

# **Rural Poverty and Agricultural Development in Cameroon**

by Aloysius Ajab AMIN

pour

**"Pauvrete et développement durable"**

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**Prof. Aloysius Ajab AMIN**

**IDEP –Dakar**

**B.P. 3186 Dakar, Senegal**

**Tel: (221) 823 10 20**

**Fax: (221) 822 29 64**

**E-mail: [ajab1@hotmail.com](mailto:ajab1@hotmail.com)**

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## **Abstract**

Evidence shows that Cameroon's poverty is mainly a rural phenomenon. The rural sector is agricultural based activities. The paper analyses the characteristics of rural poverty. It brings out the female poverty and shows the urban and rural linkages based on the 1996 ECAM data. To eradicate poverty, the paper strongly articulates greater investment, increase in agriculture and agricultural research particularly in order to increase sharply agricultural productivity and value added in agricultural production and in changing the rural marginal rate of transformation.

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### **1) Introduction:**

The Cameroonian economy sustained a high economic performance for the period 1961- 1986. This performance resulted much more from the agriculture sector than any other sector of the economy although there was greater boost from the petroleum sub-sector towards the end of the 1970s. The petroleum production started in the mid 1970s with the highest production level of about 9.2 million tons and export of 7.7 million tons in 19985 (Amin 2000). Agriculture was (and still) the main activities in the economy although petroleum output share in GDP increased to 18 percent, thus reducing agricultural share in GDP from 42.3 percent in 1962 to 33.4 percent in 1991 and 30 percent in 1998. Yet Cameroon's production of primary crops gradually increased.

The agricultural sector has been and is still being dominated by smallholder production with low productivity per capita. The agriculture sector has very high potentials for increase in productivity. The industrial sector is dominated mainly by firms with high value added in their productive activities than the primary sector, which is characterised, by agricultural activities. The tertiary sector mainly regarded as the service sector has both large and small firms which value added in most cases is not very much. This is mainly found in the public sub-sector and the informal sector. The importance of the agricultural sector is also in its employment of about 70 percent of active population, and contributing of above 30 percent of GDP and 62 percent of total exports. The gradual decline of oil sub-sector is also continuously increasing the dominance and the importance of the agricultural sector particularly in terms of its contribution to GDP. This is rather a special feature, because in many African countries the relative contribution to GDP has been declining; partly due to increasing diversification of the economy and also due to the crisis in the agricultural sector. The share of industrial production in GDP has been on yearly average of 31 percent, but contributing less than seven percent to the total exports. The service sector is now estimated to contribute to almost 35 percent to GDP.

As from 1986 the GDP fell sharply, such that over the period 1986-1993, the per capita income declined with the per capita consumption by nearly six percent. This also resulted to the collapse of the industrial production, which negatively affected household consumption. The agricultural production in all the major crops fell also; there has been a slight increase in the output of

agricultural crop production. Activities increased in the informal sector, which tends to absorb most of the unemployed and underemployed in the urban formal sector.

Both internal and external factors were responsible for the collapse of the Cameroonian economy, with the external factors being mainly due to fall of the commodity World prices – worsened by the depreciation of the US dollar in which the Cameroon's exports are denominated. The internal factors were mainly structural and institutional. Thus the cumulative effect resulted to low and reduced income particularly for those involved in agricultural activities. The farmers' income was greatly reduced. Despite the fact that farmers' income was quite low, the situation was worsened later on by the reduction of the salaries of the civil servants in 1993, followed by the 1994 CFA franc devaluation of 50 percent relative to the French franc.

## **2) Settlement Pattern and Poverty:**

It is against this background that few rigorous poverty studies have been undertaken in Cameroon. All the studies show that poverty was not only a dominant rural phenomenon, but that Cameroonians are worse off today (1996-2000) than before 1986. That is poverty affects the rural population much more than those in the urban areas of the economy. Yet these studies have not gone much in detail into the characteristics of the rural sector, where most of the poor live and eke out their livelihood. And because of the large proportion of the population that live in absolute poverty, poverty reduction or elimination has become a major national objective.

Cameroon has a settlement pattern similar to that of most African countries where the greater majority of the population is concentrated in the rural and urban areas. In some countries the proportion of the population settling between rural and urban areas is equally important. This is the intermediate areas or semi-urban areas. In the paper we classify them as other towns. In the rural areas, the population tends to be sparsely settled with total population much less than 5,000; population in the intermediate areas or other towns is more concentrated, having between 5,000 and 20,000 people. The urban area is more densely populated with more than 20,000 people (Lipton and Ravallion, 1995, Cameroon 1998). Cameroon's population figures on these major population settlement areas are much less the same as in most African countries. But the rural area is much more sparsely populated, while the poor are densely concentrated in certain section of urban areas. Thus posing greater challenges particularly for the provision of social services and other services in both urban and rural areas, more so in the rural areas where the population

is scattered and not concentrated. Yet this makes targeting much easier in the rural sector, given the necessary resources.

### **3) Agricultural Production Pattern and Poverty:**

We briefly discuss the agriculture sector because this is where the poor are mainly involved. Studies on Cameroon's poverty (World Bank, 1995; Njinkeu et al., 1997; Lynch, 1991; PNUD, 1998; Amin and Dubios, 1999; Fambon et al., 2000) show that poverty is a rural phenomenon. Cameroon's agriculture falls under the primary sector of the economy. Agriculture includes livestock, fishery, forestry and crops. The crop sub-sector is further divided into two other sub-sectors - crops produced mainly for exports (export crops) and crops produced mainly for domestic consumption (food crops). The crop sub-sector is the largest of the agricultural sub-sectors accounting for yearly average of 76 percent of agriculture value, with all agricultural production being undertaken in the rural areas mainly by small scale (small holder) producers. The poor are mostly concentrated in the rural areas, where agricultural activities are carried out. The different components of the agricultural sector are gradually changing over time, with the crop sub-sector continuing to provide the major agricultural contribution to GDP and being the livelihood of the majority of the population.

### **4) Regions Description and Data:**

Household survey 1996 (Enquête Camerounaise auprès des ménages (ECAM)) were carried out nationally identifying six strata. Based on the Household – Consumption Survey (ECAM), the country was divided into six regions: Douala the largest town, Yaounde the capital and the 'other towns treated as urban areas with 40 percent of the nation's population in urban areas. The other three regions which are rural are Forest area (Covering Centre, South and East provinces), Plateau area (covering North-West, West, South-West and Littoral Provinces), and Savannah area (covering Far North, North and Adamaoua provinces). The savannah area is generally prone to desertification, although Adamaoua is quite favourable for agriculture activities. Additional land could easily be brought into production particularly in the Forest area. Still there is much room for greater increase in agricultural productivity. Agricultural research is still very small and not much value added to agricultural products, especially on agricultural exports. This reflects under-investment and under utilisation or not proper utilisation of the resources in the sector. The great variety of food staples that are grown in these areas of the country are not widely grown in

other parts of the African continent. Available research shows that greater productivity or high yields are achievable with improved varieties, application of fertilisers, and improved way of soil management and resource management with the provision of necessary infrastructure and institutions.

### 5) Measuring Poverty and the Poverty Line:

Poverty measurement is important for identifying exactly the numerical differences of poverty across regions or sectors. It gives an overview of individual experiences as well reflecting an aggregate view of poverty over time. Measuring poverty leads to formulating and testing hypotheses on the determinant/causes of poverty, which could help in setting targets for also judging actions/measures taken to combat poverty.

The poverty measures of Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (FGT) (1984) incorporate various degrees of poverty. Hence the poverty index could be written as:

$$P_{\alpha} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q (1 - y_i/z)^{\alpha} \quad \text{or} \quad \dots\dots\dots 1$$

$$P_{\alpha} = \frac{1}{n} \int (1 - y_i/z)^{\alpha} \dots\dots\dots 1a$$

$\alpha$  is the poverty aversion parameter. When  $\alpha = 2$ , the proportionate short fall from the poverty line is the power 2; which captures the magnitude of the shortfall. It is summed over the poor ( $q$ ) and normalised by the total population ( $n$ ).  $P_2$ , therefore, reflects high sensitivity to the poorest of the poor (ultra-poor). Intuitively, as  $\alpha$  takes values of 0, 1, and 2 the poverty index ( $P_{\alpha}$ ) becomes more sensitive to the extreme poverty. When  $\alpha = 0$  we have the head count poverty ratio and when it takes one, it is the income gap ratio or per capita income gap, or the 'normalised poverty deficit' showing the level of the poor below the poverty line. Until recently, studies on poverty in Africa discussed only of the head count ratio, the number of the poor. The depth and severity of poverty was little discussed. This was also problematic because there could be some level of reduction in the depth or severity of poverty without the reduction of the number of poor.

## 6) Poverty Line:

Poverty line is crucially important in distinguishing the poor – that is identifying which households or individuals are poor and how poor they are. It is equally important to be able to say how much poverty exists. This involves setting the poverty line that separates the poor from the non-poor. Those regarded as poor are those with inability to generate enough resources to satisfy their basic needs which include food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities of life. The basic needs are normally measured and priced in a given currency within a given context. There may be disagreements on what constitute a minimum of a bundle of basic needs for a cut off point. Who determines the bundle of basic needs and on what basis? However the consumption units (such as households or individuals) are usually classified from a cut-off amount (the poverty line) separating the poor (those below the poverty line ) from the non-poor (those above the poverty line).

Arbitrary setting of poverty lines may tend to ignore that such lines distort poverty profiles and poverty analysis. Impacts below the poverty line or immediately above the line can produce very profound policy implications as the most vulnerable groups could just be above the poverty line as well as the extreme poor or the poorest of the poor could be well below the poverty line. Because of the sensitivity of poverty lines to changes in individual or household welfare, it is important to give particular attention in constructing poverty lines. Despite the conceptual and empirical issues involved in setting the poverty lines, the basic issue is having a poverty line that generates a consistent poverty profile such that relative positions of households or individuals do not change no matter the sub-groups they belong. When there are different poverty lines according to different regions, or rural poverty lines set below urban poverty lines inferences become more clouded. In fact we use the same national poverty line, more so as the objective is to eliminate poverty. Maintaining everybody above a common national poverty line. That is having a national target or objective with a common/standardised measure. The goal should be to eliminate/eradicate poverty and not just to reduce it.

We, therefore, apply the consumption expenditures method – the food calorie or energy intake (FEI) in estimating the poverty line. We estimate the total cost of food necessary to attain a given level of food energy intake that could be obtained from a given basket of food. Cameroon adopts the 2400 calories – the FAO recommended level- as the standard below which one is regarded as being poor. So we obtained the total expenditure on a basket of food items correspondent to this

level of calories. We used more than ten food items in estimating the food (consumption) poverty line. This gives us our poverty line of 256 francs per day per adult equivalent.

We take a parametric or econometric method in measuring or establishing the food (consumption) poverty line. The explicit calorie expenditure function is here expressed as

$$\ln E_i = a + bC_i + u_i \dots\dots\dots 2$$

$E_i$  is the total expenditure on food and  $C_i$  the consumption of calories by the household  $i$ , and  $u$  is the error term, but we express these in adult equivalent consumption.

The daily food poverty line  $Z$  can be estimated from this equation:

$$Z = e^{(a+bC)} \dots\dots\dots 3$$

with  $a$  and  $b$  being the estimated coefficients and  $e$  base of natural logarithm. In our case the above equation becomes

$$Z = e^{(a+2400b)} \dots\dots\dots 4$$

Based on the above equations, we establish the poverty line from which we use the FGT poverty index to bring out the different measures of poverty. The national consumption poverty line calculated is 256 francs cfa daily per adult equivalent.

## 7) Rural and Urban Poverty

Poverty incidence is much higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. From table 1, based on the poverty line of 256 francs cfa adult equivalent per day, it is observed that 45.78 percent of the people are poor in the urban areas as against 82.28 percent in the rural areas. Also the poverty depth in urban is 16.03 percent as against 36.6 percent in the rural areas. In terms of contribution to poverty, urban areas contribute (19.35 percent) much less to poverty than the rural areas with 76.35 percent. Hence poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon. All the three estimates of poverty show that poverty is more wide spread, more in depth and more severe in rural areas than in urban areas.

The estimates in table 2, show rural poverty to be much higher in rural forest (82.51 percent) and plateau(82.56 percent) than in savannah (74 percent). And it is interesting to notice that the proportion of poverty in the other towns (semi-urban areas) (44.53%) is not as high as in the urban towns of Yaoundé. (53.08%) and Douala (44.53%). Yet in terms of contribution to poverty the other towns (8.12%) contribute more to poverty than either Douala (5.83%) or Yaoundé (5.4%). In terms of severity and depth, Yaoundé seems to be far much worse than Douala and other towns. But with the three rural areas, the rural forest area present a much in depth and severity of poverty than the other two rural areas. These three rural areas have more than 60% of the poor, and more than 80 percent of the rural poor are involved in agriculture. Agriculture is the principal economic activity of the poor in the rural areas.

Hence in Cameroon, rural poverty is commonly linked to agriculture and land, and urban poverty tends to be more heterogeneous in the way income is generated. Thus suggesting different anti-poverty strategies for the two areas. In the rural areas the focus is agriculture with high labour intensity, where targeting may not pose greater problems as in the case of urban poverty with diverse pattern of activities and sources of income. There is also a wide range of skills and greater inequalities in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Hence part of the problem of poverty is the low employment opportunities because of low physical and human capital which push people into low productive activities, particularly in the urban areas.

## **8) Female Poverty**

There seems to be no 'feminisation' of poverty in the case of Cameroon (table 3) as most case studies of poverty in Africa show. Instead as seen in Cameroon's case (table 3) more men than women are poor, and men contribute (83.75 percent) more to poverty than women (16.11 percent). Yet majority of women live in the rural areas. The Cameroon data tend to show that consumption poverty incidence, on average is not greater among women. Part of the explanation is that women are the principal providers of food to the households. The women are, however, severe victims of other aspects of poverty. They work for longer hours than men, both in the fields and in domestic activities. While most of the men's labour is translated into market labour, little of women's labour is market labour. Closely connected to this, is the situation where women are some what caught in poverty trap due to cultural/traditional discrimination against females in job assignments and education. The situation is more evidence in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

## **9) Household Composition and Poverty:**

There seems to be a linear relationship between poverty and type of household, which is similar to household size. The larger the number of persons in the household, the higher the level of poverty. As in table 4, only 10.59 percent of single household units are poor and contributing less than one percent to poverty; while 73.54 percent of extended family, having the largest number of persons in the household, are poor, and contribute 67.03 percent to poverty. Most rural households are basically extended families.

As table 5 indicates the non poor tend to have fewer children than the poor with more than 3 children and the non poor less than three children per household. More so the rural areas tend to have more children per household than the urban areas. It is interesting to observe that rural savannah has fewer children per household than the rest of the areas. But the other two rural areas have the highest number of children per household. On the whole, the rural areas tend to have more children per household than the other locations (areas). The child/adult ratios are larger in poor households than in non-poor households. This situation is closely linked to the household size, and also where most of the largest household size are found – in the rural areas. There is evidence from other countries showing that the poor 's demographic characteristics as

measured by household consumption show greater incidence of poverty. This is generally associated with larger household size.

### **10) Household Social Spending and Poverty:**

In calculating the poverty line for this paper we use the consumption – food energy intake. However, we can discuss some of the aspects of basic needs, which contribute to the satisfaction of basic needs, particularly health and education. These are public goods which should be initially be provided by the government. We do not include these aspects in estimating the poverty line. Here our discussion is on education and health as examples.

Enrolment rates are usually the indicator used to reflect access to education, particularly primary education for children with official ages ranging from 6 to 14 years old. In Cameroon, the enrolment rates have generally been higher for boys than for girls, higher in the urban than in the rural areas, and higher in the Southern than in the Northern provinces. The National enrolment rates were 76.3% in 1996 the year of household survey and 80.7% in 1998 with the female enrolment rates of 94.1 % for the urban areas and 91.65% for the rural areas; while the Northern provinces had 37.8% for the urban and 33.7% for the rural areas. Different areas (location) can also see the enrolment rates as also a reflection of expenditure.

The average expenditure on education carried out by a household in the different location or regions show that the expenditure in the urban areas (Yaounde, Douala), and other towns are much higher than those in the rural areas. The average expenditure in the rural areas is much below the national average (table 6). Similar to households spending on education, the pattern on health expenditures shows the urban households tend to spend more on health than the rural households, with average expenditure of 22,476 francs in Douala and 21,523 francs in Yaounde. While the rural average household expenditure is much lower, with 1,100 in rural savannah 7,531 in rural plateau and 6,072 in rural forest. These are for both the poor and non-poor. But the expenditures of the average rural poor household on health is very low indeed – 783 for savannah, 4,627 for plateau and 6279 for forest area. Part of the problem is that the adequate social services are not there, and even if they are there in the rural areas the opportunity cost of going to them is very high. Hence the poor may prefer other options such as traditional healers or just seek no treatment.

## **11) Rural Agricultural Development and Poverty**

In Cameroon majority of the people live in the rural areas and earn their livelihood from farming (agriculture). More crucial is that more than 80 percent of the population in the rural areas are poor and about 50 percent of the poor live in the most disadvantageous areas. Seventy per cent of (rural) labour force producing not enough food to feed the nation. This is quite a great contrast to industrialised countries, where less than 10 percent of the labour force produce enough for their respective countries. Poverty, being a rural phenomenon means that by focusing on agriculture the problem of rural poverty and hunger can be significantly solved. The welfare of the rural people can be improved by intensifying and expanding cultivated land area, significantly increasing the yield per unit land area and by sharply reducing losses after harvest. Through these (sources) more food could be available with reduction of real price of food. Yet the purchasing power of the people must be increased. The rural population must be able to adequately feed itself and raise the family income by selling the surplus. Thus consequently they can move above the poverty line. This means increasing farm output goes together with non agriculture employment. Creating non agriculture employment or off-farm opportunities could be in the rural areas or away from the rural areas.

Evidence show that (rural) poverty has been significantly reduced in countries, which have also sharply generated non-agriculture employment opportunities. Some household members working part-time or full-time in non agricultural employment. Employment are usually in farm input supply, adding value to raw products of land or working in activities closely related to agriculture. Yet many of the activities may be in business not closely related to agriculture. As the agriculture and labour productivity increases, more and more resources are shifted from agriculture to other sectors with greater creation of employment activities.

With increase in agricultural output and agricultural labour productivity as well as much value added in agricultural output, much of agricultural output and resources would also become input into the industrial/manufacture sector. Both the primary and secondary sectors could and do generate much value added activities in the tertiary sectors, if properly exploited and managed. Strengthening and enhancing the linkages of these sectors would be a viable way to promote economic growth with poverty eradication.

Most often the poor tend to escape poverty by migrating out of the rural areas. Rapid increase in urban growth has been mainly due to rural –to-urban migration, which tends to increase urban problems without reducing rural poverty; it is also the most productive rural labour force that migrates to urban areas. Rural migration increases urban problems including inadequate safe water supply, and social services provision, and insufficient removal of garbage and sewage. Yet urbanisation can be slowed by making rural areas more attractive. This has long been recognised. Yet very little has been done in African countries to solve these problems. Making rural areas more attractive seems to be the most viable solution, that is improving the agricultural sector, creating off farm employment opportunities, developing rural financial institutions and other facilitating infrastructures and institutions. These go together with rural road infrastructure, communication and transportation development, rural markets. Rural/agricultural development links agricultural and food markets to national and international markets. Undertaking investment in human capital and social services – education, health, safe water supply enhanced greater productivity in general.

Physical capital and human capital are probably the two main household types of endowments that do strongly determine poverty. Household members possess human capital and the effective utilisation of their human capital depends on other factors such as investment in their human capital, the characteristics of the members of the household. Human capital tends to be the main asset of the poor and education tends also to be the main variable reflecting the human capital. Noting that human capital includes education, experience, health, nutrition, with some variables reinforce human capital accumulation and effectiveness. Other categories of assets which are often ignored include institutional assets, financial assets, infrastructure assets both publicly and privately provided such as communication and transport, schools and health centres. Natural assets include natural capital such as water and land reflecting also pastures and forest; and physical capital includes machine and tools. All these have great effect on the conditions of the poor.

## **12) Anti-Poverty Strategies**

More than 80 percent of the rural population is considered as poor, and much less than that in urban population are estimated as poor people. It should be noted that about 70% of Cameroonians live in the rural areas as against 30% in the urban areas. A further analysis on poverty incidence and contribution indicates that the rural areas have a higher poverty incidence

irrespective of the age group. The export and food crop farmers make up for more than 80 percent of the rural poor irrespective of the region. The implication is that, the best strategy for combating poverty could be further discussed in two parts to give some good sense of direction. The first part of this strategy could require making the best use of the assets, which the poor possess in abundant, that is labour – human capital. Hence the first part would have to do with labour intensive policies through market orientation, institutional, infrastructure and technological development. But this must be accompanied with strong human capital investment/development. The second part of this strategy could ensure that the poor have easy access to a minimum amount of social services such as health, education, nutrition and sanitation, and other resources. The consequent of this second part would be improving productivity through improved human resources and providing public goods and services. These two parts compliment and reinforce each other and as such should be implemented together.

From the discussion or analysis it is apparent that there is a close link between poverty, particularly rural poverty and agriculture, which in most cases is carried out in the rural areas. About 70% of Cameroonians are involved in agriculture and besides Agro-industrial institutions like the CDC, SOCAPALM, Del-monte, most of the agriculture is carried out by small-scale farmers. This agriculture is characterised by low productivity, the use of rudimentary tools and excess labour, tend to generate falling marginal productivity. To render the agricultural sector more productive, there is greater need for much improvement in the different agricultural inputs such as land, labour, capital and other inputs like fertilisers and pesticides, and extension services. This could in the short run bring about increased productivity and high income earning, in the long run, there would be need for larger parcels of land and less labour. Consequently the desired growth policy could be that which recognises that most individuals would earn their income from non-agricultural activities as economic growth takes place. As a result excess labour would be moved from the agricultural sector to the other sectors, and also, other non-agricultural sectors such as craft and furniture making which could be developed even in the rural areas. For the complete integration of the excess labour into the other sectors, a minimum level of education, health, sanitation etc is needed. This would be provided by the second part of this two-part strategy.

Any meaningful strategy that might be implemented to combat poverty must, therefore, ensure equity and reduce vulnerability. Hence this strategy would require that

\* Policies and programmes that promote broad-base growth and economic opportunities, encourage human development and physical infrastructure investment be implemented. This would consequently create employment chances in both the public and private sectors and increase productivity, which would imply a rise in income very much needed by poor to move out of poverty.

\* Ensure not only the moving out of poverty but staying completely out of poverty, reducing vulnerability and sustainability of living standard. Hence measures ensuring a fair and equitably access to social services and necessary resources should be implemented. Ensuring equity between people, gender, areas and tribes, through their empowerment and participation seems the best way; thus balance regional development, national integration and targeting remote (rural) areas for development.

\* Special care must be taken to reduce the vulnerability of the poor to unforeseen events such as sickness, poor harvest, loss of income earners etc which are capable of pushing quite easily some households back to poverty. Hence there is need for strengthening supporting formal and informal safety net mechanisms, including social capital and social inclusion.

These are all crucially important to successful agricultural development, that can generate broad based economic growth, since much of the labour force is in agricultural sector.

A broad based economic growth gives people particular the poor, the means to improve their standard of living especially the quality of their diets. Although as people's income increase they tend to devote smaller and smaller proportion of their income on food, they also tend to adjust their diet; often by including more vegetables, fruits and animal protein.

### **13) Conclusion:**

Hence to strongly promote and enhance this type of growth, investment in agriculture and agricultural research is key in changing the domestic marginal rate of transformation so as to create comparative advantage in farming giving the country's present situation. This is important because Cameroon has options which are not mutually exclusively but some options are better than others. That is Cameroon can efficiently produce its own food with surplus exported, or export other products for importation of its food needs; but in this case Cameroon would tend to avoid food aid as a viable option to feed its people..

Investment in agriculture, agricultural research and technological improvement are crucial in increasing agricultural productivity, increasing returns to farmers and improving the earnings of farm labour. But this must go together with investment in rural infrastructure, social services and institutional strengthening, which can create also off farm employment; generating a broad base growth with poverty eradication. Since it is broad base growth, poverty is eliminated as the economy grows. In fact, these are anti-poverty strategies, which should go a long way to meeting future food needs at affordable prices and above all creating a broad base economic growth. Agricultural accounts for the largest share of income and employment, so greater investment is required in this sector than in anywhere else for sustainable economic development of the whole country.

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**Table 1: Profile of Poverty by Region or location - rural, semi-urban and urban**

.Location	Proportion Of Pop.	P0	P1	P2	C1	C2	C3
Urban	29.44	.4578	0.1603	0.076	19.35	15.65	13.86
Semi-urban	5.19	.5858	.25.33	0.1431	4.37	4.36	54.31
Rural	65.37	.8128	.3690	.2021	76.28	79.95	81.83
Cameroon	100	.8965	.30160	0.1615	100	100	100

**Table 2: Profile of Poverty by location in detail**

C2	Proportion of Population %	P <sub>0</sub>	P <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>
Yaoundé	7.2	.5308	.2105	.1092	5.4	4.95	4.79
Douala	9.6	.4205	.1348	.06	5.83	4.31	3.58
Other Towns	12.7	.4453	.1516	.0626	8.12	6.38	5.48
Rural Forest	18.5	.8251	.39311	.2184	21.89	24.09	25.0
Rural high Plateau	27.8	.8256	.3869	.2159	32.95	35.67	37.16
Rural Savanna	24.2	.7404	.3055	.1595	25.79	24.58	23.96
Cameroon	100.0		.3016	.1615	76	100	100

**Table 3: Poverty profile by Gender**

	Proportion In the sample	P0	P1	P2	C0	C1	C2
Homme		.4951	.1917	.0974	83.75	84.34	84.31
Femme		.3848	.1431	.0731	.1611	15.38	15.66
Cameroon		.4729	0.1819	.0924	100	100	100

**Table 4: A Household composition**

Type of Household	Proportion in %	P0	P1	P2	C0	C1	C2
Simple	1.69	.1059	.0326	0.0149	.25	.18	.15
Monoparent	11.00	.614	.2541	.1336	9.78	9.35	9.18
Nuclear family	23.72	.6731	.2843	0.1489	22.92	22.36	21.87
Extended Family	63.48	.7354	.3235	.1749	67.03	68.10	68.78
Cameroon	100	.6965	.3016	.01615	100	100	100

**TABLE 5 : Household size by location**

location	Poor	Non poor
Yaoundé	3.55	1.63
Douala	3.68	1.68
Other towns	3.72	1.94
Rural forest	4.05	1.84
Rural High Plateau	4.91	2.65
Rural Savanna	3.13	2.03
Cameroon	3.89	2.07

**Table 6: Education expenditure (in CFA francs) by Household according to location**

Location	Poor	Non Poor
Yaoundé	17.328	26.037
Douala	18.097	26.566
Other towns	9.993	17.558
Rural forest	6.279	5.660
Rural High Plateau	4.627	9.815
Rural Savanna	783	1.793
Cameroon	10.561	18.135

Table 1 through table 6 are generated from 1996 ECAM and from the poverty study carried by Samuel Fambon, Aloysius Amin, Francis Baye, Isaac Tamba, Issidor Noumba and Regina Tawah (2000), under the AERC Poverty Collaborative Study first phase.