
Issues and Challenges in Forest Exploitation, Sustainable management and Conservation in Bokwaongo (Cameroon) Since 1980

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Abstract

The forest plays a primordial role for human survival. Peoples in different communities depend on it for livelihood and sustainability. Exploitation in most rural communities has given birth to questions of sustainability. This paper takes a specific local approach and looks at the exploitation and conservation of the forest by the people of Bokwaongo from 1980 to present (2022). It argues that the inhabitants of Bokwaongo have for centuries depended exclusively on the forest and with the high rate of exploitation in recent decades, have adopted varying measures to ensure its sustainability. The study made use of both primary and secondary sources with findings revealing that the persistent illegal exploitation and over exploitation of both timber and non – timber forest resources by the people pushed the village council to enact and implement rules to guarantee sustainable forest exploitation and conservation among the Bokwaongo people. It concludes that such measures if carefully observed will go a long way to ensure forest sustainability.

Key words: *Conservation, Exploitation, Forest, timber, herbs, livelihood*

Introduction

Forests play a primordial role in human survival on earth. Many people across different communities depend on it for livelihood and sustainability.¹ Forest exploitation in most rural communities has given birth to unsustainable exploitation. This is because the rural populace has kept on

mounting pressure on forests provision chains given the very importance of its products to the sustenance of livelihood. Forests provide multiple goods, services and values². Forest provides a great number of wood and non – wood forest products, including sawn wood, building materials, wood-based fibres, furniture, foodstuffs, medicines, household utensils (for example: baskets, mats and dyes) for local, national and international populace. An estimated 15 million people in Africa South of the Sahara earn cash income from forest related activities³.

In fact, a relatively new concept in the literature on rural household incomes is that of income from forests and from environment services. Forest income is considered an income from forest products (other than plantations) including produce collected for fuel, food, fodder, construction, medicine and other uses.⁴ Swaminathan has also presented a category of income which he terms environmental incomes to mean ‘extractions from non-cultivated sources’, or non-forest natural environments such as fish from a river in the forests and minerals extracted from forests. These are counted as non-forest environment incomes. Total environment incomes are therefore defined as the sum of the incomes be they cash or kind, that are obtained from the harvesting of resources provided through natural processes not requiring intensive management.⁵ These conceptual articulations are important in enabling us appreciate the value of the forest and thus the need to sustainably manage it.

In essence, the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) in a longitudinal study of over 133 forest communities has shown that, incomes from forests account for about one-fifth (22 per cent) of total household incomes when the data across sites are pooled. If income from non-forest environment services is added, the share goes up to over a quarter. In fact, the share of income from forests and environment services accounts for 27 per cent of total household income – only marginally less than the share of crop income (28 per cent). Further, dependence on forest incomes does not vary much across income quintiles. In other

words, it is not just the poor that depend on incomes from forest. All households in a semi-forested or forested region like Buea or the South West as a whole draw on incomes from forests and the environment. In CIFOR's study however, cash income from forests was more important for the relatively well-off households while subsistence incomes were more important for the poor households.⁶

Similar studies have been conducted for Cameroon and the central African region with complementary results that project the relationship and attachment of forest communities to the forests and their environment.⁷ Makoudjou and her colleagues for example focused on forest incomes of households around forest concessions in Cameroon. They measured the contributions of forest income to the economy and well-being of households and determined the explanatory factors for heterogeneity. The results of their study show that the forest contributes on average 38% of total annual household income with 19, 13 and 6% from illegal logging, hunting and non-timber forest products (NTFPs) of vegetal origin, respectively. They concluded that forest income overall contributes in increasing disparities among people by 3%. Income from illegal logging was found to be a major source of income inequality while other forest income sources such as NTFPs and hunting slightly reduced income inequality. Access to villages and the amount of agricultural income were the main factors that explained the differences in forest income

The above results indicate that Cameroon is one of those countries wherein the forest sector has contributed significantly to the GDP of the country. Its contribution to the GDP has as indicators value addition, infrastructural development and the creation of jobs. Forestry operations in Cameroon employ between 45,000 and 70,000 people – Cameroonians and non – Cameroonians alike⁸. Apart from GDP contributions, studies have shown that forest exploitation benefits individuals and families directly.⁹

However, major obstacles still remain. Several important ecosystems are rapidly deteriorating because of

unsustainable exploitation (poaching, over – grazing, bush fires and itinerant agriculture). Similarly, because of intensive exploitation, Cameroon's forest has been losing one hundred hectares a year over the past two decades. The Government put in place some measures to reverse the trend.¹⁰ These among others: the Creation of the Ministry of Environment and Forest in 1992, the 1994 Forestry Law, the creation of the Institute of Agricultural Research for Development in 1996¹¹ and the creation of the Mount Cameroon National Park in 2009¹².

Besides, measures taken by the Government to curb unsustainable forest exploitation some village communities in Cameroon resorted to complement Government measures. Among these communities is Bokwaongo. Bokwaongo has for a long time suffered the fate of illegal forest exploitation and overexploitation. In fact, from the time that the engine saw was introduced in the village, unsustainable exploitation intensified. This prompted some measures to be adopted by the village council to curb illegal exploitation and over exploitation of the Etinde Community Forest which she shared with eight other villages¹³ and Mount Cameroon, all which the Bokwaongo populace have depended on¹⁴. This paper seeks to provide answers to the following question: Which measures were adopted by the Bokwaongo village council to foster sustainable forest exploitation? Prior to attempting answers to this question, it is imperative to conceptualize the terms forest exploitation and forest conservation.

Forest Exploitation and Forest Conservation

Both concepts work side by side as forest exploitation should definitely necessitates forest conservation. Nchoji and Schmidt define forest exploitation as the harvest of whatever part of the forest for accrued financial revenue. This definition does not take into consideration the local villager who exploits the forest for subsistence¹⁵. Broadly, exploitation of forest refers to the extraction of both Timber Forest Products (TFPs) and Non – Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) for livelihood sustainability.

According to GEMET, Forests have been exploited over the centuries as a source of wood and for obtaining land for agricultural use. The mismanagement of forest lands and forest resources has led to a situation where the forest is now in rapid retreat. The main aspects of the situation are: serious shortages in the supply of industrial wood; the catastrophic erosion and floods accompanying the stripping of forests from mountainous land; the acute shortages of fuel wood in much of the developing world; the spread of desert conditions at an alarming rate in the arid and semi-arid regions of the world; and the many environmental effects of the destruction of tropical rainforests. All these speak to the idea of exploitation and its effects.¹⁶

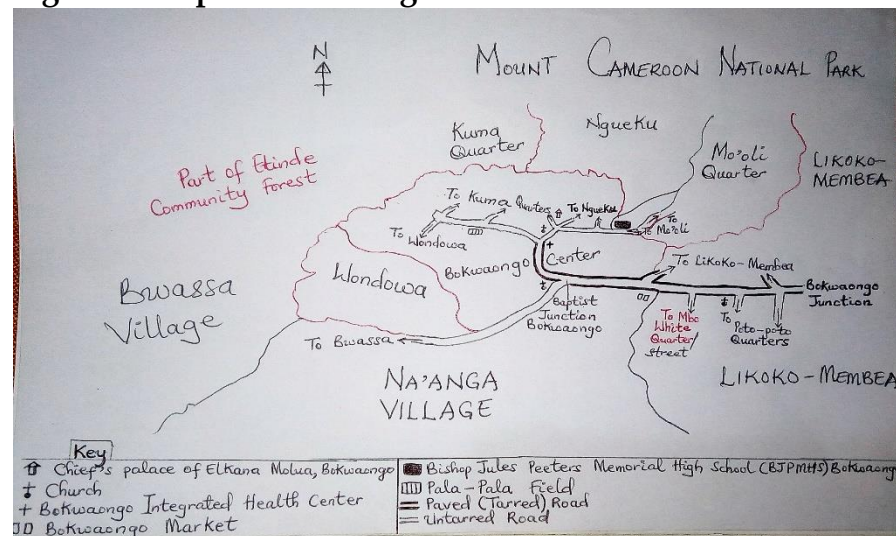
Elliott advances that forest conservation on its part is a subject of wide variety of interpretation for it means different things to different people. Conservation and preservation are used interchangeably in the mass media. It can mean anything from intensive timber production to total preservation. Preservation is viewed as one of the several forms of conservation¹⁷. Pawar and Rothkar view forest conservation more holistically by positing that forest conservation is the practice of planting and maintaining forested areas for the benefit and sustainability of future generations. The conservation of forest also stands and aims at a quick shift in the composition of trees species and age distribution. Forest conservation involves the upkeep of the natural resources within a forest that are beneficial to both humans and the environment¹⁸. There is need to ensure an effective regulation and conservation of the forest heritage of the Mount Cameroon in order to guarantee the continuous existence and enjoyment of the valuable resources provided by the forest for the benefit of the present and future generations¹⁹. Forest conservation has remained as a project wherein many communities have embarked on with the community of Bokwaongo not being an exception.

Location of Bokwaongo

Bokwaongo village is situated at the eastern side of the foot of the Cameroon Mountain²⁰. It is one of the villages of the Buea

Sub – Division, Fako Division, South West Region, Cameroon. The Bokwaongo community covers an area of 1 sq. Km²¹ and has a population of about 5000 inhabitants. The village is bounded to the north by Mount Cameroon National Park, to the south by Na'anga village, to the east by Likoko – Membea village, to the South West/west by Bwassa village. The village is partitioned into five quarters, namely, Bokwaongo – Center, Ngueku, Mo'oli, Kuma and Wondowa. Each of these quarters is inhabited by Bakweri – speaking and non – Bakweri speaking populations, such as: the ethnic and linguistic Bakweris that is, Bakweris, Ewondos, Sawas, Ejaghams, Fang – Betis, Bafaws, etc²². Some of the people exploited varied forest resources for their physical and socio – economic wellbeing.

Figure 1: Map of Bokwaongo



Source: Author's Collection

Exploitation of Forest and Forest Resources

The exploitation of forest resources globally saw both male and females involved in the process. They engaged in exploitation due to material gains associated therewith. These gains include both timber and non timber forest products like food especially during shortfalls in food supply as safety net, income from the sales of timber and non timber forest products, materials for building houses, medicine for

ailments and other diseases and other environmental benefits like soil fertility replenishments²³.

Since the 1980s, a significant proportion of the Bokwaongo population exploited oodles forest resources: Timber Forest Products (TFPs) and Non – Timber Forest Products (NTFPs). They extracted TFPs and NTFPs from the Etinde Community Forest and Mount Cameroon. For instance: From 1980 to the year 2000, few TFPs, such as: Mahogany, iroko, sapele, and obeche were harvested as compared to since 2001 till now (2022)²⁴. Local entrepreneurs utilized engine saws to convert trees to planks for local consumption²⁵. Planks of different sizes were sawn, commonly known as: two by four, two by three, one by twelve, one by fifteen, three quarter, and boards. These plank sizes were and are still sawn from pear trees partly due to the scarcity of the conventional timber trees in the like of iroko, sapele, and Mahogany.

But the most commonly exploited of all was Mahogany known scientifically as *Ethandophama spp* and the least exploited was iroko; this was because of its reddish hard wood, which is resistant and durable. Today, most of the *Ethandophama spp* trees have been sawn down. Illegal lumbering of this specie was extremely high. Thus, legal exploitation was extremely low. This was because very little was done to prohibit illegal forest exploitation of this specie among others.

These trees were exploited for construction purposes and for basic furniture, such as: chairs, tables, beds, benches, caskets²⁶. This is in line with what was happening in other parts of Fako Division like Bakingili, Woteva, Bimbia and Bonadikombo wherein the people of these areas too exploited timber species, such as: *Etthandophama Spp*, *iroko*, *man carabot*, *small leaf*, *tiger wood*, *inter alia*, for house construction, or transported for sale to neighbouring towns and cities²⁷. Besides, the exploitation of these trees provided temporary and or steady job opportunities for many in Fako in general and Bokwaongo in particular as some played the role of operators or lumbermen meanwhile others played the role of carriers²⁸.

Besides, NTFPs like *prunus Africana*, herbs and fauna were sorted after by the Bokwaongo population for the importance they placed on them especially from the Mount Cameroon. According to Eben Ebai, Mount Cameroon area supports the largest population of *prunus Africana*²⁹. Lytie purports that *prunus Africana* was harvested for commercial purposes in the 1980s, 1990s, and from 2001 until 2007³⁰. *Prunus Africana* (See Plate 1 below) is specie of the *Rosacae* family, known under its trade/pilot name as *pygeum*³¹. *Prunus Africana* is an essence of mountainous areas whose bark is sort after in the International market for the treatment of benign prostate hypertrophy³². This product is found particularly in the surrounding of Mount Cameroon. This specie's exploitation is strictly framed by the standards of the Convention on International trade in endangered species of wild flora and fauna making it an extremely vulnerable resource³³.

Plate 1: *Prunus Africana* Tree in Bokwaongo-Buea



Source: Author's Collection, March 21, 2022

Prunus Africana for decades has remained known internationally and locally for its medicinal significance³⁴. The people of Bokwaongo have regarded the barks of *prunus Africana* as valuable not just because of its commercial importance but for their domestic consumption as medicine. They boiled the barks and or leaves and drank for

fever/malaria, stomach ache, chest pain, kidney disease and allergies. The importance of *prunus Africana* cannot be over – emphasized. Meanwhile, oodles of the people cared less of the future of *Prunus Africana*³⁵.

Apart from *prunus Africana*, herbs were exploited by herbalists for the practice of traditional phamacopoeia. They searched for these herbs to cure the sick. That is, those sick of stomach ache, tooth ache, back ache, breast ill, chronic headache, swollen legs, itchy eyes, rash, wounds, eye problems, elephantiasis, fevers/malaria, ‘native’ poisons, abscess, cough, filarial, eczema, chicken pox, small pox, boils and constipation, among others³⁶.

The forest was exploited by the people of Bokwaongo for farming and they planted crops, such as cocoyams, plantains, *colocasia* otherwise known as “ibo coco”, in local parlance as well as pumpkin. They farmed for subsistence. In doing so, during the planting season they engage in slash and burn. Yields are both for domestic consumption and for sale to nearby markets, such as Bokwaongo and Buea Town markets³⁷.

The exploitation of the forest for fauna was another aspect. The people of Bokwaongo did hunting. They hunted animals, such as: antelops, deers, elephants, porcupines, rat moles, foxes, monkeys, and even ravens like the Mount Cameroon Francolin known in the Bakweri language as *Kwai* and the Mt. Cameroon Speirops known in the Bakweri language as *ndole*. There were and there are three categories of hunters: those who set traps (trappers)³⁸, those who hunted using guns³⁹, and those who hunted using dogs⁴⁰. From 1980 till 2022, the Bokwaongo community have had over a hundred hunters⁴¹. Makoudjou and Colleagues have provided a summary of households involvement in forest exploitation as follows;

Table 2: Household Involment in forest exploitation in Bokwaongo-Buea 2022

SN	Activity	% Household involvement	Household Incomein Euro
1	Hunting	81	511

2	Agriculture	100	1517
3	Gathering	98	187
4	Logging	58	1003
5	Others	69	538
Total			3127

Source, Makoudjou et al, 2017, p.6

Though, a cross section of the population did hunt as well as exploited plenitude of other forest resources for livelihood sustainability, exploitation was problematic given that illegal exploitation and over exploitation prevailed as challenges to forest exploitation and conservation. This was because of the carelessness portrayed by a considerable part of the population of Bokwaongo toward sustainable forest exploitation and conservation.

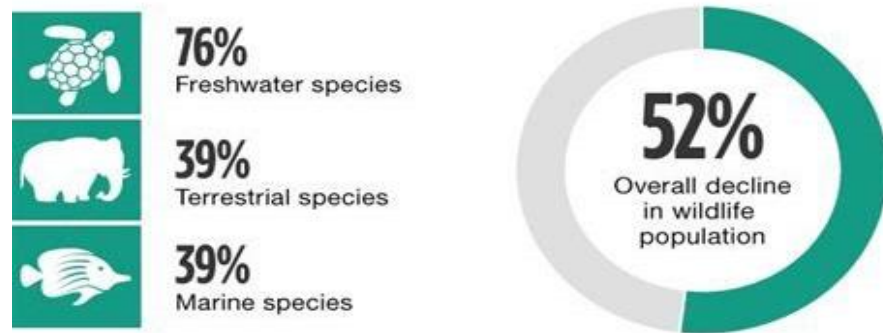
Forest Exploitation and Conservation Challenges

Illegal exploitation has bedevilled Cameroon's forest in general aside policy limitations⁴². And in Bokwaongo to be precise, extraction of timber and non – timber forest products was predominantly illegal. Oodles of the population rarely had any permits/permissions to harvest forest products. This thereof made the question of sustainable exploitation to surface. Sustainability in extraction seldom prevailed. This was because of sheer non – allegiance to village authority and state forestry law. Sheer non – allegiance to village authority and state forestry laws which encouraged/fuelled illegal forest exploitation from 1980 right up to today⁴³.

Illegal exploitation of fauna was persistently indulged in by the Bokwaongo population especially from 1980 - 89. Poaching was undertaken by those who were hunters. They went ahead and hunted some endangered species like: pangolins, monkeys, and elephants. They also hunted endangered species of birds, such as: the Mount Cameroon Francolin. Poaching was a serious threat to wildlife and birds. Given that even the Cameroon Forestry Law does not permit poaching⁴⁴. As pressure was put on animals and birds so too was pressure put on trees by the population. It is hard to assess the extent of the illegal exploitation of the forests but

evidence on Plate 2 below suggests that since 1970, the wildlife population of Bokwaongo has reduced by fifty-two percent

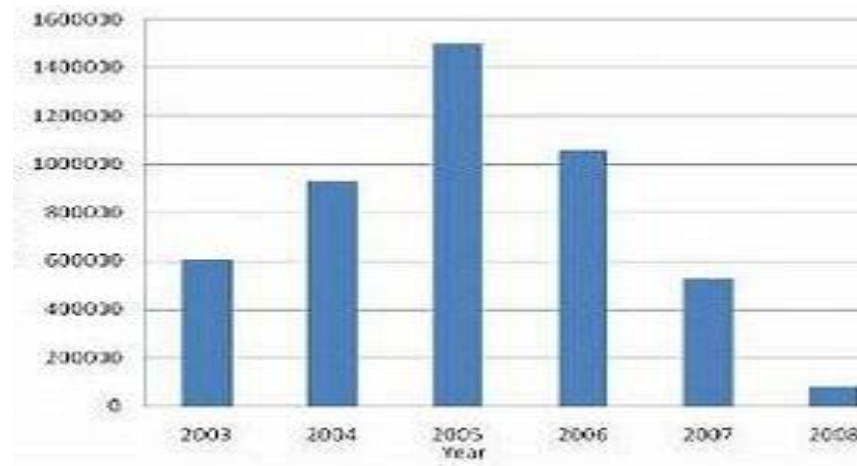
Plate 2: Trends Animal Population Decline in Bokwaongo-Buea 1970-2017



Source: World Wide Fund for Nature, 20120

Apart from animals the vegetation/forest itself has suffered rampant felling of trees without any forest regeneration policy. This was a common practice and served as an indicator of over - exploitation. From 1980 to 1998, oodles *prunus Africana* trees were felled in Bokwaongo in an uncontrollable rate. Those hired to harvest the *prunus Africana* did so in an abusive manner cutting down the trees and harvesting even the backs of the very young plants.⁴⁵

Plate 2 below indicates the extent to which the *Prunus africanus* plant has been exploited and exported from Cameroon. In 2005 the rate of exploitation produced 1600,000 tonnes exported. By 2008, the harvest could not provide upto 200,000 tonnes in export. This tells the impact that exploitation has had on the plant and the urgent need for conservation. This went against the norms that for *prunus Africana* to be harvested, the tree must be thirty centimetres in diameter and the thirty centimetres diameter must be divided into two and the tree harvested from opposite sides. In addition, the tree must be allowed to heal for three years before any further harvesting can be done on the remaining sides⁴⁶.

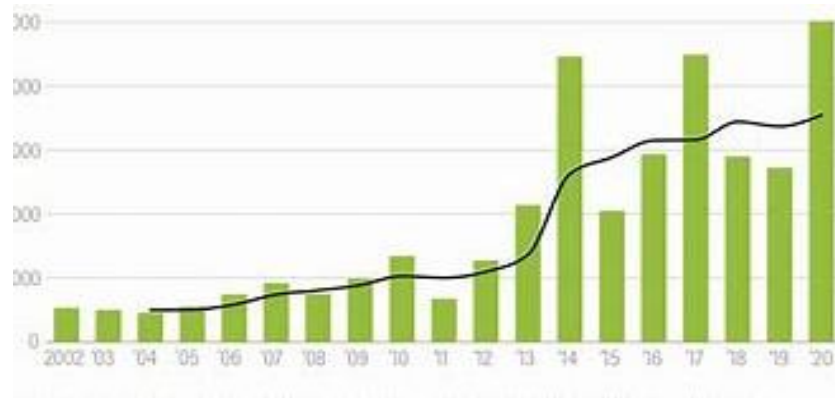
Plate 2: *Prunus Africanus* Exports from Cameroon 2002-2008

Source WWF-Cameroon, 2010

It can be said beyond some reasonable doubt that respecting the norms of exploitation of *prunus Africana* was a serious challenge because the people wanted by all means to meet up with demands from contractors and sub – contractors like PLANTECAM MEDICAM who came requesting for it. Rising demand called for alarming exploitation. The alarming rate at which these trees were felled called the attention of the village authority and the Government. Apart from the rampant felling of *prunus Africana* trees, timber trees also suffered the same fate. High demand for timber was the principal cause for the rampant felling of trees⁴⁷.

Similarly, forest exploitation in Cameroon and in Bokwaongo has resulted in the loss of our primary forest. With high demands of timber products surging in Bokwaongo and Buea in general, people went to the community forest and felled a lot of trees among them young trees without respecting the forestry law of Cameroon, which prescribes a particular diameter in circumference that a tree is supposed to be before it is harvested. Plate 3 below presents the level of primary forest loss in the Bokwaongo village from 2002 to 2020.

Plate 3: Primary Forest Loss in Bokwaongo-Cameroon 2002-2020



Source: World Resources Institute

Most of those who were authorised by the village to exploit trees rather cut down trees without respect for regulations. Their activities have made tree species, such as iroko to become rare.⁴⁸ Mayea James Moka an indigene of Bokwaongo concurs that, people cut down trees without planting⁴⁹ considering the number of years it would take for a tree to grow to maturity.⁵⁰ These challenges pushed the government to implement measures aimed at conserving the Community Forest.

Conservation and Sustainable Management of Forest

The Bokwaongo village authority/council has since the implementation of some legislation, played a quintessential role in forest sustainability and conservation. The measures have helped to salvage situation albeit ineffectively. The measures have ranged from the imposition of fines; a practice which was adopted in the 1980s to bringing the forest management into membership of the Mount Cameroon Prunus Management Company Ltd (MOCAP) in 2000.

According to Ndivi, the imposition of fines was so common in the 1980s, because of the rampant felling of trees. Fines were meted based on the size of the timber a man was caught having felled. Such fines amounted to between 50-75 francs. Such fines discouraged people from unscupolously felling trees and helped sustain the forest.⁵¹

The council generally cautioned exploiters and precisely operators to do sustainable harvesting of forest products, so

that the future generation can benefit from the forest too. The council did so by inviting the village population to the chief's palace by the town crier. People were encouraged to plant trees but very few did so. People like Luma La Njoh, Nathaniel Elali Mefende, Elombe Njoh Thomas, and Joseph Koffi planted *prunus africana* trees in the 1990s⁵².

Another measure taken by the village council was the creation of Bokwaongo Matangu Union (BMU) in 1997. BMU's objective was to ensure organized harvesting and commercialization of *prunus Africana*. One of the norms of the union was that a harvester had to harvest a maximum of 30 kilograms of *prunus Africana* of which the council took 2% for the development of the village. And in cases whereby a harvester harvested more than thirty kilograms, going against the norms of the union, the surplus harvest was shared by the village council and the union⁵³.

In 2000, the creation of MOCAP saw Bokwaongo joining the organization to support the sustainable exploitation and legal commercialization of *prunus Africana*. As a member of MOCAP, Bokwaongo stood against the unsustainable exploitation of *prunus Africana* as felling down the trees before peeling the backs was discouraged. Being a member of MOCAP Bokwaongo supported the planting of *prunus Africana* trees for the sake of regeneration. Bokwaongo also contributed to the running of the MOCAP grinding mill situated in the Wondowa Quarters Bokwaongo by providing labour to work there⁵⁴. MOCAP remained successful in the sales of *prunus Africana* extracted from around Mount Cameroon National Park (MCNP) but failed in the equitable distribution of revenues.

The German Government has also contributed to biodiversity conservation in Cameroon in general and the Mount Cameroon in particular through her agencies, such as: the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and German Development Service (DED). The Programme for the Sustainable Management of Natural Resources, South West Region (PSMNR-SWR) co-financed by the Federal Republic of Germany through the German Development Bank KfW, has

supported since 2006 the creation and management of the Mount Cameroon National Park. PSMNR-SWR has promoted the involvement of adjacent local communities, such as: Bova, Bonakanda, Likoko – Membea, Bwassa, Likombe and even Bokwaongo in the management of the park with some of the people from the communities working as eco-guards and guides⁵⁵. PSMNR – SWR and local communities helped to put a check on illegal exploitation of TFPs and NTFPs such as: *prunus Africana*⁵⁶.

In 2007, the European Commission banned the importation of *prunus Africana* coming from Cameroon in Europe because of unsustainable harvesting practices, such as felling of the trees and harvesting young barks of trees. The restrictive measure impacted both the economic operator and the local people for whom *prunus Africana* represented an important Non – Timber Forest Product⁵⁷. But the ban was uplifted five years later⁵⁸. Lifting the ban provided for a reduced quota in the quantity of *prunus Africana* exploitation⁵⁹. By implication the restrictive measure definitely led to a reduction in trade flows and a reduction in foreign earnings from the trade in *prunus Africana*. This measure inspired the Cameroon Government to declare the Mount Cameroon from where most of *prunus Africana* was exploited by the Bokwaongo population, a national reserve.

The Government created the Mount Cameroon National Park in 2009 by Decree No. 2009/2272 of the Prime Minister on December 18, 2009. This law was promulgated as a response to the increasing anthropogenic activities in this forest area. The park covers a total surface area of 58,178 hectares⁶⁰. The law creating the Mount Cameroon National Park forbids illegal exploitation of TFPs and NTFPs in the Park and also the dumping of industrial waste products in the park. As a result, some Bokwaongo population especially hunters that depended on the park for wild honey and hunting have had a change of livelihood to farming and livestock

Conclusion

The importance of forest resources/products in supporting rural livelihoods, reducing hunger and poverty cannot be overemphasized. Apart from meeting the economic needs of rural populace for food and shelter, tropical forest are also a major source of both industrial wood products and fuel wood⁶¹. Forest sustainability and conservation demands the adoption of effective policies/measures. Measures taken at local, national and international levels contribute significantly to sustainability and conservation whenever impressive efforts are made towards their enforcement.

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- ³⁰ Kale Litie, 44 years, Social Forester, Middle Bokwaongo, December 11, 2021
- ³¹ The Bokwaongo people translated this name into pidgin as ‘pijen’
- ³² Benign prostate hypertrophy also known as Benign Prostatic hyperplasia (BPH) refers to enlargement of the prostate gland, which is the most common disease in elderly men especially those aged above 50 years, See Shabir Bhat, Shameem Rather & Naquibul Islam, “An Overview of Benign Prostatic Hypertroplesia and its appreciation in Greco – Arab (Unani)n System of Medicine” *Asian Journal of Urology*, 9, Issue 2 (2022):110
- ³³ Abanda Fernande and Nzino Ghislaine, “Women and Non – Timber Forest Product Exploitation: The Case of *Prunus Africana* in Highlands of Mount Cameroon” *International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies*, 7, No. 1 (2014):1
- ³⁴ Ekane Bellewang, “Socio – Economic Impact of *Prunus Africana* Management in the Mount Cameroon Region: A Case Study of the Bokwaongo Community” Department of Urban Planning and Environment, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, p. 11 - 13
- ³⁵ Mwambo Francis Luma, 53, Farming, Kuma Quarters Bokwaongo, February 19, 2022
- ³⁶ Mwambo Francis Luma, 53 years, farming, Kuma Quarters Bokwaongo, February 19, 2022
- ³⁷ Ralph Mwambo Ngomba, 78 years, Retired Farmer, Wondowa Quarters, Bokwaongo, December 27, 2022
- ³⁸ Trappers were otherwise known in the Bakweri language as *wakoweli wa ngundeli*
- ³⁹ Those who hunted using guns are known in the Bakweri language as *Warzungorzungo*
- ⁴⁰ Those who hunted using guns were known as *Wa’nga wende o mohva’o*
- ⁴¹ Mwambo, aged: 78, Retired Farmer
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- ⁴³ Ayuk Nkongho, “The Protection of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora in Cameroon”
- ⁴⁴ Anonymous, 53 years, electricity, Upper Bokwaongo, February 3, 2022
- ⁴⁵ Njie Mwambo John, 51, Farming and Councilor, Bokwaongo Traditional Council, Bokwaongo, December 8, 2021
- ⁴⁶ Mwambo John, 51, Farming
- ⁴⁷ Mwambo, 51, Farming
- ⁴⁸ Kale Litie, 44 years, Social Forester, Middle Bokwaongo, December 11, 2021
- ⁴⁹ Mayea James Moka, 57 years, Retired Civil Servant, Moli Quarters, Bokwaongo, January 10, 2022
- ⁵⁰ Mwambo, aged: 58, Motor Electricity and Farming,
- ⁵¹ Mwambo, aged: 58, Motor Electricity and Farming
- ⁵² Mwambo, 51, Farming and Councillor Bokwaongo Traditional Council
- ⁵³ Mathias Bile Luma, 47, Carpentry, Kuma Quarters Bokwaongo, February 2, 2022
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Kale Litie, President of MOCAP, Social Forestry & Bokwaongo Representative in the Community Forest Management of Etinde Community Forest Management, February 3, 2022 and April 26, 2022
- ⁵⁵ Brochure of the Programme for the Sustainable Management of Natural Resources, South West Region (PSMNR-SWR)
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- ⁵⁷ Amougou Akoa et Al, Preliminary Report on Sustainable Harvesting of *Prunus Africana* (*Rosaceae*) in the North West Region of Cameroon: Report Prepared for the National Forestry Development Agency (ANAFOR), the Cameroon CITES Scientific Authority for Flora, in the Framework of the Project Non – Detrimental Findings for *Prunus Africana* (Hook, f.), Kalman in Cameroon, November 2010, p. 13
- ⁵⁸ The ban was uplifted in 2011.
- ⁵⁹ Anthony Cunningham, Valentine Anoncho & Terry Sunderland, “Power, Policy and the *Prunus Africana* Bark Trade, 1972 – 2015” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, 178, No.3 (2016):327
- ⁶⁰ Emmanuel Tata & Cornelius Lambi, “Challenges and Opportunities of the Mount Cameroon Forest Region as a National Park,” *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy*, 17, No. 4 (2014):197
- ⁶¹ Raphael Iheke and A. O. Ezuiche, “Forest Resources Exploitation and its Implications on Rural Agro-Economy in Islala Ngwa North Local Government Area of Abia State, Nigeria” *Nigerian Journal of Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 12, No. 1 (2016): 37

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