consequently food security.

5.1.2.5. Gifts or donations

This is a parcel of land given to an individual either by a friend, family member, chief and any other category of people. This land can be used by the receiver for many purposes. It could be for farming, building and any other activity. Some people donate land with preconditions while others do not.

Nevertheless, with all these different modes of land acquisition in Mbandjock, we still experience land disputes. Most often, land is disputed between the family members over who, is to own which portion of the land and others selling other portion of lands. The Eton people in Mbandjock are gradually taking over the lands of the Mbandjock indigenes. They even go as far as illegally selling the lands. This happens because the indigenes are supposedly lazy and prefer to admire labourers working in the SOSUCAM plantation and careless about their land and agriculture. Most of them do farming just for food consumption. It is also worthy to note that, origins of Mbandjock, who are the real owners of land, do not dispute land as compared to the rate at which foreigners residing in Mbandjock do. Most of these problems are solved by the D.O (Divisional Officer).

One of our research respondents in one of our interviews, presented a real situation of the different means by which land is acquired for small holder's plantations in Mbandjock.

That one is true here in Mbandjock because with the changing trend of things, there are many ways now by which we acquire land. As of my case my siblings and I shared land we inherited from our father to build our houses and even far in the bush for farming. Settlers acquired their plantation by purchasing land, most of our indigents acquired land for their plantations through inheritance and cultural means, still some indigents like settlers have their land for plantations by donations. I for example have donated land to one of my friend who is a settler from the North of Cameroon because of his very good relation with me. He has opened his big cassava, maize and plantain farm on the land. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 15/05/2019).

Based on the findings for the interviews and observations, it shows that most of those who acquired their plantations through purchase, were none indigenes of Mbandjock and all of those who acquired their plantations by inheritance and cultural means, were natives of the locality. The findings presented from the interviews that most of those who acquired land by purchase, were mostly none indigenes of Mbandjock. So, unlike indigenes; migrants do not have a right in communal lands. Most of the migrants acquire land through purchase. The fact that a good number of residents are natives, may have long-term user rights to agricultural land and forest land.

5.2. Farming techniques in small holder plantations

The research at this point, sought to find out the type of tools used by the small holder farmers in Mbandjock. There are two methods of production techniques in Mbandjock to know, the intensive crops production system and the African crops farming system. In Mbandjock, there are two main farming methods which are the rudimentary methods by some small holders' peasant farmers and the modern methods used by wealthier small holders' farmers, some common initiative groups and all the crops production firms or companies in Mbandjock. However, there is a third method coming up which is semi advanced method. This part of our work shows the different methods of cultivating crops in Mbandjock that we encountered during our field work. According to UNEP (2016), the UNEP International Resource Panel (IRP) classifies the major types of food systems as traditional, modern and intermediate, depending on several defining characteristics. As those characteristics change over time, through innovation and technology, food systems tend to transition from traditional systems to modern, or industrial, systems.

The findings from most of our informants and summarised by one of our respondents show that,

The farmers still use basic farming tools like Hoes and machetes which are mainly acquired with their personal saving with a relative small number of them using tractors and other heavy agricultural machines. As well, it was seen that most of the farmers do not make use of the services of agricultural technicians. Access to basic farm inputs is often scarce due to poverty in the region, and farmers tend to resort to smallholder's plantations extension as a means of increasing their yields. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 16/05/2019).

It is often believed that, the more land that is brought under production, the greater the yields. While this is true to a certain extent, it is also common knowledge that, at a certain inception, the newer land that is brought under production, the more likely is the possibility to witness diminishing returns to scale. To make things worse, this option will soon become outdated due to large scale deforestation in favour of small holder plantations, and the fact that less and less land is becoming available in most of Mbandjock for continued production expansion. In the related literature, it has been argued that the expansions of perpetual croplands as well as pasture land are common approaches used in adaptation to food production deteriorations. It is recommended that when crop and pasture land areas increase,

food production and supply will increase since more hectares will be brought under cultivation. Using statistical approaches, Epule et *al.* (2012) have shown that there is a perfect positive correlation between food production in Africa and the expansion of permanent cropland; they obtained a correlation coefficient of 0.86 and a coefficient of determination of 0.87 between food production and cropland expansion. The latter research states further that, in Africa, permanent cropland increased by 64% (14,868 thousand hectares), from 27,122 thousand hectares in 1961 to 41,990 thousand hectares in 2000. This reasoning has been supported further by arguments that African food policy has for a long time been anchored on the expansion of smallholders' plantations. Rosegrant and Cline (2003) argued that the expansion of agricultural land is one means of boosting up production that is sufficient in meeting rising demands for food. The process of increasing land to cultivate more crops is not necessarily sustainable environmentally. However, the different farming techniques are outlined below.

5.2.1. Traditional method

Traditional method of farming is that which employed elementary, simple, basic, rough and crude equipment's for cultivation. According to Jessica Christine Kwik (2008), traditional food knowledge refers to a cultural tradition of sharing food, recipes and cooking skills and techniques and passing down that collective wisdom through generations. The value of this knowledge is hidden in a global food system offering an abundance of commercial convenience foods.

This equipment system is simple and not very well developed. This is the common method that peasants' crops farmers use. UNEP (2016), postulate that, traditional food systems involve farmers and fishers using mainly inputs available on the farm, using traditional techniques, and selling produce at local markets, relatively unprocessed. Productivity is relatively low compared with modern systems, and production and trade are small-scale and localized, with mostly spot-exchange market relations.

Small holder plantations in Mbandjock at certain level of farming employed this method crops cultivation. They used local tools like: hoes, cutlasses, digging axe, sticks and at times farms are being cleared by burning, and the soil is tilled with hoes and diggers. Softening and planting is done by human beings with their physical force using hoes or draught, animals and hands respectively. Weeding is equally done by man power and very little or no fertilizer applied. And finally, harvesting is done by man power. Transportation is

done with the head, bicycles and recently motor bikes. For storage, farmers keep the crops in their houses after the crops had been sunned. Further, most farmers in Mbandjock depend a lot on family labour with rudimentary tools to improve production. The ordinary family is madeup of the father, the mother and at least three to four children. Since most of these families are into small holder plantations, they also employ other families' labour. This style is grounded in their culture like community labour. One of our research participations acknowledged that,

With this method, we used simple equipments which are not very well developed. Most of us local farmers who do not really have the means to use heavy tools and or exploit large land for cropping uses this method. So we cultivate the farm using local tools such as hoes, cutlasses, digging arks, sticks and most often, farms are clean by burning fire. Planting of crops is done by human beings with their physical strength using hoes or draught animals and hands respectively. We do Weeding using man power and very little or no fertilizer applied. Finally harvesting is done by man power. We transport our crops with our heads, bicycles, and the SOSUCAM van for those who farm behind the SOSUCAM sugar cane farm and recently motor bikes. Storage here is very complex, farmers keep the crops in their houses after the crops had been sunned. Generally, most farmers in Mbandjock depend a lot on family labour with rudimentary tools to improve production. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 15/05/2019).

From the above interview we can understand that rudimentary farming technic is employ for farming in Mbandjock. Many of smallholder plantations use it. The more members a family has, the more the family is said to have assets because family labour is often a main source of agricultural labour in essentially these communities in which access to modern techniques of adaptation such as tractors and high yielding varieties are deficient. Regrettably, the efficiency of family labour is often narrow in that it can often increase yields only to a certain threshold beyond which stagnation results. This is one of the motives why, in spite of these measures, the research sites still experience stagnation in production. Food production in most of Mbandjock is labour intensive and capital extensive, meaning most farmers in Mbandjock depend on the labour of their family members or dependents due to limited access to capital equipment such as tractors and other machines. With this method, crops are cultivated mainly for subsistence and the little surplus is sold to buy other house needs and at times pay children school fees, small businesses.



Photo 12: Cocoa farmers using cutlases traditional tool for clearing

Source: Bonuh Che, 2019

In this method, clearing is done with family and friends labour who mobilise and keep days for that activity and so turn out one or two or more days to clear the farm. It should be noted that some people using this method still hire labour, though in a very low rate.

Photo 13: Cultivating maize using a hoe traitional tool



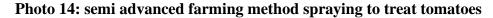
Source: Bonuh che, (Mekomba, 18/03/2020)

According to Jessica Christine Kwik (2008), traditional food knowledge can provide an individual with the capacity to prepare meals that are nutritious, safe and culturally relevant. This skill can support adaptation to altered food environments, such as is the case for immigrants and indigenous populations. The food system itself has rapidly changed with global industrialization, urbanization and cultural homogenization; and traditional food knowledge is no exception.

5.2.2. Semi-advanced method

Semi-advanced cropping method is one in which there exist semi-skilled that is having some special training or qualifications but less than skilled method. Hence, a semi-advanced method which is also known as the semi-advanced or mid-skilled method is that which use more complex equipment's than those of the rudimentary, require small special skill, and give way to an increase in production as compared to the rudimentary method.

The semi-advanced farming method in Mbandjock is being used by wealthier farmers who have many plots of crops and their family labour alone could not cultivate all the plots. However, with this method, all the tools used in the rudimentary method are used here. The addition here is, the draught animal, spraying of chemicals in the place of weeding. With this method, the farms are either cleaned with cullasses or with the used of human power or chemicals to spray the grass. After this, draught animal (trained cows) and at times tractors hired used for the tilling of the soil, softening and planting.





Source: Bonuh Che, June 2020

In the same light, one of our informants Mr. Zao testified that,

The introduction of tractors made the cultivation faster and easier leading to greater output. For weeding, chemicals are used to dry off or made the grass to rotten leaving the crops to grow freely. For harvesting, man power is also used. I dry my maize and use it gradually. For cassava, I either sell it like in it natural form or at times transform it into baton. As for transportation motor bikes and vehicles from SOSUCAM are used. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

The above interview demonstrates that, the introduction of tractors as one of the farming instruments in Mbandjock either by smallholder plantation farmer and or large-scale farmers has made the cultivation faster and easier leading to greater output. Like Mbonji (2005) said, culture is a way of life of a given population of which they used in resolving their daily problem. Finally, with this semi-advanced method, farmers, upon harvesting either sell their crops directly to *buyam sellam* or take it home for storage, consumption and eventually, sale in the future.

5.2.3. Modern method

Apart from the traditional technique of farming in Mbandjock, plantation agriculture has come with a new culture of farming known to them as the modern method. Modernisation is the use of modern ideas or method, a style and movement in art, design and works popular in the middle of the 20th century in which modern ideas, methods and materials were used rather than traditional one. According to UNEP (2016), Modern food systems (also called *high external-input food systems*) use a wide range of external inputs to maximise production, as well as high-tech systems for storing, transporting, processing and selling food. Farms, firms and traders are typically specialised and operate at large scales. Market relations are coordinated through contracts, standards and vertical integration. Consumers mostly buy processed, packaged food produced all around the world, sold at large stores.

Therefore, modern crops farming method use modern equipment's, technology, hybrid seeds, fertilizers and chemicals in production so as to increase production. The modern method is mostly used in intensive crops cultivation or farming which involves cultivation with the use of machines. This is done by crops production firms and the wealthy farmers who hired the services of machines. Before, crop cultivation was done with rudimentary tools but today, people especially some common initiatives groups are using machines. However, since culture is dynamic, learned, copied, and transmitted, wealthy farmers started hiring machines.

In terms of preparation of the farms for the farming season, instead of clearing, I simply spray the farms. With tilling, I make use of tractors. One tractor has the capacity of tilling more than 15ha a day. That is from 7; 30am to 4pm. In planting, I use combine harvesters and at times human labour. As of what concerns weeding, I use chemicals to spray the farms so as to make grass rotten. Fertilizers are applied to make the crops plant produce well. Finally, harvest is equally done with the use of machines that is combine harvesters. The crops are then transported to the company with the use of their Lories, motor bikes and carriages of tractors. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

Hence, apart from the rudimentary farming technique culture in Mbandjock, a new culture in farming called the modern method is being popular, where farmers use more of machines in the farming process. Apart from the machines used in this method, there is also the use of organic fertilizers; the research shows that many farmers use this as a natural system of adaptation in the face of diminishing yields. Many of the small scale plantation farmers resort to the use of food wastes and composts because they are unable to acquire inorganic fertilizers. In as much as this technique is worthy for the environment, the current levels of valorization of organic constituents in most of Africa and Mbandjock the research sites remain low. Furthermore, it has been maintained that organic fertilizers can only increase yields to a confident threshold or level beyond which outputs will remain constant except they are joined with inorganic fertilizers. Studies carried out in Kabate, Central Kenya, by Borlaug, N.E (2000), Tilman, et al. (2002) and De Jong et al. (2006), examine the effects of soil management in the context of the effects of organic and inorganic inputs on soil biomass and productivity and validates the argument that the current levels of organic manure usage in most of Africa cannot sustain production. It has been argued that organic resources alone are often inept to provide adequate nutrients to uphold long-term nutrient resource bases for agriculture. Therefore, the best case situations of nutrient provision are when both organic and inorganic fertilizers are used at the same time. In relation to this, the prospects of organic manure or agro-ecology techniques are seen as techniques that cannot stand on their own to sustain yields.



Photo 15: Tractor in a swampy farm for tillig

Source: Source: Bonuh che, June 2020

The plate above, indicates a tractor used in a swampy area to prepare the soil for planting. However, when it is on the dry land or surface, the instrument below will be attached to the tractor for tilling of the soil.

5.2.4. Tools used

From the two local technique or methods of farming in Mbandjock, there are so many tools used. With the rudimentary methods, tools like hoes, machetes and to a greater extend plough are used. Those that dominate the usage of these tools are mostly the local farmers who usually have from 0 to about 5ha's of farm land which can easily be cultivated by man power. Nevertheless, some very few farmers in this category do hire the services of tractors and machines which is not often usual. Whereas the modern method uses machines and chemicals as well as fertilizers. These modern tools and or method of cultivation is mostly employed by establishments based here involved in agriculture like SOSUCAM, *Complex agricole de Medonga*, Nkolo Laurent, West End Farm and common initiatives groups like COMFEV that cultivate cassava in Nyassi, CODEFIRM also cultivate Cassava in Mbiboto, ENYING-Moi in Ndjoré II at camp puné who cultivate intensively and usually hired the services of machines in production.

With the rudimentary and semi advanced method, our informants admitted that.

I use the hoe in farming, some local farmers use the plough in their plantations yet others use the tractor mean while many uses both the hoe and the machete in their plantations. Most of us local farmers here use personal education or know how for our knowledge and use of agricultural techniques. I have some friends indigenous small scale farmers that got their knowledge from training bv association/organization especially the common initiative groups, yet others got their knowledge from training by governmental bodies like the sub divisional delegation of agriculture in Mbandjock. SOSUCAM too play a very important role in the knowledge of techniques in farming used here, they help us the local farmers with knowledge and training on the method and type of crops to cultivate. At times they even give us hybrid seeds and fertilizers for our farms. So most farmers uses fertilizer in their farms. In the same line, though the farmers in Mbandjock rarely have the means to use insecticide, pesticide and fertilizers and prefer their cultural mean of regaining soil fertility, a good number of farmers in Mbandjock use insecticides in their farms, others use pesticide in their plantations yet many do not use agricultural inputs in their farms. Another thing that is very difficult to us local farmers in Mbandjock is the means of obtaining farm inputs. farm inputs are mostly gotten by local farmers' personal effort and just a few people have farm inputs is aid coming from the government and well established companies like SOSUCAM to them local farmers. The use of tools also varies in Mbandjock. While some farmers use machines, other used rudimentary tools. Some uses the hoe in farming others

uses the tractor yet some uses both the hoe and the machete in their plantations. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

This implies that most of the indigenous farmers in Mbandjock use both the hoe and machete in their farming process with a few of them using the tractors and plough. Therefore, from the above findings, most of the farmers in this locality got their agricultural techniques through personal training sponsored by themselves. Most of the respondents use agricultural input in their farms but for the very peasants' farmers who do not have the means to apply these inputs. Most often, these categories of farmer produce mainly for consumption. Based on the findings, it shows that most of the respondents get their inputs through their own personal efforts. These establishments also made use of fertilizers, pesticide and insecticides so as to guarantee their production in a good quantity. This implies that most of the respondents use both the hoe and machete in their plantations with a few of them using the tractors and plough.

5.3. Process of farm transformation

Some of the local cultures present in Mbandjock that assist in the process of farm transformation are obtaining land for farming. Land can be gotten naturally and or acquired. Culturally by inheritance and acquired by buying, gift and renting. When this land is gotten, the common farming style practice is mixed cropping. Mix cropping is the farming type practiced here as farmers may plant maize, cassava, plantain as well as cocoa yams on the same piece of land. The method of work is either done individually or as a group. However, farming is practiced here with a given calendar. From the dry to the raining season. Below is a calendar of the farming system in Mbandjock.

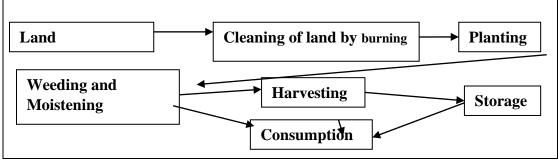
Month	Activity
September to November	Clearing of farm lands
November to December	Preparing the land (Forming furrows)
March	Planting of crops
Ending March to May	Weeding of crops
June	Harvesting of beans, potatoes and vegetables
July to September	Harvesting of maize, cassava, plantain (exception to coffee)
October	Farming continues in preparation of the dry season and the
	harvest of tubers such as sweet potatoes, yams

 Table 5: Food crop Production Calendar in Mbandjock

Source: Bonuh che 2019

The above table presents a detailed calendar of the farming system in Mbandjock. This calendar is a vicious cycle which runs for a year from the dry to the raining season. With the calendar, the following process is followed for the transformation of the farm land. The local culture here is that when land is first acquired, it is cleared or burnt, cultivated and planted, weeding and moistening, harvesting and consumption and or harvesting and storage. However, the below diagram demonstrates.

Diagram 3: Farming process of food crop (Cassava, maize, cocoa yams, groundnuts)



Source: Bonuhche 2020

The farms are cleared with local tools such as cutlasses and cultivated with hoes and wheelbarrows. Some farmers used family labour, others hired labour and still others used group of friends or association for the cultivation, weeding and harvesting of their crops especially when the farm is a big farm.

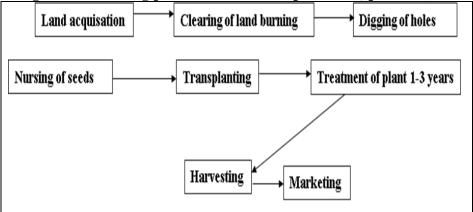


Diagram 4: Farming process for cash Crops (Cocoa, palm nut)

Source: Bonuh che 2020

It should be noted that, the farm is usually kept clean and treated to make the plant grow freely. Pesticides, insecticides and fungicides are sprayed when the cocoa tree is two to three years averagely in order to protect it from diseases. Hence, after a piece of land is acquired either by inheritance, buying and or renting, the process of transformation of the farmland begins in the following ways:

5.3.1. Clearing

It is custom and tradition here that, when a site is chosen for agriculture, either for the cultivation of food/cash crop in Mbandjock, the chosen site is being mapped with physical boundaries and cleared with the use of machetes. This activity is characterised by very sharp

machetes, and the labour used here is mostly man power which is unskilled, and the clearing is mostly done manually.



Photo 16: Farmer supervising the opening of his new farm

Source: Bonuh che, February 2020

Some agribusinesses around Mbandjock used chemicals by spraying to make grass dry and eventually rotten. Clearing is seasonal, mostly practiced in the dsry season, (September to November).

5.3.2. Bush burning

The culture in Mbandjock warrants that, when land is sighted for agriculture, instead of clearing the farm, some farmers mostly indigenes preferre to burn the mapped area and prevent the fire from crossing boundaries. For them, it saves time and energy instead of clearing. However, some of the stems and strong grass that did not burn are usually cleared with the cutlass. So, these farmers only use the cutlass to clear places that did not burn well. Photo 17: A burnt farmland in preparation for cultivation



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 02/01/2020)

5.3.3. Preparation of the farmland

When the piece of land is gotten, it is first cleared by some farmers and burnt by others; the next step is the preparation of the piece of land. Settlers from the Northwest and west regions in Mbandjock sub-division villages on their part create furrows at times. It should be noted that, the indigenes of Mbandjock by their culture do not do furrowing but plant their crops immediately after burning and raging the bush. Those mostly involved in furrowing are settlers from the Northern, Northwest and West (grass fielders) regions of Cameroon. These people came along with their culture. With enculturation and acculturation that have taken place in Mbandjock, there is a lot of cultural mixing. The mixing of culture here has degenerated a multiple farm preparation means. Some people do furrows before planting while others plant without furrows. However, tools used here are, hoes, wrecks, diggers and spades, the most used tool of all is the hoe.

In this stage, the activity is mostly performed by women; either individuals or groups of women (initiative groups or cooperatives) grass are been gathered and well arranged. At this stage, the shape or form of the farm starts showing and here, starts the creation of organic manure (burying grass to create farm beds process of decaying). Furrows are either created along or across the slope. Creating furrows also depends on the type of farming method to be practice and the type of plant to be cultivated.

In the same light, the creation of farm beds is mostly done by grassland settlers (Northwest and West regions) in Mbandjock. Creating farm beds comes after furrows have been designed. The process of creating farm beds is either done horizontally or vertically depending on the nature of the terrain. The farm beds are formed with the use of hoes. This process is mostly performed by women, be it individual or groups of women. This process mostly takes place in the dry season, from the month of November to February. The sizes of the farm beds will depend on the type of crops to be cultivated. We mostly find farm beds for food crop cultivation, and with cash crops such as coffee, kolanuts, banana, they do have farm beds. Rather, hoes are dug for this crop to be planted. During the process of farm bed creation, the grass field settler farmers practice *Ankara farming* which they gather the grass from clearing and expose them on some particular farm beds, where the *ankara* is being gathered and burnt. In those spots, farmers mostly plant tubers crop, such as, cocoyam's, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, yams as well as maize and beans. This is done because, Mbandjock mostly practice mixed cropping in large scale. The *ankara* gathering and burning takes place in the month of January to early march when farmers are preparing for planting.

5.3.3.1. Maize cultivation

Mbandjock like any other part of the centre region has four seasons. Hence, from the agricultural calendar, planting comes up from the month of March with the early rains. During this period the farmers arrange their seeds for planting. Planting is done according to the size of the farm. Also planting during this time is either mono cropping or mixed subsistence farming. The local culture here is that, planting is done by both men and women. Local common initiative groups, cooperatives and firms organize planting with many people involved. The common tools used here are mostly hoes, machetes, and sticks. However, the duration of planting lasts from March to early April depending on the types of crops planted. Some farmers plant maize alongside groundnuts.

Photo 18: Planting of maize



Source: Bonuh che, (Nio Baboute, 25/03/2020)

The photo above is the demonstration of how maize is planted in small holder farms in Mbandjock sub-division. Most often the maize planted are hybrid seeds gotten from the market and or IRAD. The maize is planted with a long line of 70-80 meter per line. A twine is set up with a spacing of 0.7m and with an interval of 0.3m after each shot. After planting, it takes between 10days to two weeks for the crops to germinate with shots out, and the germination process is determined by the temperature of the soil. As such, some plants take more than two weeks to germinate.



Photo 19: Implementation of the strings in the field (lines of 70-80 meter per line)

Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 09/04/2021)

The above picture is demonstrating how maize is germinating respecting the conformity of 70-80 meter per line. We can as well see a spacing of 0.7m and with an interval of 0.3m as the maize is shooting. When all of the above is respected, the maize is allowed to grow in very good conditions and states. When the maize geminates, the monitoring and maintenance of the field starts. Where farmers go to weed the farm, apply fertilisers and any other thing that can assist in the growth of the crop. Weeding of the plants is after the emergence of the corn, that is, the plants are separated from the grass in order to promote its growth. Those farmers that participated in ritual of cleaning the graveyards believed that their god and ancestors will protect and make their crops to germinate well. Weeding takes place at ending March and May, and it's done with the use of hoes.

Photo 20: Maturation of maize in the farm

Source: Bonuh che, (Nio Baboute, 05/05/2021)

The plate above, shows how the farm is monitored as maize germinates. The monitoring here involved always making the farm clean from unwanted grasses. As it is clean, the crop is allowed to be airing and have space to grow well. It is also during this period that most small holder farmers start administering fertilizers to their crops.

Maize is cultivated here mostly two times a year. Some farmers cultivate once. Those who do cultivate maize two times do planting in late February, March or April. It will be harvested in July and August. When it is harvested this time, the next planting is done in August and harvested in December, January and at times way into early February. The next stage is the insecticide-based treatment to eliminate insects that threaten young leaves which is follow by fattening that is spreading of fertilizers in the field, immediately after, grassing is done. These consists of controlling weeds based on herbicides such as herbi corn which helps the crop to produce well. When it is done, the maize starts ripening and drying. Harvesting of corn come thereafter.

Photo 21: Harvesting of maize



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 08/01/2021)

For conservation and storage of maize, the people of Mandouga village conserved some maize fresh, some in the sun and dry some on sticks in front and back part of the house. Those that commercialise corn, have created ban where the corn is peeled and stored in and sold when need be. The consumption is mostly in corn flour and fufu. Sale and consumption are also very important as the sale can be local intended for the small household or wholesale intended for the consumer industry. It should be noted that most production here is intended towards the market and only a few left for home consumption.

However, the conservation of products in Mbandjock is categorised from individuals, common initiative groups, association, cooperatives and companies. That is to say, conservation of crops ranges from persons to organisations involved in crop production. This is affirmed to our research by one of our respondents who indicated that,

the conservation of some of our yields are done by a cooperation, some small scale farmers conserve their produce with the help of local association yet the majority of crop conservation are done by the smallholder planters individually in their houses. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/09/2021).

Based on the above results, it shows that the conservation of the farm produce is mainly done by the farmers individually. The findings are in line with the findings of Epule et *al*. (2012) who indicated that small-scale farmers mainly preserve their crops by drying themselves. The author as well acknowledges that this method is commonly used in Cameroon even though agricultural technicians consider the method to be the main reason for the reduction in the quality of the farm produce like cocoa and coffee.

Photo 22: Conservation of maize in a firm



Source: Bonuh Che, (12/02/2021)

These findings imply that most of the output is sold through a local cooperation or individually by the farmers or other relatives. This is in line with previous findings which claim that most of the outputs are sold either by the individuals or by cooperation's of farmers selling a particular type of crop.

5.3.3.2. Cultivation of cassava

Another strong culture that is preserved in Mbandjock, is the cultivation of cassava which is their stable food. Cassava is a tuber crop that is considered like one of the stable food in the Mbandjock sub-division. The Baboute, like the Yezoum, consume it in many forms such as *baton*, *nkumnkum* and like cooked cassava itself. They also consume their leaves in their traditional meals. So it is an important crop as far as traditional meals are concerned. This is one of the reasons why cassava is very important in this zone. Most of the women have created common initiative groups that cultivate and sell cassava. The small scale farmers here mainly cultivate their cassava for the market with just small proportion consumed by them. It is confirmed to us by one of our respondents on the planting of cassava in Mbandjock,

Planting is done usually in March ending or early April for cassava that is planted to get ready in one year. For the other type that takes six months to mature after planting is done two times a year. However, it takes us 10days to two weeks after planting for the crops to germinate with shots out. Some plants equally take more than two weeks to germinate. The ritual of cleaning the graveyards for our gods and ancestors will protect and make our crops to germinate well. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 10/03/2020).

This implies that, cassava farming culture is one of the popular farming cultures practiced by small holder farmers in Mbandjock. They have the hybrid whose life cycle is six months and the normal species which can take one year to be ready for consumption. For the normal species, planting is done in March ending or early April to get ready in one year. While the new species enculturated in their society not long from now takes six months to mature. This hybrid cassava is planted two times a year. The small holder plantations owners always then tend to the local in search for spiritual powers to protect their cassava. They do this by participating in the ritual of cleaning the graveyards for the gods and ancestors to protect and make their crops to germinate and yield well.



Photo 23: Planting of cassava in a small-scale farm

Source: Bonuh che, (Ndo 12/02/2019)

After planting, it takes 10days to two weeks for the crops to germinate with shots out, and the germination process is determined by the temperature of the soil. Some of the cassava also takes more than two weeks to germinate. Those farmers that participated in ritual of cleaning the graveyards believed that their god and ancestors will protect and make their crops to germinate well. Weeding takes place at ending March and May, and it's done with the use of hoes.

It is a tradition, here, transmitted from generations to generation that, when they are weeding grass from the crops, they put enough soil around the germinated crop to support it from wind, make the farm to be clean and equally to concentrate the fertility of the soil around the germinated crop. However, some small farmers are still resistant to adopting the new culture of cultivating cassava. Crops like cassava are harvested gradually as need be since it cannot be stored in the house for a long time.

Photo 24: Hybrid cassava after 2 months of planting



Source: Bonuh che, (Ndo, 11/05/2019)

Most of the cassava produced by locals and indigenes of Mbandjock is for sale and little for consumption. Most settlers, common initiative groups and association cultivate cassava mostly for sales.

Harvesting takes place from the month of June to September. From June, we can find the harvesting of beans, potatoes, and vegetables (pumpkins leaves, green). The harvesting of cassava is done all round the year depending on the period of planting. It is also true here that, one of the stable food of the people is cassava and cassava leaves but the majority of cassava cultivated by small holder planters is for the market. The technique of harvesting cassava by small holder farmers in Mbandjock is by uprooting from the ground with the use of hands. Beans is being harvested with the use of hands picking uprooting them from the ground and in some areas they are being cut from the stems with traditional knives. Vegetables are harvested by handpicking. From July to August, is the harvesting of maize in hot areas and from August to September, is the final harvest of maize in cold area. Harvest here is characterised by group of persons, who, after harvesting the crops are being preserved for consumption and vending. Crops like cocoa have two times that harvesting takes place. That is the small and the big harvesting period. The small harvest period of cocoa takes place in august and September while bigger harvest period is in November and late early December. In October, the process of clearing the farm continues in preparation of planting of crops mostly food crops in the second season. It is also during this period that most of tuber crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams are harvested. One of our informants acknowledged;

We small holders' farmers in Mbandjock sub division harvest cassava by uprooting from the ground with the use of hands. We cultivate cassava alongside other crops which we harvest almost at the same time and generally for the market. We sale mostly to common initiative groups, buyers who come from the city and our local markets. We also, consumed part of the cassava we cultivate in different forms such as cassava flour, baton and the normal cooked cassava itself. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

This entails that, since cassava is one of the stable foods of the Baboute, the Yezoum people and even most of the settlers' population, cassava and cassava leaves are harvested all-round the year depending on the period of planting. The technique of harvesting cassava in Mbandjock by the small holder plantations is by uprooting from the ground with the use of hands. The photo below demonstrates the harvesting of cassava by small scale planters which

are often sold to bigger planters, CIG (Common Initiative Group) and cooperatives who at times transform into *baton*. And or sale to other costumers coming from other places to buy. **Photo 25: Harvesting of cassava**



Source: Bonuh che, (Biboto 18/09/2019)

Harvesting is usually done here in groups. That is group of friends or association of willing farmers. At times, it is one of the farmers that make an appeal for such help from other farmers or villagers and or friends.

Photo 26: Selling of cassava by a smallholder farmer



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 10/01/2020)

5.3.3.3. Cultivation of plantain

The culture of plantain cultivation can be traced in the long standing Baboute culture. Plantain is one of the crops that are consumed in a large quantity in Mbandjock. However, plantain is planted mostly during the rainy season and takes one year to get ready. Some species take eight to ten months. Below are the main phases of plantain cultivation. Most often, the choice of site is done (land ownership, access to the road), followed by clearing of the land. The suckers of the plantain are nursed to be germinated in a different site usually protected from the sun, the rain, insects and any other thing that can be as a problem to the germination of the plantain suckers. After nursing, is picketing (consisting of putting the milestones using a string in order to align the plants) and treatment of holes (nematicide, fungicide). Most small holder farmers in the plantain domain, choose the site of their farms depending on the access to communication routes for rapid flow of end products to the market or for easy access of the farm by buyers. Nursery of the sucker takes about three months to get ready for planting. When the suckers are going through the nursery stage, clearing of the farm is being done. The clearing of the farm is done manually with the machete carried out by the local or family hand. After clearing is cleaning of the farmland. Cleaning is done by assembling the bush and by burning. However, the picture below shows how plantain suckers are nursed in Mbandjock.

Photo 27: a plantain nursey



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 10/03/2020)

The activities which follow, thereafter, consist of digging holes 0.40m deep, 0.30m diameter and soil treatment before the suckers are planted. After the suckers are planted in the already dug holes filled with manure, the farmers continue to be cleaning the plot. Maintenance and monitoring of the field continue one month after planting of the sucker. The maintenance and monitoring also consist of insect treatment to fight against insects and protect young plant, two months after fertilizer spreading is process in the plantation field. One of our research participants admitted that,

I start maintenance and monitoring of the plantain field as soon as the plantain plantation is one month after planting of the sucker. In the process of maintenance and monitoring, I do plantain plantation treatment to fight against insects and protect young plantain to grow freely and healthy. I then come two months after to apply fertilizer in the plantation field. The fertilizer make the crop to more mature, healthy and physically good looking. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

This means that, after planting the suckers with manure, farmers persist to cleaning the plantain farm. Upkeep and monitoring is another very important process that continued one month after planting of the sucker. It is also through this that farmers proceed to the treatment of the plantain field to fight against insects and protect young plantain, two months after fertilizer spreading is processed in the plantation field.

Photo 28: Maintenance of plantain farm



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 26/07/2020)

Maintenance and monitoring of the plantation farm continued with grassing. It consists of the maintenance treatment of grass clearing or herbicides, elimination of rejections around the mother plant, leaf pruning allowing for easy circulation of air and grass from affecting the plantain plant.



Photo 29: Follow-up plus maintenance of plantain farm

Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 06/10/2020)

With plantain, when it is harvesting time, most business people come to the farm and buy directly. Nevertheless, some of their plantain is for consumption by farmers. However, the first cut of plantation is done 10 months after planting of the suckers. The product flow comprises of sale to the local market and regional delivery based on wholesale and retail orders.

Photo 30: Harvested plantain for, consumption or sale



Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 06/01/2021)

The photo above, shows harvested plantain kept in a warehouse pending sale to customers coming from Yaounde. Most of the small holder planters do their sales in wholesale to the local market and or regional market in Yaounde and other surrounding cities.

5.4. The culture of food storage and conservation

The people of Mendouga village after cultivating, harvesting of their crops also derived a means of consideration and food security system. Its conservation and security system depend on the type of crops. The Yezoum like the Mbandjock people have a local way which they conserve their tubers. They have short term and long period conservation means. For short period conservation means, the people usually burry the tubers in marshy or wet soil or area. The tuber can be conserved here for three to four days and at most one week. However, one of our informants posit that,

For cassava, in order to have food security we cultivate cassava all through the year. We mostly use hybrid species that takes 6 months to get ready for consumption. It could be harvested and boil the same day or one day after to eat or conserve in other ways. It could be transformed to baton that could even last for one month for consumption or transform into cassava flour commonly known as Nkum nkum which can last for several months. The Nkum nkum which can last for several months is often used to make fufu. With this method the people can secure food all-round the global hence maintaining food security. Cassava planted in February is harvested in July and August, those planted in March, April, are harvested in November and August, those planed in July and August is harvested in February and March. Then there is always constant supply of cassava in Mendouga in particular and Mbandjock sub division in general. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

From the above interview, we understand that, the new culture of hybrid species of cassava that takes 6 months to get ready for consumption is in the rise in Mbandjock. However, after harvesting of cassava, it can be consumed the same day by boiling or one day after to eat or conserve in other ways for future consumption. Most often, the cassava is transformed to *baton* that could even last for one month before consumption or transformed into cassava flour commonly known as Nkum nkum which can last for several months. The *Nkum nkum*, which can last for several months is often used to make fufu. The settlers from the northwest and southwest regions of Cameroon in Mbandjock also bring in a new culture of transforming cassava into garri. This new culture is becoming very popular in the subdivision. So with these different ways of transformation of cassava, the people can secure food all-round the year, hence, maintaining food security. More so, coco yams are planted in February and harvested at times in ten months within a year. Coco yams can be consumed from harvesting or conserve for food security for about maximum of four to five months. To conserve cocoa yams, they keep it in the farms and only harvest when they want to consume and or sell or the harvest and keep it in a dry place void of moisture or water it that way. It can stay for three to four months and this goes same to yams.

For conservation and storage of maize, the people of Mbandjock villages conserved some maize fresh, dry some in the sun and dry some on sticks in the front and back part of the house. Those that commercialise corn, have created ban where the corn is peeled and stored in and sold when need be. The consumption is mostly in corn flour and fufu. Here, the research establishes that methods of conservation which small holder plantations use. From the data collected, just a few farmers conserved their produce in bands and most farmers in this category are settlers' farmers and a few of the indigents who have adopted or learned the culture of conserving crops or yields in the band. Generally, the culture of the people of Mbandjock do not really value keeping yield in the band. This explains why most of the small scale farmers conserved their products by drying which is a typical culture of the people of this locality.



Photo 31: Conservation of maize by drying by local farmers

Source: Bonuh Che, June 2020

The indigenous famers that may not have proper means to conserve their produce, conserved by first of all drying under the sun for a number of weeks so the crop can dry right inside before they consume or put in bags to keep for future use. In the same vein, a good number of the respondents use others techniques of conserving their products probably chemicals to protect their yields and probably stored in warehouses. These techniques are mostly employed by the firms and well do to farmers who have the means. Some of these firms even turn to buy from the local farmers and conserve to sell in future at higher prices. Based on the results above, the most commonly used method of conserving is by drying the harvested crops. There are some of the small holder planters who do not conserve their produce. However, the conservation of produce in Mbandjock is categorised from individuals, common initiative groups, association, cooperatives and companies. The research

presents finding on the persons and organisations involve in the conservation of the produce. According to one of our informants,

Cooperation are in charge of the conservation of yields like an estimated 10 percent of the small holder plantation owners, local association are in charge of the conservation of like 11 percent of the small scale farmers output and a greater number of the smallholders farmers like 69 percent do the conservation of their produce individually. So conservation of farm produce here in Mbandjock is mainly done by the farmers individually. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2020).

It indicates that conservation of crops by small holder plantations in Mbandjock is in many dimensions. While Cooperations are in charge of the conserving just about 10 percent of the total yields of small holders plantations, local association conserved about 11 percent of the small scale farmers output and small holder farmers conserved about 69 percent of their produce. Hence, conservation of small holder planters output is based in the hands of individual small holder farmers in Mbandjock. The findings are in line with the findings of Epule et *al.* (2012) who indicated that small-scale farmers mainly preserve their crops by drying it themselves. The author as well acknowledges that this method is commonly used in Cameroon even though agricultural technicians consider the method to be the main reason for the reduction in the quality of the farm produce like cocoa and coffee. These findings we got in Mbandjock imply that most of the output is sold through a local cooperation or individually by the farmers or other relatives. This is in line with previous findings which claim that most of the outputs are sold either by the individuals or by cooperation's of farmers selling a particular type of crop.

5.5. Local beliefs involved in small holder plantations

Local beliefs systems have so many functions as well as a role to play in small holder plantations. These local belief systems range from protection, production and reproduction, good harvest or abundance. Rain, sun and cleansing for those who have offended the ancestors and or done evil in the land is also taken care in the belief system of the Baboute, Yezoum and even the settlers communities in Mbandjock. According to Whitehead, TL (2003), the cultural system paradigm also assumes that, individuals are influenced by larger cultural and social system, and those social and cultural systems are part of a larger ecological system. There exist many types of rituals that are performed in order to cultivate crops. The different rituals that exist in Mbandjock have their various reasons. These rituals are practiced for protection, production and reproduction, abundance, and cleansing of the land. There exist many types of rituals that are performed in order to cultivate crops like fertility, crop protection, high yields, cleansing and reproduction.

5.5.1. Crops protection tradition

Commonly, the people of Mbandjock sub-division believe in the existence of witchcraft. They believe that when crops are grown, witches and wizards could pass through heavy winds, rains, birds and other animals to destroy crops hence causing low productivity and food insurity. They equally believe that human lives and properties are vulnerable to these witches and wizards which can even transfer people crops to their farms. To prevent these from happening and probably guarantee food security, people here have developed strategies to help combat this phenomenon, reasons why they believed in the power of their tradition and ancestral intervention. In order to fight against this, the people turn to their ancestors for protection to whom they offer sacrifices on the ceremony of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, Awa ritual of the Ndo people, the messing festival of the Mendouga people and the Yezoum of Mekomba village with the *Mkpass* festival. This is done to obtain protection from their ancestors for themselves and all their activities with crop cultivation inclusive. Since the introduction of intensive smallholder farming in Mbandjock in 1965 by the government through SOSUCAM, the people of Mbandjock have preserved their attention in the protection of crop. This is done with the help of their existing gods of protection. However, the people seek their ancestors for the protection of their crops from witchcraft. This protects them and their crops from any eventual attack from witchcraft. These protection of crops and lives are not only limited to the indigenous people of Mbandjock, settlers also travelled along with their culture. This is the reason why they also go in for the protection of their crop and families. This is affirmed to us by one of our research participants who is a Manguissa that work and live in Mbandjock. The informant said,

There are products we mixed in the seed of crops like groundnuts, maize, cassava yams and others before planting to protect our crops and have good harvest at the end of the harvesting season. Such products include; the skin of an elephant called locally ZOUCK and small stones called NGOH which all protect crops and give good harvest. The one applied on boundaries of the house and farms are to protect us and our crops from any attack from outsiders. If any outsider crosses the boundary with a bad intension, it will neutralize the powers of his witch. The one applied in the smallholder farms, is to protect our crops from heavy rain, witches and wizards. It equally protects our crops especially smallholder farms from witches and wizards whose member could transfer crops from our farms to their making us to have low yields. (Interview conducted in Nio Baboute, 05/04/2019).

They believed that, when these products are mixed in their seed before planting, it protects their crops from heavy winds and rains or anything sent by evil people to destroy farms and crops. At times, they even come in the form of lightening. They know that no matter the type of wind and or rain, it cannot destroy an elephant or stone. As such, if they put it in their crops, their crops will be strong and resistant as the stone and elephant. Hence, no destruction can happen. If there is no destruction, the crops will have good yield.

In the same light, the Nanga people based in Mbandjock also use *Bikelbingon* done in small calabashes produced from spiritual leaves. Once prepared, the individual farmers apply on their hands, houses, road junctions and even on their chests. This helps to stop heavy rains or storms and any other thing that can destroy their crops or affect the crops negatively. However, since small holder farming is a great agricultural activity in Mbandjock, the concoction is as well applied in small holder farms to avoid or protect the winds from pushing down their plants. This protection also stops the attack of grains from birds, especially birds sent by witches and wizards. Therefore, the crops grown in Ndjore and all the villages of Mbandjock necessitate the ritual of crop protection which has tremendously helped in the cultivation of small holder farming as it protects the small holder farming crop, leading to increase in the small holder farming production.

5.5.2. The rain tradition in smallholder plantations

In the different villages of Mbandjock, rain is very important in farming most especially with crops cultivated that needs water for its growth. Therefore, with the sacrifices they give to their ancestors during the ceremony of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, *Awa ritual* of the Ndo people, the *messing* festival of the Mendouga people and the *Mkpass* festival of the Yezoum of Mekomba people, rain is guarantee for their farming activity. When the rainy season is approaching and many anticipating rains, the sacrifices earlier given to their gods through their ancestors guarantee a speedily evocation of rain. In the same light, one of the members of a common initiative groups Meseng Mbandjock affirmed during a FGD that,

In Mbandjock, the gods through our ancestors gives us rain for our livelihood and our crops. When we get close to the rainy season and seem to see no signs of the rain, in December, we tend immediately to our ancestors where sacrifices are made to please them during the ritual of the cleaning of the graveyards. Many a time, on the very day the sacrifice is made there are always heavy rains. But in other instances, the rain comes within the week after the sacrifice. (FGD conducted in Mbanjock, 15/04/2020).

Therefore, since small holder farmers need a lot of water to grow their crops, it is cultivated in the rainy season. For this reason, the sacrifices made to appease the gods of the rain favour small holder farming in Mbandjock. It is true that the rituals are not only made for the production of small holder farming but includes all other activities in Mbandjock that need rain. Note should be taken that, in years that the gods are not happy, they do not give rain and this will cause a lot of draught in the area. The different Chiefs in their different villages organise sacrifices to their various gods of rain. Some tribes sacrificed animals after particularly bad weather, this is done to appease the gods, particular animals are chosen depending on how severe the weather or famine is. Sacrifice is common in agricultural societies, some old religions used human sacrifice as part of their ritual, only the best livestock was sacrificed, and no inferior animals were used. Sometimes young children were sacrificed because of their innocence; their tears were symbolic of rain. Two of the most important gods invoked by the Aztecs of Central America were Tlaloc, the god who controlled rain, and Xipe Totec, the god of the spring rebirth. Smith (1889) cited by Semra Aktas-Polat, Serkan Polat (2020), described the traditions of Semitic societies, such as the Arabs, Hebrews, Aramis, and Assyrians and explained some of his determinations, in particular about the scarification of animals and plants. He stated that while the Israelis did not use the camel as food or sacrifice, the camel was used as a common food and sacrifice among the Arabs.

5.5.3. The beliefs in the gods of good harvest

The ritual of good harvest is another important ritual performed during the ceremony of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, *Awou ritual* of the Ndo people, the *messing* festival of the Mendouga people and the *Mkpass* festival of the Yezoum of Mekomba people. In fact, this is done every year by giving sacrifices to their gods through the ancestors. During the cleaning of the graveyards one of the things the people asked their ancestors to do for them is to provide them with good harvest so that their crops can produce well. One of our key informants told us that,

One of the reasons we do the cleaning of the graveyards and the rituals we perform to the ancestors on this day is to appease our ancestors to give us good harvest of all crops cultivated. It is not only limited to crops, even fishing, hunting and any other activity we practice in Mbandjock. When this is done, our gods bless the seeds, make our soils to be fertile so that it can produce good quantity and quality crops. It is believed that the farmer who does not participate in the ceremony and or give food items will note have a good harvest. Therefore, smallholder farmers always participate in this ritual in one way or the other so that the god of good harvest can bless and multiply their fruits (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 13/01/2020).

For them, when these sacrifices are given to these gods, the farmers will experience a very good harvest in all their crops such as maize, groundnuts, beans, cassava, plantain, cocoa, sugar cane as well as vegetables and fruits. It should be noted that these gods at times influence the type of catch made out of fishing. Food crops that are cultivated in the Mbandjock, samples of the food crops are cooked as food and then taken to the site where the main grave yard is found. The ritual of good harvest is performed by the Chief accompanied by his notables. This is done so that all the variety of crops cultivated here should be blessed and multiplied by the gods so that the farmers can have a good harvest.

Ritual performed for good harvest is similar in Britain. This is affirmed by Comaroff J (2004), that many agricultural rituals are designed to invoke the gods and are very complex. During the Celtic period in Britain people lit huge fires (Beltaine fires), the ashes from these fires were believed to improve any harvest after being scattered over the fields. Japanese sumo was born out of religious festivals thought to urge the gods to bring about a successful harvest (Sf.R. Cereaga et al. 2019). Rituals are very close to the hearts of the Mbandjock people as they maintain their sacred sites, tribes care for specific sacred sites. Any tribe or group having difficulty with their crops, blame it on the angry gods, this is when divination rituals are carried out to decide what needs to be done to gain favour from the gods. There are rituals to bring about rain, to stop the rain if there is flooding, rituals for droughts and ceremonies for infestation. Agricultural rituals is passed down from generation to generation. Some African tribes plant seeds at night during their rituals, in return he provided food for the people. During a harvest ceremony held by the Paiwan an Asiatic people, a priest ritually divides the crops into three categories, human consumption, seeds to be planted the next year and animal consumption.

5.5.4. Small holder plantations and the cleansing tradition

This is another very important aspect of the ritual of cleaning of the graveyard that favours crops production in Mbandjock. It is believed that during the year, indigenous people of Mbandjock may have offended the ancestors in one way or the other. They may have had problems between each other, they may have killed someone knowingly or unknowingly. Some of them may have committed adultery with another person's wife or husband, stealing from one another and or quarrelled over something as such need to seek the face of their ancestors to forgive their sins. According to customs and tradition of this locality, if one finds his or herself in any of the above mentioned situations, illluck can follow him or her like sickness, death and bad production. However, to increase production, anyone who is found in this situation and is present in ritual of cleaning of the graveyard is cleansed through the ritual of cleansing. The cleansing ritual has been of utmost importance because it has helped to revive many farmers who would have been dead for killing or eating a snake unknowingly. A snake is said to have been their totem through which they used to cross the Sanaga River to settle in Mbandjock. So this has gone a long way to boost the production of small holder farming since farmers are certain of a remedy should they kill a snake.

Another issue that causes farmers not to work on their farms is the passing away of the Chief in particular and that of the villagers in general. The death of a normal villager takes two days for quarter member and about a month for the family member not to work on their farms. That of the Royal Majesty takes one week for the entire village and equally about a month for members of the Royal family not to work in their farms. It is believed that if a farmer visits his/her farm in the vein of a deceased person, he will meet the deceased's ghost in his farm which will not only bring ill-luck on his crops but will equally bring ill-luck on him as a person. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 13/01/2020).

All these hinder small holder farming and equally reduce the number of working days especially when a Chief pass away. Nevertheless, to remedy this situation, a cleansing ritual is organised to those who work when someone dies. And if the cleansing is not done, the farmer will be heading for doom because he will not be able to reap anything meaningful from his labour. So the cleansing ritual is really necessary here as it gives hope to a near extinction farmer.

5.5.5. Preventing the practice of witchcraft //Evou// in farms

One of the main reasons for performing the ritual of the ceremony of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, *Awou ritual* of the Ndo people, the *messing* festival of the Mendouga people and the *Mkpass* festival of the Yezoum of Mekomba people is to check against witchcraft. However, witchcraft is the metaphysical manipulations of objects. It is a magical practice better understood by their members who have many things in common and oriented toward the evil spirit. Most often, their objectives are to do bad to people or their properties. According to Melengfe (2001),

When the people of Nsei finally settled on their land, their leaders who assisted the Chief in ruling the village had amongst them, some people who could do evil to citizens who were stubborn or disobedient. These devilish actions extended to quarters and families. The witches and the wizards were feared in the community. If one speaks rudely to them in a group, family or to one of them, he/she was spiritually dealt with and will either be ill, have ill-luck or even die...

These people tried by all possible means to recruit many people so as to have a great number of people when they go out for destruction. To show more further how the practice of witchcraft act as a setback to rice production, Melengfe (2001) continued to show that,

Interested members feel that people in the society could protect other family members from being harmed but it is the reserve because the price for belonging to the society are human being killed. As members of this society, one can disguise into the following; owl, hawk, snakes, any kind of animal, a person covered with grass or a person covered with fire worms etc. when this people go out, the only do evil. These people have different colt societies (beuzey, mesae) With the ''mesae'', members could bring either good or evil to the family or themselves i.e riches, abundant delivery, abundant crops, bareness, ill luck etc.

From the above, it can be understood that witchcraft is a metaphysical practice that can better be understood by those who practice it. The advantages of this practice if any is only known by those involved. However, as far as we are concerned, witchcraft plays a drawback role to crops production in Mbandjock as those involved either kill people who could work on the farms or destroy them leading to low production. Hence witches and wizards are a great set back to crop production.

5.5.6. The tradition of preventing theft in the farms

Another reason for performing the ritual of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, *Awa ritual* of the Ndo people, the *messing* festival of the Mendouga people and the *Mkpass* festival of the Yezoum of Mekomba people is to prevent theft in the farms in Mbandjock. This is one of the major problems that most local farmers faced. Here, farmers that always decide to allow their products in the farm before or after harvest for long, always come to mourn because the crops have been tampered with or stolen.

One of our research participants affirms the theft that exist in the farms and the reason behind these thefts by saying that,

This situation has been so rampant and it is caused by the fact that farmers lack and easily access roads to transport their rice to their various destinations and because of this they have no choice but to cover the rice in their farms so that they can be transporting it gradually. This act has often attracted the attention of thieves who always invade many farms after crops has been harvested to search for crops that has been left in the farms in order to steal overnight. (FGD in Mbandjock, 15/04/2019).

The coming of the SOSUCAM was like a relief to farmers who knew that the Parastatal Company will help them create accessible farm to market roads that will enable them transport all their crops to their destination immediately after harvest. Despite the fact that SOSUCAM has done much as far as road creation is concerned, much is still expected from them by the farmers because they lack roads that link the farms for easy accessibility. As a result, leading to much theft in the farms. So this aspect greatly hinders the production of crops in Mbandjock because many farmers have been forced to stop farming because of lack of capital caused by the fact that the crops that had to bring them much profit was all stolen in their farms before or after they harvested.

5.5.7. Appeasing gods against transgressed taboos

The ritual of cleaning of the graveyard also has an appeasing role as those who have committed the taboo of killing a snake are forgiven. A taboo is the prohibition of a custom, social order, and or religious against saying, touching or doing something for fear of instant mischief from a supernatural force. Therefore, it gives restriction to particular person, place or things. In Mbandjock, there is a taboo that acknowledges the existence of the snake which is not to be killed or eaten. It is believed that when the Mbandjock people left Sudan and passed through the Adamaoua region to the centre region where they are found, they crossed the river Sanaga to their present site with the help of a snake. This snake helped their forefathers to use its back to cross the river. It is also with the power of the snake that they pushed the Yezuom from the original land to the extremes and occupied their land till present date. Hence, it is a taboo to kill or eat a snake in Mbandjock. Farmers spend long periods not concentrating to work but avoiding killing a snake for fear of ill-luck and bad harvest. This is similar to the situation that previewed in Bamessing in the Northwest region of Cameroon. According to (Melengfe 2001), animals like the chameleon, leaf frog, earthworm, snakes are treated with particular attention. The people do not kill these creatures for fear that they will be punished by the gods. It is also believed that twin and triplets at times transform into chameleons or snake. In the same vein, it is believed that, if a woman that is reproductive malhandles a reptile, it will make her not to be able to conceive. In Mbandjock, respecting the taboo of not killing of snakes can make a farmer to have good yields while those who do not

respect this taboo, then to have low productivity. This is affirmed by one of our research participants

My elder sister's children who is married in the south came for holidays in my house and I took them to the farm one weekend and the second time, they went alone. In the course of work made a snake and killed this snake. Upon reaching home two of the three children were seriously sick and when I tried to find out their activities in the farm, I was told by the youngest who did not participate in the killing that they killed a snake while in the farm. I immediately reported to the chief who took me to the site of our ancestors alongside the children concerned and we appeased them with drinks and food. Thereafter, they all were well again. At the end of year, I came with them to participate in the ritual of cleaning of the graveyard for their final purification. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/04/2019).

However, some people killed snakes by mistake but are not exempted from the ill luck this can bring upon them, their families and activities. Hence, at the end of the year, the ritual of cleaning the graveyard will come to appease their gods through their ancestors to forgive and pardon all those who have killed a snake in the course of the year. Apart from the ritual of cleaning of the graveyards in the Baboute villages, *Awa ritual* of the Ndo people, the *messing* festival of the Mendouga people and the *Mkpass* festival of the Yezoum of Mekomba people that have so many functions, settlers also have rituals that they perform at individual levels. Rituals like *Bikelbingon* ritual, *Nkouk* ritual, *Aben* ritual of the Nanga people are practice here by settlers with origin from Nanga.

5.5.8. Small holder plantations and the transfer of cultural traits

Small holder plantation is also a means of transferring culture from one generation to another in the different communities in Mbandjock. Even settlers in this locality do transfer their culture in the host community and vice versa as the settlers equally adopt new crops, new farming techniques as well as new consumption patterns and other cultural traits. Food production in Mbandjock is also seen as a means of transferring, emotions and culture. It is done by food in that, it promotes migration and tourism. The migrants and tourist also travel with their cultural traits which the host community can copy as well as they in return copy cultural elements from the host community. In the same line, Bailey (2017) acknowledge that, when people migrate from one place to another, food and eating habits can be moved and transferred to the new culture as well as a new culture can be adapted to a hybrid structure.

The key concept in the transfer of food is communication. Transfer is possible through interpersonal communication and interaction. Small holder plantations help in the transfer of cultural element in Mbandjock. They transfer technologies or techniques used in farming in Mbandjock from one generation to another though at times with little modifications.

The common method that we peasants' crops farmers use here in Mbandjock is the traditional farming technique. With this method crops are cultivated with local tools like: hoes, cutlasses, digging arks, sticks and at times farms are being clean by burning fire, the soil is till with hoes and digger arks. Softening and planting is done by human beings with their physical force using hoes or draught animals and hands respectively. Weeding equally done by man power and very little or no fertilizer applied. It is true that this method was left to us by our forefathers though it has seen some modification with the passing of time. (Interview in Ndo 29/07/2020).

Therefore, small holder plantations aid in the transmission of cultural elements in Mbandjock. The technologies and techniques used in farming in Mbandjock are passed from one generation to another with little alterations. The activities of small holder plantations are a means of communication of culture in Mbandjock. It is a junction where cultures meet and are learned by all stakeholders of small holder plantations. Semra Aktaş-Polat, Serkan Polat (2020), Food is also seen as a means of transfer, in other words, emotions and culture are transferred by food that is moved through travel, tourism, migration, etc. The key concept in the transfer of food is communication. Transfer is possible through interpersonal communication and interaction. Ing (2011) cited by Semra Aktaş-Polat, Serkan Polat (2020), said sensory events such as hearing, sight, tasting, and smelling also lead to the transmission of cultural elements in sensory anthropology.

5.5.9. Small holder plantations: a means of communication with the supernatural

Most of the people in Mbandjock communicate between the living and even the supernatural beings through food that is gotten from small holder plantations. The Baboute community relies so much on the powers of the dead as every of their activities is inclined with libations and prayers. The good harvest in small scale farm to meet up food security and new births in the community are seen as a reward from the gods and ancestors. They are seen as a blessing given to the community to act as gods representatives capable of solving community problems. As such they are offered food and drinks as a sign of appreciation and thanksgiving during the cleaning of the grave yard ritual. Small holders' food production here is seen as means of communicating obedience to their culture.

Most of the farmers here produce or are involved in the production of crops that were practice by the fore fathers. As such, it was passed from one generation to another hence farmers being obedience to their culture. We have only few exceptions in Mbandjock who do not produce crops with origin from their culture. (Interview in Mbandjock 26/08/2020).

With the help of food crops gotten from small holder plantations farming, farmers make prayers to their ancestors for the birth of a child, healing of the sick and deliverance from evil spell. The people have confidence in the practice and as such, obey this age old tradition. This is because, it has responding and solving their existing problems through sacrifices and libations they offer to the gods. Therefore, it is a way the Mbandjock people communicate between the living and the supernatural beings. According to Lilian Nkengla Asi and Deli Tize Teri (2016), traditional societies and their specific rules related to food, influence the consumption patterns of the people. They see food, as a form of obedience, over the entire life period, not only during specific periods of the year.

Another communication aspect of small holder plantation is that, it is with food crops that the people used in appeasing the gods when a member of the society commits a taboo. The common taboo in Ndo village is the *tsoh*. The practice of the *tsoh* here is when an individual and or group of people have sexual intercourse with a family member or offspring. It is forbidden here to have sex with any of your family member as it will be considered as incest. When it is between parents and children and or children of the same parents, it is called incest of the first order and when it happens with siblings of faraway relationships, it is called incest of the second order. Another instance of the *tsoh* is the practice of witchcraft. Witchcraft is the act of killing someone, giving ill luck to someone, transforming into wind and or animals to destroy the crops of people, blocking the reproduction and production of the people, etc. Once you do it or discovere in the process you could be ex communicated. This was affirmed to us by one of our informants, who said,

My father told me a story when we were still growing up that, the tsoh was prohibited in the Ndo land but there was one woman who was a witch and used to transform into wind and go into people farms and push their crops down. Each time she did that, people crops were destroyed and her small farm beside her hurt will be full with crops. She was working only small farm land yet had abundant harvest. So people used to wonder how she never had shortage of food at any season of the year. So on one of her transformation process in her neighbors farm she was knocked down by the ancestors so she fall helpless in the farm until the owner came and she confess her act. As punishment, she was excommunicated from the village. (Interview in Ndo 29/07/2020).

From the above findings, indicated that there are taboos in the practice of small holders' plantations in Mbandjock. Nevertheless, there is a mixed feeling on the availability of taboos

in small holders' plantations even though of our informants acknowledge the availability of taboos in small holders' plantations. When this happen and the community or the person involved want to appease the gods for their reinsertion in the mainstream society, they offer sacrifices of food to the gods. This demonstrate how food is use as a means of communication with the gods.

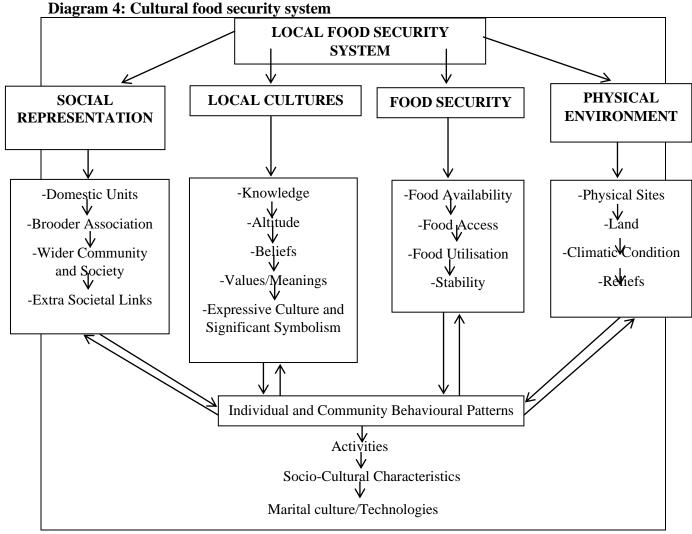
Conclusively, this chapter presents findings related to the influence of local cultures on the practice of plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. The findings are divided into four parts. The first part, which consists of the land tenure system shows that some people inherit land, others buy land, some rent land and others acquired land as a gift. The second section which is about agricultural techniques, indicated that, farmers in Mbandjock use basic farming tools like hoes and machetes which are mainly acquired with their personal saving with a relatively small number of them using tractors and other heavy agricultural machines. Rudimentary method of farming here employed elementary, simple, basic, rough and crude equipment's for cultivation. This is the common method that peasants' crop farmers use. Semi-advanced cropping method which have semi-skilled that is some special training or qualifications but less than skilled method. Modern crops farming method uses modern equipment's, technology, hybrid seeds, fertilizers and chemicals in production. It is mostly used in intensive crops farming which involves the use of machines. The third part presents on process of farm transformation. It indicated that the transformation process starts first with the acquisition of land, clearing or burning the farm land, cultivation and planting, weeding and moistening, harvesting and consumption and or harvesting and storage. Finally, the fourth part presents findings on local beliefs involved in small holder plantations. With this, the researcher found out that, the people have a tradition for crops protection, the rain tradition in small holder plantations, the beliefs of the gods of good harvest, small holder plantations and the cleansing tradition, preventing the practice of witchcraft //Evou// in farms, appeasing gods against transgressed taboos, small holder plantations and the transfer of cultural traits, the tradition of preventing theft in the farms and small holder plantations a of means communication are all presented. The next chapter is on small holder plantations and local food security cultures.

CHAPTER 6

SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS AGRICULTURE AND LOCAL FOOD SECURITY CULTURES

This chapter is presented following four main themes. The first theme expand on the different channels through which culture affects food security (availability, access and choice, utilization, and stability). The second theme, we discussed the role of indigenous people in guaranteeing food security (rituals and festivals that play in favour to food security). The third theme, then explained the political food economy, and the forth theme explored the contribution of the physical environment in food security.

In Mbandjock cultural food security system consists of, pillars of food security, local cultures, social representation and the physical environment. These different components interact together to give the local food security cultures in Mbandjock.



Source: Adapted by Bonuh Che 2020

In Mbandjock, the cultural food security system agrees that small holders plantation must be considered as a system, with interactions such as farm, persons, community values, natural elements, makeup and demographic indicators, psychological makeup, constructions of the self, personality and characteristic tendencies, community intelligence and skills, and the marketing and consumption of the produce. However, Goode (1989) cited by Jessica Christine Kwik (2008), posit six steps in the food-flow process: production, access, acquisition, preparation, presentation, and ingestion. Each of these is affected differently by structural, situational, and cultural variables. Each of these phases requires specific skills and knowledge to be successful in terms of the provision of basic foods.

6.1. Channels through which culture affects food security

This first part discusses the impact of culture on food security in line with the pillars of food security. In the same way like culture, food security is multi-dimensional and flexible. According to FAO (2002), food security is a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. The 2009 World Summit on Food Security, came out with four pillars of food security which are; availability, access, utilization, and stability. However, to guarantee food security, it goes beyond just these four pillars. These pillars are in interactions and overlap between each other.

6.1.1. Food availability channel

The first channel by which culture affects food security is food availability. Food availability focuses on the supply side and refers to the extent to which sources of nutrition are physically available through local food production and trading. At the national level, food availability is a combination of both domestic food production, commercial food (imports and exports), food aid and domestic food stocks. Whereas with the household level, food could be from own production or bought from the local markets. Food availability depends on what is classified as food, we need to first of all know what food is produced and merchandised. Helman (2007), cited by Elena Briones Alonso et al. (2017), propounded that, culturally transmitted classifications of available sources of nutrition as food and non-food determine what potential foods are included in the regular diet and thereby influence the composition of local food production, sales, and trade. Also, culture profiles how food is produced. Hence, food availability depends on the traditional food production systems and the knowledge of the local people. In some cultures, certain traditional crop combinations offer agricultural complementarities in the form of resource sharing or protection against environmental stresses. Nevertheless, traditional food production systems need sufficient

food safety checks to monitor the risk of exposure to toxins, either organic (Benkerroum, 2013; Wild and Gong, 2010).

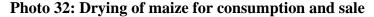
The technology in making food available is another aspect of food availability determined by culture. Since agricultural technology adoption takes place in a social context, culture plays a great influence on producers' acceptance of new food technologies and their willingness to incorporate innovations in food production system. Therefore, the success of farmer in small holder plantations culture is attributed to the presence of cultural norms that encourage experiential and collective learning. The local food production systems ensure the availability of sufficient and nutritious foods through their knowledge of post-harvest and waste of food management. So, how food is processed and stored is strongly determined by culturally transmitted food processing and storage techniques. Cultural models of eating may drive food waste behaviour.

Small holder farming in Mbandjock further represents a means of food availability. It is perceived in the Mbandjock sub-division that; small holder plantations contribute considerably to food availability. It should be noted that, food availability is inclined by several factors which comprise the small holder plantations potential to ensure increased production, the productivity, storage, transport and trade. Food availability is related with the supply of food. In the Baboute and Yezom culture, many small holder families cultivate a large fraction of their crops for household's food therefore much of their agricultural output is consumed within the household. Although in Mbandjock most small holders depend on agriculture for food availability as well as for cash income, it is important to know that many small holders also follow non-farm activities together with farming so as to plough back the profit from the non-farm activity in their farm activity. This was recognised to us by one of our informants, who said,

For instance, I only sell half of the maize I produce and the rest is consumed by my households. Similarly, other farmers and I here in Mbandjock sell only about 40 per cent of the roots and tubers like cassava and our families consumed the remaining... For us, doing other non-farm activities is a way of divergence, complement and risk coping with farming, as they try to manage seasonal fluctuations in crops, labour demand and crops destruction that could come from too much wind, rain, sun and other natural as well as manmade disasters. These complementary activities also provide cash income to complement and supplement the in-kind income from farming (interview in Nio Baboute; 14/08/2020).

Hence, in as much as these people see small holder farming as a source of food availability, source of employment and a means to generate income and capital for others business, they do not neglect their cultural values like recognising their ancestors for the abundance both in production and reproduction. Even with the influx of other people with their cultures and customs. Since Mbandjock is closer to the city of Yaoundé and its urban markets, some small planters specialise in intensive production of fruits and vegetables aimed at urban consumption. So, some household members work in off-farm activities while others engage full-time in farming activities. This goes in line with Wiggins et al (2013) who elucidate that food availability should balance in terms of quantity and quality and with the capacity to provide variety.

The capacity of the small holder agriculture to ensure food availability has to be examined worldwide, and specifically in the developing world. Wiggins et al (2013) highlight that the production of food has increased ahead of population growth for most of the last fifty years. Much of this increase in availability has come from small-scale family farms, particularly in Asia. Maize is one of the food stuffs available in Mbandjock below is maize ready for sale as well as to take to the graining mill to make corn power and cooking of fufu.





Source: Bonuh Che (2019)

Maize is cultivated here mostly two times a year. Some farmers cultivate once. Those who do cultivate maize two times do planting in late February, March or April. It will be harvested in July and August. When it is harvested in July and August, the next planting is done in August and harvested in December, January and at times to early February. For conservation and storage of maize, the people of Mandouga village conserved some maize fresh, some in the sun and dry some on sticks in the front and back part of the house. Those that commercialise corn have created ban where the corn is peeled and stored in. they sell this maize when need be. The consumption is mostly in corn flour and fufu.

Apart from maize, plantains are another crop that is available as food in Mbandjock. Plantains are planted mostly during the raining season, and take one year to get ready. Some species take eight to ten months. With plantain, when it is harvesting time, most business people come to the farm and buy directly. Nevertheless, some of their plantains are for consumption by farmers.



Photo 33: Plantain available for consumption

Source: Bonuh Che (2019)

Apart from small scale farming being the source of food and sustenance, it also plays a role in employment. Since most households in Mbandjock depend on small holder agriculture for their livelihoods, and most agriculture in Mbandjock, in turn, is carried out by small holder households. This remains true even after several decades of growth in populations with the coming of SOSUCAM to this locality. Consequently, the representation they have for small scale agriculture is that, it is the main source of employment for almost two thirds of economically active Mbandjock people. Virtually all the agricultural workforce is employed in smallholder production schemes reasonably than large farms. Even though there is no conceptually direct definition of small farms or small holder farming, it is clear that most Mbandjock agriculture takes place on a small scale. It is evident in that a majority of crop farms are smaller than five and probably between one and two hectares in most of the

farms we visited. In conformity, NEPAD (2013), posit that, African agriculture is, therefore, believed to have the potential to contribute to eradicating poverty and hunger, by boosting agricultural investment and trade, creating jobs, and improving livelihoods.

Also, small planters are perceived in Mbandjock as those involved in high yielding crop varieties. The outcome of this research supplementary reveals that small holder farmers have adopted improved hybrid seeds and short cycle crop varieties, thus gradually abandoning some of their indigenous seed species. Farmers, have for the past 15 years slowly abandoned the growing of traditional cassava, plantain, maize species, and other crop varieties due to yield drop and pest disease attacked on crops. Notwithstanding the representations and awareness of smallholder cultivators of their challenges, our research revealed that adaptation and coping strategies from one area to another are similar across all the research sites. So, most of the small scale farmers were all adopting coping strategies that changed their focus to crop varieties of higher potential yields. All of the villages in our research area further open a clear distinction of the types of crops and crop varieties cultivated. Some of the crops identified as better crops and crop varieties include maize, peanut butter, sweet potatoes, sugar bean, tomatoes and green pepper. For example, indigenous farmers in Mendouga replaced, some plots of crops with sweet potatoes and cassava. Small planters at Mekomba have identified cassava and improved maize as a higher yielding crop. On the other hand, in Ndjore small-scale reported they cultivate two types of crops; food crops and cash crops. The food crops cultivated are maize, cassava, potatoes, groundnuts, plantains, cocoyam's and yams. While the cash crops are cocoa, palmnut. Most of the famers used food crops as cash crops as such go in for the best choice with higher yielding potential. Finally, for Ndo village small scale farmers, maize, cassava, potatoes, groundnuts and plantains, were the crop with a very high crop yield and alongside with hybrid maize breeds. This was confirmed by one of our informants who said

For a small-scale farmer to accept and cultivate some certain types of maize or beans species, it must be of high yield standard than the local types as well as good taste. Also, small scale famers are ever-changing to crops with good market values. This good market price can influence small-scale farmers' decisions on the kind of crop to plant with the intension of getting good income. (FGD in Ndo 05/11/2020).

Consequently, it is significant to know that low crop varieties have low revenue returns and affects the livelihoods of the majority of small-scale in the Mbandjock. This finding concurs with results of the studies done by Setimela and Kosina (2006) confirmed that respondents in Vhembe district selected Zm 521 (maize) and Open Pollinated Variety species (OVPs) because of its comparatively high and stable production, resistance to drought and early maturity. Therefore, local farmers' choice to change from traditional crop to high crop varieties, which is a technique used for disease management and yield improvement. This description is also consistent with results by Dedewrwaerdere and Hannachi (2019) examine socio-economic factors of co-existence of landraces and modern crop varieties in Yannan, China.

6.1.2. Access and choice of food

The physical availability of food does not mean that food is available. Food access in turn points to the household's or individual's ability to obtain the food that is available. Food and nutrient intake depend on a household's and individual's ability to obtain that food. Access is guaranteed when all households have adequate resources to obtain food in satisfactory quantity, quality and diversity for a nutritious food. This depends mainly on the amount of household resources and on prices. In addition, accessibility is also a question of the physical, social and policy environment. There are two main magnitudes of access to food. The economic access and social access. Economic access to food is largely determined by income. There is a short term and long-run relation between culture and economic growth. Therefore, culture plays a key role in the economic access of food through persistent traits transmitted across generations within the community. In societies where the people have a strong culture of economic strength, access to food is equally low. This explains the economic development and food access outcomes over short term and or long term. Hence, culture has an impact on household and individual food access through its effects on income.

Culture shapes social access to food either by influencing social inclusion or exclusion in communities. The social flow of beliefs about groups and individuals in the form of stereotypes can lead to stigmatization and discrimination crops cultivated and or consumption. This goes in line with Elena Briones Alonso et al. (2017), who posit that, stereotypes can lead to stigmatization and discrimination and in severe cases can result in marginalisation through the structural exclusion from social and economic life. Hence, food access can be undermined through exclusion from regular food acquisition strategies such as food shopping or food production. Culture also plays a role in individual's access to food. This cultural impact on individual access to food is through intra-household food distribution. That is to say, how food is distributed within the household depends on the nutritional and cultural value of different types of foods on the one hand, and the needs or contributions of

household members on the other hand. In Mbandjock, the fact that in their culture males are often favoured over females that is to say, the men are those who own the land for cultivation and even own the women. Therefore, all what they cultivate or produce are first of all for the men and to a lesser extend to the women. This affect food access for girls and women in poor households negatively. This situation at time makes women to be reluntant to cultivate crops which can led to food insecurity. Access to food is as well affected by practices (the type of food during marriage ceremonies, the type of food used during festivals, type of food used during rituals and funerals as well as events like born house, coronation and fests determine how much of that crop they will cultivate). Therefore, the people go more for the cultivation of crops that they need in their day-to-day activities regarding how much and what kind of food to offer during these feasts and social events at large to guests. The more they need the food, the more they cultivate it and the more they have access to. This is affirmed by ACF (2010) cited by Elena Briones Alonso et al. (2017), this happened especially when such practices oblige households to decrease food stocks or slaughter livestock, longer-run household food security could be undermined. However, in another dimension, celebrations kindle the consumption of nutrient-rich foods thus contributing positively to food security. Therefore, festivals are a form of institutionalised food redistribution to the poor (or to the rich) (Dietler and Hayden, 2010; Fieldhouse, 1995; Greenberg, 1981).

Cultural manners of eating stipulate how, when and where one should eat and what constitutes a proper meal. By shaping meal and eating patterns, such manners (staple food of the local people and the settlers communities) have an important effect on what food is accessible and what food we choose to cultivate and consequently to eat. Hence, culture influences food choice by determining consumers' acceptance of new food technologies and innovations. Therefore, these cultural drivers of food acceptance have a great impact on food choice. Finucane and Holup (2005) for instance find that conservative attitudes toward novelty in Germany, a rejection of the US fast food culture associated with GM(Genetically modified) food in France, and religious values regarding the immorality of disturbing the natural order across Europe, reduce acceptance rates of GM foods. According to Helman (2007) cited by Elena Briones Alonso et al. (2017), socially transmitted food prescriptions (what should be eaten) and proscriptions (what should not be eaten), including food taboos, can affect social access to food and food choice. Such food pre- and proscriptions (collectively referred to as dietary rules) are derived from food classifications according to different criteria, including associated social status, perceived healthiness, or sacredness.

Moreover, Vatika Sibal (2018), postulate that, in addition to impacting food choices, culture also plays a role in food-related etiquette. People in Western societies may refer to foodrelated etiquette as table manners, a phrase that illustrates the cultural expectation of eating food or meals at a table. Some people eat with forks and spoons; more people use fingers or chopsticks. However, utensil choice is much more complicated than choosing chopsticks, fingers, or flatware. Among some groups who primarily eat food with their fingers, diners use only the right hand to eat. Some people use only three fingers of the right hand. In some countries, licking the fingers is polite; in others, licking the fingers is considered impolite. Rules regarding polite eating may increase in formal settings. At some formal dinners, a person might be expected to choose the right fork from among two or three choices to match the food being eaten at a certain point in the meal.

The Baboute and Yezom people in Mbandjock sub-division hold that, small holder plantations play an important role in ensuring food security through ensuring food access. Their cultural environment, activities and the farming system in this sub division ensure food access hence ensuring food security. They see small holder plantations as food access and consequently food security in its holisticity or globality. Farming here is done all round the year, maize is cultivated two times every year, cassava two times every year for highbred seeds, vegetables all-round the year as even during the dry season the people used the swampy areas for cultivation of vegetables, plantain is harvested all round too depending on the time of planting. Those who involved more in cash crops like cocoa and palm nut also plant food crops around their farms and also used money made from the sale of their cash crops to buy the crops they do not cultivate. The culture of the Baboute, Yezom and even settlers from the Northern, west, northwest and other regions of Cameroon permits sharing, even those who do not have enough always have from family friends, villagers that have the culture of sharing. Some of their crops are harvested during festivals period which they also used to give sacrifices to their ancestors like the festival of cleaning of the graveyard. Hence, their gods through their ancestors usually bless them with abundance for those who participate or contribute to the said ritual. Therefore, ensuring food security and food access. However, the representation of small holders' plantations in Mbandjock sub-division is that it gives way for access to food and ensuring food security. This is affirmed to us by one of our informants in Ndjore village, who said,

We Baboute people see small holder's plantations as means to get access to food. As a head of the family, my wife and I try by all possible means to diversify our food access by farming both food and cash crops. This is the best strategies smallest scale farmers use here to balance food access. We cultivate maize, cassava, plantain, potatoes and vegetables for food crops even though we still sale some of these food crops when we have surplus. We also farm cocoa though not in greater quantity and this one is solely for marketing. So the crops I don't have, to have access to them, I buy from the market. Therefore, the importance of foods purchased from markets in meeting food security depends on food income and market price. (FGD in Ndjore; 08/05/2019).

Therefore, small holder plantations are perceived as a means to food access and security as it contribution to food security is clearly replicated in its ability to ensuring food access. Food access plays an essential part in addressing the demand for the food. Food access is influenced by cultural, economic, physical infrastructure factors and consumer preferences. Nevertheless, in conformity to the above, Wiggins et al (2013) point out that food access is related in large part to incomes including implicit income from small farmer's own production, as well as other entitlements such as gifts, loans and transfers from government. Good will people support food access with gifts, at time the government through the delegation of agriculture in Mbandjock supports farmers with hybrid seeds, fertilizers and other farms equipment's. Therefore, food security is strongly determined by food access. That is why Sen (1981) stressed the prominence of entitlements in determining who suffers during famines, arguing that almost all famines in the twentieth century were the result of entitlement or access failures, rather than from food being unavailable.

The root cause of food insecurity at times to people in this sub-division is greatly because of the neglect of culture. That is to say, when they fail to give sacrifices to the ancestors and failure to performed rituals in the village pushes the ancestor do not bless them to have abundance hence leading to food insecurity. Another thing that account for food insecurity in this locality at times is the non-use of appropriate techniques and tools for farming and the approach to land tenure system. So, when you failed to recognise the forefathers of the land and evil people target your farm, their wind will easily push and destroy your crops. In the same light, Mwaniki (2005) assert that, the root cause of food insecurity in developing countries today is the inability of people to gain access to food due to poverty. There is a general consensus that rural inhabitants access food mainly through three sources. These are the markets, small scale production and transfers from public programmes or other households. For smallholder farmers to be food secured, food at their access must be satisfactory not only in quantity but also in quality. Food should be accessible to ensure an adequate and consistent supply of energy and nutrients through sources that are

affordable and socio-culturally acceptable to the smallholder farmers. However, according to one of our research participants,

The indigenous people of Mbandjock sub division ultimately see small scale farming as a means to food security which is an active healthy life for every individual. Accordingly, adequate health and care comes as a result to addition to adequate food as food is also medicinal and make people stronger and ready to go about their daily activities especially farming. In this scenario lie the problem facing poor small-scale farmers today in this zone as they strive to balance the nutritious aspect of the food security buy not cultivating and consuming just one type of crop. (Interview in Ndjore; 08/05/2019).

The indigenous people of Mbandjock sub division ultimately see small scale farming as a means to food security which is an active healthy life for every individual. Accordingly, adequate health and care comes as a result to addition to adequate food as food is also medicinal (it is the single most important thing you can control when it comes to health of the Mbandjock people. Eating properly is more important than any medicine a doctor can prescribe) and make people stronger and ready to go about their daily activities especially farming. In this scenario lie the problem facing poor small-scale farmers today in this zone as they strive to balance the nutritious aspect of the food security by not cultivating and consuming just one type of crop.

They diversify their farming, hence, diversifying their nutritional values. This aspect of the indigenous people of Mbandjock is in the same track with Wiggins et *al.* (2013) posit that, food insecurity has the potential to influence food intake and ultimately the health and nutritional status of rural small scale farmers. For these people to be assured of their food security and access, the majority of food consumed by small scale farmer households in the Mbandjock setting is obtained from their farms. It is confirmed by HLPE (2013), who propounded that, in developing countries over 85 % of the food consumed by poor households in the rural setting is obtained from the farm. Therefore, it should be asserted that the importance of foods purchased from markets in meeting food security depends on food income and market price. Diversifying food and cash crops is also viewed as one of the best strategies by small scale farmers to balance food access.

The ethnic groups of Mbandjock also perceived small holders' plantations as any farming that does not employ the use of machines be it cash crop or food crop that can provide income or food for their daily life. At times these people are scared of going into cash crops farming as they fear the unknown. This is because some of them had earlier invested into cash crop and had low yields. Nevertheless, small holders who focus on production of cash crops for sale have the capacity to strengthen their food security and nutrition levels, since commercial production from small holdings is also often associated with increased food production and higher incomes. Those who careless of food crops totally for cash crops and do not provide applicable income to withstand the cash crop farming exposes themselves to food insecurity as they will experience low output both in food crops and cash crops as a result of poor farming methods and equipment. This representation and view of the Baboute and Yezom people as well as settlers in the Mbandjock sub division illustrate that, the production of crops by small holders for the market especially non-staples food crops, usually results in smallholder farmers replacing their food crops main for their own consumption with cash crops for sale. Thereby, reducing their capacity to ensure food security (Wiggins et al. 2013). Farmers end up neglecting food crops in favour of cash crops which will not provide appropriate income to sustain the food security due to use of poor methods of farming and technology hence output usually will be low. Nonetheless, this is in sharp distinction with Maxwell et al (1989) findings as it was reported that at national level, countries that produce more cash crops also tend to produce more food crops as well. The ability to grow cash crops can lead to positive results as far as food security is concerned. This view is supported by FAO (2006) discussion on food security as it notes that for households to be food secure, food must be available in sufficient quantities and of appropriate quality through either domestic production or purchase which may include food aid when necessary. Small holders' plantations have a consistency aspect when it comes to ensuring accessibility and access of food. Wiggins et al. (2013) point out that not only should small scale farmers have access to food but it should be reliable. Further, that food availability should not vary significantly by season and year, but also people should feel secure of access to food, they should not fear that they will go hungry at some time or other. Moreover, this was affirmed to us by one of our respondents who said,

These people view or perceived smallholder's plantations as a means of income, wealth, power and traditional recognitions as the more income you have the more people will respect you because of your change of status. This is because, an increase in income enables smallholders to differentiate the diet and to buy more non-foods, and this tends to imply a greater dietary quality. (Interview in Nio Baboute; 14/08/2020).

Hence, the individual concern gains more respect and prestige in the society. For example, the small holders who produce cash crops can increase their food security and nutrition, since commercial production is often associated with increased food production and higher incomes, allowing individuals and households greater access to nutritious foods. Economic growth from agriculture can also improve access to health care and education, either at the household or national level. Income generation is considerably strengthened when small scale farms expand activities and integrate production and processing. This is often the case with products that are important in local food markets and cultures.

Data from the sub divisional delegation of agriculture and rural development in Mbandjock, indicated that an ordinary household income per month was relevant, as it influences the availability of farm inputs, like fertilizers and hybrid seed. There were four groups of income levels. That 32.7% of household received below 15000fcfa per month, while 34.7% were receiving income between 16000 fcfa to 25000 fcfa, and 19.8% received between 26000 fcfa to 35000 fcfa, with only 15.8% who were getting above 36,000fcfa per month. However, this research revealed that income from agriculture was a major household economic resource. Small holder farm income for the household has an imperative control on improving crop varieties and buying of improved seed varieties. Once the main income is increased, small holders tend to invest in products such as buying of chemicals and improved seed varieties and getting involved in crop diversification. This is real with small holder farmers in the research sites, as some crops require some fertilizer and pesticide application to improve farmers' harvest. Despite the smallholder's size, the production systems occupy a significant cultural, social and economic place in many developing countries.

6.1.3. Food stability

Food stability is another channel by which culture influences food security. Culture intervenes here, in that traditional food crops prove greater resilience and lower care needs compared to non-indigenous cultivated food crops. In Mbandjock, indigenous food like cassa and maize are food stock that one will hardly not find in a househood and or in the neighbourhood. Food stability is the temporal dimension of food security and includes both the likelihood of experiencing shocks and the ability to recover from them. Therefore, food stability defines the temporal aspect of food and nutrition security, respectively the time frame over which food and nutrition security is being considered. This stability is obtained when the supply on household level remains constant during the year and in the long-term. That includes food, income and economic resources. The local people traditional crop selection and pest management systems contribute to the stability of food production, as some have been found to be particularly well adapted to local environments and shocks. For

instance, through the use of crop varieties that are resistant to different environmental constraints, different growing periods and durations, and or have different nutritional values made food stable in Mbandjock. The property of higher resilience and resistance to different types of environmental stresses is particularly attractive in a context of increasing climatological risk and uncertainty.

Also, culture influences the processing and storage of food, which can promote longer life spans to the crops. Taboos restricting the consumption or production of certain food crops in time or space support species conservation and sustainable resource exploitation and thus contribute to the stability of the food supply. In other cases, the conservation value of taboos however appears to be limited for instance because the group upholding the taboo is too small to have any significant impact (Golden and Comaroff, 2015; Fessler and Navarrete, 2003; Elena Briones Alonso et al., 2017). This lessens constraints such as seasonality and poorly functioning markets and contribute to the stability of food consumption. Farming and crops consumption taboos, cultural or religious beliefs play a role in natural resource extraction especially smallholder plantations exploitation. This phenomenon is gaining widespread recognition in food stability in Mbandjock. Moreover, negative effects can occur when culturally transmitted food prescriptions result in (local) overexploitation of the targeted species – in particular when wild species become commercially traded (Chamberlain et al., 2004).

Therefore, the culture of small holder plantations in Mbandjock plays a complementary representation role in contributing to food security. Hence stability through ensuring safeguard to price unpredictability, market related and other shocks. Small holders' plantations' asset in terms of the constancy dimension of food security is clear from the fact that they produce for themselves. Small holders retain a variable but prevalent share of their production to feed the family and involve in mutual relations within the community. Small holder farmers usually keep a share of their production to be safe and affordable as a means of being protected from market randomness.

These farming systems here really helped us to ensure stability for food, income and reserves. When we harvest our crops, we steadily consume some; we reserve some and sell some. If prices are low, we sell just small to get other immediate needs while we keep a majority of the crops to sell when prices finally go up. (FGD in Ndjore; 08/05/2019).

This activity plays a substantial role of pecuniary shelter in case of predicament. Many people when they fail either in business or employment they eventually come back to the farm where they gain back employment. This subsidises to the constancy dimension of food security, and also to the resilience of the economy as a whole. Share of self-provision is a key component of the smallholders' risk management strategies, towards a confident level of autonomy concerning access to food and managing shortages and risks in the face of defective and volatile markets. The same examination can be made in developed countries where farming for existence is a strategy for low income or vulnerable households that have access to land and can find a way to escape from market expenditures, particularly in times of crisis.

Agriculture stability guaranteed by small holder plantations play a great role in the system in terms of the constancy dimension of food security. This is clear from the fact that they do not only produce for themselves but to be able to sustain the system. Small holder plantations when producing keep in mind the prevalent of sharing their production to feed the family and involve in mutual relations within the community. Small holder farmers usually keep a share of their production to be safe and affordable as a means of being protected from market randomness. This is to ensure that, the day there is shortage of food supply in the cultural system, they will be able to supply from their reserves. These farming systems here really help us to ensure stability for food, income and reserves.

When we harvest our crops, we steadily consume some, we reserve some and sale some. If prices are low, we small just small to get other immediate needs while we keep a majority of the crops to sell when prices finally go up. This activity plays a substantial role of pecuniary shelter in case of predicament. Many people when they are failed either in business, employment they eventually come back to the farm where they gain back employment. (FGD in Ndjore; 08/05/2019).

This subsidies to the constancy dimension of food security, and also to the resilience of the economy as a whole. Share of self-provision is a key component of the small holders' risk management strategies, towards a confident level of autonomy concerning access to food and managing shortages. Also risks in the face of defective and volatile markets. The same examination can be made in developed countries where farming for existence is a strategy for low income or vulnerable households that have access to land and can find a way to escape from market expenditures, particularly in times of crisis. HLPE (2013) alludes that this share of self-provision is a key component of the smallholders' risk management strategies, towards a confident level of autonomy concerning access to food and managing shortages and risks in the face of defective and volatile markets. The same examination can be made in developed countries where farming for existence is a strategy for low income or vulnerable households that have access to land and can find a way to escape from market expenditures, particularly in times of crisis. This is particularly true in those developed countries where the linkages between the population and rural farm land are still important, which often goes with the fact that there remain a significant number of small holdings, for instance in Eastern or Southern Europe (Eurostat, 2012). In small holder livelihood strategies, the farm plays a significant role of economic refuge in case of crisis: household members having left the farm could eventually come back to the farm if they have lost employment in other sectors. These subsidies to the constancy dimension of food security, and also to the resilience of the economy as a whole.

6.1.4. Food utilisation

Another channel through which culture impacts food security is through food utilisation. Food utilisation encompasses food processing and preparation. Food users describe the socio-economic facets of household food and nutrition security, determined by culture that is knowledge and habits. Assuming that nutritious food is available and accessible, the household has to decide what food to purchase and how to prepare it as well as how to consume and allocate it within the household and their cultural altitudes. Each culture or society has its specific ways in which they use food. So, how food is prepared is strongly determined by culture. As Lawrence and Barker (2009) cited by Elena Briones Alonso et al. (2017), put it: memories from childhood provide images that stay throughout adulthood; thus, homemade or mother's cooking are used as reference points for how food should be prepared and taste. Food preparation involves the combination of different individual foods into meals, and the way these foods are processed. Both have important implications for nutrient intake and absorption as well as the digestibility, palatability, and safety of foods. There has been growing interest in the properties of food combinations in traditional food preparation, with various studies finding that certain combinations offer nutritional benefits. (Milburn, 2004; Elena Briones Alonso et al., 2017) discusses the example of the dramatically higher protein quality of grains-legumes combinations (e.g. maize and beans in the Americas) compared to the sum of the separate foods due to protein complementarity.

Traditional food processing, plays an important role in present day food preparation in Mbandjock. Certain techniques such as fermentation, soaking, or malting have been identified as cost-effective and energy-efficient ways of improving the nutritional value, safety, palatability, or digestibility of food in diverse settings (E.g. Fandohan et al., 2005; Hotz and Gibson, 2007; Hwang and Lee, 2006; Klayraung et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2011; Makokha et al., 2002). However, as one method can affect food components in different ways, trade-offs take place. Some techniques like prolonged heating, sun drying may for instance improve food safety at the expense of nutritional value. In addition, there are substantial differences in the performance of different traditional processing methods of the same food across groups. Hence, food processing, storage, and preparation have a very important effect on food security. This is confirmed to us by one of the agriculture technicians in Mbandjock who said;

Cassava is the stable food of the indigenous people of Mbandjock which they consume nearly on daily bases. However, cassava crop certainly contains cyanide though in a modest quantity. The consumption of large amounts of cassava and derived products may therefore cause cyanide poisoning, leading to symptoms such as vomiting, diarrhoea, and possibly death. In addition, cyanide intake from cassava exacerbates goitre and cretinism in iodine deficient areas, and chronic dietary exposure to cyanide is associated with diseases such as konzo and Tropical Ataxic Neuropathy. Therefore, the processing methods in Mbandjock to reduce the cyanide content of cassava, the indigenous peoples of Mbandjock transform cassava in to cassava flour locally called Nkumnkum. This elaborate technique has been proven very efficient in reducing cyanogen levels, and there is no evidence of cyanide toxicity associated with cassava use among indigenous peoples of Mbandjock today. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 16/09/2021)

From the above verbatim, it implies that in a way to properly use food crops, the Mbandjock, through traditional techniques transform their crops for both long term and short term utility. Small holder plantations in Mbandjock are done for both subsistent and commercial purposes. Since food utilisation is a cultural channel to food security, what indigenous people produce is most often sold to the large exploiters and just a few directly consumed by them. The income they made from the sale of this produce is to guarantee the supply of other basic commodities. The large production firms which practice industrial agriculture channel their production to large marketing areas and abroad. This is practiced by the local people who own small farms and agribusiness operators. But our concern is on production and consumption, what takes place from one stage to the other, what are the processes that take place. Agriculture has been the backbone of the economy of the people of

this locality, meaning the community has been nursing their culture towards seeking solutions to their feeding problems such as; what to eat, how to eat and finally when to eat. These questions are fundamental in live, thus always giving us that opportunity to make choices whenever need arises. The people of Mbandjock in responding to these questions answer their food security issues. However, leaves and roots of these plants could be a potential source of livelihood to farmers. There are some produce from the farm that are of high income generating value like cassava, that constitute an important food item in many parts of the world. From this crop may be consumed its protein-rich leaves and its carbohydrate-rich roots with high starch content.

Consumption is done in three ways; internal (within the community), to other parts of the country out of the community and international. Since most of their food crops are their cash crops (maize, cassava, plantain, cocoyam's, banana, cocoa, groundnuts) the population of Mbandjock and its neighbouring villages, provide ready consumption to these crops in households in Mbandjock, neighbouring towns and even internationally. Mbandjock is not too far from Gabon 585km, Central Africa 1028km, Equatorial Guinea 360km making it very easy for most of its crops to be exported to markets in these countries and making production complete as it reaches the final consumer. One of our research participants, posits the different ways by which these crops are consumed in Mbandjock.

Most of the food crops cultivated in Mbandjock have consumption function that is as food in different forms, maize for corn Fofo, maize for roasting. Maize used for the production of dinks (beer). Maize used as items of ritual of the cleaning of graves (burying grounds). Corn mesh used for stopping children from bedwetting. Cassava used for sale and for food like baton, Fofo, gari and other forms. Hence, their traditional meals included; corn fufu and fish stew known as nambehere in the local parlance of the Mbandjock people and it goes same to villages of Ndjore (Mbandjock, Ndokoa, Minkouma, Nio Baboute, and Ndjore I). Also, the stable food of Ndo villages (Biboto and Ndo), Mekomba with village (Mendouga and Mekomba) is corn fufu and fish stew. In addition, all these villages consume bush meat, sanga (prepared with fresh maize, cassava leaves and oil from freshly harvested palm note directly. Sugar is also added to it to make the food complete), okok, kpem, egussi paste known as mecande in the Baboute language, and cassava which are considered as breakfast. There also exist other meals like boiled cassava, baton made out of cassava, plantain, cocoyam and potatoes with many compliments. In the past, Mbandjock man will always complain of haven not eaten if he could not have corn fufu. Beans is being eating with plantain, bananas, cocoyam's, and pair, also cocoyam's are being pounded and eating with red oil as the traditional dish, plantain with red oils too. In some other areas of the neighbouring villages, divisions and across international boundaries consumption of these same crops are done differently,

hence the Mbandjock provides a valid consumption population to its crops. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 13/07/2020).

The above finding implies that, since the intensification of the crop in Mbandjock, the eating habits of these people have changed tremendously. Plantation agriculture especially small holders farming here have made meals from other areas popular growing staple food on the table of Mbandjock people. They now eat traditional meals from other cultural and ecological zones of Cameroon at least three times a week and in nearly all occasions and celebrations in Mbandjock. *Eru* and water fufu from the Southwest region, *ndole* from the Littoral region, *fufu* corn and vegetables from the Northern regions, *fufu corn*, *njamanjama* and *kartikatie*, *achu* and *yellow soup* from the Northwest region, *Nkwei* from the West region. These meals to them are also prestigious food which even common or low income earners feed on. Their traditional meals have been cultural element in which we can observe the pluralism of culture grown popular in Mbandjock.

6.1.5. Sustainable agriculture in Mbandjock

In Mbandjock, villagers practice sustainable agriculture through many different local methods and self-sufficiency farming to retain the natural and cultural heritage. Plantation growth could help farmers to conserve and embellish these positive traits. Farmers are part of the bio-physical environment who can improve their farms by wise use of natural processes and cycles. They are the "expert of their own farm and make decision based on their knowledge." It is vital "to introduce support systems for farmer/community-based learning" and provide a linkage of farmers to "sources of knowledge and expertise". It is also significant to use participatory methods to involve farmers as the stakeholder of sustainability and to stimulate markets for ecologically produced products.

There are good elements of natural resources and unique farm village heritage, selfsufficiency farming, traditional life, diversified farm products, well-integrated farm practices, and farmers' knowledge and skills. These are all good foundations to start agro-tourism in these villages. Local agriculture practices and farm management by local people is one of the important pluses to sustainable growth. A similar case research in sustainable agriculture discusses the fact that "agro-ecological strategy" linking development and management of sustainable agricultural systems promotes local biodiversity in agro system through local farming practice: multi-cropping, rotation, and small holder plantations (Lichtfouse et al., 2009: 5). With local villagers' groups and farmers' networks, the leader can bring together all interested parties who have experience in farm tours and home/farm stay and who may be interested in joining agro-tourism. Together they can carefully plan for the future consequence of sustainable growth of tourism which villages may experience once the agro-tourism development gets started.

Indigenous knowledge offers the foundation for problem solving policies for local communities, specifically the poor and is an underutilized resource in the development process (World Bank, 1998). Production in traditional agriculture is based on sustainability in long terms rather than maximizing the yield in short terms. The main strength of old methods of cultivation practices for sustainable development is that they have evolved in close contact with nature and environmental conditions. Certain traditional techniques have ascertained to be sustainable over a long period. The findings of our research show that most of the smallholders' plantations owners in Mbandjock have shifted from producing house consumption to producing for economic purposes. The findings as well indicate that the small holder plantations owners mainly produce crop considered as cash crop and the farmers use a little of the farm output mainly what they consider not attractive from them as food in their house. One of the respondents indicated that:

We harvest the banana and plantain sells them to people who distribute it to other parts of the country and beyond. A majority of our harvest is sold with just a little use as food. The money from our sales is used to buy other foodstuff that we cannot produce. Also, we can provide for our children's education and health. (Interview in Mbandjock 06/08/2020)

Based on the statement of this respondent and most of the respondents who presented views in the same vein, it shows that the rationale of the small holder's plantations owners is not to produce from direct consumption but to sell their output and get funds which they use for other activities and the finances aspects relating to health, education of the children and other vital aspects.

6.1.6. Societal relationships and identity

Culture also impacts food security in that, when people try to cultivate crops and or food from their ethnic group and or culture, they indirectly make food available and accessible. Hence, ensuring food security in Mbandjock the type of crops the Mbandjock people cultivate assist in the process of the building of their cultural identity, social relationships and the values that link them to the kind of food they consume. From the type of food they cultivate and consume one will easily give them an identity. So in order to defend this identity, they cultivate in a good quantity and quality which is part way to food security. According to Chau B Le (2017), bringing on stage cultural values, food becomes a central identity marker, defining personality, social class, lifestyles, gender roles and relationships, from family, to community, to ethnic groups or nationality, changing through time and place.

In Mbandjock, the common traditional dish of the Baboute people in Mbandjock subdivision is *fufu* from cassava and egusi pudding, it is locally called *nang be mekande*. That is why they cultivate crops like; cassava, groundnuts, potatoes and cereals like maize and vegetables like okro. This meal is often eaten during major ceremonies like festivals or cultural manifestations, annual celebrations, rituals, birth and death celebrations as well as traditional marriages ceremonies. The common traditional dish of the Mekomba people is the *mvipla'a* which is groundnut paste dish made of smoked meat wrapped in banana leaves. It is accompanied by cassava, sweet potato most recently fufu corn. They cultivate crops like; cassava, potatoes, maize and vegetables like okro as well as palms and cocoa. These crops they cultivate only bring forth their values and habits as transmitted to them by their ancestors. This is affirmed by Vatika Sibal (2018), who posits that, people also connect to their cultural or ethnic group through food patterns. Food is often used as a means of retaining their cultural identity. People from different cultural backgrounds eat different foods. The areas in which families live and where their ancestors originated influence food like and dislikes. These food preferences result in patterns of food choices within a cultural or regional group. One of our informants testified that:

It is very easy here in Mbandjock to give ethnic background of individuals' base on the type of crops they cultivate. The traditional food knowledge he or she uses help a lot in giving him or her a cultural identity and can be a way to connect to his people through him. The various ethnic groups in cultivating their different crops help in transmitting their cultural knowledge to their young once. Hence, it is fostering sustainable livelihoods, ecosystem health, enhanced individual and community capacity of their cultural values. Each time I see someone farming maize, millet and fulere, I easily identify him or her as someone with origin from the Northern regions of Cameroon. (Interview in Mbandjock 20/05/2019).

The common traditional dish of the Mendouga people is the *mboal* which is cooked with fish. It is accompanied by cassava, sweet potato and at times plantain. They cultivate crops like; cassava, plantain, potatoes, maize, vegetables and cocoyam. The common traditional dish of the Ndo people is the *Minkong* which is cooked with fish. It is accompanied by cassava, sweet potato and plantain. Settler with origin from the North

cultivate crops like maize, millet and *fulere* whereas those from the northwest and west regions cultivate maize, cassava, plantain, potatoes, cocoyams, and vegetables. Nevertheless, more and more, we observe a great convergence in food consumption. Settlers consume more locally produced tubers such as cassava, coco yams and plantains etc. As well as locals consumed food with originating from the North like maize, millet and *fulere*. Others even specialize in small holder plantations in crops like cocoa and coffee. Nevertheless, Mishchenko (2017) considers food as an instrument of ethnic identity and intercultural interaction, expressed that food is one of the determinants of ethnic identities. Therefore, through the cultivation and consumption of food, we can identify people and tell the ethnic group to whom he or she belongs. Then small holders' plantations are a strong way of cultural identity. Richards (2003), food is a tool supporting and forming identity saying *tell me what kind of food you eat, and I will tell you what kind of man you are.* He emphasises the importance of food in defining personal identity.

6.2. The Role of indigenous people in guaranteeing food security

In general, small holder plantations investors though may have economic and political powers, they also need spirituals powers for the protection of their farms, farm products, workers and their activities to be able to guarantee production and reproduction. This power, which they greatly need, is offered only by the chiefs and their local population in Mbandjock. So for cohesion and production purposes, these people always need the spiritual powers detained by the indigenes of Mbandjock sub-division. To do this depending on each locality, certain sacrifices are required in order to improve in the productivity of their crops.

The chiefs and their population have a lot of spiritual powers and contribution in small holder plantation and food security system in their respective villages. It ranges from the provision of land for farming, the protection and guaranteeing of production and reproduction through their different rituals. In fact, they do these through their belief systems. One of the cultural activities done involved in small holders' plantations is the performance of rituals. These are cultural heritage that the people of this region took over from their forefathers and transmit from one generation to another. However, Mbonji (2005) illustrated that culture is the ways of life of a given population of which they use in solving their daily problems of how to eat, drink, sleep, and make love, shelter... Therefore, culture refers to the actions, reactions, productions and all other elements that accompany a society in their daily life found in all age groups taught by the oldest to the youngest. Crop cultivation was intensified in Mbandjock when SOSUCAM and the people integrated in their culture. Hence,

the older generations have been teaching the younger ones in these zones with crops cultivation. This is affirmed by Parson, T (1949) who said culture...consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes. The rituals practice in Mbandjock has been from generation to generation and has significant consequences on small holders' plantations. A majority of small holder farmers in Mbandjock sub division offer rituals to their ancestor in relation to crops cultivation. For example, in Mendouga village to improve in crop productivity, every investor has to provide foods and drinks to his relatives in the plantation on the harvesting day and when eating it is forbidden to eat without throwing some of the prepared food on the ground for the ancestors. In case we are dealing with a non-native investor, when grabbing the land, he has to provide food and drinks to the village natives and particularly to elders (representatives) of the ancestors. However, the below demonstrate the spiritual powers detained by indigents of the different villages of Mbandjock sub division.

6.2.1. The Baboute role of fixing the farms in small holder plantations.

To contribute to food security and support, small holder plantations, the Baboute people in Mbandjock used their gods to whom they offer sacrifices and request for protection in their different activities. The four Baboute villages present in Mbandjock sub-division all practice this ritual of cleaning of the grave yards. This ritual is known to the Voutes of Mbandjock village as kemoyui and to the voutes of Ndjore, Nio Baboute and Doua villages as Derne Nyabe. This is usually done in December during end of year festival known as the Voute festival. Through this festival, the people of Mbandjock strive for the face of their god for numeral wishes of the village. It is during these festivals that rituals are performed presided over by their various chiefs in their respective villages. The main reasons for this practice are to receive blessings from their ancestors, to be in union, and always remembering their gods. It brings together the children of the land settlers as well as plantations owners. At the end of the festival, they would have received protections both for the people, activities and most especially agricultural activities. They believe that these gods even bless their families with children, good harvest and even jobs. They get to their god through their ancestors. It is believed that, with this ritual, their god also protects the village during war and tribal conflicts in the olden day. In addition, it equally helps to control evil spirit in village. When this happens, it guarantees food supply hence food security.

6.2.1.1. Kemoyui in Mbandjock village/Ritual of the end of the traditional year

In Mbandjock village, one of the sources of spiritual powers by the chiefs and their indigenes that play a role in small holder plantation and food security system is the *Kemoyui* ritual. There are three graveyards in Mbandjock village which happen to be the city Centre of the sub-division. Two of these graveyards are used to bury the origins of Mbandjock while one is used to bury settlers in Mbandjock. It is through these sacrifices that, the indigenous people of Mbandjock retained and control the spiritual power. This is because; the main spiritual grounds in Mbandjock are the graveyards. These graveyards are owned and managed by them. To that effect, they are the onces who communicate with the gods and ancestors in these different graveyards during *kemoyui*. When they do it, it gives blessing and protection. One of our informants testified,

The sacrifices and rituals we do or practice in our graveyards is to obtain blessings and protection from our ancestors, production and reproduction. The protection ranges from the protection of individuals, properties and even crops cultivation. By this ritual, all the notables, quarter heads and the villagers represent their respective quarters with a calabash of raffia-wine, at the main graveyard arena before the Chief, the king's makers and the villagers. When the items for the rituals are all checked, the ceremony begins in the early morning where all villagers are expected to be present with machete, hoes and other working tools for the cleaning of the graves of all those who have been buried in Mbandjock. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 05/04/2019).

This means that, the indigenous people of Mbandjock have spiritual powers to control the growth of crops in Mbandjock grown by small holder plantations. Through the sacrifices and rituals, they practice in the graveyards (pouring of palm wine, giving of food and shaving of peoples heads at the graveyards) they obtain powers of blessings and protection from their ancestors for production and reproduction. The protection ranges from the protection of individuals, properties and even crops cultivation. So, small holder plantations owners always tend to this people for the blessing of their farms and every thing that goes with it. However, the photo below demonstrates this practice.



Photo 34: villagers cleaning the main graveyard coordinated by notables and chief

Source: Bonuh Che, (Mbandjock 30/12/2020)

It is worthy to note that among the three graveyards in Mbandjock village, the main graveyard is one where the very first chief of Mbandjock was buried.

Photo 35: Arrival of the chief to the ritual ground (Main graveyard)



Source: Bonuh Che, December 30/12/2020

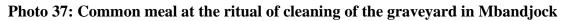
The king makers, dressed in traditional regalia. The ritual officially begins upon the arrival of the chief at the arena. The chief is accompanied by a traditional dance group animated by young boys. They animate with instruments like *tembé* and it is a dance group which comes out during traditional ceremonies presided over by the chief. Another dance group called *Mekoumbou* also follows the ritual ceremony.



Photo 36: The chief accompanied by a traditional dance group

Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock 30/12/2020)

This dance group also comes out in occasion at the family's level. This ritual performance is led by the Chief, followed by the first king's maker or notable and the other 15 notables with a calabash of raffia wine. Attendance is compulsory for all the local populations especially girls of reproduction age, farmers who want favour from their ancestors, businessmen, in fact all those who may want favour from the ancestors. The wine and the food signify the unification of the villagers.





Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock December 2019)

This is followed by a tune and singing of a song by all present, which is only stopped at the request of the Chief. After a while, for the Chief to show the success of the ritual and end of ceremony, the chief passes his incantation to the ancestors and gods of Mbandjock as well as to the population. This is approved by a Chief informant during one of our interviews, who said,

I will ask for silence and transmit my message to the villagers followed by the announcement of the rest of the activities of the village. I talk of unity, fertility, good harvest of all the agricultural products... Nobody should lie to you about the death, the death is very strong, if you obey, remember, give them food and wine, everything you want they will give it to you. Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 05/04/2019).

This means that, if one performed and participated in the ritual, the ancestors protect their properties and activities. For those who practice agriculture in general and crop production in particular, when they take part and contribute towards these rituals, their crops are protected from the evil people. They are blessed with abundant harvest that can sustain their families and if for business purpose, will generate enough income for them. Hence, since small holder farming in this area, it is not left out. Therefore, this ritual has a good and very important role in smallholder farming as the ritual brings about unity among farmers, good harvest and fertility for more children to be put to birth to work in the small holder farmers' farms. However, agricultural festivals are where people gathered to plan and chart on the calendar of future rituals.

Rituals in agriculture are one of the oldest forms of religious rituals. Agricultural rituals is used precisely to increase crops, animals, drought and famine, over time areas were set aside and temples built for these rituals. Among the communities of Botswana, Africa kraals (villages) were built by the chiefs or kings particularly to house those who journeyed to the site to take part or witness the annual rain harvest festivals. During rituals, the Aboriginals used these as a platform for marriages and initiation rites. Agricultural rituals bring together tribes and populations. Agricultural rituals provide an opportunity for people to gather in order to celebrate the harvest or to prepare for the growing season. The aim of rituals is to garner favour with deities and spirits, this is done by the forming of a bond between the person performing the ritual and the deity or spirit, communication with deities and other spirits is an important part of rituals. Animal sacrifice based on ancient myths is usually an integral part of most rituals (Maclean U 1977).

6.2.2. Rituals contributions of the Mekomba people in small holder plantations

The people of Mekomba do not only contribute to small holder plantations by working in the plantations. They also play a role with their rituals to contribute to food security culture in Mbandjock sub-division. Traditionally, Mekomba have gods in which they believe in and to whom they depend on for their daily activities. As their supreme god, they have *Nkokoma* and he has so many servants which they pray to through their ancestors. Their gods intervene to them all through the year and in their activities which plantation agriculture is among. During their annual festival in December known as *Mkpass*, they offer sacrifices to their gods through their ancestors. They believe and know that, it protects them and their different activities. These gods bless their families with children, good harvest, jobs, rain for their crops, human and soils fertility, peace and blessing, protecting the village during war and tribal conflicts as well as controls evil spirit in the village. They do this through a number of rituals. Like the ritual of the cleaning of the graveyard (kemoyiu) or the end of the traditional year ritual to the Baboute people of Mbandjock village, the Yezoum of Mekomba village also have their own end of year festival known as *Mkpass* in December. During this festival, the people of Mekomba seek the face of their god for a number of wishes as well as do a balance shit of the previous year in the village. The festival and rituals are presided over by the chief. These rituals include;

The *Ka'a* Ritual is another important ritual performed during the *Mkpass* festival in Mekomba. In fact, this is done every year by giving sacrifices to their gods through the ancestors. During the *Mkpass* festival one of the things the people asked their ancestors to do for them is to prevents the village from misfortune, illness, bad spirit, witches and wizards, as well as give them abundant good health and good harvest and jobs. One of our key informants told us that,

We carry the Mkpass festival every year to talk to our god and the Ka'a rituals we perform to the ancestors on this day is to appease our ancestors to give us good harvest, good health and prevent us from misfortune and attacked of bad spirit. When this is done, our gods bless the seeds; make our soils to be fertile so that it can produce good quantity and quality crops. (Interview conducted in Mekomba, 13/07/2020)

For them, when these sacrifices are given to these gods, the farmers will experience a very good harvest in all their crops such as maize, groundnuts, beans, cassava, plantain, cocoa, sugar cane as well as vegetables and fruits. It should be noted that these gods at times influence the type of catch made out of fishing and also sustain their food security system.

During the *Mkpass* festival in Mekomba, one of the rituals performed is *Engane* ritual. This ritual involed the giving of food and drinks to the initiated members who first of all pour those of the gods, then drink and share with those who came for the event. They equally have some herbs and back of trees they put in in their drinks before drinking to make them strong and proctected if any poising is given to a member during the feast. There is also a dance group that come out to dance during this ritual. This ritual is a celebration as well as a ritual to initiate new members like new born, people who have gotten promotion. It is manifested in joy, victory (birth of a child, an elite appointment, etc.) and feast of harvest. It is done during this period and any other time that an even that warrant it presents. With the sacrifices they give to their ancestors during this ritual, they received further victory and joyful events. In the same light, an informant affirmed during an interview that,

In Mekomba, the gods through our ancestors gives us blessing for our livelihood, crops and activities. When we celebrate engane ritual, we are assured that many achieved will come. We did not practice this ritual when my second daughter was put to bed as such she failed the BAAC for three years but last year that my wife put to bed with my last son, we did this ritual for both my second daughter and last son. In response she passed the BAAC. Many a time, on the very day the sacrifice is made there are always signs of a brighter day. But in other instances, the rain comes within the week after the sacrifice. (Interview conducted in Mekomba, 11/07/2020).

Apart from traditional religion that have been the oldest form of religion in Mekomba, we also have Christianity which believe in one God. It was introduced in Africa during the European scramble for Africa by the Christian missionaries. There is also the Muslim religion brought to Mekomba in the 1920s coming from northern Nigeria and had converted many people from their African traditional religion with the passing of time (Zoa 2018).

6.2.3. The role of the //Messing// Festival in Mendouga village in farming

The *messing* festival is an age old phenomena with the Mendouga people which during this festival, sacrifices of fowls, food and drinks are given to the ancestors. The chief presides over this ritual. It is during this ritual that, young people are initiated into great warriors and farmers. Intertribal fighting competitions are carried out where all the nearby villages choose the strongest wrestler to represent and fight for the village in the wrestling competition. It is also during this ritual that initiated farmers and warriors provide sacrificials items like palm wine, meat/fish and food stock in a way of thanking the ancestors and their gods for god harvest and protection. This ritual plays a big role in guaranteeing food security in this locality. This festival is most often held in December to end the traditional year and start a new one. During the festival their gods through the ancestors are appeased to pardon them for the wrong deeds of the ending year and asked for blessing for the New Year. Those who participate testify the fun, importance and guarantee of protection of their activities including farming. An elderly informant testified that,

I participate in this to have our native norms, values and traditions of my people first before embarking on the farming process. That way, values, traditions, arrangement of the community, prejudices and taboos are not interrupted in the process of my plantation agriculture and my ancestors will protect and bless me with abundant harvest. The more we acquire and respect our culture; the more we are recognized by the gods and ancestors in the farming activity. Hence, I exhibit respect to various cultures, beliefs and most importantly the messing festival in the process of my plantation framing. (Interview in Mendouga 20/07/2020).

The popular traditional dance known as *Nkoe* is also practiced during this festival. It should be noted that, this dance is also performed during marriages and funerals, as well as, other happy events in one village.

6.2.4. Rituals in Ndo village that have a role in farming

The Ndo people of the Mbandjock sub-division have a number of rituals and festivals they performed either during ceremonies or at the end of year. These rituals and traditional festivals include. The *Aluk ritual* otherwise known as the marriage ceremony is an initiation of young men and women into marriage hood. During this ritual, traditional songs and dances such as *Inyengue, Abok minkouk* and *Esani* which are very attractive and nice to watch are done. Song carrying messages of a good man and women, love and sex, hardworking woman in the farm, good food is song. There is also, the *awou* ritual commonly known as burial ceremony is done to either accompany the death to their final destination or practice to transit the death to ancestors or spirits. In Ndo village, *Wou* means dead and as such the dead or burial ceremony is known as *Awou*. When this is done, the bad spirit of the death person will be sent and his/her protection spirit impulses to protect his/her love ones as well as give them strength to work in their farms. This ritual is done in order to protect the left behind family from any evil spirit and to keep them trauma free.

Also, the Ndo people like the Mendouga people who all speak Yezoum language considered *Akous* widowhood as a ritual. It has so many traditional obligations such as not greeting or shaking hands with someone and to sleep on bananas leaves for a period of about six months. The widow or widower is washed with certain herbs and water. This is usually happening during or after the burial ceremony. The participants in these rituals are usually the aged people, the same chosen men (chosen by the ancestors) and the brothers and sisters in-law. They play a fundamental role in these rituals because it is believed that they have the

ability to protect the left family from any evil so, the necessacity for them to take part in these rituals.

Finally, the //Awou// ritual to an extent is burial ritual seen as a festival especially if the death person was of age and of good character or behaviour. That way his spirit will be made ancestor who will always protect and bless them and their activities. Hence, the family left behind will be protected from evil spirits as well as offered guidance. When death ceremony is considered a festival, it is animated by eating drinking and traditionally dancing and singing such as *Inyengue, Abok minkouk* and *Esani* dances which are very attractive and nice to watch.

6.2.5. The cock festival //Feo Kague//, among the Toupouri people in Mbandjock

The Toupouri people are people with origins from the Mayo Danay and Mayo Kani divisions of the Far North region of Cameroon. With ramifications as far as Chad. They consider themselves as true warriors, and great farmers recognised throughout the northern area of Cameroon and beyond. These people have a rich cultural heritage which they are so proud of and take it along to whatever destination they find themselves. This is because as warriors and great farmers, they need the intervention of their gods to be strong both physically and spiritually to carry out their daily activities. These people being one of the settlers in Mbandjock that came in the first place to work in SOSUCAM and CAMSUCO sugar cane plantations, have come in with their culture in the various domains. The Toupouri people in Mbandjock and Nkoteng, each year, in respect of their culture and tradition organised in a rotational way, the Cock festival like the same way it is done in their homeland. In 2017, it was organised in Mbandjock while it was done in Nkoteng in 2018, Mbandjock in 2019 and has not been organised since then because of the COVID -19 pandemic.

However, the Cock Festival known in Toupouri as *//Feo Kague//*, like most cultural festivals held in Cameroon, is one of the most important events for the Toupouri people. For generations, the sons and daughters of this tribe have come together to promote their culture. At each event, there are many followers and visitors both when it is organised in Mbandjock by Toupouri settlers and when it is organised at home and even elsewhere. The origin of this festival that has been celebrated for nearly 15 generations and which has become a tradition for the Toupouri people was initiated by Wandoré, the spiritual leader who is considered the symbol, the incarnation and the guarantor of the Toupouri tradition(Zao 2018). They are the

only secular people who live in a very Islamised area. The celebration of the Cock festival crowns the end of the year and the start of the New Year in the Toupouri calendar. Originally, the cock was chosen as a totem by Wandore, the spiritual leader to summon the spirits: *Mo'ope* and *So'oba*. Which respectively represent the spirits of ancestors and gods. The cock because it seems it can follow the directions of the spirits. He uses the fowl so that the latter intercedes with the spirits, so that they intervene in the protection of all families. The cock festival is also done in order to have rain in abundance, the soil more fertile; and the harvests better. A Toupouri man who is a great warrior and farmer by trade, when the latter went or sent his troops to the front or farming and hunting, he always submitted to the sacred ritual of immolation of a cock to ensure their protection.

The ritual consists of slaughtering a cock and rotating it twice around the hurt set up for the occasion before releasing it. The side which the slaughtered cock lays after struggling is very important. If it lies on the left, it announces misfortune whereas, if it is on the right, it marks a happy event. Successfully carried out, this gesture is always accompanied by different incantations and a message of peace, dialogue, reconciliation, and happiness. This is why each generation carries on this tradition left as a legacy by previous generations. And each year, it is repeated during the great gathering of the Toupouri people. Each family head is required to participate in the festival with all his family. According to one of our informants,

The day before the day planned for the feast, Wandoré, the spiritual leader, or his representative, spends 30 days in his room to avoid seeing either the sun or the moon. Nowadays that responsibility rests with one of his descendants. During this period all the Toupouri people observe Lent. It is also a moment of awareness and change of behaviour towards one's neighbour: for fathers who like to test their fighting technique and sex, those who always like to tell people your mother even for nothing, for those for whom theft is second nature and finally those who like drinking to drunkenness, etc is time to give a hull and rethink. Failure to comply with his instructions is conditioned by a fine to be paid, which is represented by a sheep which is given to the chef. In the middle of a large courtyard, men mostly dressed in traditional clothes and others shirtless, play the tom-tom. To the rhythm of Gourna and Waiwa, one being a long poem of songs to denounce the evils of the community and the other a special dance that is performed after the harvest, the dancers demonstrate to the audience their mastery of stage performance. (Mbandjock 29/12/2019)

While the body is agitated to the rhythm of the songs, it is also watered by the consumption of *billi-billi* (millet wine) without which the party loses all its meaning. This feast day also represents the end of initiation for some young people. Before the festival

itself, young people old enough to keep a pasture are taken outside the village to check the animals, if their return goes very well, they are considered to have reached the age of majority. But today, it has been replaced by traditional struggles or the mastery of *waiwa* dance. After the big gathering, families can go and continue the festivities at their homes while making an appointment for next year.

6.3. Political factors and food security

One of the factors that impact food security is political policy. Therefore, political factors have an influence on food security in Mbandjock sub-division. It is the political will that determines the distribution of resources and the management of farm related conflicts. Hence, the government policy in place here addressed victims of political violence, infrastructure and food security issues. Some chiefs in collaboration with some elites and administration occupy the people's farm land in Mbandjock illegally. Most often it has cause conflict and violence between these stakeholders. This means that Political violence leads to destruction of food resources hence food insecurity in Mbandjock. It was confirmed by one of our respondents who said

The impact of landgrabing, especially on our economy and environment has been so very damaging. Some of the negative impacts include: disruption of production, loss of local genetic resource stocks, and erosion of natural resources. I was sent out of our land with our crops on it that the land was belonging to another person and when we went to the D.O office, the elite in question came with land documents behind our back. The D.O asked him to compensate us.... (Interview in Ndjore 13/07/2020).

This political policy is centred around the loss of farm produce as a result of political violence, victims of violence and influence of government distribution of resources such as land on conflicts and food security.

6.3.1. The political economic of food security

The political economic factor had an effect on food security ranging from the approximate monthly income farmers makes from farming, the number of meals small holders and their families have a day, easy accessed of farmers produce to markets which is determined by good roads and availability of plough back capital. The political economy of food involves the intervention of the government, local authorities, farmers in fact all the stakeholders involve in food production. The governments have the key role of setting policy and providing legislation that lays down minimum food safety or marketing standards that food businesses must meet respecting the culture of its citizen. Therefore, governments must

then ensure that small holder plantations and or food businesses obey with these requirements through training, inspection and enforcement. With the case of Mbandjock sub division, the sub divisional delegates for agriculture, commerce, land ensure and survey, the municipal council and the divisional officer ensure these activities (training, inspection and enforcement).

Policies and regulations that directly or indirectly affect the supply or prices of food products, their safety and nutritional composition, or the information consumers receive about food all influence the food choices consumers make and, ultimately, the nutritional quality of their diets. Food security in Mbandjock can be achieved at two levels. To know; national aggregate food security and individual food security. The former exists when a nation has adequate food supplies to feed its population, either via domestic production, food imports, food aid or some combination of these. Individual food security exists when all individuals in a country have access to adequate food. National food security is necessary but not sufficient for individual food security in that a nation may have adequate national food supplies but they may not be accessible to all individuals. In the past domestic policy makers in developing countries have sometimes focused excessively on national food security with strategies such as strategic grain reserves but have failed to achieve individual food security in their countries. This situation is changing in Mbandjock as local are now being actively involved in small holder plantations. However, the political economy here is managed by the local farmers, the well-established firms and the government through the sub divisional delegation of agriculture.

6.3.2. Monthly income of small holder farmers

In Mbandjock, interventions and policies in the maize, cassava and plantain, in fact in small scale plantations sector have failed to ensure that all smallholder commodity farmers earn more than the \$1.90 World Bank poverty line or a living income. Majority of the small planter farmers in our data said, household income would need to double in order for them to earn a living income. For those farmers, farming will never be a primary corridor out of poverty.

Minorities of small holder farmers make or could earn a living income from basic commodity production. For many farmers here, primary agricultural production of commodities will never be a pathway out of poverty because of small farm sizes and low productivity levels. Nevertheless, price increases at scale can play an important role, but require supply management to offer stable long-term income impact. As such, farmers here who cannot earn more than the living income need alternatives, such as employment opportunities, so that they can move out of agriculture when land reform is implemented. This is the reason why some of the farmers are workers of SOSUCAM and other stable companies in Mbandjock and even beyond. Farmers enduring in agriculture should have the opportunity to increase farm sizes through suitably instigated land reform.

Small holder farmers that cultivate crops such as maize, cassava, plantain, potatoes, cocoa and oil palm have received various interventions from private sectors for food and agribusiness traders, processors and manufacturers, as well as public sector agencies in the past three decades aiming to improve their incomes and lift them out of poverty. Such interventions have ranged from training, to voluntary sustainability certification and the provision of free or subsidised inputs, to the support of farmer groups, to community-level provision of infrastructure, such as school buildings, medical centres and access to potable water. However, most interventions have had limited, mixed or no impact on household incomes. Despite those interventions, in the majority of farm households, incomes per capital are below living income standards.

Interventions aimed at income enhancement and lifting farmers out of poverty are often based on the assumption that the latter should be attainable through said interventions. However, for many farmers, this is an unachievable goal due to the conditions in which they live. Even if farmers' revenues from cash crops were to directly increase for example, through increased farm produce prices we observe that small farm sizes and low productivity levels lead to only a few farmers moving to another income group. According to one of our informants,

Farmers who are identified as those who will not easily be elevated out of poverty by agriculture-based interventions, immediate and effective decisions should be made on where and how they invest time and funds. In this way, policies and programmes can be implemented more cost-effectively; farmer's frustrations can be avoided, as well as any time and costs associated with non-adoption. If this is done, policies and interventions must take into account contextual and personal factors which can influence farmers' behaviour. People in Mbandjock areas should be listened to about their aspirations, needs and opportunities. For designing effective and efficient interventions, findings should be shared between countries and across commodities on what works and also what failed to work. This includes the sharing of data and methodologies in order to avoid too much data being collected too many times, with too many farmers being interviewed too often, to satisfy the needs of various buyers and implementers. (Mbandjock 12/10/2020) However, this piece required to find out how much the respondents earned and comparing the data against how many meals they were able to afford after paying all other essential bills and assess whether there was any difference the responses were as shown. The research indicated that monthly income of local farmers ranges between 50, 000FCFA, and 200,000FCFA. It is worthy of note that, peasant farmers fall between category one and two while the others are big farmers.

6.3.3. Meals per day

The average number of meals consumed per day by small holders' farmers in Mbandjock depends on the income they make out of their farming activities and what their cultural values prevail. Yet, among these farmers some still go without food and or below the number of meals they need a day. A normal Baboute eats three times a day, in the morning before going to the farm, a meal in the farm and another meal at home in the evening after farm in a family union. According to Fon Nsoh (2011), food insecurity, malnutrition and hunger are persistent within the urban and rural areas in Cameroon. Official information from the National Institute of Statistics put the poverty rate in 2007 at 39.90% with 12.20% for urban area: and 55.00% rural area. This situation is not due to the lack of food, but to poor systems for regulating the access to food resulting from inadequate development policy approaches. Development policies are not sensitive to the protection and promotion of the cultivation and consumption of local products. Significant investments in giant agro industrial projects have failed, wasting huge resources and leaving thousands of actors in the production chain frustrated. Examples of some of these investments are presented in point 3.5 on Agro-industrial investments.

However, the government of Cameroon compels to carve up between 1990 and 2015, the percentage of persons living below the poverty line and to halve between 1990 and 2015 the proportion of persons who suffer from hunger in line with the global target. In that regard, many young folks, especially those living in poverty have strain in finding work as a result of inadequate education and skills or the absence of information about job opportunities. Hence, Fon Nsoh (2011), posit that the young people engaged to work under indecent conditions, characterized by low wages (about \$2 a day), without sufficient protection, long work hours and no insurance cover. Such types of employment are common in the plantations in Mbandjock; where the system of contracting work takes advantage of poverty and hunger situation of a majority of job seekers.

The researcher sought to find out if the households had difficulty in accessing and affording food. Below is what one of our respondents said when asked how many times they had meals in a day. So, this was his views about food security and availability.

Some people here have abundant food to feed on and even through some while others do manage to have a meal a day. Some afford just a meal averagely in a day, some afford two meals in a day, some afford an average of three meals in a day yet others afford above three meals in a day. What is good here is that, with our community life and culture if one do not have food to eat, he/she can as well visit his or her neighbour and food will be offered to him or her. That is why I think we do not really have a problem of food here in the village. Most often, the problem we have are the complements we need to put in our food. (Interview in Biboto 17/10/2020)

It is clear from the above that one cannot say with certainty that, there is food security and or food insecurity in Mbandjock. While some people have the privilege to have abundant others still have difficulties in having what to eat.

6.3.4. Quantity produced yearly

Individually, some category of farmers has yearly yields from 1 to 10 tons a year and this is where a majority of the small scale farmers in Mbandjock lie, while some people have yields from 11 to 50 tons a year. Those mostly involved here are rich farmers, common initiative groups, Associations and cooperatives. While from 51 and above are yields of mostly companies involved in the production of the different crops in Mbandjock.

Based on this, it is seen that most of the farmers produce below 10 tons of their produce annually which signifies that most of them are producing on small scale. Nevertheless, the table below shows the statistics of harvest in tons in the entire Mbandjock sub-division in 2019.

Year	Сгор	Surfaces areas (ha)	Tons per ha	Output per year (tons)
2018	Maize	690	02	1380
	Cassava	48	08	384
	Plantain	235	10	2350
	Coco yarns	15	3	45
	Groundnuts	50	1/2	25
	Cocoa	400	1	400
	Palms	176	1301	228976 L
2019	Maize	750	02	1500
	Cassava	57	08	456
	Plantain	240	10	2400
	Coco yarns	15	3	45
	Groundnuts	50	1/2	25
	Cocoa	405	1	405
	Palms	186.5	1301	242636.5L
2020	Maize	765	02	1530
	Cassava	60	08	480
	Plantain	248	10	2480
	Coco yarns	16	3	48
	Groundnuts	50	1/2	25
	Cocoa	415	1	415
	Palms	190	1301	247190L

Table 6: Crops farming varieties cultivated in Mbandjock

Source: sub-divisional delegation for agriculture Mbandjock (2020)

6.1.5. Small holder capacity influences prices

It is seen and perceived in the villages that make up the Mbandjock sub-division that, small holder capacity influence prices of local commodities in the area. It is of paramount importance to note that due to the fact that the demand for staple foods is inflexible, small increases in supply ahead of demand can lead to considerable falls in prices. According to Wiggins et al (2013: 12), worldwide, between 1960 and 2000, the prices of maize, rice and wheat in constant terms fell by 69%, 72% and 66% respectively on world markets. Most of the increase in the volume of cereals that made the fall of prices came from developing countries, rather than from the developed countries. Given the strong contribution of small holders' plantations to increased production, it has contributed to falling food prices. Wiggins et *al.* (2013) indicated that since the mid-2000s, prices have spiked and remain above their 2000 levels: but they are still well below prices in 1960. From the early 1960s, world food production per person has increased by one third. In the developing world, in Asia the quantity has doubled, in South America increased by more than 80%, and only for Africa has production has increased slightly more than population growth.

Likewise, it should be noted that small holder farmers are the main food producers in developing countries. As such, increased small holder agricultural production means more food enters the marketplace, leading to lower food prices and better diets. The relationship between agricultural policy and food prices includes a range of supply and demand factors that affect the prices of numerous marketed food and non-food crops, which, in turn, affect the incomes of net sellers and the ability to ensure food security (including diet quality) of net buyers. This is predominantly critical for rural and urban people in developing countries who spend a large percentage of their incomes on food security in rural areas where high transport and marketing costs can drive up food prices and at the national level, the higher land productivity of small farms enables poor countries to attain self-sufficiency in staples, such as in cereals, roots and tubers, and livestock. Rural households provide an important market for domestically produced manufactures and services (Hazell and Roell, 1983 cited in Diao, et *al.*, 2007).

6.3.5. Innovation and food security

Innovations have a comparing role on food security, farm inputs, methods of ploughing and situation of granary influenced food security. About 30 percent of the small planters in Mbandjock had improved farm inputs which constitute mostly firms, cooperatives, common initiative groups and some few well to do farmers. Whereas, the majority of the smallholder farmers do not have improved farm inputs 45 of the respondents which is 52.3 percent of the research strongly agreed that there is availability of improved farm inputs. This agrees with Janvry and Sadoulet (2002) who says that major direct effect is that technologies lead to increased production for personal household consumption and profits for farmers. The research showed that innovation had positive influence on food security the result of the analysis was significant in relation to food security where most respondents did not access improved farm inputs this therefore put them at risk of being food insecure. This revealed a very low rate of absorption of innovation in food production in the region that probably led to low food production and consequently high food insecurity. New technologies lead to increased production for personal household consumption and profits for farmers (de Janvry and Sadoulet 2002). Also, most respondents used animal labour to plough their farms as opposed to mechanization; this had significant influence on food security. Shortage of food is becoming apparent as a result despite the fact that many labourers lack the incentive or tools to perform the high-quality work needed to improve productivity.

6.4. Physical Environment

The physical environment which is part of the cultural food security system in Mbandjock is the characteristics of the space in which the human groups of Mbandjock reside. This group's cultural system provides a successful manipulation of life supporting elements, protection against elements which have the potential of frightening life, and finds ways to overcome elements that constrain life sustaining activities. Some of these elements include altitude, relief, drainage and soils. The Baboute, Yezoum like the settlers in Mbandjock sub- division have over the years given cultural meaning to this physical environment which influences behaviour, including health risk behavior. This might be influenced directly or indirectly by environmental elements and/or shared or individual ways of interacting with environmental elements.

6.4.1. Altitude

Altitude which is an environmental factor is part of the cultural food security system in Mbandjock. When it comes to altitude, Mbandjock has a varying gradient with the highest point reading 516 m above sea level and the lowest point reading 389 m. This low altitude greatly favours the growth of agricultural product as plantain, cocoyam, cassava, yams, peanuts, maize ...), leaching (poultry), crafts (raffia, mat, basket). Also, the areas occupied by hills in the Sub-division are good for grazing and the cultivation of vegetables and fruits such as pineapple, water melon just to name a few at the foot of the hills and in valleys. According to one of our informants,

Low altitude in Mbandjock had greatly favours culture of farming food crops like plantain, cocoyam's, cassava, yams, peanuts, maize and poultry, crafts. That is why even the strangers who come in to our land enculturate their food production system base altitude here. The high altitude on the other hand, attracts grazing and the cultivation of vegetables and fruits such as pineapple, water melon just to name a few at the foot of the hills and in valleys. That is why we can find all type of sociocultural groups here in Mbandjock. (Interview in Mbandjock 09/04/2020)

From the above, we can posit that altitude is another environmental element that play a key role in the cultural food security system in Mbandjock. Both the low and the high altitude in Mbandjock contribute to the culture of small holder plantations agriculture and food security here. While the low altitude favours the culture of farming plantain, cocoyam's, cassava, yams, peanuts, maize and poultry, crafts. The high altitude on the other hand, attracts grazing and the cultivation of vegetables and fruits such as pineapple and water melon at the

foot of the hills and in valleys. This is one of the factors that have encouraged cultural mobility of both people and cultural trait in Mbandjock. Settlers with origin from high altitude have their place as well as sittlers settlers with origin from low altitude. That is why even these strangers in Mbandjock enculturate their food production system here.

6.4.2. Drainage and soils

According to Mbandjock Delegation of Agriculture (2013), there are several tributaries like: Mekono, Mengolo, Doua, Nga, Foussen, Assamba, Aya'a, Nvini-Ngono, Nya and a main stream or river Sanaga. These streams have tributaries which remain dry for over long periods of the year. They witness peak discharges only during the heavy rainfalls of August and September. These swamps maintain an ever green vegetation cover due to the abundant moisture and the people cultivate crops during the dry season in these swamps.

Soils are an indispensable element of the cultural food production system in Mbandjock. The soils in Mbandjock originated from a thick mantle of granitic intrusion over which lies the bedrock forming a good basement for alluvial deposition. In terms of thickness, these soils vary from a few centimetres to over a meter. The soils of the municipality of Mbandjock have different characteristics depending on whether one is in one area or another. According to *Plan Communal De Developpement* (PCD) (2013), there are four main soil types in the region, which consist of ferralitic soils, swampy soils, loamy - sandy soils, Lateritic soils. The Lateritic soils are formed from the weathering of basalts which after oxidation results in the formation of a brownish coloured soil type rich in composition and favours agricultural activities. The soils are highly permeable with top soils made up of black silt loam. The soils are rich and productive and this can be seen from its high yields. The soils are usually very hard during the dry season because of exposure to the sun by farming activities. In the rice fields, the soils are usually very hard due to the trampling effects of the animals which compact the soils.

This is usually when the flood waters have retreated and the seasonal hydromorphic soils are left with green vegetation that serves as fodder for grazing animals. Cattle resarer is practice here given that the soils here favour the growth of pasture and the presence of water courses like streams and rivers which attract grazers for cattle rearing. These animals before going allowed cow droppings which enrich the soils and make it favourable for crops production. The soils here are good for agriculture. The major problems we, local farmers faced in Mbandjock is the inadequate of land. Most of the land here is owned by chiefs and the community, so it cannot be sold because it does not belong to an individual, this makes it difficult for people in and out of the community to have access to large scale of land. Even when we buy the land, problems most often arise as family members start to claim the land. Also, lands inherited from grandparents are often shared amongst siblings and family members and some are being given to friends and strangers on rent. This type of system leads to land fragmentation that makes it difficult an uneconomical to use machinery (Case research in Mbandjock 14/01/2021).

This implies that the soils of Mbandjock are good for agriculture. Reasons why there are so many smallholder farmers in this locality. The farmers do not have soil fertility problem. Instead, the culture in Mbandjock is very complex when is comes to land ownership. The major problems local farmers faced in Mbandjock is the inadequacy of land. Most of the lands are owned by chiefs and the community, so it cannot be sold because it does not belong to an individual, this makes it difficult for people to have access to large scale of land. Most often, when land is bought in Mbandjock, problems arise as family members start to claim the land. Similarly, land inheritance is from generation to generation. Land inherited is often shared amongst family members and some are being given to friends and strangers on rent.

6.4.3. Climate and precipitation

Mbandjock Delegation of Agriculture (2013) identify that, Mbandjock is characterised by a sub-tropical climate of the Guinean forest (the wet equatorial type) with an average rainfall of about 1450mm fairly distributed throughout the year. She knows four seasons including two dry (one big and one small) and two rainy seasons (one big and one small) which are distributed throughout the year. Firstly, the big rainy season is between mid-August and mid-November that is a period of 03 months. This period of the big rainy season, is characterised by great rains not by its duration which by the way is very short but by the abundance and intensity of rainfall. Whereas, from mid-June to mid-July (01 months) is the short dry season. Secondly, the period of mid-March to mid-May that is a period of 02 months is the small rainy season. Meanwhile, from Mid-November to mid-March (04 months) is the large (Great) dry season. This season is characterised by heat wave. However, this climate change is not fixed. Disturbances due to climate change often disrupt this seasonal calendar. Thus, it is frequent that during the great dry season, unexpected rains occur to again give way to heat. Despite the various disturbances observed during the seasons, the climate in the municipality of Mbandjock remains the same type.

In addition, SOSUCAM Mbandjock (2015) highlights that humidity remains high (at times superior to 90%, the rest of the day hygrometry born falling below 70% only during the long dry season). Concerning wind, Mbandjock like most parts of the country is crossed by two air masses; firstly, the South West Monsoon winds which are humid and dominate the western part of the country. They originate from the St Helena anticyclone, but are deviated from their initial track after passing across the equator. They assure the transportation of humidity from the ocean and forest of the South towards the North from the months of March to October. Another important air mass that influences the climate of the area, is the South East Trade Winds originating from the Sahara, referred to as the Hamartan Winds. It originates within the Saharan anticyclone and it accounts for the dry nature of this area between the months of December and March, and it is during this period that these winds are at their peak. The point where the two air masses meet is referred to as the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The alternate displacement of this Inter Tropical Convergence Zone is what is responsible for the two main seasons (the dry and rainy season) we have in Cameroon which is divided into four seasons in Mbandjock. All of these conditions prevailing in Mbandjock, thus, this is an obvious reason for the rich soil content and great involvement in agricultural activities.

6.4.4. Relief

Information from the Delegation of Agriculture Mbandjock (2013) holds that the relief of the municipality of Mbandjock is highly dependent on the geomorphology of the region. Thus, the community is established on a vast and high pen plain of an average altitude of 600 to 700 m dotted with some hills. The marshy areas present in the villages and the space urban areas are close to the streams that pass through them. There are hills, plateaus, valleys and plains. This relief in Mbandjock favours smallholders' plantation to complete the cultural food security system. However, the relief also poses a problem of transportation to the farmers in Mbandjock as affirmed by the following field account:

Good roads are necessary for the transportation of Agricultural produce. In Mbandjock farm to market roads are very few and are not even in good state. This is because of the relief type we have here. In Mbandjock, the transportation of food crops from the farm to the market is very difficult, especially during the rainy seasons. The prices of transportation increase in the rainy season, in effects, reduce the profit of farmers. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/02/2021).

Therefore, in Mbandjock, relief plays a role in roads construction and transportation. Due to the relief, farm to market roads are very few and are not even in good state. In Mbandjock, the transportation of food crops from the farm to the market is very difficult, especially during the rainy seasons. According to Whitehead, TL (2003), The Physical Environment, in which the human group resides and that group's cultural system provide a successful exploitation of life sustaining elements, protection against elements which have the potential of threatening life, and finds ways to overcome elements that constrain life sustaining activities. Cultural meaning which influences behavior, including health risk behaviour, might be influenced directly or indirectly by environmental elements and/or shared or individual ways of interacting with environmental elements.

To conclude, understanding a culture through food is an interesting process because once a person starts asking these questions, such as how something is made, what ingredients are in it, or why it is called a certain way, the answers obtained go beyond culinary learning. In these answers, food tells us something about a culture's approach to life. In the end, we can say that food functions symbolically as a communicative practice by which we create, manage and share meanings with others. Understanding culture, habits, rituals and tradition can be explored through food and the way others perceive it. In the four parts of this chapter, part one expanded on the different channels through which culture affects food security (availability, access and choice, utilization, and stability). Section two, we discussed the role of indigenous traditional people in guaranteeing food security (rituals and festivals that play in favour to food security). Part three, then explained the political food economy, and part four explored the contribution of the physical environment in food security. In Mbandjock, cultural food security system consists of, pillars of food security, local cultures, social representation and the physical environment (climate, soils and relief). These different components interact together to give the local food security cultures in Mbandjock. The next chapter presents adaptation and dynamics in small holder plantations communities.

CHAPTER 7

ADAPTATION AND DYNAMICS IN

SMALLHOLDER PLANTATIONS COMMUNITIES

This chapter demonstrate the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation. Farmers of Small holder adaptation to community values, payment of tributes to chiefs, jobs provision and dynamics in community lives.

7.1. Adaptations in plantation Agriculture Communities

Adaptions here comprises the capabilities, assets both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living. Adaption is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. Like farmers who depend on small holder plantations for their livelihood. The inhabitants of Mbandjock earn their living in various ways. Some work in farms while others earn their livelihood in nonfarming activities. Working on farms involves operations such as preparing the land, sowing, weeding and harvesting of crops. Adaptions in plantation agriculture communities like Mbandjock community includes: domestic entities like households or residential compounds, extra residential groupings such as ethnic groups, social networks and kinship systems, and voluntary associations or organizations, regular dyads such as friends, coworkers or real and fictive kin dyads, irregular dyad such at employer-employee, patron-client, and the policies and practices of institutions and agencies of the wider community or society. According to Whitehead, TL (2003), significant social systems are the engines of cultural production and reproduction as they contribute to the emergence and persistence of behavioral patterns and the ideational systems underlying them by providing feedback mechanisms of social rewards/approval or ostracism/punishment for the expression of behavior and ideas that the group value.

7.1.1. Small scale farming adaptation to community values

When a plantation is established in a community, it is mostly worked by community members. Therefore, the habits and customs as well as the traditional values of the community will be taken into account in the management of the plantation. In Mbandjock, plantation owners' finance most of the cultural events related to the community. The community leaders are intermediaries between the owners and the planters. One of the missions entrusted to the owners when setting up their plantations is the social support to the community to which they are implanted. So, most of these large exploiters in Mbandjock support primary and secondary schools in school materials, fees just to name a few. Also, many young people who study in the agricultural sectors in cities always come to do in-depth internships in these structures.

One of the community values that the people of Mbandjock hold so dearly is their arts, most often represented in the statues of their ancestors, in the ritual site of cleaning the grave yard. The African arts equally have a role to play in small holders' plantations and the indigenous people food security system in Mbandjock. Most of these arts represent the spiritual culture of the people; at times, it represents or stands as a symbol between the living and the supernatural. As such, it is through these arts that the indigenous people seek their spiritual intervention from their gods. It goes in line with Moussima Njanjo (2017), who posits that, as compared to European arts, the African arts have some essential notions of ethnology in order to make more fully feel the beauty, the power, the refinement or the terrifying character of certain aspects of the arts of Africa. These arts work well to the African people and intervene in their daily life and activities. Since small scale agriculture is one of the essential daily activities of the people of Mbandjock sub-division, their arts play a great role. For instance, during the ceremony of cleaning the grave yard, some status or arts of the dead are usually build on their graves, which signifies the presence of this individual who will intercede for them before their gods.

Agricultural activities in Mbandjock are also responsible for pollution, regression and degradation of the soil, in particular by metals: cadmium from phosphate fertilizers, lead, copper and other metals from old pesticides, slurry or sewage sludge containing traces heavy metals. The activities also contribute greatly to deforestation through the cutting down of floral biodiversity in favour of both small holder farms and large planters. Despite all the evidence to show that agriculture is bad for the environment, the majority of owners around the world refuse to change from the way they do things. But, we also observed a minimal awareness of some owners who have taken this degradation seriously through the following measures: limiting or banning certain fertilizers and pesticides, treatment of polluted water, reforestation and minimal use of fresh water.

7.1.2. Small holder agriculture adaptation to the payment of tributes (royalties)

Payment of tributes or royalty is one of the adaptation strategies of small holder plantations in Mbandjock. According to Whitehead, TL (2003), the socio-cultural meanings that individuals and their significant social systems apply to social systemic relationships, the physical environments they occupy, individual and shared historical patterns, and patterns of

basic human need fulfillment help in adaptations. So it is another strong cultural element of the Yezoum people like the Baboute people is the cultural value of payment of tributes. In this cultural zone, tributes are paid to the chiefs, land owners, and the entire village in the different activities practiced here. Small holder farming being one of the activities practiced in Mbandjock sub-division also have a great impact on the payment of tributes to the villagers, chiefs and the representative of the administration in Mbandjock. Therefore, since farming is an economic activity that only begins after land is acquired variously depending on the financial, political and socio-cultural or traditional power of the individual. In all the cultural or ecological zones of Cameroon, land can be acquired in any of these methods that is; via purchase, gifts, transfer or rental basis. In Mbandjock economy, large hectares of land are acquired by multinational companies for agro-industrial plantations which pay tributes to the local people in several ways.

The most recent phenomenon of land acquisition is through land grabbing by political and wealthy elite class who return to their potentially prosperous rural areas. In complicity with the traditional and administrative authorities, they seize large hectares of land from the local inhabitants who only use it for subsistence in the sense that, they have simply paid tributes to the chiefs. This practice has often led the poor farmers or local exploiters of the environmental resource to be abandoned to themselve when their land is grabbed by resourceful elites. This situation prevails in Mbandjock sub division as customary land had been seized from the poor villagers in Nio Baboute and Ndjore. Many of these elites pay allegiance to traditional authorities, especially to their powerful chiefs. This is purposely to gain protection and recognition of their rights to the land acquired with the help of the Chiefs and at times some administrative authorities. In another consideration, villagers who pay allegiance to chiefs are routinely doing it not necessarily for land matters but rather for normal cultural rights. This depends on the hegemonic powers and the internal reputation and influence within the village sphere.

Most plantations are cultivated on large areas of land which sometimes covers the whole village. Thus, the villagers sometimes find themselves dislodged and relocated for the good of the community. This would never have been possible without the help of community leaders who, often go against the advice of their community, support plantation owners. The tribute of the plantation owners is nothing but a well-placed gratitude to the chiefs who fight for their interest. When SOSUCAM was implanted in Mbandjock, the people of Mbandjock

village were asked to relocate their village to present site in which they are today. According to the chief of Mbandjock,

When our forefathers first came to Mbandjock, they settled where the present headquarters of SOSUCAM is found, the government and the then SOSUCAM administrators asked us to relocate. That we did. That is why each time we have our annual festival; we usually go to the big trees in front of SOSUCAM to pay them homage. This palace, in which we are now, was reconstructed in the 70s since the first palace was located where SOSUCAM is today. (Interview in Mbandjock 13/04/2019).

This means that, these tributes payment is reflected in the provision of social amenities in the sub-division especially in the urban Centre in Mbandjock. They contribute in education, roads, agriculture for small scale farmers and most especially water supply during the dry season when there is scarcity of water in the sub division.

Plantation agriculture does not only impact the income of its owners, but also some other stakeholders at the location of agricultural activities. The phenomenon of paying tributes to local authorities is an age long tradition in the African society. It is often required that for any venture to be established in an area, there must be an agreement between the executors and the local authorities of the area. This memorandum often includes a compensation plan. The case is not different with plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. In Mbandjock, plantation owners, as well as, small holder planters are required to pay an earlier agreed sum to traditional rulers of localities where they operate as tributes. This is required especially when they buy large farms of hundreds of hectares and or when the smallholders rent the land to cultivate. These tributes can also be paid in forms other than money, such as the employment of members of the royal family into the management of the estate. This satisfies the principle of natural resource exploitation and management which provides that locals must be part of and reap from the benefits of the exploitation process, beginning from the native authorities. However, the payment of tributes in Cameroon is often an affair of private plantation farmers as state cooperation such as SOSUCAM, established as far back as the 70s carry on its activities in most parts of this region without paying much allegiance to the traditional authorities. Nevertheless, money or other benefits which comes from plantation owners remain a huge source of livelihood for local chiefs and their families. In Mbandjock, SOSUCAM pay tributes to the local people and chiefs through the SOSUCAM foundation. According to one of our informants,

The SOSUCAM foundation every year as a means of paying tributes or loyalty to the people of this Mbandjock sub division assist local farmers by giving them hybrid seeds in maize, cassava etc.. They open earth roads that linked the villages to Mbandjock urban center especially in Ndo village, they assist in infrastructures of the schools both primary and secondary schools, pay teachers of primary school in Ndo. They even go as far as buying books, pens and give scholarship to students here (Interview in Mbandjock 13/04/2019).

In the same light, these tributes payment is echoed in SOSUCAM, assist to local farmers in the agricultural domain by providing hybrid seeds in maize, cassava, etc. to them. The tributes payment is also extended in the provision of social amenities in the subdivision especially in the urban Centre in Mbandjock.

7.1.3. Social stratification and symbolism

Smallholder plantations production in Mbandjock has also come with social stratification. However social stratification is the classification of people in the society according to power, wealth and social status. In Mbandjock, it is not different as this phenomenon exists. Here, each group of settlers have their chief who they tend to when need arises. These chiefs solved problems between settlers in Mbandjock and when it is more serious, they take it to the chief of Mbandjock. Also, when a settler from one group has a problem with another settler from another community in Mbandjock, their two settler's chiefs are called upon in the Mbandjock palace by HRH the chief of Mbandjock to solve the issue. Also, when settlers and indigenes have usually revolve around land, witchcraft, gossip, theft and financial problem as such their problems are solved thanks to these chiefs. All these settlers' chiefs are under the control of the ruler of Mbandjock. According to the Mbandjock chief, a key informant,

Here in my chiefdom, people are rang and respected according to the position and role they play in the village. I have notables that assist me in leadership. That is, in spiritual, witchcraft, social, political, economic and land tenure issues. When farmers have problem among them and or with grazers, they run to me to solve their issue. Our decision in the council of notables is most often respected meaning our position command respect. I also work in collaboration with settlers' chiefs present here in Mbandjock especially when I have problem to solve here in the palace that concern one of their settlers. These chiefs give me maximum respect and allegiance. Recently, settlers from the northwest region through their chief paid my allegiance by decorating me with their traditional regalia. (Interview in Mbandjock, 12/04/2019) Therefore, the Chief plays a vital role as small holder plantations cultivation is concerned. This is because the chiefs are solely in charge of all the village lands and not family land. This explains why when small holder farmers have any problem or are faced with difficulty, they table it to the chief. When it is above the chief, it is then sent to the Divisional officer who has a farm committee in which the chief has a permanent representative. For more serious problems especially those of witchcraft, it is taken directly to the chief for substantial solution. Also, concerning social stratification, we found out in Mbandjock that all settler's communities in the municipality is headed by a Chief. More to the chiefs' authority is the fact that each small holder farmer that is using the village land is obliged to carry a percentage quantity of his or her farm product upon harvest to the Palace to regards and respect the royalty of the chief. These royalties are taken to chiefs because he is the custodian of tradition in the villages. Even when they have farms, the villagers are supposed to organise and cultivate the chiefs' farm. So this shows that even with the production of small holders plantations, there is social stratification.

Social stratification is common in Mbandjock even at the dimension of wealth. That is to say, what the people have in terms of farms products also called for respect. The more output you make, the more you are respected, the more you employ people, the more this people respect you as they work for you in your farm. This was approved by one of our informants having administrative functions who said,

In Mbandjock, the more one farmer owns farms, the more he/she hires labourers and the more important and powerful he/she becomes. And as a result, the more number of farms owned, the more the output gotten by the farmer as he will harvest many tonnes of crops which gives him much money at the end. Due to this, many people tend to respect him for his wealth as he exceeds the powers he has over others especially to his workers. Am telling you, somebody like Nkolo Laurent is very power and respected today in Mbandjock because of the farm he has that cultivate corn, keep fowls and pigs. (Case Research Mbandjock, 12/04/2019)

This means that, the money these worthy small holder plantations farmers make out of small holder plantations farming, is equally invested elsewhere or in other businesses such as construction of houses, opening of article stores, food stores, motorbike businesses (Bensikin), transport cars businesses just to name a few. All these other businesses opened with the money gotten from the small holder plantations farm, employs a lot of people who work for their bosses. The boss has dominion over his subordinates, their families and even the community at large. All these imply that small holder plantations have been accompanied

by social stratification, given that that, some of these rich farmers use their finances to get influential traditional titles that are not only gotten hereditarily.

Social representation is understood as the collective elaboration of a social object by the community by virtue of the purpose of behaving and communicating. By so doing, the elaborated object becomes a social reality by virtue of the object's representation which the community holds. Hence, subject and object are not regarded as functionally separate. An object is located in a context of activity since it is what it is because it is in part an extension of their behaviour Moscovinci (1973).

The Mbandjock village's chiefdoms are not egalitarian per se. Her people are classified as, main class: the ruling class and the commoners. Right, privileges, duties and responsibilities attributed to these classes differs, likewise highlighted by Nketi (1902-1973). This is manifested during public occasions via setting positions, dance groups and in other spheres. The royal class here is made up of the chief, his wife, children and notables/affiliates. All of these constitute the noble class of the chiefdom. At the base are commoners who make up the mass of the chiefdom's population. Other factors of social differentiation and stratification are age, gender and wealth.

As concerning age, Mbandjock villages' people are categorised into age sets. In-fact, each and every male in this community is born into an age set with variations between two to three months' intervals. Their principal role has changed from serving as the chiefdom reserve army to active participation in the organisation of the community tasks as well as socio-cultural manifestation. The women age group plays a similar but less significant role as compared to the male. Moreover, young people are exempted from participating in certain activities and occupying decisive positions in the Mbandjock villages Chiefdoms. Such is the case with being initiated into a secret society. Gender-wise, men have an edge over women. The two do not commune in certain circumstances. This can be observed in their sitting position in occasions like death celebrations and rituals. There are also dance groups which are unisexual (men on one hand and women on the other). However, frantic efforts are being made to render the Mbandjock villages chiefdom gender balanced to a certain extend.

The social representation theory is made up of three arms as they seek to explain the importance of collective functions and collaboration between the supernatural (the spirits, gods and ancestors) and the living. This is seen through the tasks performed by the chief in the execution of ritual practices as he equally stands as a link between the living and the dead.

He thereby ensures that the people's supplications are passed on to the spirit world easy and responded faster. On another dimension, the objects used during ritual practices such as the shrines (graveyard) and other natural elements like herbs are very important for communication and in exhibiting the material culture of the community. The said items do have their meaning and significance especially the food which is brought to the ritual site. They represent blessings, good fortune and a sign of welcome and prosperity. Aspects of communication come into play as there is a massage passed during the presentation of those girls who want reproduction. The performance of these rituals during specific periods of the year especially during the harvesting season communicates a sign of good fortune and blessings. It is equally a:

System of values, ideas and practices with two fold functions. First to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; secondly to enable communication... by providing a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of the world and their individual and group history Moscovinci (1973, p 58).

This means that, small holder plantations have created cultural values that enable individuals to orientate themselves both in material and social culture. This structure help in communication. That is providing social exchange, naming and classifying various aspects of their individual culture and group history. Therefore, through small holders, we can get to know the culture and history of her workers and owners.

7.1.3. Marriage *Alouk* adaptation

Small holder plantations production has brought about development in the domain of marriage In Mbandjock. The Yeyoum people called this marriage rite *Alouk*. Small holder plantation has influenced marriage in many ways. Firstly, most farmers in Mbandjock use money made out of small holder plantations farming to marry their wives. Most of them save money in bits from the sale of their small holders' plantations products to get married. In Mbandjock, when a male child becomes matured, he gets a farm and or get into fishing, get employed in SOSUCAM or any other company around Mbandjock to start generating income. Most of the income from the farm to fend for him and the surplus is saved. As soon as the savings reach a certain level or amount, probably through *Njangi* that could be weekly or monthly, where by every month, the money donated is given to one person. It continues till the last person picks what could be explained in Anthropology by the *theory of the virtual circle of Testimony*. So, when it comes to the turn of someone who is mature and wants to get married, he uses this money made from small holder plantations farming gathered by savings

in *Njangi* contributions. This activity is mostly common among settlers and just a few origins of Mbandjock practice it.

To show the role of small holder plantations as another aspect in which small holder plantations production intervenes in marriages in Mbandjock, an informant indicated that,

The smallholders' plantations products itself, is used as food on the day of the marriage to entertain invited guests (maize, cassava, plantain ...). Before, corn fufu, vegetable and fish from the river Sanaga were the food used for marriage rites. But with the coming of small holder plantations farming in Mbandjock, many other crops are equally gradually being integrated as one of the most prepared or cooked food during marriages. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 13/04/2019).

Nevertheless, fufu corn, vegetable, fish, bush meat, *baton* made out of cassava and egusi remain the main food for marriage rites. This is because these foods are their staple food and they tend to produce it more than other food crops. This has influence food security in this locality in that, many of the small holder plantations in Mbandjock cultivate their crops since they are needed in their day to day lives. The role of small holders' plantations in recent marriage ceremonies in Mbandjock is to entertain people when they just arrived the marriage ceremony. This practice is very common with the Aristocrat class of Mbandjock when their children are getting married. We were told that if one organises a marriage in these villages today, without preparing other food crops that are not original stable food of the people as a choice of food, the marriage will be looked upon as marriage without entertainment in the food domain. Hence, small holders' plantations production has done a lot in the development of traditional marriages in the research area.

The institution of marriage is very complex and more often dynamic due to the peculiarities and contextual definitions which are being given to this terminology by particular groups of people. To the Yezoum, the Voute like the settlers' communities in Mbandjock sub-division, marriage is considered acceptable if the demands of the tradition on marriage have been met. However, with acculturation and enculturation, some modifications in the course of time have initially been made, within most of the settlers' communities from the north and grass field of Cameroon. Marriage was based on parental imposition with little or no regards for the couple's opinion. Parents dictated husbands and wives to their sons and daughters. There was strong exhibition of cultural values as Tsongwain (2007, p55) says;

'Where a girl resisted such a marriage, she received corporal punishment with the help of jujus. Some of such stubborn girls were taken and chained in their husbands' homes, using stocks. These Wooden leg-cuffs will be releasable only when she is going to bed with her husband. The mother in support of such marriage supervises the raping of her daughter and made sure it took place many times in the night. The man's successfulness was proven the next day by the deep or shallow sleep of the girl. When the girl got pregnant she was then saved from this inhuman torture.

However, the influence of time which made available, civilisation and education made some of these practices to dwindle. Here are still certain procedures which are to be followed before marriage takes place. Whereas, with the Baboute and Yezoum people, the first thing is courtship period where the suitor and get the girl on the background and activities of the lady in question.

7.1.4. Plantations agriculture and support to local development

The advent of plantation agriculture in general and small holder farming in particular in a locality is often considered blessed bread for the inhabitants of that locality. Because apart from many jobs that emanate from the plantation, several infrastructures are emerging around it. Among the new infrastructures that are developing in the region. We can quote: the construction of several paved roads which will allow the rapid evacuation of products from the plantation, the construction of hospitals and other health centres, which is used to treat the population and workers, the construction of leisure spaces, schools, drinking water wells, local markets and many other things. Smallholder farming has also impacted the lives of the Mbandjock people in terms of construction and the acquiring of other assets. The income gotten from services rendered permit framers to acquire basic assets for livelihood.



Photo 38: SOSUCAM Centre for agricultural promotion in Mbandjock

Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

These assets range from housing, cars for commercial taxi purposes and human assets like payment of fees and medical catering of the household members. Most indigenes working in plantations are generally suffering from income insufficiency. This is because their monthly wages are often below the national minimum wage. They, therefore, open their own small scale farms as a secondary way to get income. One of the greatest contributions of small holder farming workers has been building of family houses, education and health coverage of their children and families.

In the domain of education, most of the children of these small scale planters have actually been educated and most have obtained reputable jobs and invested back on their parents. Contrary to similar area where small scale farmer settled, their housing and other facilities are provided by big plantations owner. Thus, their housing conditions are generally of substandard housing nature built with wood with poor toilet systems. Perfect example is the CDC Camps at Tiko, Ngeme and Idenau just to name but these. Whereas jobs in these big plantations are a source of livelihood for most indigenes and settlers in Mbandjock sub division. In 2015, SOSUCAM celebrated her 50years of presence and support to the people of this locality. A huge chunk of the family income is derived from salaries obtained by workers at different levels in the plantations. This has enabled several to be able to create their small scale farms that generate them income to settle down and build strong families. In the same light, one of our participants affirmed to us that,

I have used the income derived from my job to construct shelter for families and I. With the help of savings from my family, i have been able to equip my houses, sponsor my children and acquire other assets such as pieces of land, businesses and many others. (Case study in Mbandjock, May 2018)

This implies that, small holder plantions have permitted many people around Mbandjock to generate income to settle down and build strong families. The new culture in Mbandjock is using the farm resources to build houses, send children to school, means of getting married as well as a means of family uptake.

7.1.5. Small holder plantations and infrastructural development

Several years ago, in Mbandjock sub-division, people use to construct thatch houses roofed with grass. Small holders' plantations production has in one part greatly improved the development of infrastructures in the Mbandjock sub-division in that, with the sales made from small holders' plantations, people build their houses especially settlers. Big and small holders' plantations farmers have constructed very good houses as their homes and as business houses. These farmers made money from small holders' plantations business so much so that they even construct houses in town just with income made out of small holder plantations farming. This shows the evolution from the then grass houses to the present houses thanks to output of smallholders' plantations farming. However, in the same way an informant affirmed by saying,

It is not only houses that the people constructed with money made out of small holder plantations products. Members of my common initiative group and I most often used money made out of small holder plantations to contribute to our different developmental projects here in our villages. We even have weekly savings that we decide to give to one member each week. This helps to solve our daily problems. This year during the planting season, I had no money and it is thanks to this saving group that I pick that I had money to buy seeds and hire some guys from Bamenda to work in my farm. It is also part of this money I used to pay the second instalment of my children school fees. (Case research conducted in Ndjore, 13/04/2019).

This means that small holder's plantations farmer money also contributes in the development of Mbandjock through their different developmental association. Community schools, churches and quarter projects are equally constructed with contribution from the people. This money used for these projects include small holder plantations farmer's money. Hence small holders' plantations production contributes in the socio development of Mbandjock. Though not all the money contributed for developmental projects in Mbandjock are from small holder plantations farmers or small holders plantations related businesses, about 60 percent are from small holders plantations production related business. These developments have also been seen in the domain of health with the presence of private and public hospital to cater for the health of the Mbandjock people as there are some sicknesses body pains, malaria and fiver developed from working in the small holder farm. In as much as these herbs for treatment, a good number goes to the hospital for conventional treatment. These sicknesses at times make the farmers not to have enough strength to cultivate hence low production of crops. However, it is thanks to the money they make out of small holder plantations that they use for the payment of their treatment. Most of the private health centres came in to profit from the money small holder plantations farmers inject into this sector to remedy their ill health problems.

7.1.6. The role of small holder plantations on education

Another function of crops production in Mbandjock is that it plays an educational function. In the late 70s and early 80s, education was not really in a rise in Mbandjock

because the people though had the willingness to send children to school, did not have the means to do so. But when small holder plantations became rooted in Mbandjock the indigenes fell in love with this activity and took small holder plantations of cash crop, they started making money from the sales of their crops and as such, had money to send their children to school. Students, whose parents do not have small holders' plantations farms, spend their holidays working as labourers in the SOSUCAM and other big companies to raise their school fees. They do work like planting, tilling, weeding, just to name a few. This money helps to pay schools fees and buy some school needs before the support of their parents.

For families that have small holder plantations farms, the family provides labour for the farms and hire local labour and it is from the sales of their small holder plantations products that, they pay school fees and provide other school needs for their children. It is worthy to note that, most of the crops are harvested from July, the whole of August and early October. The parents do not consume all or sell their entire produce; they estimate the school needs of the children and allow crops according to the needs of the children. To approve the fact that most parents' sale small holder plantations to register or pay their children in schools, a participant said:

They only make sales of these remaining smallholder plantations in September to provide for the school fees, school needs and other special needs of their children. (Interview conducted in Minkouma, 11/04/2019).

This led to an increase of schooling population; hence, the sub-division can count Nursery schools, primary schools, and secondary schools according to the divisional delegation of secondary education. The level of illiteracy has dropped from about 70 percent in 1979 to about 40 percent in 2013, noted the divisional delegation for secondary education (2013). Hence small holders' plantations production in Mbandjock has greatly influenced the level of education in the sub-division.

7.2. Dynamics in communities of small holder plantations

Small holder plantations have come to Mbandjock with so many changes. These changes depend on two factors; the external and internal factors. External factors constitute the Mbandjock cultures in relations with other cultures and phenomenon of acculturation. The internal factors, that is, changes generated from within the community. Relationally, it pays attention to the effects of external relations, of the environment on the internal structures

of societies. There are at least four basic sources of cultural dynamics like importation, invention, selection and drift.

7.2.1. Economic changes of small holder plantations

Economic power is one of the dynamics of power that has come in to Mbandjock sub division since the existence of plantation agriculture. Some sources of this economic power may originate from personal savings, bank loans, buyers loans, and subsidies from both governmental and non-governmental organizations, among others which permits the smallholders plantation investors to finance the cost of their plantation. The economic power of smallholder plantation in Cameroon is diversifying and varies from each locality. This power is as follows; they determine what to produce, how much it should be sold and who to produce it. One of our informants testify that smallholders have the economic powers by saying,

Small holders in Mbandjock through their economic power determine what we produce, what we eat and even how much we sell and buy our farm out puts and inputs. When they start producing maize we all will do so if not, you would not have the person that will buy the different product to cultivate. Since you eat what you produce, we only eat what we cultivated determine by the smallholder plantations. The selling prices of our crops determine by them, that is to say, if the fix the price of cassava at 10 000frs per bag and you do not want to sell at that price, your crops will be left with you and may definitely get bad. They even determine the standard of life of the people here. If they pay their workers well, they will live well but if they are paid low, their life standard will be low. (Interview in Mendouga village; 20/11/2020).

This implies that, small holder plantation owners own the economics power in Mbandjock. The culture of what to produce, how much it should be sold and who to produce it is determine by them. After harvesting, the problem of price fluctuation sets in which discourages most small planters to go in for plantation investment. Due to an improvement in the level of education by these investors, they have realised the importance of farmers' corporations which permits them to sell their output at better prices. For example, in Mendouga village, we can find the F.A.M (Femmes Activent de Mendouga) cooperation which permits productive members bargain for better prices for their product and even have working equipment at low prices or at credit through the cooperative representative. All these are more of economic strength of small plantation holders.

Agriculture in general and crop cultivation in particular, has been the main activity of the Mbandjock people since from Sudan to when they finally settled in Mbandjock. However, there has been a lot of economic domination by these small holder plantations in Mbandjock. These economic powers have degenerated to changes in this domain food crop and cash crops production in Mbandjock. Their powers have been able to influence from crop types cultivated, techniques, period of cultivation, changes in farming methods, changes in tools used, changes in the market, changes in the source of finance and changes in the labour force. This implies that there are actually changes in smallholder plantations agriculture since most of the respondents admitted that fact.

7.2.1.1 Domains of agricultural changes influenced by economic power of small holders

The theory of cultural dynamics of Durkheim (1964) as well as the contemporary research on individualism and collectivism, it has an often tacit (understood or implied without being stated) assumption that a culture has changed one-dimensional (unidimensionality is used to describe a specific type of measurement scale. A one-dimensional measurement scale has only one dimension. In other words, it can be represented by a single number line) from a collectivist past to contemporary individualism. However, this theory has phenomena of cultural dynamics. The theory employ importation as one of the phenomenon of cultural dynamics which means new cultural information that has not existed in a given culture, but which has existed in different cultures, is added to the former culture by virtue of transmission from the latter. These changes are influenced to a greater extend by the economic power of smallholder plantation owners. However, agricultural changes that smallholder plantations, tools, farms management, marketing of farms produce and cultural practices. In the domain of crops, there are changes such as the introduction of new breeds or varieties, the introduction of new species and new crops from other areas.

Secondly, as of what concern farming conditions, small holder plantations through their economic power have introduced changes in the application of manure, fertilizer, drainage and irrigation. All of these measures are to increase workable soil and terraces to avoid soil erosion or to obtain supplementary farming space. Thirdly, another agricultural change is in the tools used. From crude tools to efficient ploughs, machinery for tilling, planting and harvesting. Fourthly, with fauna, the changes occur with new ways of husbanding that are more productive and also not only using animals for meat but for ploughing and animals' droplets for manure for crop production.

More so, through the economic power of small holder plantation owners, changes have occurred in farm management domain like changes in the mode of production; land ownership, farm size, labour, increase farm products and new farming techniques. Finally, as of marketing of farm products, farm products were first for home consumption, and only surplus product were exchanged for other household needs that the farmers did not have. That is reciprocity (non-market exchange of goods). Now crops are sold in the market among the farmers and other in other bigger markets. Traders come from within and even beyond the country to buy farm products.

This is similar to Evenson (1974) cited by Van der Veen, Marijke (2010) who posits that, in the context of farming, changes are concerned primarily with increasing production of food, fodder, secondary products and enhancing quality of produce, growing conditions, production process. They typically involve one or more of the following five areas:

Crops biological and or genetic changes, such as the introduction of new breeds or varieties which have specific advantages, i.e. being higher yielding or more resistant to certain weather/soil conditions; the introduction of new species that extend the farming calendar or the type of farming; new techniques (e.g. grafting); turning plant produce into cash crops, e.g. olive oil (olives), wine (grapes), beer (cereal grain); etc.

Animals similar biological and or genetic changes as listed above; new ways of husbanding the existing animals in ways to make them more productive - e.g. the exploitation of animals for their secondary products (wool, milk, blood, traction) rather than just for their meat and hides; etc.

Growing conditions, the addition of manure or other fertilizer; raising soil depth; drainage or irrigation; increased soil working (digging, ploughing); terraces to avoid soil erosion or to acquire additional cultivation space; wind breaks; supplying fodder or improved grazing to animals; etc.

Implements more efficient ploughs or ploughs that can cope with different soil types; harvesting machinery; milling equipment; water-lifting devices; etc.

Management practices changes in the mode of production; land ownership and inheritance; plot size; availability of labour; a switch to surplus production; etc. (Van der Veen, Marijke 2010:14)

These changes are easier to apply when they are simple than when they are complex. In Mbandjock, most of the changes have been implemented by the small holder farmers which most often very simple and minimal. Little capital or labour investment or where a benefit may be visible within a short period of time, will be easier to adopt than complex ones which require heavy capital or labour investments. Where return on large investments may be uncertain and or where the investment will pay for itself only over the longer term (Van der Veen, Marijke2010). For example, the introduction of a new crop may be started by

allocating just a small part of the available land to it, allowing an assessment over one or more years before making the decision whether to switch wholesale to the new crop.

Likewise, some changes could be done by individual farmers and the others by the state and others bigger stakeholders in the agricultural domain. According to Van der Veen, Marijke (2010), the addition of a new fertilizer to a field can be carried out by an individual farmer and the beneficial effect can be judged within a year. In contrast to the construction of terraces, drainage or irrigation canals, which may require cooperation between farmers and may take years to complete, thus entailing a delayed visible and material benefit. In Mbandjock, most of the sophisticated agricultural tools used by small holder farmers were introduced in this region by big firms involved in plantation agriculture. They own this machines and only capable and willing small holder farmers hired them. This highly spots the intricacy of the introduction and implementation process of changes in regard to tools used by smallholder farmers in Mbandjock. Similarly, Van der Veen, Marijke (2010), indicate that, the introduction of a new large piece of machinery (windmill, watermill, combine harvester) represents a major capital investment, payment for which may have to be upfront, thus requiring the farmer to possess the ability to invest in the future, by sufficient savings, the option to borrow or the availability of partners with whom the investment and the machinery can be shared (private versus communal investment). Rarely is it simply a matter of demonstrating the potential improvement of a new practice or implement; in virtually all cases many other factors come into play. However, the below data demonstrates the different domain of changes that smallholder farmers have experience in Mbandjock over time.

Evans Pritchard worked out how witchcraft, magic operates as an interconnected system embodying philosophy of causation and mortality. The beliefs are seen as dynamic processes within day-to-day social life and the creation and burgeoning of the group and relationships. The welfare of the society depends upon right actions; as wrong actions inevitably leads to evil results giving way to anger being a cause of social disturbance. There are right and wrong ways to an approach of every action. Any deviation from the laws and customs will inevitably bring its results and in inversely, any evil that befalls must be the result of some lack of observance. The best hypothesis yet advanced to explain why in these societies, moral actions relations should be endowed with rituals to empower them.

African traditional rulers as well as that of the Mbandjock community have mythical and ritual warranty for their authority, as this warranty is attached to the inter-relation between the segments of the community. Since people have to think and feel about the interest which actuate them and yet may be unaware of these interests, they are symbolised in various ways: myths, dogmas, ritual beliefs and activities that make this social system intellectually tangible and coherent to an African.

What we have retained here is that culture consists of social facts which are transmitted through socialisation processes and through acculturation all which are elements of change. As it has shared values within the community and it is further described as holistic because, a single element cannot be understood single headedly or studied separately without taking into consideration other constituent elements. That is why all the cultural elements of the Baboute, Yezoum and the other ethnic groups present in Mbandjock sub-division are involved in the changes or dynamics of small holder plantations. This is to say that, it is a constituent of traditional responses to solving food insecurity and societal issues are in a way maintaining a state of equilibrium with the supernatural. This analysis of culture seeks to present an x-ray description and explanation of the Mbandjock community and how their cultural facets are being displayed. It is on these bases that we could adequately navigate through to have an understanding and interpretation of the community.

From our findings, we noticed that culture consists of social facts which are transmitted through socialisation processes and through acculturation all which are elements of change. As it has shared values within the community and it is further described as holistic because, a single element cannot be understood single headedly or studied separately without taking into consideration other constituent elements. So, changes in small holder farming take into consideration all elements of farming to make it holistic and complete. This is affirmed to us by one of our informants who indicated that;

From childhood till now when I was involved in farming with my family, I have seen changes in the tools used, changes in farming methods, changes in the market, changes in sources of finance, and changes in the labour force. We use to just burnt and plan our crops, today we use the cutlass, hoes and at times we hired the tractor to cultivate our farms. Many people have come in from the north of Cameroon and even the Bamenda has come in which provide great labour in our farms. A situation that did not existed in some 7 decades ago (Case study Mbandjock 07/01/2021).

Based on the above findings, it shows that the respondents have witnessed a good number of changes in relation to tools used, farming methods, the market, source of finance and the labour force.

7.2.1.2. Small holder plantation changes in tools used

Small holder plantations in Mbandjock have also used their economic power to influence changes in the tools used in cultivation in Mbandjock. From the coming of the Mbandjock people from Sudan to settle in their present site, they have experienced so many changes in the tools they are using in agriculture; crops cultivation, fishing and hunting. Before the colonial periods, they used to just burn the bush and plant their crops, hunting was done with sticks and fishing done with locally fabricated traps made out of bamboos. However, Indigenous tools like axe, hoe, and stick were used. The people used to slash and burn and when they discovered the soils were losing it nutrients by low output, they then tend to shifting cultivation. Gradually, the situation changed, with the coming of colonial powers to Africa which introduce cutlasses and hoes. The tools equally change further when SOSUCAM came to Mbandjock and many people started migrating from other parts of Cameroon to Mbandjock to work in SOSUCAM who came with sophisticated machines.

Durkheim (1964) in the theory of cultural dynamics talk of invention and importation are concerned with the addition of information to a culture, whereas selection and drift can change the prevalence (or frequency of occurrence) of cultural information upward or downwards, and in some cases potentially cause a loss (subtraction or removal) of cultural information as well. There are two general questions directly linked to cultural dynamics: The first is about what, that is, descriptive cultural dynamics what cultural information exist, how prevalent it is, and how its existence and prevalence has changed and will change over time. The second class of question is about how, namely, the mechanism of cultural dynamics how a change occurs by what mechanisms. These questions also lead to different levels of analysis. Typically, descriptive cultural dynamics are concerned with macro-level trends of appearance and disappearance of cultural information, as well as increasing, decreasing, or steady state trajectories of cultural information prevalence in a group. That is why the technique of farming in Mbandjock has changed both in the macro and micro levels of their culture.

However, through the economic power of smallholder plantations, the instruments have now changed though not all the farmers use sophisticated tools. From the categorization of tools, we have come out with the different techniques used here according to the tools used. There are two main techniques of farming in Mbandjock that have distinctive tools used. The rudimentary method employs rudimentary tools and the modern technique that uses modern tool in farming. To an extent, the semi advanced method. Rudimentary deals with only the most basic matters or ideas. Therefore, rudimentary method of farming is that which employs elementary, primitive, simple, basic, rough and crude equipment's for cultivation. This equipment system is simple and not very well developed. This is the common method that peasants' farmers use. With this method, crops are cultivated with local tools like: hoes, cutlasses, digging arks, sticks and at times farms are cleaned by burning fire; the soil is tilled with hoes and digger arks. Planting and weeding is done mannually. Weeding equally done by man power and very little or no fertilizer applied. Finally, harvesting is done by man power and the sun used to dry corn, beans, cocoa and the other crops like plantation, cassava are consumed or transform upon harvesting. Below shows the preparation of the farm with local tools and even burning of the bush to clean the farm through bush burning.

Photo 39: Preparation of land with burning fire



Source: Bonuh Che, (03/03/2021)

Semi-advanced method also known as the mid-skilled method is that which uses more complex equipments than those of the rudimentary, thus requiring more special skills. In Mbandjock, tools of this technique are used by better-off farmers who have big farms. The tools used are rudimentary with an addition of draught animal, spraying of chemicals in the place of weeding. The farms are either cleaned with cutlasses or with the use of human power or chemicals to spray the grass. At times tractors are hired to work the farms. To concur, one of our informants testifies that,

When I was growing up my parents used to go to a forest and bunt it and it took about a week to burn well. That is the grass, trees were burnt, they will take us there and we will gather the grasses and tress that did not burnt well and burnt again. When the farm is clean, we will now plant our crops without tilling. With time, when I was a little big, we started using hoes and cutlasses brought from Yaoundé. It became easier for us to farm. However, the introduction of tractors made the cultivation faster and easier leading to greater output. For weeding, chemicals are used to dry off or made the grass to rotten leaving the crops to grow freely. For harvesting, man power is also used. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2019).

The above statement means that, with the coming of semi advanced method of farming in Mbandjock, some farmers have shifted from planting crops without tilling to using hoes and cutlasses brought from the cities like Yaoundé. This became very easy for farmers in Mbandjock to farm. However, the semi advanced technology has also, seen the introduction of tractors which made cultivation faster and easier leading to greater output. Finally, weeding is further changing to the use of chemicals for weeding. With modern method, upto-date ideas, methods and materials are used relatively to traditional ones. Therefore, modern equipment's, technology, hybrid seeds, fertilizers and chemicals are used in production reasons why those involved in the use of these tools most often have considerable yields. These tools are mostly used by intensive farmers, cooperatives, associations, common initiative groups and the wealthy farmers who hired the services of these machines for those who do not own one. At first, it was only the big farms that were using machines but since culture is dynamic, learned, copied, and transmitted, wealthy farmers started hiring machines to work in their farms. This means that the tools used for the cultivation of crops in Mbandjock have evolved over time. From virtually no tools to rudimentary, semi-skilled to modern and sophisticated tools.

7.2.1.3. Small holder plantation changes in seeds

Small holder plantations have used the economic power to introduce the use of hybrid seeds in farming in Mbandjock. It is the culture of the Mbandjock people that when they harvest their crops, some are reserved to serve as seed in the next planting season. That is to say, most of the small scale farmers used local seeds. This local seed is usually gotten from surpluses of the previous year's harvest. This situation has gone on for so many decades. According to the culture of these people, the best parts of their yields are reserved as seeds. Reasons being that, the best crops reserved will eventually give good yields in the next harvesting season.



Photo 40: Cassava seed local and hybrid seed planted in a small holders' farm

Source: Bonuh Che, 20/02/ 2019

However, this situation is gradually changing as some of the small holders that make some money out of the sale of their crops tend to buy hybrids seeds which most often are fake seed which produce the same effect. Nevertheless, most of the agro firms here either nurse their hybrid seeds or tend to buy from IRAD. IRAD also create avenues to sensitise and make their seeds available to farmers. Even though most seeds are still farm-saved, increasing numbers of farmers buy marketable seeds of their food crops from nascent smallholder seed enterprises in Yaoundé and around Mbandjock. It is also good to know that, the government through MINADER at times does a donation of seeds to farmers especially to common initiative groups, association and cooperatives. SOSUCAM also donates seeds, though not all the times, to farmers in Mbandjock.

One of our respondents in the delegation of agriculture in Mbandjock taught us that,

Most of the seed the local farmers have in Mbandjock come from their previous year harvest, just a few gets hybrid seed. The statistic we have here is that, m45.3 percent of smallholder farmers use seeds from farmers' surplus, 47.7 percent of these farmers used hybrid seeds and 6 percent of the farmers use other seeds. (Interview conducted at Mbandjock, 11/04/2019).

Based on the above results, it shows that most of the farmers use both seeds from their surplus and hybrid seeds.

7.2.1.4. Changes in the market

The Mbandjock people have always been an agrarian population. That is, they are involved in crop cultivation, hunting and fishing. These activities were carried out first for home consumption, and only surplus product were exchanged for other household needs that the farmers did not had. This people were seriously involved in trade-by-barter within and without Mbandjock. With the introduction of a legal tender, that is money, this trend equally changed in Mbandjock as people started selling their products had money to buy what they wanted at their own pest and taste. When SOSUCAM was implanted in Mbandjock, the agricultural activities intensified as many people came in to this area and discovered their soils were fertile and then they involved into small scale farming that brought a boom to production. Statistics have shown that about ³/₄ of Cameroonians consumed these types of food crops cultivated in Mbandjock. Therefore, some of the crops cultivated here are sold not only in Mbandjock among the farmers but also in other bigger markets out of Mbandjock.



Photo 41: Cocoa yam for sale at the Mbandjock Market

Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

Also, low prices of farms produce are another great challenge that the people of Ndjore face. This is due to lack of farm to markets roads from their farms to the express road linking Mbandjock to Yaoundé and other cities. The prices of inputs are very high especially that of fertilizer. These high prices on the inputs hinder agricultural productivity which negatively affect the economy and food security at the local and national levels.



Photo 42: Plantain and banana for sale at the Mbandjock Market

Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

Traders come from Yaoundé, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea among other neighbouring countries to Cameroon. They mostly buy crops like plantain, cassava, corn and vegetables. Since liquor is also produced in Mbandjock, the liquor company buys the corn for production. Products like cocoa are mostly on sale to buyers from Yaoundé. Palm nuts are locally transformed to oil before selling both within and without Mbandjock. It is believed that those who participate in the ritual of the cleaning of the grave yard will have good quality and quantity crops and tend to sell fast and at very good prizes. This is affirmed by one of our informants who notifies that,

Last two years when I neglected to participate in the ritual of the cleaning of the grave yard, the winds came and destroy my crops, bush down nearly all my maize and at harvest time, my maize was very poor and mostly bad. I managed to sale only a little to pay children school fees with almost nothing left for consumption at home. But last year and this year that I have actively participated in the ritual, I had good harvest, my products are usually one of the first bought in the market. Some buyers even come to buy in my farms and go as far as harvesting themselves before paying at high prizes. I have put the foundation of another house to build this year. I will never neglect the ritual of cleaning of the grave yard, in fact am teaching my children already. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/04/2019).

This means that, as a result of the agricultural boom in this zone, foreigners have gained that opportunity to invade the markets and buy for their countries. Below are the prices of crops cultivated in Mbandjock per kg or litters.

Produce	Quantity in kg/L	Unit of crop per kg/L in FCFA
Maize	1 kg	350
Cassava	1 kg	400
Plantain	1 kg	1500
Coco yams	1 kg	250
Groundnuts	1 kg	125
Cocoa	1 kg	500
Palm oil	1L	350

Table 7: List of prizes of crops cultivated in Mbandjock per kg or litters

Source: sub-divisional delegation for agriculture Mbandjock (2019)

However, there have been a lot of changes as far as the marketing of farms products are concerned in Mbandjock. Before farms products, animal from hunting and fish caught from the river Sanagal were just for consumption and surplus exchanged for other stuffs. This culture gradually changed. Culture is elastic and dynamic, they adopted the selling of agricultural products culture within Mbandjock and now they even sell their products beyond their zone. Based on the findings, it shows that the farmers mainly sell their produce in the bigger markets in Cameroon.

7.2.1.5. Dynamics in source of finances

Small holders through their economic power have influenced the sources of finances in investing in farming activities in Mbandjock. Financing of agriculture in Mbandjock initially was done by the farmers alone. They used to sell their crops and keep surpluses for the up keep of their farm land. That is to say, a majority of small scale farmers in Mbandjock used money made out of past savings that they plough back in the agro business. However, there are pockets of assistance from the government and other stakeholders. But today with the heavy presence of small holder plantations in Mbandjock, many people have come to know and learn that, they could borrow money from the banks to plough in small holder plantations. They have also learned that, they can seek for partnership from others like from NGOs, multi nations and even the state of Cameroon. Reasons in Mbandjock, we can find so many small scale plantations today. Some are well registered and others are not. The more one has capital, the more his or her status is raised within the community. He or she tends to be considered in all decision making instances in the community.

7.2.1.6. Changes in farm land size

There have been changes as far as land size cultivated is concern. The general culture of the indigenes of Mbandjock inherited from their ancestors is to cultivate small farm sizes mostly for consumption at home and only surpluses sold for other kitchen needs used to cultivate mostly less than a hectare. This situation is gradually changing as people tend now to go for bigger farms that can cultivate more than half a hectare. Now the land use has increased. People or farmers now cultivate not less than a hectare to the point where some even go beyond 20 hectares.

However, there is a problem in the acquisition of land. Most of the small scale farmers especially settlers did not have enough land for production of food crops so most of them had to rent excess land to use. This affected them negatively leading particularly to low agricultural output. They relied on renting which is still not enough as it requires a lot of money for getting a piece of land.

Photo 43: A large size farm



Source: Bonuh che, January 2021

The indigenes hold to their culture so much that only a few of them have gotten large farms. Most of the big farms are owned by settlers. Most of the indigenes prefer to give out their land for rent to settlers and work in SOSUCAM as labourers. With this land, the people cultivate many varieties of crops on the same land. According to Rankoana, (2016), with this system of productivity per unit area is higher than in mono-cropping systems with the same level of management. The farmers incorporate a variety of crops with different growth habits in the same field or home-gardens to maximise the chances for production of multiple crops.

7.2.1.7. Soil nutrients application

In terms of fertilizer, the soils of the Mbandjock people are generally fertile as such, may not even need the application of fertilizer. That is why from their origin, the people were not using any products in their farms for fertility. This is because, they were cultivating generally for consumptions and only surpluses sold. This situation is gradually changing as animal deification and now fertilizers, pesticide and insecticides as used. Many small holders now cultivate crops for commercial purposes hence cultivate bigger land surfaces as compared to what used to prevail in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Fertilizers are used now because small scale farmers cultivate for commercial reasons and need greater yields as such need the fertilizers. According to Lin (2011), crop diversification improves soil fertility, controls for pests and diseases, and brings about yield stability, nutrition diversity, and health.

In a similar way, Truscott et al. (2009) considers crop divergence an environmentally sound alternative to the control of parasites and in the maintenance of soil fertility in agriculture. Diversified cropping systems, in general, tend to be more agro-nomically stable and resilient. This resilience is mainly because they are usually associated with reduced weed and insect pressures, reduced need for nitrogen fertilizers (especially if the crop mix include leguminous crops), reduced erosion (because of cover crops inclusion), increased soil fertility and increased yield per unit area (Lin 2011). Moreover, diversified cropping systems can also provide habitats for beneficial insects, and this can help reduce the number of pests by rendering host crops less apparent for colonization by parasites.

7.2.1.8. Changes in planting, harvesting, and storage

A lot of changes have also come up in the method of planting, harvesting, and storage of farm products in Mbandjock. Planting used to have just one season where mostly food crops like maize, coco yams, plantain, cassava just to name a few were planted. But with time crops like cocoa, palm tree was introduced. It should be noted that, the former took a shorter time to prepare the farm, plant and harvest while the later takes a longer period. However, crops like vegetables and maize have two seasons for cultivation. That is to say, it has two planting seasons. Generally, there are two faming seasons in Mbandjock because of the presence of two rainy and two dry seasons. But with maize it is planted all-round the year. During the dry seasons, these crops are planted in swampy areas, river bands and valleys. This is a reassuring aspect of farming here when it comes to food security as there is constant food supply to local population even if in small quantity.



Photo 44: Farming in a swampy area during the dry season

Source: Bonuh che, (Mbandjock, 15/01/2021)

Hybrids seed have eventually reduced the production cycle of some crops which permits that those crops be cultivated two times a year. The new hybrid seed for cassava takes 6 months to get ready after planting. Before when these hybrid seeds were not available, cassava usually took a year to get ready for harvesting but the situation is changing now in this zone.

Cocoa and palms take a year and even more after planting before getting ready, hence, can take one or two seasons before getting ready for harvesting. In planting at times, some few *big farmers* use machines like tractors. While a majority of farmers use manual labour with rudimentary tools like holes, cutlasses. With harvesting, more than three quarter of the crops are harvested with man power and the hand with very few agro firms using combine harvesters to harvest their crops from the farm. For storage, the people used to dry the corn and store in their houses on ropes or bamboos all around the house. Now, most farmers peel their corn and put chemicals in them not to get bad and store either in bags and or cages constructed in their houses the agro firms on their parts have warehouses where they store the crops before selling.

Many small holders' farmers here are very successful in feeding themselves and their household and also contribute in feeding their community, region and even other countries. That is to say, when they produce food beyond individual households, they are selfsufficiency. So, when the household becomes self-sufficient and have surplus which they sell, it starts spreading its food security to the society, local area and then the larger, regional area. The local farmers after consuming their own, the surplus is dried in the sun for future use or market purposes. However, firms cultivate mainly for market and as such conservation of their produce is done in bags and keep in magazines or warehouses.



Photo 45: Preservation of Maize in a firm

Source: Bonuh che, (Mbanjock, 19/01/2019)

It goes in line with Adedipe et al., (2004) who reported that consequent to planting, when the crops are about four weeks old, weeding commences for crops like maize, sweet potato, cassava, millet, and sorghum. Weeds are removed by hand or hand-hoe to avoid them competing for moisture with the crops, thus disturbing the growth of crops. In Tanzania, when the farmers regard weed competition as negative for crop growth, they perform superficial hoeing, and leave the weeds on the soil surface as protective mulch, to recycle nutrients, and to allow nitrogen assimilation through the bacteria decomposing the plants.

7.2.2. Spiritual changes

The indigenous people of Mbandjock before contact with the external world that is the colonisers and settlers use to depend solely on the gods for all the spiritual intervention for good production through different rituals, rites and sacrifices. This situation has greatly changed with the coming of Christianity and Islam which have taken over some of the people to be believing in the later. Today, not everybody in this area practice rituals and sacrifices for crop production. Some tend to God almighty and others to Allah. Yet majorities pray to god and still practice some of the rituals, some are even confusing and do not know what to do. To confirm the above, one of our informants told us that,

Before, farmers used to ensure that grain crops like beans are planted as the second crop in the rotation system according to our tradition. This was done to allow the evil spirit dual during the first planting and give way for good planting in the second round. Early planting is also preferred to allow crops receive enough

rainfall and reduce pests and diseases incidences. Sowing of seeds was done haphazardly with the use of hand. Moreover, broadcasting the seed before ploughing is a popular method used when planting. All seed varieties were sown simultaneously in the same field. This practice maximises the growth of all crops at the same time in the same field. Inter-planting allows cropping systems to reuse their own stored nutrients. These seed were blaised during the ceremony of cleaning of the graveyard waiting planting time. Today, most of these practices are changing. Large plantations and even some smallholder plantations used machine in planting and I cannot say with certainty that they used spiritual seeds. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/04/2019).

In the same vein, Olatokun and Ayanbode (2010) observed that tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) plants are used to prevent insect build-up on the cocoa plantation. According to Wahyudy et al., (2012), in Indonesia, the farmers burn the common lake-growing plant called Jariamun (Potamogeton. malaianus miq) in the middle of the rice-field to drive pests from the farm. Miguel and Parviz, (2008), confirmed that, farmers engaged several indigenous practices most of which are cross cutting among the crops grown. Early planting is one of the pillars for both indigenous and improved farming methods practiced. This is particularly significant in this agro-ecological zone where agriculture is rain-fed. Farmers take advantage of the early rains which also reduce the incidences of pest and disease leading to high yields.

7.2.3. Globalisation, cultural change, and shifts in diets and food habits

The global change of eating habits is also affecting Mbandjock. The recent development in shift of diet context is the large-scale global shift in human diets and food habits in similar directions where there is high consumption of saturated fats and sugars, highly processed foods, and out-of-home meals. Very few livelihoods exist in isolation. Food livelihood in Mbandjock rely on other livelihoods to access and exchange assets. Traders rely on farmers to produce goods, processors to prepare them, and consumers to buy them. Livelihoods also compete with each other for access to assets and markets. Thus, positive and negative impacts on any given livelihood will, in turn, impact others. This is why smallholder plantations in Mbandjock also encourage the shift in diet and food habits. This is because they are not only exposed to cultural mixing in Mbandjock but other cultures through globalisation. Howsever, it is clear that this global shift in diets reflected cultural change, and it is a consequence to the globalisation of food. These processes are of course not mutually exclusive, as food system changes can generate cultural change and vice versa.

I first of all eat fufu corn and kati-kati in my friends' house when he has born house for his new baby. This food was so nice that when I came back I told my wife that I will love to be eating this meal every weekend. Since my wife did not knew how to prepare it, I was always going to the restaurant to eat it. For my wife to help stop me from eating out side, she follows a video on the social media that a lady explained how this food is prepare. From there, she has been cooking this food for us. One of the best food of my children today is fufu corn and katikati (Mbandjock 20/11/2019)

Hence, modernisation and economic development brought here by small holder plantation agriculture is associated with a loss of traditional knowledge and an erosion in devotion to certain food-related culture traits. The globalisation of food systems along with the globalization of ICT technologies and mass media spreads cultural lifestyle and eating models in Mbandjock. Indigenous peoples have often experienced particularly drastic dietary changes following the modernisation of food systems although the degree to which traditional food systems disappeared varies considerably (Kuhnlein et al., 2009). In spite of broad societal changes including migration and the spread of Western religion, food-related cultural models in Mbandjock have remained relatively intact. Most of the food in Mbandjock tends around cassava from their ancestors till today. An illustration of the persistence of food habits is the fact that in many regions the dominant staple crop continues to be the crop that was endemic to that ecological zone, i.e. the crop that was eaten by pre-industrial societies (Atkins and Bowler, 2001). In the same light, migrants in Mbandjock which are exposed to new information and different culture traits have seen changes in cultural models of eating and food habits change. Nevertheless, these settlers in Mbandjock, try largely maintained their traditional eating habits.

7.2.4. Mass media, marketing, and changing cultural models

The changing attitude of marketing farm products in Mbandjock is becoming rampant. Some small holder plantations owners who are exposed to gadgets like smart phones, computers with internet connections, tablets now market their farm produce online. Their produce called the attention of both international and national buyers.

My first son who is in the university came home for holidays and was telling me that I can advertise my farm produce on Facebook and people will come to buy from the farm. He said, it will save my money for the transportation of the crops to the market, energy and time. I did not take it serious, he insisted and not to frustrate him, I accepted and he created the Facebook page about my farm. The same day, he posted on page that cassava was ready in the farm for sale and we received calls from more than three buyers who were ready to buy from the farm here in Mbandjock. The next day when, the buyer came, he bought at the same price I used to sale in the market. It is from then that I enter into online marketing of my farm produce. Since then I have never taken my crops to the farm. (Mbandjock 13/10/2021) Some of these farmers even do advert of their products on classical media like TV and print press. This culture is coming in now as an effect of globalisation. It is gradually changing the classical culture of marketing of farm produce which was done in market places in and out of Mbandjock. The farmers also learnt a lot of things about new species of crops, treatment of crops, farm management and cultural issues related to small holder farming from this media outlets. The mass media also help the local small holders to get into to competition among them that lead to improving outputs. Media and marketing are a major source of information for the public and thereby both reflect and shape culture traits (Wakefield et al., 2003). Mass media is increasingly visible and accessible through ICT developments such as mobile internet connection, and marketing has expanded far beyond simple advertising into marketing environments that include sales promotions, websites, viral marketing, music and sports sponsorship, product placement in films and television, and in school marketing (Hawkes, 2006). It is important to note that though advertising is now a global phenomenon (Hawkes, 2006), research on the nature and impact of media and marketing in developing countries is scarce. Available evidence from developed countries shows that media and marketing have a strong effect on food choice (Cairns et al., 2013; Cohen, 2008; Harris et al., 2009; Taylor et al., 2005). As for the direction of impact, both positive and negative effects occur. On the one hand, the powerful influence of media and marketing can be detrimental to food security. Marketing generally induces overconsumption (Anderson et al., 2009; Cohen 2008; Lovato et al., 2011). Food marketing is also often heavily oriented toward lownutrition, obesogenic foods and beverages and has been shown to increase the consumption of these foods (Cairns et al., 2013; Dixon et al., 2007; Harris et al., 2009; Monteiro, 2009).

To conclude, findings in this chapter indicated that small holder plantations have created interrelationship between inhabitants of Mbandjock. Indigenous people of Mbandjock like settlers have being adapting to small holder plantations communities realities and its contribution to livelihood in Mbandjock sub-division. Also, there have been a lot of dynamics taking place in here with the help of the implantation of small holder plantations. So, plantation agriculture provide food to the population; plantation owners pay tributes to chiefs; plantation agriculture helps farmer build houses and buy other assets; plantation agriculture bring social disorder(stealing, sexually transmitted diseases, school dropouts); small holder plantations help pay children education school fees; farming give some sickness; small holder plantations is use for social stratification. In these different elements, we find the culture, customs, tradition and belief of the Mbandjock people have it origin from the environment to which the people find their self. Therefore, the environment of Mbandjock, the acculturation and enculturation both brought in either by the indigenous people and or settlers in Mbandjock sub-division have a great impact of the people's livelihood. The importance of plantation agriculture to the economy of Cameroon and most specifically the wellbeing of the masses can be drawn from the facilities or the opportunities presented by this agricultural practice, some of which are outlined subsequently. The next chapter centers on small holder plantations and socio-cultural order.

CHAPTER 8

SMALL HOLDER PLANTATIONS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ORDER

This chapter presents findings in respect to small holder plantations and socio-cultural order. It explains how smallholder plantations generate conflict leading to new ways conflicts resolutions and the power negiogaited. The findings are presented as follows:

8.1. Small holder plantations and new sources of power

The cultural phenomenon of creating small holder plantations is to meet with the basic necessities of the expanding families in Cameroon in general and Mbandjock sub division in particular. The existences of these smallholders are subjected to the development of new sources of power in Mbandjock sub division. The provision in the source of power to undertake this investment originates from a variety of streams. Since the creation of large scale and small holder plantations in Mbandjock, there have been distributions of power in Mbandjock consciously and unconsciously. While the spiritual powers belong to the local population, the economic and political power belong to the owners and operators of large scale plantations and smallholder plantation. Nevertheless, both the locals and small holder farmers share the social powers.

8.1.1. Political power of smallholder plantation

Small holder plantation owners, in fact plantations in Mbandjock control the political power. It is known in this area that plantation owners have a lot of influence on the politics of the municipality. They even at times control the land of the area that is involved in land grabbing. This was confirmed to us by one of our respondents, who said,

We already know here that if SOSUCAM and the other rich small holder owners do not support you to stand as mayor, you can never be a councillor talk les of being a mayor in the Mbandjock council. The former and late Mayor of Mbandjock, chief of Ndjore was a SOSUCAM worker and member of the rich smallholder plantation group before becoming Mayor. He was supported by SOSUCAM and he made over 30 years as mayor of the Mbandjock council. The new mayor who came up just last year is still a worker of SOSUCAM and equally a smallholder plantation owner who belong to common initiative groups. I am telling you all this to show you that our political power here is controlled by plantation owners. (Interview in Mbandjock, 15/01/2021)

Based on the above statement, we can affirm that political power in Mbandjock subdivision is in some way controlled by plantation owners. They even give money to sponsor their campaigns. In return, when those Mayors are in place, they only do what the small holders owner want. If not, they will be voted out in subsequent elections. Most small holder plantation is granted subsidies or financial support, agricultural training seminars and population sensibilisation on eco-friendly agricultural practices that help them in one way or the other. For example, people in Yezoum and all Mbandjock nearby villages are free to ask for financial help from the Mbandjock council to finance their projects by providing tangible proves of the existence of their projects. The council determines the type of crops and areas they intervene in meaning the small holders can only do what the council want not what they want if they want support from the council.

8.1.1.1. Small holder plantations and conflict in Mbandjock

When small holder plantation agriculture established in locality, it is more likely to create conflict. This conflict can be in so many dimensions but we shall treat four dimensions to know; land grabbing, cultural conflict, theft and farmers' grazers' conflict. Conflict may also arrive in farmland delimitation and this later applies mostly to the local natives. Provided that there are no appropriate land limits demarcations of each native, these tend to bring constant ownership conflicts among the village natives and this happens in every family and recurrently. According to Scott, J. (1977), once the centrality of the subsistence problem is recognised, its effects on notions of economic and political justice can also be seen. Scott draws from the history of agrarian society in lower Burma and Vietnam to show how the transformations of the colonial era systematically violated the peasants' *moral economy* and created a situation of potential rebellion and revolution.

8.1.1.1.2. Small holder plantation and land grabbing conflicts in Mbandjock

Land grabbing is an act of taking control of part of a land very quickly or forcefully mainly by business tycoons or administration either for agricultural, housing purposes or industrial development. Ruth Hall of the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies cited by Nde Fru (2020), notes that the popular term land grabbing, while effective as an activist terminology, obscures vast differences in the legality, structure, and outcomes of commercial land deals and deflects attention from the roles of domestic elites and governments as partners, intermediaries, and beneficiaries. According to Nde Fru (2020), by prompting food security fears within the developed world, new found economic opportunities for agricultural investors are created, and this was radically promoted by the food price upsurge, which caused a dramatic spike in large scale agricultural investments, primarily foreign, in the Global South for the purposes of food and biofuels production. Although hailed by investors, economists, and some developing countries as a new pathway towards agricultural development, investment in land has recently been criticized by some NGOs and commentators who argue that it has had negative impacts on local communities. International law is implicated when attempting to regulate these transactions.

In Mbandjock, this problem of land grabbing is usually from the political, economic elites, traditional rulers and administrative authorities. Those involved in the grabbing frequently do so by giving wine, food and small money for many hectares of land. The indigenous people whose land is grabbed either for plantation agriculture or other economic activities are left with little or no land for their own plantations. Most often people grab the land so much so that the local populations do not even have where they can even do their own household agriculture.

In fact, some unenlightened patriarchs of the village, some of whom are already dead today, in particular the heads of the 2nd degree, the 3rd degree, the political leaders of the village and some heads of families had sold out of ignorance or even deceived thousands of hectares of land. Forest includes the rivers that join these forests to a certain senior Cameroonian public administration officials. It includes ministers, and law enforcement authorities whose investments in these forests bear the names of some of them. These have sometimes done so at the end of certain other families while forgetting to reserve some spaces for them to be able to continue their agricultural and agro-pastoral activities. This is particularly the case of the immense forest located in the village called Zili in which the DGSN Company has established its tourist side called Sanaga Campings beach. Thus, today, when the young people of the village, many of whom have completed their secondary and higher education, go to these lands to cultivate and exploit them, they are intimidated and threatened by its authorities. Some are placed in permanent custody in the cells of the police stations and gendarmeries of Nkoteng and Mbandjock. Worse still others are kept in pre-trial detention for months in the main prison of Nanga-Eboko for reasons such as: Destruction of goods, disturbances of use, thefts in co-action. (Interview in Mbandjock, 15/01/2021)

This means that, land grabbing is an aged old culture though not very new in Mbandjock sub-division among the economic and political class. This is the contentious issue of large scale land acquisitions, which is the buying or leasing of large pieces of land by domestic and transnational companies, governments, and individuals to show their level of wealth, power and prestige.

This problem takes us to another dimension when educated children of this region, after education come back to practice agriculture which they think can pay. They usually do not have land and when it come to their notice that their many hectares of land was given out for mere wine, food and just small money, they wage war to regain their land which lead to conflict. To testify how their land was sold at very low prices, one of our informants testified that,

To grabbed land in Mbandjock, the buyer comes few days with his representative and wine. The wine is for the notables and the person owning the piece of land. His representative is present in this process in other to accompany him and the village administration on the land in question and this is usually in the morning. After the, all the people present in the journey will seat and consume the wine. When this drinking is over, the willing buyer and the land owner will discuss aside for the price of the land concern and then asked to the chief what else is required to complete the deal (it is usually food and drinks that are been asked) that done, this buyer will give an appointment day in which he will come with the sum of money asked. The second stage is the pavement phase. This is done by providing the required amount of money and items asked to the buyer. The food is distributed to all the notables and elders and the money is given to the land owner. The chief can now signed the customary law waiver to this buyer but however the chief have a fraction of the paid money from the seller and this money is provided in order to finance the chief's transport to the divisional officer's place to give reports. This process applies to both small and large plantation holder. (Interview in Mbandjock, 11/05/2021)

This means that, with the common people faith, they believe that if the buyer does not satisfy the village natives, the land will not grow crops or will yield little output to the new land holder. Since their culture is that their lands belong to them, they expect that you continue to pay them as long as they live, this is usually one of the sources of conflict in Mbandjock sub division. The land grabbing issue is very serious in Mbandjock sub-division. Most of the enlightening youth when come back from school and wish to establish their own small holder plantation agriculture becomes a very big problem as they find it difficult to carry out. The political elites, the economic elites, traditional authorities in complicity with the administrative authorities would have sold the land and they will not have where to farm. Generally, these bring problems between these parties. One of our respondents explains that,

The practical case is a recent case in Neo Baboute village. Where the local chiefs, seized more than half of the village land and when the brother was angry and wanted to agitate, he put him in police custody and thereafter in prison till today over grabbed family land. This has caused a lot of problem in the village so much so that the village is divided into two camps now. Those who are pro Ninja and those who are pro his brother. In fact the village is all in chaos. (Interview in Mbandjock, 11/05/2021)

This means that it has become a way of life among the political, and economic class. Reasons why when some of these youths resist the authorities most often send them behind bars in police custody. It equally brings problem between the villages in Mbandjock. While a local chief claims ownership of his community over a piece of land, a neighboring chief equally upholds similar claims. The same situation occurs even at the level of families. This problem is degenerating within families especially given that some family heads usually sell land without telling and seeking concern of their family members. A direct consequence to this is frequent infighting or violent confrontations between family members. This situation is recurrent in Mbandjock mostly after the death of a family head. When this happens, most of the family members get into conflict due to scarcity of the land resource to be shared among different family members. It usually starts with psychological conflict. Psychological conflict caused or maintained by the psychological needs of humans; for example, the desire for power, control, autonomy, recognition or love. In practice, psychological conflicts are often difficult to identify or to detect and lead often to excessive psychoanalysis of others. Family based land conflicts are classified into this category, because these conflicts occur when family members perceive divergence of interests over land occupation or land use. This situation affects small holder plantations as when fighting is going on over who owns which portion of the land, family members will not have land to farm on. Hence, making food production limited which affect food security.

8.1.1.1.2.1. Conflict between chiefs, subjects, small holder owners and the indigenes

Another area of conflict that come about in Mbandjock sub division because of the presence of smallholder plantations and land grabbing is conflict between chiefs and his subjects. In Mendouga one of the villages of Mbandjock sub-division, we noticed that many Mendouga people sold the village lands without the chief's or any local authority's consent. So, when Mr. Ava Dieudonne was enthroned as chief of Mendouga village, he reclaimed all the lands occupied by non-natives. This brought about conflict between the chief and the local people who sold the village land without a notice from the village authorities. This was testified to our research by one of our informants who said,

Chief Ava claimed land from Mr. Essola Gabriel. This claim was based on the fact that, Mr. Essola secretly sold a piece of land to Mr. Eyala a non-native. Mr. Essola on his part is pretending that he gave the piece of land to the later free of charge, however, he also tells the village that Mr. Eyala promised him to pay for the piece of land once he had enough funds but many decades now since the deal, nothing has been given to the chief to be distributed to the indigents as our culture demands. The chief conflicts with Mr. Essola claiming that he received the land payment if Mr. Eyala is exploiting the land for smallholder plantation and refuse to give the chief's and the village part. Following this issue, there has been conflicts between Mr. Essola and the chief who can't believe the word of Mr. Essola Gabriel. Many similar problems created conflict between the chief and the local. (Interview in Mendouga, 11/10/2021).

This implies that, some of the conflict of land grabbing caused by small holder plantations in Mbandjock is due to cultural bridging. Conflict raised most often in Mbandjock because of the violation of the culture of the local people by small holder exploiters. The culture of the Yezoum like the Baboute warrants that when land is bought, the buyer especially a non-native, will need to give food to the local people passing through the chief to be distributed to the indigenes. When is it not done, then conflicts come in between the chief, local people and small holder plantation owners. This state of affairs affects small holder plantations as conflict over the portion of land stop farming over the conflicting period making food production slow down. Hence, limiting food supply which affect food security.

Most small holders arrived many localities when the village was still very under populated and benefited from lands at little or no cost. At times it is through selling of contracts with the pioneer's settler without the chives consent. This is usually done hoping that when they will be payed appropriately the normal amount of land cost, they will let the call the chief's attention. However, this is not always the case. When these natives become aware of the mistake they were subjected to, they go in for reclamations. Provided the investor is actively engaged in his activities, they usually repudiate the claim. This brings tension (quarrelling, fighting, destruction of crops on the farm and at times whitcraft is involved) between the two individuals. These circumstances affect small holder plantations as when tension is going on the land may not be farmed and or crops cultivated by the antagonist may be destroy by the other land claimer. Some of the subjects of the chief will go as far as using charms to make their brother or sister sick. Some even kill their family member so as to have the farm alone. Hence, making food production limited which affect food security.

8.1.1.1.2.2. Small holder plantations: Conflict between family members and land

Small holder plantations have also come with a new culture of land grabbing which cause conflict in Mbandjock sub division. Sometimes, these conflicts are among family members in terms of land ownership and or the legal rights over land selling. All of these causes a lot of conflict in the sub-division. Even though, the family lands in most localities are delimited, these land boundaries are not always adequately demarcated. This land limitation could be marked by flowers, trees, among others which are all ephemeral with a short life span. This contributes to the birth of tension when these limits become unremarkable and the concerned families will have to go in for land dispute usually at the land boundary between the two people concern. One of our informants indicated that,

In May 2021, Mr. Essola had a conflict with Mme Zouga (a Matriage that reside in Obamassi. A village near Mendouga) over Mr. Essola's father farm land and here's. The latest had opposing points of view on the limits of their farm lands and this brought about disagreements. This problem was solved very rapidly in favour of the Matriage because as the custom says a child do not have to argue with a parent as did Mr. Essola with the Matriage Zouga. (Interview in Mbandjock, 12/10/2021).

This means that land grabbing has brought about numerous conflicts among family members as to who owns which portion of land and or who is responsible for selling land. These conflicts at times are engineered by small holder plantation owners to exploit the situation and grabbed land. All of these causes a lot of conflict (These conflicts result from structural inequities in control, ownership, power, authority or geographic separation) in the sub division. These conflicts affect small holder plantations hence, limiting food supply which affect food security.

8.1.1.1.2.3. Small holder plantations and Farmers - grazer's conflicts

Farmers grazers conflicts is another area of conflict present in Mbandjock because of the presence of small holder plantations. It is usually between farmers and grazers for encroaching into the private space of the other. Cattle rearing have damaging effects on the small holders' farm as it destroys crops that many at times lead to grazers /farmers conflicts. During this movement, cows get in to farms and destroy food crops while herdsmen set fire on grazing lands in order to regenerate new pastures. Worthy of note here is the fact that this poor practice by grazers has made farmer-grazers conflicts so rampant during the season. In the Sub-division, a majority of the population can boast of a land for small holders' cultivation.

Moreover, after the dry season, when small holders' farmers harvest their crops, the second season is followed by the cultivation of food crops which at times is often destroyed by the cows found in the small holders' fields because most of the cattle are left *unherded* and there is often disregard for transhumance tracts to water points and dry season grazing

areas. The consequences are trespassing into farmlands and crop destruction year in year out. This affects small holder plantations production and limit food supply in the sub division which affect food security. It should be noted here that while the cultivation of food crops is seasonal, grazing is not seasonal and is carried out throughout the year.

In recent times, measures have been taken by the government, traditional authorities, and NGOs to manage the rampant farmer-grazers conflicts in Mbandjock Sub-division. The proceeding paragraphs will explain the role that has been played by the above mentioned actors in the resolution of conflicts between farmers especially smallholders' farmers and grazers. Nchang (2015) says the government of Cameroon in 1974 nationalised all farming and grazing land. So, farmers and grazers were only given due rights in their respective zones following the 1978 ordinance, that created the Agro-Pastoral Commission in all the Divisions and Sub-divisions of Cameroon. The fact that the commission was headed by the D.O actually helped in reducing farmer grazer's conflicts.

Moreover, a locally base NGO, FAP in collaboration with the SOSUCAM, MINADER, MINEPIA and MINATD have greatly helped in the eradication of farmergrazier conflicts through the education they give the population of Mbandjock via programs that shows the importance of practicing sustainable agriculture. (FAPs report 2007). This report also shows how small holders farming can co-exist with cattle rearing without any eventual conflicts. In addition, being the custodian of their lands, traditional leaders have over the years adopted measures to manage these conflicts in order to promote peace and food security in the plains. However, the traditional leaders of the villages that make up the Mbandjock Sub-division have actually restricted the Mbororos grazers from grazing around farmlands located.

8.1.1.1.2.4. Small holder plantations and cultural conflict

Culture diversity is another area where we find conflict because of small holder plantation agriculture. When these smallholder plantations are created, they need workers. These workers most often come from the three northern regions of Cameroon and the northwest region of Cameroon. These people equally have their own cultural treats. As they searched and have jobs, they travel along with their culture. When their cultures meet with the culture of the indigenous people most often it brings conflict. This is because most often in Banjo, the population of the local people less than the population of settlers. Most often the settlers do not want to respect taboos, amongst other customs, in Mbandjock and above all the way of life of the people. As such, the natives are angered leading to conflicts with any such trangressors of their culture. Some of the cultural problems that we find in Mbandjock because of the presence of small holder plantations are;

Respect of some cultural values of the indigenous people by the settling people. As the killing and eating of snake which is a taboo to the Baboute people who believes that the snake is their totem. It is a snake that helped them to cross the river Sanagal to their present side at Mbandjock. One of our respondents told us that,

Sometimes we may see non-native plantation holders performing certain activities in that may be a taboo to the natives of the locality and vice versa for example in Mbandjock tribe, it is forbidden to eat a snake but we may see many SOSUCAM non-native farmers eating snakes (Interview in Mbandjock, 08/10/2021).

Based on the above, conflicts here have varieties but the most encountered include cultural divergence and neighbouring farmlands delimitation conflicts

Another cultural conflict area is at the level of festivals and rituals. Most of the settlers' populations disregard these festivals and rituals performed in the different villages of Mbandjock sub division. As many small holder and large holder plantation in most if not all the rural localities are mixture of natives and non-natives, this brings about a variety of cultures which may be contradictory to each other. For Scott, J. (1977), in so far as all economic activities and relationships depend on moral norms and ethical dispositions. These norms and ethnics are found in the culture of the people. As such, when they are not respected, it becomes a conflict between the parties concerned. All economies can be understood as moral economies, both market and non-market, capitalist and non-capitalist, modern and pre-modern, state and state-less, gift and household. First, capitalism is moral because unlike socialism it respects individuals, their rights, and their pursuit of happiness. In fact, capitalism requires this respect for individuals and rights. Therefore, capitalism often is defined as a social system, not an economic system, which protects individual rights.

8.1.1.1.2.5. Small holder plantations and theft conflicts in farms

Theft is a very common phenomenon in Mbandjock sub-division around small holder plantations. Theft at times come from the fact that, the indigenous people whose land have been grabbed do not have where to cultivate and cannot put food on their table hence they tend to steal from the smallholder farms they may find around which most often generate to conflict. Another reason theft leads to conflict due to the presence of small holder plantations is the laziness of the indigenous people, who thinks that because they have land, they wouldn't work and want to seat and eat. When they sell their land, they spend extravagantly like very rich people and in less than no time the money is finished. At this junction, they do not longer have land so the only means of livelihood will be to steal and eat. However, rituals performed in these areas help protect their farms from theft. The rituals performed in Ndop have an impact on food production. This is affirmed by Bonuh Che C., et al (2021), who said that, rice stealing cause's madness, swollen stomach and or swollen legs. If someone stole rice from another person's farm, it can cause madness and to some extent swollen stomach and or swollen legs. In Bamessing village on her part, the mystery behind the madness of a man was linked to stolen rice from another's farm.

To remedy this type of situation, Scott, J. (1977), proposed the moral economy, governments facilitate but rarely mandate. He relates the concept of a *moral economy* to the balance of economic power. His moral economy is one in which there is a balance between interventionism and libertarianism; between economic factors and ethical norms in the name of social justice. However, moral economies are systems of exchange based on customary practice, which is assumed to be fair and equitable in relation to modern economic behaviour. Moral economies are total systems, transcending the economy as it is commonly understood.

8.1.2. Social power of small holder plantations

Small scale plantation has also brought about a lot of issues in the social life of the people of Mbandjock sub division. Some, if not all aspects of their culture has been modifying in one way or the other. It happens as a result of the powers of small holder plantations on the population. These things are easy to find in Mbandjock because many workers of the plantations come from different cultural settings with their different culture and blend with the culture of the people of Mbandjock to produce new cultures and ways of lives. Small holder plantation is provided with labour force from the society at low wage rate which can be contractual. In Mendouga village, small holder plantations usually undergo contractual agreements where an individual will work the farmland and he is remunerated at the end of the year or the harvesting season.

8.1.2.1. Small scale plantation and change of people's lifestyle

One of the key characteristics of culture is its dynamic or elastic nature. Culture, therefore, is dynamic, learned, copy and transmitted from one generation to another.

However, with the creation of plantations in Mbandjock, the culture of these villages has been modifying in one way or the other. With the presence of settlers whose cultural activities have drastically changes the way of life of the indigenous people, who are involuntary adapting to the new way of life proposed by the planters. We observe a disappearance of food crops very often multifaceted in favour of monoculture which occupies a bigger part of the arable land. Then, all the residents who were once fishermen, sculptors, hunters, will forge by the desire for profit all become planters, which affect the diversity of trades. According to Awah PK (2017),

A greater majority of the residents of cities come from some rural area and bring their cultures into the city. Culture is a continuous umbilical cord that links urbanites to their villages or tribes. When these cultures meet in town, they undergo transformations and new cultures emerge, for example amongst socio-professional and ethnic groups. At the same time, urban characteristics are spilling over into rural areas. My urban and rural comparative approach portrays the beliefs, understanding and behaviours that people in urban and rural areas have and share about cultural issues. These might not necessarily show a clear demarcation from a bird's eye-view, but closer attention shows that culture in the context of an illness carries a lot of meaning with it.

This implies that, small holder plantations and indigenous people's food security system issues cut across cultures and need to be understood from both rural and urban perspectives so that solutions to food insecurity can be more broad-based.

It is thus not surprising that small-scale farming in Cameroon is largely limited to high-value and specialist ventures such as fruit, vegetables, flowers, intensive pigs and poultry; and where local processing plants, often fairly large-scale, are necessary for crops such as sugar cane, tea, rubber and coffee. These are cases where large capital investments are necessary, or where industrial organisation of production generates physical productivity that cannot be achieved on small units. The government of the state has encouraged young persons to go into agriculture. The aim of the plan was to promote private plantation development. Van Noordwijk et al. (2008) established that a divide between agricultural and forestry strategies has been recognized as a barrier for developing plantations practices that have smallholder farmers as the main beneficiaries of plantation. Therefore, they recommend more consideration be given to developing both national and international policy enterprises to achieve a 'level ground' for plantation and agroforestry management and seeing them as strongly synergetic management options. In their view, this would mean a shift from primarily supporting large-scale plantation operations to also giving support, in every probable form but not creating specific privileges, to smallholder farmers who grow trees in their own agroforestry systems.

8.2. Small holder plantations and cultural pluralism

Pluralism of cultures is the common dynamics that we find in plantation agriculture communities. Here, the importation and exportation of cultural phenomenon is common. Importation is phenomenon of cultural dynamics which means new cultural information that has not existed in a given culture, but which has existed in different cultures, is added to the former culture by virtue of transmission from the latter.

In Mbandjock because of the presence of small holder plantations, enculturation just like acculturation is generally the order of the day. Enculturation (the gradual acquisition of elements and norms of a culture or group by a person, another culture, etc.) and acculturation (the assimilation to a different culture, typically the dominant one and can impact both the social and psychological wellbeing) is one of the most evident imprints of plantation agriculture not only in Mbandjock but in all societies where the system of agriculture is practiced, especially those who owe their origins from colonialism. By implication, the plantation setting comprises of workers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, drawn from different parts of the country. When such diversity exists, there is bound to be cultural mix and enculturation as highlighted from the following fied account:

Most of the people who worked as labourers in these plantations have been seeing their indigenous culture modified or altered, through the introduction of new values by settlers. They started speaking a new language, eating meals of the indigents, embracing a new system of education in the form of schools, embracing a new religion in the form of Christianity and adopting a new way of dressing, consistent with the Baboute way. These new practices of settlers spread consistently to the hinterlands and introduced a new lifestyle, however not completely doing away with the indigenous attributes. Thus, we have been the coexisting with more than one culture in several societies facilitated by plantation agriculture. (Interview in Mbandjock, 12/07/2019).

Hence, the original indigenous culture of the Mbandjock people have been modified or altered through the introduction of new values by settlers. There are new languages, eating habits, new system of education in the form of schools, new religion in the form of Christianity and the adoption of new ways of dressing, which are different from the Baboute, Yezoum way. These new practices of settlers have spread reliably all over Mbandjock introducing new lifestyles. Moving away from a historical perspective, migrants from the Northern, Northwest, west and other regions of Cameroon for example to obtain menial jobs in plantations in and around Mbandjock has seen themselves gradually acquiring elements and norms of the host culture. Some have gone as far as being totally assimilated by the Yezoum or Baboute culture that is both their social and psychological wellbeing. Most of these migrants after spending several years in these plantations tend to behave more like the *Voute*, *Yezoum* and vice versa to the indigenes in terms of dressing, eating habits, language and even social behaviour. The receiving localities also learn and practise new aspects of culture from the settlers. This has either led to the modification or replacement of certain aspects of indigenous cultural values. Today, Christianity for example has consolidated roots in Cameroon and Africa at large partly because colonialism, which left as a major imprint plantation agriculture.

In term of the migration and intercourse of culture, people from the Northern regions mostly the Toupouri, Massa, Moudang, Guiziga, Mousgoum and Mbum that have settled to work in Mbandjock either in SOSUCAM, other big plantations and or own small scale farms come with their cultural festival and traditional dance, the settlers in Mbandjock did migrate with their culture. The people from the northern regions practice the *cock festival* every year in Mbandjock where all of them come out to showcase their tradition and rituals of initiation of the youths perform. During this ceremony they also asked their ancestors to guide, bless and protect them, their activities especially their small farms. They usually invite the indigenes of Mbandjock as well as other settlers' groups. In the same light, one of our informants indicated that,

The Sawa people that have settled to work in Mbandjock either in SOSUCAM, other big plantations and or their own small-scale farms every year perform the Ngondo festival in Mbandjock. It may not be exactly what used to prevail in Douala but it has the symbolic representation and effects on the Sawa people present in Mbandjock. The chiefs and local people are always invited. Children of these people born and bred in Mbandjock learn their culture same way as those in the Sawa villages. The Sawa cultural values like food, language, dance and rituals of blessing, protection and initiation of the youths always go on during the Ngondo festival performed in Mbandjock by settlers from Douala. (Interview in Mbandjock, 10/06/2020)

This implies that, settlers import their cultural traits in Mbandjock which may not be exactly what used to prevail in their homeland, but it has the symbolic representation. During the practice of these cultural traits by settlers in Mbandjock, the chiefs and local people are always invited. It is usually through these avenues that children of these people born and bred in Mbandjock learn their culture. Furthermore, the cultural blend in Mbandjock can be seen with the vast presence of the Northwest people. The people of the northwest region are agrarian people and are physically, strong, as such, can have the strength to work in the farms. They are labourers both in SOSUCAM and most big plantations in Mbandjock. A majority of them are small farms owners. Hence, small holder farming has greatly encouraged the migration of the Kom people into Mbandjock. These people come in here either to get farms and work or to work as labourers in the small holders' farms. The culture of the Mbandjock people has greatly been influenced, for example, the dance commonly called the *njang dance* is very common now in Mbandjock among the dance groups of the people of the Northwest. These dances are performed during festivals, celebrations and official ceremonies organised here. Therefore, small holders' production had led to the influx of Bekom people into Mbandjock with some of their cultural activities.

Another group of people that have also moved to Mbandjock in their numbers is the Oku people. They equally come in to benefit from small holders farming as they too act like farmers or local labourers in the small holders' farm. It has gone a long way to increase the population of Mbandjock. Their traditional dances could be seen manifesting in celebrations in Mbandjock. They have a dance called *Mbeya* which is very stylistic and loved by many Mbandjock people. Many people from the North West Region of Cameroon have equally come into Mbandjock in their numbers because of small holder's production in this region. There are people from North West region in Mbandjock. Most of the people from these tribes or areas came in as labourers in the small holders' farms. That is why labour wage rate at times is very low in the small holder farms, and abundant. The effects of this migration on small holder production revolve around increase in available labour. The presence of labour here encurage small holder plantations production and consequently increase food supply in the sub division which affect food security positively.

These people also have their cultural practices and dances that they have and showcase every year in their annual festival. They as well have a representative Chief that guide them, proceed over their annual festival and settle disputes among members of the Anglophone community in Mbandjock. As such, they also practice them in Mbandjock. Nevertheless, the people of Mbandjock have gradually liked the culture of unity and hard work that exist between these people which is a very important aspect of development. Recently, they have decorated the Mbandjock chief as recognition and sign of the payment of tributes to the Mbandjock people and their chief for their peaceful coexistence. The Bamiléké people are another group of people that have come into Mbandjock in a very large numbers. These people are big farmers who own smallholders' farms. Most of them have smallholder farms in hectares. They also have smallholder mills that recruit many youths of Mbandjock. These people are also big businessmen who export farm products to Gabon, Nigeria and even Equatorial Guinea. They are littered all over Mbandjock especially in Mbandjock, Ndjore, Biboto village and Ndo village. They have made money out of smallholders and even opened provision stores in Mbandjock. The biggest provision stores in the sub divisional capital are owned by these Bamiléké people. Their traditional meals have grown popular in Mbandjock as the Mbandjock people now also are lovers of Nkwei. Foubam people are very much present too in Mbandjock. (Interview in Mbandjock, 10/06/2020).

Hence, because of the presence of smallholder production in this area, the population has increased due to the migration of these people into Mbandjock. The cultures of these people have also witnessed new cultural aspect like food, traditional dances, languages, and religion. This increased in population has also let to increase social conflict from land scrambling due to scarcity as well as cultural conflicts which affect food security negatively.

8.3. Small holder plantations and cultural integration

With the coming of plantation agriculture to Mbandjock, cultural integration has been the order of the day. This cultural integration comes in with the selection of cultural traits from all the communities in Mbandjock. However, selection is a cultural dynamics phenomenon in which cultural information is selected for further reproduction or selected out to be removed from a culture. The vast majority of Settler who arrived in Mbandjock in the 1968s were single, marriage being a very difficult undertaking in this community because of conditions that were not always within the reach of young people and which even contributed to their emigration to the region in which they are studied today. Among other things they care about, there is the satisfaction of needs economic and social fulfilment namely, marriage and, by extension, the formation of a true family that makes them respected in their home community. Today, most of them have contracted marriages sometimes in a polygamous regime. These marriages however remain rather limited between the members of the settler communities. However, we observe that this is still in low proportions, just like friendships between Settler and other migrating local communities. Admittedly, actual unions are not yet effective or are very few. The social characters of their integration are gradually being reinforced in the future. The strong propensity to procreate that characterizes this community from our daily observations, makes them in this host community today, the most important residential community from the demographic point of view of the region of Mbandjock. This

control of the demographic density is a very important asset in the search for the control of the various resources (land, politics etc.) of the land. It is a powerful instrument of consumption, a force in the production of goods and services, an intellectual elite in full development because of the proximity to Yaoundé where Settler children are sent by parents for the pursuit of higher education. Finally, it is an essential element in the political management of business.

Observing from the unspoken plan of management of local affairs especially municipality, it is always reserved since the period of the municipal administration the place of second assistant mayor to any citizen with origin from the northern region who have interest in local politics of Mbandjock. It was certainly a reasonable agreement. The aim is to involve the strongest community in this area in the management of communal affairs, even though they are of migrant origin. This allowed to hide the socio-professional inequalities between northerners, other settlers and indigenous people of Mbandjock at the level of the company and to mitigate the risks of social confrontations. One of our informants affirmed to us that there use to be crisis in the past between the settlers and indigenous people of Mbandjock. He said,

> I can remember even though I was still very young at that time around 1976, a professional conflict that degenerated into inter-ethnic conflict between a driver who was believed to be an indigene of Mbandjock and the agricultural labourers of SOSUCAM with origin from the north over their transportation. That is why after the conflict was resolved, the settlers started having the right to a deputy mayor in the Mbandjock council. However, he is chosen from among them according to the criteria of their own and in which no person outside the community interferes. Today, our young intellectual elite settler think that we should not be regarded as settlers but as indigenous of Mbandjock with reasons being that the non-return of our parents to our region of origin, the total cut of the relations with the populations which remained in our regions of origin and especially the fact we are born and grow up here in Mbandjock the sugar cane production area where our parents have given the best of them through a strong implication in the daily life and the development of the company. Our wish today is at two levels: access to managerial positions in SOSUCAM and high level involvement in local political management. However, we are gradually being granted the first claim by the natives. But the second is an offense to these same autochthones who see their political space violated by us claiming that we are foreigners. (Interview in Mbandjock 14/05/2018)

The above statement goes in line with Zoa Zoa (2005), who posits that, in terms of jobs in the industry, the Settler aspires to aquire better jobs. They are in a surge of personal revolt, of surpassing themselves, all crowned by the academic success of children, more need

of a managerial position than of subordinate jobs. Admittedly, they cannot totally avoid this type of work because they do not all have the skills required for the functions of responsibility.

The rising demands of the local population for the control of the administration of the company, the satisfactions of the grievances of the local residents, strongly sharpen the administrative appetite of the Settlers who wish to likewise participate in the higher administration in the industry. With regard to what their parents have been and continue to be, the basic and even initial production force that has contributed to the establishment of the company to the urban development of Mbandjock. They are in the same way as the locals, the main organisers of the social life of the city. Their current investment capacity in the city and their involvement in social, political and economic life are characteristics related to the concern for national integration of individuals who feel attached to a living space. View the long stay of the settles population and given the fact that most of the settler population were born here in Mbandjock, the Settler people want to participate in the management of the region's land resource which they greatly need for agricultural activities, in this case the cultivation of maize and millet, in view of their special delicacy habits different from those of local populations. Nevertheless, more and more, we observe a great convergence in food consumption. Settler consume more locally produced tubers such as cassava, coco yams and plantains etc. As well as locals consum food with origin from the North like millet and *fulere*. Others even specialise in small holder plantations in crops like cocoa and coffee. The land for this kind of crops is negotiated by mutual agreement with the local populations bordering the company although this is the subject of conflicts between contractors from time to time due to non-compliance with the terms of the contract. Most of the time by the Settler. The lack of agreement between the various parties often results in the use by the Settler of the gallery forest strips that are left inside the sugar cane fields for their agricultural activities. Unfortunately, these spaces are also claimed by the natives. All these actions are acts of interpellation of the Settlers for full integration into the local community of Mbandjock. Because they recognise themselves more attached to this space than to their region of origin, of which sometimes they know themselves only by the books or the furtive journeys for some, and for others not at all

Mbandjock is just Cameroon in miniature as we can find all regions of our Cameroon present here with their cultures and activities either as SOSUCAM workers, business people, farmers, government workers and other activities. Confirmed by Zoa Zoa (2005), who said

for the first time in Cameroon's history, the north and south of the country find themselves in the same economic space thanks to air, rail and road communication. About 2,400 natives from the north are hired in the SOSUCAM and CAMSUCO sugar complexes. This makes the industrial region of Mbandjock a true hub of ethnic groups of diverse origins, culture and diverse religions. This articulation between unequal partners in social and academic development will be reflected at company level with the most educated regions that provide skill and administrative jobs. Another informant acknowledges that,

Some of the settler are supervisory staff, while the less educated supply about 85% of the labour force in the plantations. We engaged after the satisfaction of our economic concerns a process of general and methodical integration in Mbandjock. To achieve this, we clung to the modernization of training of our children in school; afterwards, which they adopted local life stories, negotiated spaces for life and management in the company. That is why we claims in the sense of a real involvement in the administration of the region. We aspire to full integration at political, administrative and social level through demands that take shape within the industry and still implicitly at the communal level while respecting the custom and tradition of the natives. (Interview in Mbandjock 02/04/2019)

This means that Mbandjock is a melting pot of Cameroonian cultures. We find cultural trait and activities of all regions of Cameroon present in Mbandjock.

The cock festival //*Feo Kague*//, among the Toupouri people in Mbandjock has also been another way by which cultural integration is taking place in here. These people who originate from the Mayo Danay and Mayo Kani divisions of the Far North region of Cameroon with ramifications as far as Chad are warriors, and farmers. These people have a rich cultural heritage which they are so proud of and take it along to whatever destination they find themselves. To succeed in their agricultural activities in Mbandjock, they need the intervention of their gods to be strong both physically and spiritually to carry out their daily activities. The Toupouri people in Mbandjock and Nkoteng each year irrespect of their culture and tradition organised in a rotational way the Cock festival like the same way it is done in their homeland as seen below in photo 45.



Photo 46: The cock festival //Feo Kague//, in Mbandjock

Source: Mbandjock palace (29/12/2019)

The celebration of the Cock festival crowns the end of the year and the start of the New Year in the Toupouri calendar. Many Baboute people usually visit their family friends to enjoy the celebrations with them. With this cultural integration, the number of food crops to be cultivated in Mbandjock have increase considerable as well as increased small holder plantations production and consequently increase food supply in the sub division which affect food security positively.

8.3.1. Integration of the Anglophone and Bambilike communities

Since the 1970's when SOSUCAM was implanted and small holder plantations developed thereafter, it has pulled many people to move in to these plains so as to benefit from this economic activity either directly or indirectly. When these groups come in, they don't forget their cultural activities. There exist mixtures of cultures in Mbandjock. We have so many tribes that have migrated into Mbandjock as will be seen in the following paragraphs. Among which is a huge Anglophone community. Many north westerners like the Kom, Banso, Ngie, Nkambe, santa, Oku people, the Manu, Bakwere of the southwest regions just to name a few have moved into Mbandjock. These people come in here either to get farms and work or to work as labourers in SOSUCAM and other agricultural plantation of large or small scale. The people are so many in Mbandjock that they even have a residential quarter of their own.

The culture of the Mbandjock people has greatly been influenced, for example, the dance commonly called the *njang dance* is very common now in the villages of Mbandjock. There are many *njang dance* groups littered all over Mbandjock. These dances are performed during festivals, celebrations and official ceremonies organized in the villages of this plain. Therefore, small holder's plantations had led to the influx of many Anglophones into Mbandjock with some of their cultural activities. It has gone a long way to increase the population of Mbandjock. Their traditional dances could be seen manifesting in celebrations in Mbandjock. They have a dance called *Mbeya* which is very stylistic and loved by many Mbandjock people. One can see many *mbeya* groups in Mbandjock which do not only exist as dance group but as part of the Mbandjock culture. These groups participate in death celebrations and even church activities. During death celebrations, equally juju from Oku are also hired by Mbandjock people since their masquerades are very entertaining. Nevertheless, the people of Mbandjock have gradually liked the culture of unity and hard work that exist between these people which is a very important aspect of development. This Anglophone community in Mbandjock, went as far as decorating the Mbandjock chief, His Royal Majesty Bawah Dina Jean Pual as their Fon in Mbandjock just like the Fons of the Northwest region from where a huge majority of the Anglophone community come.



Photo 47: Decorated Mbandjock chief by the Anglophone community in Mbandjock

Source: Mbandjock Palace 2016

The Bamiléké people are another group of people that have come into Mbandjock in very large numbers. These people are big farmers who own farms. Most of them have farms in several hectares. They also own business places that recruit many youths of Mbandjock. These people are also big businessmen who export farm produce to Gabon, Nigeria and even Equatorial Guinea. They are littered all over Mbandjock sub-division especially in Mbandjock and Ndjore villages. They have made money out of farming and even opened provision stores in Mbandjock. The biggest provision stores in the sub-divisional capital are owned by these Bamiléké people. Their traditional meals have grown popular in Mbandjock as the Mbandjock people now also are lovers of Nkwei. Apart from the groups of people listed above, Muslims from Foubam are very present too in Mbandjock. Hence, because of the presence of agriculture in this area, the population has increased due to the migration of these people into Mbandjock. The cultures of these people have also witnessed new cultural aspects like food, traditional dances, languages, and religion.

8.3.2. The symbolic functions of rites

Rites comes from the Latin word '*ratus*' a term which signifies legal; legal form, usage, habit, custom, manner, sacred usage that is '*ritaulis*'. In fact, to have an exact idea of ritual action, it is necessary to refer to anthropology which focuses more on the advantages of rites, looking at the profane and or sacred and focusing on the life of the individual from birth till death. Anthropologist Maisonneuve defined rituals; "*is a codified system of practice, under certain conditions of place and time, having a meaningful meaning and a symbolic value for its actors and witnesses, involving the putting into play of bodies a certain relationship to the sacred*". This goes to explain why people undertake on rituals so as to enable individual and collective peace. Its role is to render psychic wellbeing within humans and maintain social cohesion in the Mbandjock community.

In understanding and dealing with misfortunes, usually follows five steps defined as adversity (different cultures defines these differently, but with many common themes) choosing a belief system to explain it, diagnose the cause using this system, select a remedy, apply it and evaluate the results. In every culture, the community (social system) not just the individual uses the options within their culture to diagnose what is really wrong and work to remedy it. The social responses are critically positive and negative. All these are harmonised in their thought and patterns through which rites are performed Heibert (1999).

Types of rituals for agriculture are full of diverse symbols, minors as well as major. This marks a clear distinction between rituals of production and reproduction and mere festivals. Among the Baboute, symbolism centres on a few essential fields: food, plants and trees as well as the division of sacrificial animals all set inside a social-spatial symbolism pertaining to the village which is the largest unit where the lineage and kings all come from.

8.3.2.1 Estrangement with the sacred in food security

The sacred comes up with aspects of religiosity and necessity to venerate through sacred ceremonies. This sacred among the Baboute and Yezoum people go to portray the sacred objects which are used within their cultural setting and the importance attached to these objects. These explains the respect for the profane of the culture especially when any member of the Baboute and Yezoum clan is found around the sacred, he or she is bound to venerate as the reverse will entail sanctions and sacrifice or rituals. These practices are in a way done to reverse or prevent the mystical and evil forces from manipulating the living or people within the community. It is on these bases that our informants explain that,

Illness episodes are due to the non-respect of the profane especially in course of cleaning of the graveyard rituals or areas reserved for certain category of individuals within the community. It is on this premise that the occurrence of illness within the Baboute community has permitted the actors to develop an attitude aim at eradicating this ill. When this is done, the patient is found again in a state of health equilibrium. Thus, it can be seen in one way as a harmony with the spirits and the sacred using the force of the ritual. (Interview in Ndjore 14/03/2019)

In Anthropology, farming is a tool for investigation which permits the study of a society from an individual, collective, particular and holistic angle. The study of cultivation with their symbolic representation, their social sense, we penetrate directly into the density areas that are; the society and its actors. Looking at how they restitution the real and the imaginary. Small scale farming takes three forms, an objective reality, a social situation and an imaginary representation. Objective reality is the visible sign which attests to morbidity. It is the social situation of farming which has been taken care of by the group, which the farming is an entity. As they come up with social consensus, designed by a host of signs and symptoms as an entity determining and founded on one of these objective realities but which will also be supported by the imaginary. Small holder farming is at the junction of many classificatory routes: the body, the signs and symptoms, the causes, the socio-cultural values (interest in the body and its representation).

8.3.2.2 The morphology of tribal society

In this term, Evans Pritchard (1937), postulated how witchcraft, magic operates as an interconnected system embodying philosophy of causation and mortality. The beliefs are seen

as dynamic processes within day-to-day social life and the creation and burgeoning of the group and relationships. The welfare of the society depends upon right actions, as wrong actions inevitably leads to evil results giving way to anger being a cause of social disturbance there are rights and wrong ways to the approach of every action. Any deviation from the laws and customs will inevitably bring its results and inversely, any evil that befalls must be the result of some lack of observance. The best hypothesis yet advanced to explain why in these societies, moral actions relations should be endowed with rituals to empower them. One of our informants with origin from the Far North of Cameroon affirmed to the above assentation by saying,

The festivals of the cock that we usually organised here every year either in Mbandjock or Nkoteng usually help to vitalised and protect us and all our activities. This festival gives us good harvest, make us to produce many children, in fact protect us and our crops from the attacks of evil people. But last year when the government banned social gatherings because of COVID-19 stop us from organizing this festival and you see the consequences on us now? We have low yields in our farms produce and we even lost many of our family members. (Case study Mbandjock 16/12/2020)

It has been pointed out that traditional rulers like those of the Baboute and Yezoum community have mythical and ritual warranty for their authority, as this warranty is attached to the inter-relation between the segments of the community. Since people have to think and feel about the interest which actuate them and yet may be unaware of these interests, they are symbolised in various ways: myths, dogmas, ritual beliefs and activities that make this social system is intellectually tangible and coherent to an African.

8.3.2.3. Implication of symbols and sacred places

These symbols which are 'sacred', endow the social system with mystical values which evoke acceptance of the social order on a plane that secular forces and sanctions can attain. All individuals and sections accept these values as common values. These common values refer to fertility, health, prosperity, peace, justice, everything which gives life and happiness to a people. They are safeguards of both the material needs of existence and the basic relations of social structure, bodily health, the family, the clan. But if the universal aspect of things like land and fertility are subject to common interest, then the society is bound to hold it in high esteem. Thus, the basic needs of existence and social relation are in their pragmatic and utilitarian aspects as sources of immediate satisfaction and striving to achieve total harmony Gluckman (1965).

These rituals are usually not carried out anywhere because of the meaning attached to them. As such, they are performed in specific places with a lot of signification. The *god's shrine* is the place where the children of the ancestors live. From the name one can better understand why they prefer this place for ritual. It is on this premise that the graveyard too is significant in serving as a host for many rituals and seen as a shrine. According to the explanation of an informant

The graveyard as 'a place of growth' as it was regarded in the old till today. Thus, all children from a family usually meet in the graveyard every year for food or reanimation with the presence of all the stakeholders of the village serving as a regeneration area for growth and living is centered for rebirth, forgiveness, protection and blessing. Also, most of the complements used in the course of these rituals such as cooked food of egusi are tied in bundles; corn-fufu and wine are readily available to accompany these rituals. (Nio Baboute 28/12/2019)

This implies that small holder plantations symbolise a social system with mystical values which induce acceptance of the social order. The members of this community accept these values as common values. These common values refer to fertility, health, prosperity, peace, justice, everything which gives live to happiness to a people in the small holder plantations.

8.4. Societal adversity of small holder farming

Societal adversity is another dynamic that come with plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. These adversities come through inventions that have come to Mbandjock with the creation of small holder plantations agriculture. Invention is another concept of cultural dynamics which means modification of cultural formation and or creation of cultural element that has not existed in another form in the culture of a group is added to the culture without importation. This economic activity is embodied with both positive and negative consequences on the population, culture and the environment. Plantation agriculture, be it, small scale or large scale plantations are not an exception as large hectares of land are taken away from the indigenous people or local communities for its production. In Mbandjock, due to the high prevalence of monoculture practiced by large plantations like SOSUCAM that cultivate sugar cane for sugar, COMAPALM that cultivate palms for palm oil and *Complex agricole de Medonga* that cultivate cocoa just to name a few make the indigenes to be deprived of variety of products which when even available, come from small scale planters and usually oriented toward the market. This is one of the most recurrent challenges as far as

plantation or cash cropping is concerned. Through this, food insecurity is being accelerated by the practice of extensive monoculture agriculture. Cultural food habits are gradually being lost due to the fact that much time is spent on large plantations for a monthly income than on individual farms. Nevertheless, the enforcement of social corporate responsibility (SCR) in any company as one of the development policies brings much relief to the local population. These companies help the youths around the community to train and recruit them into skilled jobs, their health coverage is guaranteed, and environmental degradation is compensated through other schemes such as the sponsoring of youth sporting and cultural activities. This is an important positive response of plantation farmers (whether big or medium scale).

In Mbandjock, small holder plantations farmers contribute on many levels to improving the lives of citizens. Among them, we can cite: the reduction of the unemployment rate, the increase of the literacy rate and the reduction of the disease rate through the construction of schools and health services respectively. Though with several positive outcomes as outlined above, small holder plantations agriculture in Mbandjock is viewed as a mixed blessing. Like every other development initiative, plantation agriculture in general and small scale farming in Mbandjock also has its point at which it meets nature and man undesirably.

8.4.1. Social disorder

Social disorder is an unavoidable phenomenon in development in Mbandjock. These opportunities that came with the implantation of plantation agriculture in Mbandjock equally came with opportunities for the accommodation of criminal activities. Plantation agriculture has led to the perpetration and breeding of several socially unwanted and to a larger extent harmful behaviour especially among youths in societies where they are found. Some of them include; Theft is very common in societies where plantations exist. In Mbandjock this phenomenon exists both among workers and non-workers. Most at times, labourers are not satisfied with the amount of payment received for the job they do, thus, find it difficult to settle the numerous bills relying on their salaries alone. As such, some dishonest workers who cannot exercise restraint resort to stealing from the plantations and selling to make extra gains. In addition, some lazy or unfortunate ones who simply do not want to work or fail to secure employment in the plantations but also extends to villagers who are both perpetrators and victims. Most plantation sites are congested. When there is the congestion of low income

earners, there is bound to be theft. The progression of theft is due to the fact that, the residents who could not find work in the plantation and the workers not very well paid engage in a series of theft in the plantations, in order to resell derivative products in the market. One of our informants who is an indigene of Biboto village but live in the Mbandjock urban centre and have his small holder farm in Biboto. While in his farm, he told us that,

When I open my plantation of cassava and plantain in this village from which I originate, yields were very high but the greatest challenge I have is theft. I hired two boys who worked and took care of the farm. They did very good work but most often when plantains were ready for harvest before I come for the normal checks, they would have stolen and sale the some of the plantain. I send them away and employed my small cousin to take care of the farm but the theft was worse as I almost shared the yields with villagers stole from the farm. I had to bring somebody to put indigenous medicine in the farm before I could enjoy the fruits of my farm. Theft is really a setback to farming here. (Interview in Biboto 2020)

This implies that, theft is common in small holder plantations in Mbandjock. The practice is often seen among workers and non-workers of plantation. This phenomenon is very common because labourers in the plantations are usually not satisfied with their payment. The low payment makes it difficult for them to settle their bills thus pushing them to stealing from the plantations and selling to make extra gains.

8.4.2. Prostitution

Prostitution is another social ill that is also common in Mbandjock. Most young girls in Mbandjock sub-division are naive, thus vulnerable. This vulnerability is exploited by plantation workers, especially the high income earners who use them to satisfy their sexual urge in exchange for money. Plantation workers (even the unskilled) are widely known to be promiscuous. Workers in SOSUCAM, other plantations and even in small scale farms not to even talk about motor bike riders are so much involved in promiscuous activity. They even go with small girls in the secondary schools around. It has made even the young students to copy this life style and it is practiced among them. Most young girls of child bearing age have children as the consequence of promiscuity. The influx of workers from other area makes the rate of prostitution in the locality to be high, thus, the risk of catching sexually transmitted disease. We also accused the lack of protection during sexual intercourse. This was affirmed to us by one of our participants, who said,

Promiscuity is very common here in Mbandjock among parents like children. Most parents do not scroll their children as they themselves are involved in promiscuity

and prostitution. Recently in school a case of a boy who has two girl friends in the same class was reported to us by one of the girl's parent. This particular boy goes to bed with both girls though at different intervals and all of them had been bleeding and having stomach edge seriously. One of the girls even had to even go undergo a surgery and about to go the second one for the same cause. When we look into the matter further, we saw that all the two girls had other sexual partners apart from the boy in question. They explain that, they go with other partners with one being a bike rider and the other a worker in one of the plantations firm in Mbandjock all because small money to show up among their schoolmates in school. (Interview in Mbandjock)

The prevalence or spread of STDs is high in Mbandjock. Due to the high rate of prostitution and promiscuity in this area, the transmission rate of sexually transmissible diseases is high. This is compounded by the unfortunate fact that several inhabitants of Mbandjock who engage in sexual activities with plantation workers are ignorant of how they can keep themselves protected from such infections. The establishment of plantation agriculture in this region attracts many young people who come to look for work. Following this massive arrival of young population, couples are made with girls of the locality, most often; these young girls will go with several partners without protection. This promotes a very high risk of sexually transmitted diseases. Once a person is sick, it is easy to spread the disease because of the high rate of promiscuity in this area. A woman that took one of our interviews testify as such,

My son as you move around doing what you are doing like this, you have to be careful because many young girls in Mbandjock have HIV and if you make a mistake to take one to bed and or have sex with her, you will acquire the disease because Mbandjock have the highest prevalence here in the centre region. Even those that do not have the disease to transmit to you will make you fall a victim to them as they will either get pregnant for you or forcefully put a pregnancy on you. Am sure that as you move around, you have seen so many young girls pregnant or having children that could be like their small brothers or sisters. It is their habits here so be careful as you go on with your work here. (Interview in Ndjore 2020)

School dropout is another social occurrence that is common in Mbandjock. Most youths who work as labourers in plantations are school drop outs. A good number of them abandoned school in order to make quick money from the plantations and others because they impregnated a schoolmate and needed money to take care of the child and the mother. This most often have far reaching implications on their wellbeing and the nation as a whole as they cannot be useful in other spheres of life. The lack of manpower and the rapid lure of profit lead many young students to drop out of school to start working and also helping their families. This is affirmed to us by one of the small scales farm owners, who said, I loved school so much and was very intelligent in school. Most of my mates who are teachers, directors and big people today could not even compare with me in class though I came from a very poor family. I dropped out of school because I got my school mate pregnant and my parents and her parents did not had money to take care of us and the new born baby, so I had to stop school and fend for my newly formed family. I worked in SOSUCAM and at the same time doing commercial motor bike from where I raised money for my family and bought this piece land that I cultivate my cassava, maize and plantain. (Interview in Ndo 2020)

The above assentation means that, dropping out of School is social occurrence that is common in Mbandjock. A significant proportion of them dropped from schools because they may have impregnated a schoolmate and needed money to take care of the child. Most youths who work as labourers in plantations are school drop outs.

8.4.3. Social perils in small holder plantations communities

Since the creation of SOSUCAM and the introduction of sugarcane farming in Mbandjock, agricultural activities especially small holder's plantations agriculture have generated and pooled so many people to this region. These influxes of people have led to the cultivation of so many crops at times representing the cultural backgrounds of settlers in addition to crops of origin of Mbandjock people. However, small planters' agriculture in Mbandjock have so many socio-cultural activities related and functions that have a lot to do with the development of this area. It has functions in the domain of food security, commerce or economy, infrastructures, education, health, social aspect, culture just to name a few. There are so many sociocultural activities related to small holder farming in Mbandjock.

8.4.3.1. Social life

Since the implantation of SOSUCAM, the quality of the life of the ordinary farmers in Mbandjock has improved considerably. This is not to say that every person and every community has been equally favoured. For instance, Mbandjock which is the head quarter of the sub division has several opportunities and amenities vis-à-vis the outlying villages which have remained more or less rural sticks. The economy of this region has been in a rise as SOSUCAM's circulation capital through the payment of her workers. Some of these workers then invested money made from the company in smallholder agriculture which has greatly improved the economic standard of farmers in particular and the Mbandjock economy in general. From SOSUCAM's estimates, the revenue of an average farmer has increased three-folds. Additionally, the region's economy has experienced an annual growth rate of

approximately 4 per cent. Apart from improved housing and medical services, social life especially in Mbandjock as a sub divisional headquarters, has improved remarkably. That is why a research participant who lives in Mbandjock central town testified by saying,

I have been in Mbandjock now for decades and perhaps the most conspicuous feature here is the vast presence of beer and liquor parlours that slurp dry the incomes of the farmers. These parlours are always richly stocked with assorted beer. Some people consume the locally made liquor, palm and raffia wine. Most at times, it is money made out of either the sale of farm products or salary from SOSUCAM that people used to buy drinks and go after women. (Case history in Mbandjock, 12/04/2019).

It is common sight to see people drinking after working hours, at times into the late hours of the night. These parlours are complemented by nightclubs, video game clubs and hotels. Even though some commentators have emphasised the corrupting influence of all those outfits on children, on married life, on the culture of the people, on crime and delinquency etcetera, these places have, however, served as centres for socialisation as people from diverse cultural backgrounds and walks of life congregate to relax. This has hindered small holder plantations production in that many farmers tend to live very high lives and as such consuming even their capital meant to bounce back effectively in the next farming season and as such leading to low production of rice in the Mbandjock plains.

Work is also socially organised among farmers in Mbandjock. Most often, women group themselves in common initiative groups and assist each other in the farms. Work is programmed weekly from one farm to another. At times, they have a common farm. They contribute money, cook food to each and drink in farm during resting periods in the farms. They socially give advice to each other concerning farming, family, business and other issues. Apart from common initiative Groups, there are solidarity groups which assist members to work in their farms especially when the member is sick or out of the village. It is very common amongst church groups. Married or unmarried women have their secret husbands whom they called special helpers. These men help them to clear their farms in the name of doing a job for the woman. The women on their parts usually prepare a special dish for these men usually *egusi* prepared with meat and *bobolo* at times *fofo* and vegetable with bush meat to give the man more energy to do the double work well. They will meet in the farm as early as 5:30 or 6:00 AM and they start by making love before any other thing on plantain or banana leaves. Most often women and or the activities of other people in their

community. This usually led to quarrelling, fighting and even witchcraft problem among these women or families usually solved by the chief.

8.4.3.2. Health peril in Mbandjock

With regard to health, Mbandjock has witnessed some improvement. Mbandjock has one District Hospital and several health centres. These institutions have greatly tried in improving the health situation of most local population and enhanced their productivity. SOSUCAM itself has also contributed immensely to the improvement of the health sector in Mbandjock. In the same light, Nkum showed how health hazard contribute greatly to the low output of crops in the Mbandjock sub division by saying that, "*most farmers (local) always fall seriously sick because of the heavy work they do in the farms and as such the work force in the farms is always affected*". (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/04/2019)

This goes a long way to show that, health hazard plays a very important role in crop production as sick farmers will lead to low production since there will be less man power to apply in work. Even the number of work hours reduces as the farmer or labourer will not have the strength to resist work for a long time.

Also, another health peril in Mbandjock which came in because of the present of plantation agriculture in general and small holder plantations in particular is promiscuity. This was affirmed to us by one of our informants which articulated that,

Promiscuity is the order of the day in Mbandjock; parents like children are involved in this phenomenon. There is little parental control of children; most of the children from 13 years of age are involved. Most often parents of guidance careless about it. In this area, many children between the ages of 13 to 20 already have children and often not married. There are many STDs in Mbandjock, it is allegedly said in Mbandjock that there is a high prevalence of HIV Aids and other STDs. (Interview conducted in Mbandjock, 11/04/2019)

All this happen because of the money young people make from either working in SOSUCAM and or from the sales from their farm products.

Conclusively, the findings in this chapter show that, there are new sources of power and conflict in Mbandjock sub-division, created by the presence of the culture of small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. These powers range from spiritual powers, economic powers, political powers and social life of the people involving their cultivation, farming life and changes that take place in these activities. Some of these changes in the small holder plantations activities in Mbandjock are deliberate and conscious action by man while being rational as a member of the society. It also presents feedings on smallholder plantations and conflict like land grabbing, farmer grazer conflicts. This touches on the political, cultural powers and social life of the people involving their cultivation, farming life and changes that take place in these activities. Social disorder is an unavoidable phenomenon in development in Mbandjock. Prostitution is another social ill that is also common in Mbandjock. Most young girls in Mbandjock sub-division are naive, thus vulnerable. Mbandjock which is the head quarter of the sub-division has several opportunities and amenities vis-à-vis the outlying villages which have remained more or less rural sticks. With regard to health, Mbandjock has witnessed some improvement. Mbandjock has one District Hospital and several health centres. With the coming of plantation agriculture to Mbandjock, cultural integration has been the order of the day. Small holder plantations developed thereafter, it has pulled many people to move in to these plains so as to benefit from this economic activity either directly or indirectly. The elementary characteristics of culture talks of the fact that culture is a social fact and that can be transmitted through the socialisation process and permanently changing. The change in the small holder plantations activities in Mbandjock is seen as a deliberate and conscious action by man while being rational as a member of the society. This chapter led us to the conclusion of this thesis.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Our research entitled *Food security and conflict among small holder plantations in Mbanjock-Centre Region of Cameroon: A contribution to Anthropology of Development,* is an anthropological research done in Mbandjock sub-division of the Upper Sanaga division, found in the Centre Region of Cameroon. This work is placed within the context of the sustainable development goals and the evaluation of the millenniums development goals. Therefore, it was an attempt to explore the influence of small holder plantations culture on the food security system and other setbacks like social conflicts that make small scale farming production low in Mbandjock sub-division.

Small holder agriculture has existed for a very long time, in providing people all over the world especially indigenous people with food security. Food in Africa and more particularly, in Cameroon is provided mostly by small scale producers in small holder plantations. This is what prevails around Africa in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, and Senegal just to name a few. The same situation prevails in Cameroon in general and particularly in the central region where Mbandjock is found. Jayne and Sitko (2013) posits that, in 1954, during the late period of colonial rule and the early days of independence, policies to reassure middle-class farmers were taken in some cases quickening measures were instigated including Kenya's Swynnerton Plan and African farmer development schemes in Zambia which encourage small holder plantations agriculture. Daviron (2010), indicated that, at the same time as plantations were being transmitted in the immediate post-independence period, there was cumulative concern among planners and international development agencies to harness the probable of small-scale farming. In 1964, RJM Swynnerton of the CDC visited plantations in Cameroon and acclaimed new models to integrate small holders, including outgrowing.

The research problem stipulates that, smallholder plantations agriculture has been and will always be important activities that help many people to survive and adapt in the community. It is supposed to contribute to the social and cultural life of the community through food access, food availability, food stability and food sustainability. A lot has been done to step up food production by small-scale planters to participate in the social and cultural life in Mbandjock. In 1990: The Cameroon government adopted a New Agricultural Policy (NAP). In 2003: The Cameroon government introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). Hence, MINADER and MINEPEA gave aid to farmers in forms of hybrids seeds, farming equipment like hoes, caterpillars, trucks, and etcetera (PRSP 2003). In 2010 the president of Cameroon announced the vision 2035 of Cameroon becoming an

emergent nation. Among other poles, was the agriculture and environment pole which favours *second-generation agriculture* (agriculture revolution), environmental protection, and ecosystem preservation (GESP 2010).

All these efforts at the international and national levels would had contributed to food supply, social change, transformations of the farming system and a junction between modern and traditional practices. Instead, in Mbandjock, we notice social and cultural life disorders, with the presence of so many conflicts. In Mbandjock, farmer gazer conflict, land grabbing, cultural, political, spiritual and economic conflicts are common. Hence, this present research seeks to find out why with the advent of small holder plantation in Mbandjock, cultural, social, political and economic conflicts is in the rise.

In relation to what concern the statement of the problem, we used an anthropological approach to understand why smallholder farming come along with conflict in the sociocultural life in Mbandjock despite all the efforts made by all stakeholders in the sector to increase small scale farmers output and ensure food security. Agriculture with treasurable resources of nature and culture is the gateway for rural development and this will effectively happen if rural communities significantly observe and practice self-reliant and sustainable agriculture. This study examined the role of culture of the people of Mbandjock on the plantation agriculture. Basically, the extensive elements and components of rural agriculture villages including the natural resources and attractions, the rural village lifestyles, local cultural heritage, the rituals performed which affect the agricultural process and agricultural practices. With traditional local farm practices, abundant natural and cultural assets in the uniquely beautiful landscape and interesting geography, the farm villages of Mbandjock, is suitable for plantation development. Rural communities need to employ sustainable agriculture practices and at the same time preserve their local cultural heritage. The societal element has a role to play in the socio-cultural universe in question. Now that some are being neglected with the advent of new plantations in the Centre Region, what becomes of the fate of the cultures that it embodies? It is true that according to Ethno methodologists and Ethnoperspectivists, every society has its way of doing and seeing things. But we think that it is not the reverse that is true. Those who come into a community to establish their plantations are the ones to adhere to the norms of the society in question and not the contrary as we see today. However, three (3) theories; The Ethnomethodology theory of Harold Garfinkel, Ethno-perspective, or Ethnanalysis of Mbonji Edjenguèlè, and the theory of cultural dynamics of Georges Balandier (1971) help in interpreting the phenomenon under study. A good number of elements from these theories are, therefore, retained for the explanation of the different research variables here contained.

For us to examine food security and conflicts among small holder plantations and understand the scope in Mbandjock, it was very important to ask research questions that enabled us to get our findings. These questions were in two categories to know: main research question and secondary research questions.

Our general research question was; why is the high presence of small holder plantations in Mbandjock not necessarily an assurance for food security? This general research question wouldn't have been given solutions without flouting it down to secondary questions. So, the secondary research questions were five in number; 1. How are small holder plantations schemes organised in Mbandjock? 2. Why are local cultures necessary for small holder plantations? 3. In what ways do small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures in Mbandjock? 4. What are the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation? 5. How do small holder plantations influence socio-cultural order in Mbandjock?

Answers were given to the above questions. These answers were not final answers as they are called tentative answers that are known as hypothesis. These hypotheses were divided into two; general and secondary hypothesis. The general hypothesis stated that, small holder plantations engage in food for cash production creating new local food systems and conflicts. The secondary hypothesis were; 1. Small holder plantations schemes in Mbandjock are organised in terms of farm ownership, type of crops cultivated and farm sizes. 2. Local cultures helps small holder plantations in providing farm land, traditional farming techniques, and a means of transfer of cultural traits. 3. Small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures through the cultivation of both food and cash crops two times a year. 4. The adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation in Mbandjock are in new techniques, new tools, new crops and market system. 5. Small holder plantations influence the sociocultural order in Mbandjock like conflicts.

The suggested answers elaborated made us to set up objectives that the study needed to attend. They were in two categories to know, general and secondary objectives. The general objective was as follows; to explore and explain the contribution of small holder plantations in local food production. We could not just have a global objective without breaking it down to small objectives and as such our secondary objectives were; 1. To examine how small holder plantations schemes are organised in Mbandjock. 2. To reveal the contributions of local cultures to small holder plantations. 3. To demonstrate how small holder plantation stakeholders build local food security cultures in Mbandjock. 4. To elucidate the adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantation in Mbandjock. 5. To determine the influence of small holder plantations to socio-cultural order in Mbandjock.

For us to answer our research questions, verify our hypothesis and finally achieve the objectives that we fixed, a methodology of work was inevitable. Mindful of the fact that our work needed to a greater extent ethnographic data, we went mostly for ethnographic and interpretive qualitative research designs. These methods then led us to some data collection techniques. For qualitative method, we collected primary and secondary data. For secondary data, we did documentary review and for primary data we collected in the field, we used the following techniques; interviews, Focus Group Discussion, case study, check list, photographic and the observation protocol. As tools, we used, interview guide, FGD guide, observation guide, note books, pens and pencils, the tape recorder to record information that we could not take and later transcribe. A camera was also used to take snap shots.

After collecting the data and analysing them, the documentary research that we have done on this topic guided us to some anthropological theories. Our theoretical frame work helped us to give meaning, to understand smallholder plantations and local food security cultures phenomenon and the reasons for low production in Mbandjock. The theories that we used as our theoretical framework were; *Ethnomethodology* theory of Harold Garfinkel, *Ethno-perspective* or *Ethnanalysis* of Mbonji Edjenguèlè and the theory of cultural dynamics. So, an overview of the above mentioned theories and the different concepts that we employed in the course of this study.

Firstly, the notions of indexicality, reflexivity and notion of member derived from the theory of Ethnomethodology is related to the study. First and famous, *reflexivity* states that the meaning of everything has a direct relationship with the context in which it is produced or originated. Therefore, it is compiled to this study because each cultural element is linked to plantation agriculture in Mbandjock. Specific and have a particular meaning to them different from other socio cultures. Hence, the *Ka'a* Ritual which is performed during the *Mkpass* festival in Mekomba every year by giving sacrifices to their gods through the ancestors help prevent the village from misfortune, illness, bad spirit, witches and wizards, as well as give

them abundant good health and good harvest and jobs. The entire cultural element in this locality contributes in the understanding of culture with plantation agriculture.

The perceptions of *reflexivity* are related to the study in that it plays a preponderant role in influencing the way people interpret and respond to the signs that they observe or come across in their daily lives in a given society. This is because each cultural element has a meaning in Mbandjock that at times is different from the meaning the same element has in another socio culture. Hence the meaning of the entire cultural elements in this locality contributes in the understanding of culture of plantation agriculture. The SOSUCAM Company assist local farmers in Mbandjock. They give hybrid seeds in maize, cassava etc. to them. They open their roads (farm to market roads) Especially in NDO village; they pay teachers of the village school in NDO. This company also assist farmers in the transportation of their goods to the local market of Mbandjock when they are coming back from their plantations.

This concept of *Notion of member* is related to the study in that it states that an individual can best interpret a situation if and only if he is part and parcel of the system or structure. This is because each to understand cultural element in Mbandjock you need to be part of the socio culture or base on their culture to give sense to that phenomena. In a nutshell, the Mendouga people, during the *messing* festival, gives sacrifices to their ancestors, intertribal fighting competition carried out where all the nearby villages choose the strongest wrestler to represent and fight for the village in the wrestling competition help them to appease their gods through their ancestors to pardon them for their wrong did and asked for blessing for the New Year. It guarantees of protection of their activities including farming. It helps for food security in the community.

Moreover, these concepts of Contextuality or socio centrality, holisticity or globality and endosemy all resulting from the theory of Ethno-Perspective is compiled to the study. Contextuality or socio centrality shows the dynamics of phenomena under study and institutions to be analysed in the socio-culture where they are produced. This is because all social facts can or ought to be explained only when they are placed in their respective contexts which can either be temporary. Therefore, cultural element concurrent to plantation agriculture in Mbandjock can be given meaning only in their socio cultures. Holisticity or globality is associated to the study in that it states that, in other to study and understand culture and plantation in Mbandjock, one will need to understand their history, kinship, marriage and religious systems, architecture, dressing style, political organisation and medico-economic practices of a people. If not, we may be tempted not to understand and give good meaning to their cultural elements since most of them are linked.

Endosemy is allied to the study in that, endosemy is the meaning(s) that members of a given sociocultural attach to their existing realities of life at a particular time. Therefore, all the methods, techniques, practices, rituals and every other thing done for plantation agriculture in Mbandjock are their ways of life and invention with meanings invested on every constitutive element of the whole in that cultural universe. As such should be taken into consideration when presenting, analysing and giving meaning to phenomenon in these socio culture.

Our findings provided so many evidences on the influences of the culture of small holder plantations on food security and conflicts in Mbandjock.

The overall finding of this research revealed that, small holder plantations culture has come with increase in food availability and a decrease in food access in Mbandjock. This is because a greater quantity of food produced is sold to big exploiters. This is partly responsible for food insecurity in Mbandjock. Small holder plantations have also come with a lot of conflicts (land grabbing, cultural conflicts and farmer grazers' conflicts. These conflicts are also responsible for food insecurity in Mbandjock.

Secondly, small holder plantation schemes are organised according to two learned cultures: Structured and unstructured small holder plantation cultures. These cultures are all dynamic and they keep changing. For the structured, we have West End Farms Cameroon, Complex agricole de Medonga, KURSEL SA, Complex Essimi Menye, Complex la palmerai and Nkolo Laurent. Whereas for the unstructured, we have individuals' farmers and common initiative groups. The agents of small holder plantations and food security here include; the government, the local council, companies like the SOSUCAM Foundation, cooperatives, traditional and religious authorities, Livestock breeders, Grazers, labourers, and farmers.

Thirdly, Local cultures necessary for small holder plantations include; the land tenure system in Mbandjock, farming ethno methods and ritual performance. Derne nyabe (cleaning of the graveyard) to the Baboute, Mkpass in Mekomba, Messing in Mendouga and Feo Kague (Cock Festival) to the Toupouri people. These rituals guarantee production and reproduction in terms of fertility of the soil and fertility of wombs for child bearing. Through these two laws, the culture prevailed is that, people inherit land, others buy land, some rent land and yet others acquired land as a gift. There are three main methods of production techniques in Mbandjock: traditional method of farming which employed elementary, and simple, basic, rough and crude equipment's for cultivation. The Semi-advanced cropping method where the farmers use semi-skilled and special training or qualifications but less than skilled method. The modern farming method which uses modern equipment's, technology, hybrid seeds, fertilizers and chemicals in production so as to increased production. Rituals performance are part of the local cultures for small holders' plantations in Mbandjock. Small holder plantations represent a vector of cultural transmission and enhance cultural heritage in Mbandjock. There are rituals like the cleaning of the graveyard in Baboute *derne nyabe*, Mkpass in Mekomba and messing in Mendouga through which sacrifices are given to ancestors and gods to guarantee production and reproduction. The Cock Festival known in Toupouri as //Feo Kague//, like most cultural festivals is important events for the Toupouri people as it guarantees production and reproduction.

Fourthly, it was discovered that a new food culture has been created in Mbandjock where one cannot distinguish between food crops and cash crops because they are all destined for the market. This new commercial culture enables farmers to build houses, pay for education, buy assets, pay tributes to chiefs and provide jobs.

Also, it was discovered that a new food culture has been created in Mbandjock where one cannot distinguish between food crops and cash crops because they are all destined for the market. This new commercial culture enables farmers to build houses, pay for education, buy assets, pay tributes to chiefs and provide jobs.

In terms of adaptation and dynamics of small holder plantations, they make use of new symbols, traditions, beliefs, practical knowledge, norms, values and habits in Mbandjock. This is influenced by the continuous influx of settlers from different cultural backgrounds who are employed in the Sugar Company. Small holder plantations helps farmer build houses, pay education, buy assets, pay tributes to chiefs and provide jobs to the locals. The findings revealed that, most of the smallholder plantations owners have witness changes from crude tools to more modern ones; as well it shows that most of the farmers use both local seeds from their surplus and hybrid seeds for planting. Smallholders' plantations are instruments of social stratification among ethnic groups in Mbandjock. Farmers used to sell their produce in markets in Mbandjock. But today, the situation has changed as they produce to sell to large exploiters within and without Mbandjock and even beyond Cameroon. The most common source of finance was personal savings from the farmers but today, farmers can get loans from banks, have donations from NGOs, council, SOSUCAM and even the government.

Finally, our research revealed that, there are new sources of power and conflict in Mbandjock sub-division, created by the presences of the culture of small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock like land grabbing, farmer grazer conflicts and cultural conflict. These situations also contribute to food insecurity in Mbandjock. Small holder plantations produce a lot of food but it is sold to big exploiters, and the brewery companies like Guinness Cameroon SA, Brasserie du Cameroon, etc. who take it out of Mbandjock which make it partly responsible for food insecurity in Mbandjock.

As perspectives, this research focussed more on the two pillars of food security which are food availability and food access. Further research could be carried out to ascertain how to make food production more sustainable in Mbandjock. Furthermore, the research was largely qualitative thus further research could be carried out with the use of quantitative approach to create more evidence.

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B). ORAL SOURCES

N°	NAMES	SEXES	AGES	CLAN	FUNCTIONS	Place of Interview	DATE
1.	Abena jean marie	male	56	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	14/12/2019
2.	Abomo Abomo	male	40	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	15/05/2020
3.	Abomo Andrew	Male	59	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	09/07/2020
4.	Abomo Marie	Female	67	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	23/05/2019
5.	Abomo Nvengue	male	85	Mendouga	Notable	Mendouga	30/09/2020
6.	Abomo Ndeungue	Male	71	Mendouga	Elder (farmer)	Mbandjock	21/07/2020
7.	Abomo Rigobert	male	80	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	04/10/2020
8.	Aboudi Benjamin	Male		Mbandjock	Sosucam worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	21/01/2020
9.	Agengawa Bertrand	Male	24	Santa	Farmer	Mbandjock	08/03/2020
10.	Ako Filtine Ashley	Female	20	Nwa	Farm labourer	Mbandjock	24/07/2020
11.	Ali Aristics	Male	50	North	Farmer	Mbandjock	15/05/2019
12.	Anaba Bernadtte	Female	90	Medouga	Retired farmer (elder)	Mendouga	11/03/2019
13.	Angoula Biyo'o J ean.	Male	68	Mekomba	His Majesty	Mekomba	06/07/2020
14.	Anonena Tatiana	Female	51	Kaelé	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	08/21/2018
15.	Aries	Male	54	Ndo	Farmer	Ndo	18/04/2019
16.	Atamaya Fidelis	Female	27	Ngie	Farmer	Mbandjock	04/04/2019
17.	Ava	Male	55	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	25/07/2020
18.	Ava Dieudonne	Male	55	Mendouga	HRM (Smallholder Farmer)	Mendouga	22/07/2020
19.	Ava Dieudonne	male	55	Mendouga	Chief	Mendouga	14/01/2019
20.	Ava Phillipe	Male		Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	10/06/2019
21.	Badema Paul	Male	53	Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	12/07/2020
22.	Bagdama Amati Junior	Male	56	Ndjore	Pricnce (farmer)	Ndjore	13/07/2020
23.	Bawa Dina Jean Paul	Male	68	Mbandjock	HRH (smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	03/08/2020

				North			
24.	Bedi Pierre	Male	30	North Region	Farmer	Mbandjock	05/04/2019
25.	Bindongo Paul	male	58	Mendouga	Notable (Farmer)	Mendouga	19/11/2020
26.	Bou Msina Simon	Male	55	Yagoua	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	14/10/2020
27.	Che	Male	61	Bafut		Mbandjock	15/04/2019
28.	Chickmana Louis	Male	39	Meta	Policeman	Mbandjock	10/12/2018
29.	Collins Fonabe	Male	43	North West	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	15/04/2019
30.	Ebogo Marie Therese	female	60	Mendouga	Notable (Farmer)	Mendouga	11/08/2020
31.	Edong Olinga	Male	61	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	07/07/2020
32.	Edong Olinga	Male	63	Nio Baboute	Farmer	Nio Baboute	13/09/2020
33.	Endum Ephraim	Male	48	Ngie	Farmer	Mbandjock	03/01/2020
34.	Endum Louis	Male	22	Ngie	Farm labourer	Mbandjock	27/05/2018
35.	Endum Louis T	Male	20	North west	Farmer	Mbandjock	23/09/2018
36.	Endumou Stephan	Male		Ndo	Farmer	Ndo	16/11/2019
37.	Epongabiri Rostan	Female	29	Ngie	Teacher(farm er)	Mbandjock	30/06/2018
38.	Esilikoh David	Male	24	Ngie	Farmer	Mbandjock	13/01/2021
39.	Esilikoh Kennedy	Male	37	Ngie	SOSUCAM Worker(Farmer)	Mbandjock	14/01/2021
40.	Essola Susan	Female	45	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	23/07/2020
41.	Essola Gabriel	Male	48	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	20/07/2020
42.	Essola lius	male	25	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	28/12/2020
43.	Essomba	Male	31	South	Farmer		05/08/2018
44.	Etouga Gladys	Female	53	Ndjore	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Ndjore	13/04/2019
45.	Fida Chantal	Female	48	Doreissou	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	10/02/2021
46.	Fon Miradi	Female	40	Batibo	Farmer	Mbandjock	07/01/2021
47.	Fouda	Male	40	Manguissa	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	05/04/2019
48.	Fouda	Male	65	Mbandjock	SOSUCAM	Mbandjock	08/07/2020

					XX 7 - 11 1		
					Worker		
					(farmer)		
1.0	Frederic Bessala				Rev father		
49.	Ngassa	Male		Mbandjock	(smallholder	Mbandjock	21/01/2020
	14gassa				farmer)		
					SOSUCAM		
50.	Gibola Martin	Male	49	Vellé	worker	Mbandjock	12/01/2020
					(Farmer)	5	
51.	Gladys	Female	45	Mbandjock	Famer	Mbandjock	12/04/2019
011				1120411030011	SOSUCAM	jo •	
52.	Guidena Martin	Male	38	Vellé	worker	Mbandjock	03/03/2020
52.		Whate	50	vene	(Farmer)	Moundjoek	03/03/2020
					SOSUCAM		
52	Haman	N 1	<i>c</i> 0	<u> </u>			20/12/2010
53.	Soumouna	Male	60	Gabaraï	worker	Mbandjock	29/12/2019
					(Farmer)		
					SOSUCAM		
54.	Hawa Alidou	Female	20		worker	Mbandjock	02/02/2021
					(Farmer)		
					SOSUCAM		
55.	Jeannette	Female	43	Mbandjock	Worker	Mbandjock	07/08/2020
					(farmer)	0	
					Businesswom		
				West	an		
56.	Kana Marrie Ann	Female		Region	(smallholder	Mbandjock	18/11/2019
				Region	farmer)		
					Worker		
57.	Kusel	Female	47	North	(smallholder	Mhandiaal	12/12/2019
57.	Kusei	remale	4/	Region		Mbandjock	12/12/2019
					farmer)		
50	T 1 T		50		SOSUCAM		20/04/2020
58.	Langolo Jean	Male	53	Gabaraï	worker	Mbandjock	30/04/2020
					(Farmer)		
59.	Lina Parfait	Male	50	kaïkaï	(smallholder	Mbandjock	20/06/2021
57.		Whate	50	Kuikui	farmer)	Wibundjoek	20/00/2021
					SOSUCAM		
60.	Lina Jeannette	Male	40	Kaïkaï	worker	Mbandjock	10/04/2020
					(Farmer)		
			~~		SOSUCAM		
61.	Lufung Francis	Male	52	Bamessing	Worker	Mbandjock	08/08/2019
	Mai Betou		1				
62.	Bernadette	Female		Wina	Farmer	Mbandjock	13/10/2018
			1		SOSUCAM		1
63.	Maîbetou	Female	52		worker	Mhandiaak	14/02/2020
05.	Bernadette	remale	32	Wina		Mbandjock	14/02/2020
					(Farmer)		
<i>C</i> 4	Manga Zo'o	E. 1		NT1.	D	NT I:	00/07/2010
64.	Sophie	Female		Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	08/07/2019
	1		<u> </u>				
65.	Mangû	Male	57	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	24/07/2020
				1	SOSUCAM		1
66.	Mbam Jeannette	Female	36	Nanga		Mbandjock	05/04/2019

					(smallholder		
					farmer)		
67.	Mbam Jeannette	Female	42	Nanga	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	05/04/2019
68.	Medja Adabel	Mmale	30	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	11/04/2019
69.	Medja Marion	Female	29	Mbandjock	Agric worker	Mbandjock	15/05/2019
70.	Medja Phillipe	Male	64	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	05/08/2020
71.	Medja Marion	Female	54	Nanga	Delegate of agriculture Mbandjock	Mbandjock	15/05/2019
72.	Messanga Benoit	Male	38	Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	09/12/2019
73.	Messi Nomo	Male	49	Mbandjock	(smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	12/06/2018
74.	Messi Jean Parfait	Male	76	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	11/09/2019
75.	Messi Robert Junior	Male	21	Mendouga	Student (farmer)	Mendouga	19/07/2020
76.	Mr Edang Olinga	Male		Mbandjock	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	23/05/2019
77.	Mrs Manga Zo'o	Female	64	Nio Baboute	Farmer	Nio Baboute	10/09/2020
78.	Muluh Devine	Male	24	Santa	(smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	06/11/2021
79.	Muluh Judge	Male	26	Santa	Farm labourer	Mbandjock	19/06/2019
80.	Muluh Simon	Male	67	Santa	Retired Sosucam Worker(Farmer)	Mbandjock	16/02/2020
81.	Mvem,	Female	58	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	11/07/2020
82.	Mvemba	Male	69	Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	16/07/2020
83.	Nalla	Male	58	Biboto	Farmer	Biboto	31/07/2020
84.	Nalla Justine	Female	54	Doua	Farmer	Doua	14/09/2020
85.	Nalla Beltine	Female	29	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	08/07/2020
86.	Nanga	Female	38	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	30/07/2020
87.	Nanga Messi	male	70	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	25/02/2019
88.	Nanga Meyo	Male	74	Ndo	HRH. (Smallholder Farmer)	Ndo	27/07/2020
89.	Ndjock Soume	Male	27	Mbamvelle	Farmer	Mbandjock	01/07/2019

90.	Ndzana	Female	47	Ndjore	(smallholder farmer)	Ndjore	15/07/2020
91.	Neba	Male	53	Bafut	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	19/03/2020
92.	Neba Hanna	female	41	Bafut	Businesswom an and farmer	Mbandjock,	19/03/2020
93.	Ngangini	Male	40	Nio Baboute	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Nio Baboue	20/08/2019
94.	Ngangini Franky	Male	26	Baboute	Student (farmer)	Mbandjock	30/06/2019
95.	Njamjine	Female	57	Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	19/07/2020
96.	Njock,	Female	50	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	12/07/2020
97.	Nkou	Male	65	Mbandjock	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	15/04/2020
98.	Nkou Maglorie,	Male	38	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	11/07/2020
99.	Nomo Jean Paul	Male	75	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	04/08/2020
100	Nsak Odjoe Colette	Female	48	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	01/07/2020
101	Olinga	Male	56	Mbandjock	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	15/04/2019
102	Olinga Emmanuel	male	42	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	26/06/2020
103	Olinga Senior	Male	65	Mendouga	Farmer	Mendouga	03/10/2019
104	Olinga Fulbert	Male	64		Farmer	Mbandjock	26/05/2019
105	Ombe Opick	Female	40	Mfoundi	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	18/04/2019
106	Ongolo	Male	49	Minkouma	Farmer	Minkouma	11/04/2019
107	Opick LIUS	Male		Ndo	Farmer	Ndo	14/11/2019
108	Opick	Male	51	Ndo,	Farmer	Ndo	11/03/2020
109	Otto Essomba	Male	32	Bulu	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	15/04/2019
110	Oudou Flourence	Female	60	Ndjore	Farmer	Ndjore	14/07/2020
111	Pitep Poule Yvanna Ryckielle	Female		Nio Baboute	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Nio Baboute	13/06/2019
112	Rene Deguale	Male	73	Ndjore	Farmer (elder)	Ndjore	17/07/2020

113	Rose	Female	47	Ndo	Head of CIG femme Actif des Ndo	Ndo	29/07/2020
114	Sipakang Pador	Male	29	Nanga	Farmer	Mbandjock	02/03/2019
115	Tambe	Male	27	South West	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Mbandjock	15/05/2019
116	Tambi Eyong Didier	Male	24	Mamfe	Teacher (smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	14/03/2018
117	Tata Fon	Male	34	Kumbo	Teacher (smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	28/12/2019
118	Toua	Male	65	Ndjore	SOSUCAM Worker (farmer)	Ndjore	18/07/2020
119	Toua Felicite	Female	60	Doua	Farmer	Doua	16/09/2020
120	Toua julitte	Female	52	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	09/07/2020
121	Toulou Philomenie	Female	51	Ndo	Mayor Mbandjock council (smallholder farmer)	Mbandjock	15/07/2019
122	Toupmulda Adias	Female	43	Vellé	SOSUCAM worker (Farmer)	Mbandjock	19/01/2021
123	Wanfor Felix	Male	58	Northwest	SOSUCAM worker (smallholder Farmer)	Mbandjock	13/04/2019
124	Warren	Male		Bamum	Teacher (farmer)	Mbandjock	15/04/2019
125	Zauerer	Male	37	Bafia	Farmer	Mbandjock	15/04/2019
126	Zoa Emile	Male	70	Mekomba	Farmer	Mekomba	10/07/2020
127	Zoa Zoa Joseph	Male	53	Mbandjock	(smallholder farmer) (researcher)	Yaoundé	06/08/2020
128	Zoa Guy	Male	35	Mbandjock	Farmer	Mbandjock	18/04/2019
129	Zoa Bernard	Male	58	Ndo	Farmer	Ndo	28/07/2020
130	Zombo Philimon	Male	61	Biboto	Farmer	Biboto	03/03/2021
131	Zombo susan	Female	50	Biboto	Farmer	Biboto	03/03/2021

GLOSARY WORDS

Glosary of words in the voute language

meinw :	gods
taageureup :	Ancestors
d'où meigein :	shrine
"Mveigne" :	Cheif
Gugare mweing :	Notable
daigne :	Dry season
nnaii :	Raining season
gouhoum:	cassava
mougoum:	maize
ngoudoun :	Plantain
Macaba :	Cocoyam
Ndoula:	Good evening
bateun :	Storage
Moukour nougwi :	old woman
Nougwii:	woman
Maab///Meigne:	Notable
Daigne :	Dry season
Seim / Nna :	Saison des pluies
Koukoum :	Cassava
Koundoung:	Plantain
Djeibaa:	Good morning
Douliyard :	Good evening
Nyabé:	Sanctuary
Kemoyiu:	graveyard
<i>Voute festival :</i>	

tembé :	animate instrument
Mekoumbou:	dance group
Derne Nyabe :	ritual of cleaning of graveyard in Baboute of Ndjore
mecande :	egussi paste

Glosary of words in Yezoum language

Nkokoma :	supreme god
Mkpass :	annual festival
Ka'a :	ritual
Engane :	ritual
messing :	festival
Nkoe :	dance practice during the festival.
Aluk:	marriage ceremony ritual
Akous :	The ritual of widowhood
Evou :	witchcraft
Awou :	burial ritual ceremony
Alouk :	Marriage
okok, kpem:	food with cassava leaves and sugar
mvipla'a:	groundnut paste with smoked meat wrapped in banana leaves dish of the Mekomba people
Minkong :	the traditional dish of the Ndo people cooked with fish
Inyengue:	Abok minkouk and Esani traditional dances which are very attractive, nice to watch

Glosary of words in Yezoum language Mendouga village

Ndjom mot:	Old man
Mingai:	Women
Nkunkoumai:	Chief
Iherman inkunk	coumai : Notable
Be zambai:	Gods
Be tara:	Ancesrors
Issaip:	Dry season
Oudjonne:	Rainy season
Mboung:	Cassava
Phonne :	Maize
Iqouanne:	Plantain
Mekaba :	Cocoyam
Ibagla:	Stoarage
Mbebe tie:	Good morning
Mbebe ngogle:	Good evening

Glosary in toupouri language

- *Feo Kague* : the cock festival
- *Wandore*: the spiritual leader

Mo'ope and *So'oba*: Spirits



ANNEX 01:

INTERVIEW GUIDE

(ForTraditional rulers, Elders, Farm owners, Laboural, Techniciens in SOSUCAM, Delegation of agriculture, and the Municipal council)

<u>Topic</u>: Smallholders plantations and the indigenous peoples' food security system in Mbandjock Cameroon

Discipline: Anthropology, **Specialization**: Anthropology of Development,

Purpose: We are expected to present a research project that relates the theoritical work in class with the practice in the field at the end of our academic training. It is therefore to this effect that we have decided to design and put before you this interview guide. It carries questions on the different aspects of our research topic and orientation. Its main aim is to make us to be grounded with knowledge relating thereto that can in turn permit us to bring our own modest contribution to the construction of the scientific building and to be able to propose mechanisms that can help in the reinforcement of the effective application culture on smallholders' plantations agriculture.

Our choice for you to be one of our key informants is therefore based on your profound knowledge and experience on culture and smallholders plantations, especially on those concerning corn and cassava. So, we will be very grateful if you dedicate some of your precious time to answer the questions that we will be posing.

At the same time, we are assuring you that the confidentiality of the information that you are going to give to us and your privacy shall be duly guaranteed where and when need be and that the information given to us shall be used uniquely for the purpose for which it is intended as stipulated by law N° 91/023 of 16 December 1991.

By: Bonuh Clement Che (Research Student),

Pr. Paschal KUM AWAH and Pr. Henri MOUSSIMA NJANJO

(Supervisor and co).

I. Identification of the Research Participant(s)

Name(optional)	 	Sex	
	of education		
Occupation			of
responsibility	 		
	interview		of
interview	 		

II. Information about mbandjock and the perception of small holder plantations

- Origin of the Mbanjock people
- Belief system of the people of Mbandjock
- Principal components group in Mbandjock
- Politically organization of the people
- Secret groups, elders and Others
- Perception of plantation agriculture
- Knowledge about smallholders plantations agriculture
- Characteristics of smallholders farms
- Farm setting of smallholders plantations
- Cultural events and activities practice in smallholders plantations
- The role of smallholders plantations
- The activities practice on the farm and outside the farm

III. The practice of small holder plantation agriculture in Mbanjock,

- Farms cultivation method in Mbandjock
- Ways of land acquisation for smallholders plantations in Mbandjock
- Woman and landownership in Mbandjock
- Crops cultivated in Mbandjock
- Time and duration of cultivation
- Tools use in cultivation
- Agricultural inputs
- Market of outputs
- Sources of income for production
- Oganisation of work in the farms
- Time of the year that crops are planted and havested
- Conservation techniques of crops
- Those involve in the conservation process of crops
- Quantity of crops cultivated by an avarage crop producer in Mbandjock
- Role play by the government, council and SOSUCAM in smallholders plantations agriculture in Mbandjock

IV. Socio-cultural prescriptions in small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock

- Rituals related to agriculture
- Cultural practices regulating the ownership of land and or smallholders plantations
- Prescriptions considered in smallholders plantations
- Smallholders plantations and spiritual representation
- Prejudices and taboos present in the practice of smallholders plantations agriculture
- Settlers and foriegners respect these taboos
- Role of rituals, prejudices and taboo in smallholder planttations

V. Dynamics of the practice of small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock

• Changes in the practice of smallholders plantations agriculture

- Cultural changes
- Changes in the methods and tools use
- Changes in the domain of crops types and seeds
- Changes in the domain of output of crops
- Resistance to changes in production
- Different periods and duration of changes

VI. Socio-cultural impacts of small holder plantation agriculture in Mbandjock

- Socio-cultural challenges in respect of community values
- Smallholders plantations in Mbandjock
- Advantages of smallholders plantations
- Disadvantages of smallholders plantations
- Different functions of crops in Mbandjock
- Alimentary or food function crops
- Rituals functions of crops
- Economic function of crops

VII. Suggestions and Prospectives

- Efforts being made to reinforce culture and smallholders plantations agriculture in Mbandjock
- Things that can further be done to boast the situation
- Intervention you solicit in any eventual state or any other organization be it local or international intervention in boasting the effective of culture and smallholders plantations.

Thanks for your collaboration.

ANNEX 02:

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

(ForTraditional rulers, Elders, Farm owners, Laboural, Techniciens in SOSUCAM, Delegation of agriculture, and the Municipal council)

<u>Topic</u>: Smallholders plantations and the indigenous peoples' food security system in Mbandjock Cameroon

Discipline: Anthropology,

Specialization: Anthropology of Development,

Purpose: We are expected to present a research project that relates the theoritical work in class with the practice in the field at the end of our academic training. It is therefore to this effect that we have decided to design and put before you people this Focused Group Discussion execution guide. It carries questions on the different aspects of our research topic and orientation. Its main aim is to make us to be grounded with knowledge relating thereto that can in turn permit us to bring our own modest contribution to the construction of the scientific building and to be able to propose mechanisms that can help in the reinforcement of the effective application culture on small holder plantations agriculture.

Our choice for you to be one of our key informants is therefore based on your profound knowledge and experience on culture and smallholders plantations, especially on those concerning corn and cassava. So, we will be very grateful if you dedicate some of your precious time to answer the questions that we will be posing.

At the same time, we are assuring you that the confidentiality of the information that you are going to give to us and your privacy shall be duly guaranteed where and when need be and that the information given to us shall be used uniquely for the purpose for which it is intended as stipulated by law N° 91/023 of 16 December 1991.

By: Bonuh Clement Che (Research Student),

Pr. Paschal KUM AWAH and Pr. Henri MOUSSIMA NJANJO

(Supervisor and co).

I. IDENTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Names		
(optional)		
Sexes		
Ages		
Levelsof education		
Occupations		
Posts		of
responsibility		
Date and place of FGD		
Beginning ofFGD	End of FGD	

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

• Creation of the farm,

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- Functioning of farms,
- Infrastructural evolution concerning the smallholders plantations,
- Evolution of labourers
- Evolution in management of smallholders
- Belief system (tradition) of the people of Mbandjock
- Principal components group in Mbandjock
- Politically organization
- Secret groups, elders and Others
- Perception of plantation agriculture
- Knowledge about smallholders plantations agriculture
- Characteristics of a smallholders plantations agriculture in Mbandjock

III. THE PRACTICE OF SMALL HOLDER PLANTATION AGRICULTURE IN MBANJOCK,

- farms cultivation
- land acquisation for smallholders plantations in Mbandjock
- woman and landownership in mbandjock
- crops cultivated
- Where, time and duration of cultivation

- tools use in cultivation
- agricultural inputs
- market of outputs
- sources of income for production
- work oganisation in these farms
- crops planting and havesting period
- conservation techniques of crops
- Those involve in the conservation process of crops
- quantity of crops cultivated by an avarage crop producer in mbandjock
- government, council and SOSUCAM role in smallholders plantations agriculture in Mbandjock

IV. SOCIO-CULTURAL PRESCRIPTIONS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN SMALLHOLDERS PLANTATION AGRICULTURE IN MBANDJOCK

- rituals related to agriculture
- cultural practices regulating the ownership of land and or smallholders plantations
- prescriptions considered in smallholders plantations
- smallholders plantations and spiritual representation
- Prejudices and taboos in the practice of smallholders' plantations agriculture
- foriegners respect these taboos
- rituals, prejudices and taboo help in smallholder planttations

V. THE DYNAMICS OF THE PRACTICE OF SMALLHOLDERS PLANTATION AGRICULTURE IN MBANDJOCK, CENTRE REGION OF CAMEROON

- changes in the practice of smallholders plantations agriculture
- cultural changes
- changes in the methods and tools use
- changes in the domain of crops types and seeds
- changes in the domain of output of crops
- resistance to changes in production
- changes contributing to smallholders plantations agriculture
- periods and duration of these changes

VI.SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF SMALLHOLDERS PLANTATION AGRICULTURE ON COMMUNITIES IN MBANDJOCK, CENTRE REGION

- socio-cultural challenges in respect of community values
- essentiality are smallholders plantations in Mbandjock
- advantages of smallholders plantations
- disadvantages of smallholders plantations
- functions of crops in Mbandjock
- Alimentary or food function crops
- Rituals functions of crops
- Economic function of crops

VII. Suggestions and Prospectives

- efforts made to reinforce culture and smallholders plantations agriculture in Mbandjock
- other things that can further be done to boast the situation
- The state or any other organization be it local or international intervene in boasting the effective of culture and smallholders plantations in general and in corn and cassava in particular, what type of intervention would you solicit

Thanks for your collaboration.

ANNEX 03:

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Site:	
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Observer's name:....

Beginning of observation......End of observation.....

Items	Observations	Comments
I. PERCEPTION OF SMALLHOLDERS		
PLANTATIONS		
• Farm setting		
• Belief system of the people of		
Mbandjock		
• Principal components group in		
Mbandjock		
Characteristics of smallholders farms		
Politically organization		
Role of smallholders plantations		
• smallholders plantations representation		
• cultural events and activities practice in		
smallholders plantations		
• Activities on the farm and outside the		
farm		
• Others,		
II.THE PRACTICE OF SMALL HOLDER		
PLANTATION		
Farms cultivation		
• Land acquired for smallholder		
Woman and landownership		
Crops cultivated		
• Time and duration of cultivation		

Tools use in cultivation	
Agricultural inputs	
Marketing of outputs	
Sources of income for production	
Work oganisation in the farms	
• Time of the year that crops planted and havested	
Conservation techniques of crops	
• Those involve in the conservation	
Quantity of crops cultivated by an avarage crop producer	
Role play by the government, council and SOSUCAM in smallholders plantations	
III. SOCIO-CULTURAL PRESCRIPTIONS	
Rituals related to agriculture	
Cultural practices regulating the	
ownership of land	
Prescriptions considered in smallholders plantations	
Spiritual representation	
Prejudices and taboos present in smallholders plantations agriculture	
VI. THE DYNAMICS OF SMALLHOLDERS	
PLANTATION	
• Changes in the practice of smallholders plantations	
Cultural changes	
Changes in the methods and tools	
Changes in the domain of crops types and seeds	

• Changes in the domain of output of	
crops	
Resistance to changes in production	
Changes contributing to smallholders	
plantations	
Periods and duration of changes	
VI. Socio-cultural impacts of smallholders	
plantation	
Challenges in community values	
• Essentiality of smallholders plantations	
Advantages of smallholders	
Disadvantages of smallholders	
Functions of crops	
Financing of smallholder	

ANNEX 04:

UNIVERSITE DE VAOUNDE I

FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES

UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

DEPARTEMENT D'ANTHROPOLOGIE

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

AUTORISATION DE RECHERCHE

Je soussigné, Professeur MBONJI Edjenguèlè, chef du Département d'Anthropologie de la Faculté des Arts, Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Yaoundé I, atteste que l'étudiant BONUH Clement CHE, Matricule 10K957 est inscrit en Doctorat /Ph.D dans ledit département. Il mêne ses travaux universitaires sur le thême : « Culture and smallholders plantation agriculture in Mbandjock, Centre region of Cameroon » sous la direction du Pr. KUM AWAH Paschal et la co-direction du Pr. MOUSSIMA NJANJO Henri.

A cet effet, je vous saurais gré des efforts que vous voudriez bien faire afin de fournir à l'intéressé toute information en mesure de l'aider.

En foi de quoi la présente autorisation de recherche lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

La Chel o Departement House Hoony Colony We

ANNEX 05:

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN PAIS-TRAVAIL-PATRIE REGION DU CENTRE DEPARTEMENT DE LA HAUTE-SANAGA ARRONDISSEMENT DE MBANDJOCK SOUS-PREFECTURE DE MBANDJOCK SECRETARIAT PARTICULIER REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON PEACE - WORK -FATHERIAND CENTER REGION UPPER-SANAGA DIVISION MBANDJOCK SUBDIVISION MBANDJOCK SUBDIVISIONAL OFFICE PARTICULAR SECRETARIAT

AUTORISATION DE COLLECTE DES DONNEES N° 102/02/01/SP

Madame le Sous-préfet de l'Arrondissement de Mbandjock soussigné, autorise Monsieur **BONUH Clément CHE**, Etudiant en doctorat en faculté des Arts, lettres et sciences humaines à l'Université de Yaoundé I ; d'effectuer des recherches dans l'Arrondissement de Mbandjock. Relativement au thème : «culture and senall@roldes plantation agriculture in Mbandjock, center region of cameroon ».

A cet effet, il devra prendre attache avec les responsables du secteur concerné, afin de bénéficier d'un bon encadrement et suivi pendant sa période de stage de 13 mois, du 06 mai 2019 au 06 juin 2020.

En foi de quoi la présente autorisation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit./-

MBANDJOCK, le 0 6 MAI 2019 AMPLIATIONS : PREFET HAUTE SANAGA N/E -DAADER/MBA LE SOUS-PREFE CHRONO-ARCHIVES WANKO WANKAM Annie Barbara épse SANGON LECCO Administrateur Civil

ANNEX 06: CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDÉ I

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET ÉDUCATIVES *********



THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES ********** FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTRES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

******* DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY *******

DOCTORAL RESEARCH

CONSENT FORM

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This Informed Consent Form is for smallholder farmers, traditional and spiritual leaders, plantation workers, agricultural technicians, indigenous people and settlers of the Mbandjock community who, we are inviting to participate in this academic research, titled Smallholders plantations *and the indigenous people food security system in Mbandjock – centre region – Cameroon. A contribution to the Anthropology of development.*

My name is **BONUH CLEMENT CHE** and I am a PhD student at the Department of Anthropology of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Science of the University of Yaoundé I.

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:

• Information Sheet (to share information about the research with you)

• Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form

Part I: Information Sheet

Introduction

I am **BONUH CLEMENT CHE** a PhD student at the Department of Anthropology of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Science of the University of Yaoundé I. I am doing research on small holder plantations and indigenous people food security system which is very common in this country and in this region. I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of this research. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask them to me or to my supervisor.

Purpose of the research

Small holder plantations and indigenous food security system are evitable phenomenon in our community. We want to find ways to maintenance it in all phases. We believe that you can help us by telling us what you know both about smallholders plantations and indigenous food security system in our homes and in our community in general. We want to learn how small holder plantations practice, perception, managed and what is the influence of their cultural believes on it. We want to learn about the dynamics of small holder plantations, the food security system in homes and the community at large, and the impact this practice has in the community. We also want to know more about the representations surrounding small holder plantations and indigenous people food security system because this knowledge would help us to learn how to better promote and developed the area.

Type of Research Intervention

This research will involve your participation in an interview that will take about thirty minutes. **Participant Selection**

You are being invited to take part in this research because we feel that your experience as a smallholder farmer, ethno spiritual practitioners, ethno plantation worker, traditional authority, indigent and settler can contribute much to our understanding and knowledge on small holder plantations and indigenous food security system.

• Example of question to elucidate understanding: Do you know why we are asking you to take part in this research? Do you know what the research is about?

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. If you choose not to participate all the services, you receive will continue and nothing will change. The choice that you make will have no bearing on your job or on

any work-related evaluations or reports. You may change your mind later and stop participating even if you agreed earlier.

• Examples of question to elucidate understanding: If you decide not to take part in this research research, do you know what your options are? Do you know that you do not have to take part in this research research, if you do not wish to? Do you have any questions?

Procedures

We are asking you to help us learn more about small holder plantations and indigenous food security system in this community. We are inviting you to take part in this research project. If you accept, you will be asked to participate in an interview with myself. During the interview, I will sit down with you in a comfortable place of your choice, if it is better for you, the interview can take place in a place of your preference. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. No one else but the interviewer will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except BONUH CLEMENT CHE will access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be tape-recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the tape. The tape will be kept safe with a password and encryption if hacked. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else sto the tapes. The tapes will be destroyed after eight weeks of data collection.

Duration

The research takes place over 2years in total. During that time, we will visit you two times for interviewing you at one-week interval and each interview will last for about thirty minutes each.

• Examples of question to elucidate understanding: If you decide to take part in the research, do you know how much time will the interview take? Where will it take place? Do you know how much time will the discussion with other people take? If you agree to take part, do you know if you can stop participating? Do you know that you may not respond to the questions that you do not wish to respond to? Etc. Do you have any more questions?

Risks

We are asking you to share with us some very personal and confidential information, and you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the interview if you do not wish to do so, and that is also fine. You do not have to give us any reason for not responding to any question, or for refusing to take part in the interview.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to help us find out more about smallholders plantations and indigenous people food security system.

Reimbursements

You will not be provided any incentive to take part in the research. However, we will acknowledge you in the final work for your time.

• **Examples of question to elucidate understanding:** Can you tell me if you have understood correctly the benefits that you will have if you take part in the research? Do you have any other questions?

Confidentiality

The research being done in small holder plantations and indigenous people food security system. Others may draw attention and if you participate you may be asked questions in these areas. We will not be sharing information about you to anyone. The information that we will collect from this research project will be kept private. Any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. Only the researchers will know what your number is and we will lock that information up with a lock and passkey. It will not be shared with or given to anyone except my research supervisor, who will have access to the information. You can ask me any more questions about any part of the research research, if you wish to. Do you have any questions?

Part II: Certificate of Consent

This section must be written in the first person. It should include a few brief statements about the research and be followed by a statement similar to the one in bold below. If the participant is an illiterate but gives oral consent, a witness must sign. A researcher or the person going over the informed consent must sign each consent. Because the certificate is an integral part of the informed consent and not a stand-alone document, the layout or design of the form should reflect this.

The certificate of consent should avoid statements that have "I understand...." phrases. The understanding should perhaps be better tested through targeted questions during the reading of the information sheet (some examples of questions are given above), or through the questions being asked at the end of the reading of the information sheet, if the potential participant is reading the information sheet him/herself.

Example: I have been invited to participate in research about malaria and local health practices.

(This section is mandatory) I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I

have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this research Print Name of Participant

Signature of Participant _____

Date

Day/month/year If illiterate 1

1 A literate witness must sign (if possible, this person should be selected by the participant and should have no connection to the research team). Participants who are illiterate should include their thumb print as well.

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

Print name of witness_____ Thumb print of participant

Signature of witness

Date _____

Day/month/year

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands that the following will be done:

1.

2.

3.

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the research, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher/person taking the consent_____

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent_____

Date

Day/month/y

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