

## The Raffia Palm Wine Sector and Socio-Economic Development in Ndu Sub-Division, North West Region, Cameroon

Nyadi Francios N

Cameroon

*\*Corresponding Author: Nyadi Francios N, Cameroon*

**Abstract:** *The raffia palm wine has yielded socio-economic benefits to raffia cultivating communities in Ndu Sub-Division. This paper argues that, though so far under-researched by economic historians, the palm wine sector has had an impact on the economic and socio-cultural life of the people of Ndu Sub-Division. In the same vein, this article also examines the production and sale of palm wine in the Ndu Sub-Division with much focus on the contribution of this sector to the development of the area. To attain the goals of the research, chronological and thematic methods were employed in collecting, analyzing and synthesizing data obtained from primary and secondary sources. The research findings show that since 1950, the palm wine sector was very vital in the socio-economic development of the Ndu Sub-Division despite the hurdles encountered. The study reveals that the palm wine sector greatly improved the living standards of three key stakeholders including the tappers, transporters/middlemen and the retailers who had direct contacts with consumers in the market. The tappers comprised more of older men, youths were mostly middlemen and mostly women were retailers at various palm wine joints. Women were not involved in tapping as it was perceived as a taboo to the culture of the people but women could visit tappers and assist in other functions aside from the art of tapping. The sector significantly reduced unemployment in that area as it created jobs for the people, acted as a key source of livelihoods and income-generating activities for many families.*

**Keywords:** *Palm Wine, Economic Development, Informal Economy*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the years, there has been growing awareness of the socio-economic benefits of the raffia palm wine industry to the rural communities, especially within its growing regions in Ndu Sub-Division and other communities in the Grassfield regions where raffia palm wine tapping was practised. This article analyzes how the palm wine was tapped, identifying the stakeholders involved in the tapping, transportation and the retail process and how that actively contributed to the day-to-day lives of the people in particular and the economy of Ndu sub-division at large. This article also brings out the socio-cultural importance of palm wine among the people of Ndu sub-Division. It also examines the evolution of palm wine bars with much focus on how the prices evolved between 1950 and 2013 and how pre-mature tapped palm wine and the proliferation of low-cost plastic drinks have impacted the palm wine business in the Sub-Division.

### 2. PALM WINE TAPPING

Palm wine tapping was a traditional occupation of many farmers living in the Donga Mantung, particularly in the Ndu Sub-Division.<sup>1</sup> The activity was generally done by the men with respect to the Wimbun culture. The palm wine as mentioned here is an alcoholic beverage that comes from the sap of various species of palm trees such as oil palms, coconut palms, and raffia palms. However, palm wine throughout this work shall be examined in relation to the raffia palms. Palm wine tapping has been practised for centuries in this area and was handed down from one generation to another.<sup>2</sup> The raffia palm is ready for tapping at the stage when the spear leaves become shorter and fan-like, indicating the initiation stage of the auxiliary inflorescence. The quality of palm wine also depended

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Emmanuel Budzi, Palm Wine Tapper, Nbensang, 26th March 2018, Aged 62

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Emmanuel Budzi

on whether the raffia palm being tapped was in a swamp.<sup>3</sup>Based on this, the palm wine tapper must be able to judge when the palm has reached this crucial stage for a successful tapping process. Starting tapping too early or too late leads to a poor yield of palm wine or total failure in palm wine flow and effect, these results in premature tapped palm wine.<sup>4</sup> The palm wine is known among the people of Ndu Sub-Division as *mruh mbfu*.

The palm wine was tapped by systematically cutting the terminal bud at the bottom of the semi-flowered fan-like stem of the raffia palm and fastening a wooden pipe (*nsung*) to the raffia palm stem. The short wooden pipe at the other end carried a container locally referred to as *bati* to collect the sap. The white liquid that was collected in the process was very sweet and non-alcoholic before its fermentation which took at least 8 hours to ferment. The palm wine tappers, however, invented a means of fermenting the wine faster by mixing the newly collected palm wine with already alcoholic wine. They invented this method of quick fermentation because alcoholic palm wine was in high demand.

### **3. PALM WINE TAPPERS AND CHANGING TRENDS IN WINE PRODUCTION**

The palm wine tapper in this work refers to a person who is involved in the process of palm wine production. Palm wine tappers across Ndu Sub-Division had a general time and method of collecting the wine from the raffia palm. The tappers collected palm wine twice a day; that was early mornings and late afternoons. Palm wine tappers in the Ndu Municipality went for the morning tapping as early as 5:00 am and returned home generally at 10:00 am.<sup>5</sup> The reason for going very early was because most palm wine tappers had large plantations to tap before assembling the wine for the middlemen who in most cases were also transporters who had to buy and sell the palm wine to the retailers.

The life of the palm wine tappers, however, revolved around the palm wine and they spent most of their time in the palm plantations. Tappers who had large plantations constructed huts with bamboos and palm fronds where they relaxed after tapping palm wine.<sup>6</sup> When the tappers got to their various plantations early in the morning, they collected, assembled, sieved and mixed the wine with the old wine which was often left in the huts and filled the containers waiting for middlemen. After tapping and assembling the wine, the tappers gathered together in their hut, burning dry bamboo stalks and drinking palm wine. During their gathering, they discussed ways of expanding the plantation, improving the quality of the wine by discussing the tapping of palms that were not yet ripe for tapping and how they could regulate the price of palm wine supplied to maximize their profit margin.<sup>7</sup> The same scenario was witnessed during the late afternoon session of tapping as wine collected was left in the huts to be mixed with fresh and non-alcoholic wine the following morning. This was more or less a routine lifestyle for the tappers as only a few of them were involved in other trades apart from the palm wine tapping.

Since 1950, the method of tapping palm wine in the Ndu Sub-Division has not changed. The only change that was noticed among the tappers was in terms of the tools they used in tapping.<sup>8</sup> In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the tappers used tools that were not so sufficient and that influenced the quantity of palm wine they produced. From the last quarter of 1980, the tappers were getting exposed to better and more efficient tools that boosted the productions of palm wine. From the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, they massively started using plastic containers as a better replacement for calabashes (*bati*) which were breakable.<sup>9</sup> By 2013, most of the tappers used plastic containers as *bati*. As concerns the quantity of palm wine production, the wine witnessed a progressive trend in its output. From 1950 to the 1970s the increase in wine productions was minimal compared to the later period because of the kind of tapping tools they had then which wasn't that effective (See Table 1). Between the period

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<sup>3</sup>Innocent Ebere Okereke, Process Skills Practised in Palm Wine Tapping, *Journal of CUDIMAC (J-CUDIMAC)*, Vol 6, No.1 2019.

<sup>4</sup>Ibi

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Wilfred Ngege, 67, Palm Wine Tapper, Mbipgo, 26th March 2018.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Tawe Ngala, 45, Palm Wine Tapper, Mbipgo, 26th March 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Alfred Ngwani

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Nfor Gilbert, 60, Palm Wine Tapper, Talla, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2018.

1950 and 1970 each raffia palm tapped produced a range of 25 to 30 litres in the dry season and 30 to 35 litres in the rainy season before the stem stopped producing sap over a period of two weeks.<sup>10</sup> Based on field findings, raffia palms tend to produce more wine in the rainy season than in the dry season.

**Table1.** *The Evolutionary Trend of Palm Wine Production and Supply by Tappers between 1950 and 2013*

Year	Duration	Output Per Stem in Dry Season	Output Per Stem In Rainy Season	Price Supplied Per Liter
1950-1960	2 weeks	25 Liters	30 Liters	No fixed amount
1960-1970	2 weeks	25 Liters	30 liters	No fixed amount
1970-1980	3 weeks	40 Liters	50 Liters	50FCFA
1980-1990	3 weeks	50 Liters	60 Liters	70FCFA
1990-2000	3 weeks	60 Liters	75 liters	80FCFA
2000- 2010	3 weeks	75 Liters	80 Liters	100FCFA
2010-2013	3weeks	80 Liters	85 Liters	90FCFA

**Source:** *Author's Compilation Based on Data from Oral Sources.*

Based on table one, the production of palm wine, as well as its price, had been on a progressive increase except between 2010 and 2013 when the wine production increased but the price fell by 10 francs. The reason behind the low production in the early days was that the tappers had tools that were more or less rudimentary. These tools though effective, were not so efficient.<sup>11</sup> The tools were not so well such that the semi-flowered stem which produced palm wine was not well exploited. Because of the tools and the kind of tapping techniques they acquired, the tapping duration for each stem could not last for more than 2 weeks.<sup>12</sup> What stopped the flow of palm wine after 2 weeks was the development of the red palm weevil (*nsur*) in the terminal bud where the wooden pipe (*nsung*) used in collecting the wine was fastened. It should be noted that whenever the *nsur* emerged in the terminal bud, palm wine could no longer produce palm wine. However, though this weevil stopped the flow of palm wine, it was not much of a bad thing because after eating the rotten bamboo stems in the terminal bud, the weevil was collected for home consumption and commercial purposes. Looking at table one, from 1980 to 2013, the duration of harvest increased from two to three weeks.<sup>13</sup> The reason behind this was because 1980 saw the use of better tapping tools which of course led to a sharp increase in output. The distillation period during this time increased from two to three weeks because the tappers mastered the techniques coupled with the fact that they had better tools than the latter. The tappers within this period were able to exploit the raffia stem very well that it took an additional one week for the *nsur* to emerge in the terminal bud.

By 2013, the tappers could collect a range of 80 to 85 litres from a single raffia stem in both rainy and dry seasons.<sup>14</sup> Taking into consideration the fact that a whole raffia palm tree was made up of 10 to 15 individual stems and a root system that sent up new stems once the old stems died, the production of palm wine was very high. It should also be noted that the tappers had a huge number of palms in each plantation and with the high output in wine production, the tappers made a lot of money from it. Most of the tappers spent the money realized from the supply of palm wine building well-furnished homes for themselves and sponsoring children in school.<sup>15</sup> Some spent the money by investing returns in other businesses. This was a great employment opportunity that made them live comfortable lives in society. This was a great booster to the economy of Ndu Sub-Division in particular and Cameroon as a whole.

Still, on table one, it can be seen that there was also a progressive increase in the season and price at which palm wine tappers supplied the wine to the middlemen who were also transporters. Palm wine was tapped in both dry and rainy seasons but the palm produced more in the rainy season than the dry

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Emmanuel Ngwang, 54, Palm Wine Tapper, Talla, 4th April 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Nkfunke Ernest, Palm Wine Tapper, Sehn, 3rd April 2018, Aged 80

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Nkfunke Ernest

season. The reason behind this was just the mere fact that places became too dry in the dry season such that streams and the swamps in the plantation were dry and that affected production. In the rainy season, places were wet and the plantation soils regained their swampy nature and tend to produce more because of the weather condition. The price at which palm wine was supplied ranged between 40 to 50 francs per litre between 1960 and 1980 and 70 to 100 francs between 1980 and 2013 across Ndu Sub-Division.<sup>16</sup>

As earlier discussed, the harvest period of palm wine was more or less determined by the emergence of the red palm weevil or the *nsur* in the terminal bud but not the case with all raffia palms. The weevil was attracted to the terminal bud by the sugary taste of the sap and also because the tapped semi-rotten stems provided a habitat for them.<sup>17</sup> This *nsur* which stopped the flow of high valued wine was in itself economically useful and also a contributing aspect to the economy of Ndu Sub-Division. This was because the *nsur* which was rich in fat and protein was collected, eaten and sold in the Sub-Division. It is equally important to note that most tapped palm trees do not only produce sap but also have multipurpose uses (edible fruits, building materials, fuel, fibres, wax, etc.) and their socio-economic importance can be critical for the rural poor.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4. PALM-WINE TRANSPORTERS (MIDDLE MEN)**

The palm wine transporters acted as intermediaries or middlemen between the tappers in the raffia plantation and the retailers. This was an employment opportunity and income-generating activity for them. The transporters went to the raffia plantations in the morning daily and bought wine at a low cost and sold it at a higher cost to palm wine bar owners. Between 1950 and 1990, the people who were involved in the transporting process carried the wine on their heads and trekked for long distances to resell.<sup>19</sup> Most of them carried a quantity ranging between 40 and 50 litres on their heads and resold it to the retailers with a 20% profit.<sup>20</sup> From the beginning of the 21st century, most transporters started using motorcycles to transport wine.<sup>21</sup> That was because of an increase in technology and road network. Also because they made enough money from the business to further reinvest by purchasing a motto cycle. With the motto cycles, they loaded it with a quantity of 120 litres per trip which yielded more profit. After the middlemen who possessed motto cycles finished supplying what they had, they engaged in commercial bike riding since the wine business was in the mornings.

Another group of transporters realizing the economic value of palm wine resorted to using pickup trucks and land rovers for the transportation business. This activity was a booster to the economy of the Ndu Sub-Division. This was because the transporters settled controls and paid taxes that in a way added to the national income. Apart from paying taxes, these middlemen used the returns to carry on projects that were aimed at developing the Sub-Division. This was through the construction of good houses, setting up new businesses that created employment for other youths and sponsoring children in schools; thus alleviating poverty. It should be noted that the business was done by people of both sexes but was dominated by men. From 1950 to 2013, this sector had generally witnessed a progressive trend. An estimated 90% of palm wine middlemen were males, whereas vendors were mostly females.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Interview with Nkfunko Ernest

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Shuye Ngala, 61, Palm Wine Tapper, Mbansang, 29<sup>th</sup> March 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Onuche, P. et al. Palm wine tapping methods among Idoma and Tiv ethnic groups of Benue State, Nigeria: Implications on conservation of palm trees (*Elaeisguineensis*). *Journal of Environmental Issues and Agriculture in Developing Countries*, 4(1), (2012), 86.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Ngala Kingsley, 51, Palm Wine Transporter, Ndu, 5th April 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Aiah Lebbie, The Palm Wine Trade in Freetown, Sierra Leone: Production, Income, and Social Construction *Economic Botany* 56(3):246-254 (2002).

## 5. PALM-WINE RETAILERS

In the 1950s, palm wine tapping was a very lucrative, attractive and prestigious business in Africa.<sup>23</sup> In the case of Ndu, the retailers constituted of both males and females who were based in village squares and the town of Ndu. They were owners of palm wine joints who dealt directly with consumers.<sup>24</sup> They retailed the wine to the customers at a higher price and in various quantities affordable to everyone though the minimum they sold was one litre. Before customers were served in these joints, they were given half a cup to taste before buying. A litre of palm wine ranged from 100 to 200 francs.<sup>25</sup> There was a high demand for wine in the urban centre and that accounted for the numerous palm wine joints opened in the area since 1950. Palm wine joints more than doubled the number of regular beer parlours in the area to the extent that an area was reserved only for palm wine and corn beer joints. This reserved area was and is commonly referred to in Ndu as "quarter". The reason this drink gained so much ground was simply that palm wine was affordable and when drunk, one got the same result as the regular beer due to its high alcoholic content. More so, people believe that palm wine had some health benefits. Palm wine is a wonderful natural drink that is of nutritional, medicinal and economic importance; to the extent that it is: used as a beverage by breastfeeding mothers to induce lactation and a rich source of vitamin A.<sup>26</sup>

To obtain palm wine, suppliers came as early as 8:00 am with fresh palm wine for joint owners. The retailers tasted the wine to make sure that it wasn't tampered with before any payment was made. This tasting was to know if it is fresh and matches with what consumers wanted. These joints opened as early as 8:00 am and sometimes closed at midnight depending on the day's sales.<sup>27</sup> There were often musical sets in the joints to entertain the customers with music and these joints also acted as avenues for the discussion of happenings in the subdivision and the country at large.

The climatic condition was of great help to the retailers in terms of the shelf life of the palm wine. Ndu being one of the coldest towns in Cameroon help to delay fermentation in palm wine and kept the drinks chill. Nevertheless, there existed three classes of palm wine; the first being very sweet with very low alcoholic content, the second being one with average alcoholic content and the other had high alcoholic content all kept in three different containers to meet the taste of every customer. When palm wine lasted for more than three days it was considered to be above what customers could consume and it was bound to be wasted. However, in order to mitigate this challenge, the people came up with another drink known locally as the *ntop*. This drink was locally brewed from fermented palm wine, honey and some other natural ingredients considered to be medicinal but also with high alcoholic content.<sup>28</sup>

## 6. CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PALM WINE

The people of the Ndu Sub-Division attached a lot of cultural importance to palm wine. This is because of the role the wine played in the day-to-day life of the people. It was the only drink that was available in the palace daily to be served to guests and people who visited the palace.<sup>29</sup> This palm wine in the palace was never bought but donated to the palace daily by tappers. The tappers took turns in supplying or donating palm wine to the palace but in situations where there were extra-ordinary gatherings in the palace, palace guards were sent out to collect wine from any tapper they met in any raffia plantation.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> V. C Asongwa, Competencies Required by Secondary School Graduates in Palm Wine Tapping for Sustainable Income in Enugu State, Nigeria, *Journal of Agricultural Science and Technology B* · April 2013

<sup>24</sup> Blessing Adakaren, "Raphia Palm Wine Marketing in South-South Nigeria", Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Victorine Ngwakfu, 56, Palm Wine Seller, Ndu, 5th April 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Innocent Ebere Okereke, Process Skills Practised in Palm Wine Tapping, *Journal of CUDIMAC (J-CUDIMAC)*, Vol 6, No.1 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Cameroon under United Kingdom Administration, Report for the year 1953, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery, 1953), 46.

<sup>28</sup> Cameroon under United Kingdom Administration, Report for the year 1957, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery, 1957), 37.

<sup>29</sup> E. M Chilver, Some materials for the study of the Wimbun (Oxford: Oxfam printing services, 1997), 22.

<sup>30</sup> E. M Chilver and P.M Kabery, Traditional Bamenda, 29.

The palm wine was also used by all traditional institutions and regulatory societies across the Ndu Sub-Division as a drink for members, and ancestral veneration (See plate 14 and plate 15).<sup>31</sup> This was a practice that dated as far back as their settlement in the area. The *Nfuh* society (military wing of traditional governance) was one of the groups that consumed a lot of palm wine. The *nfuh* society met every *ntala* (weekly) to discuss issues of peace and security in the land. Palm wine was their only drink. Wine for this institution in the 1950s right up to 2000 was never bought as members were mostly tappers who took turns in providing palm wine during their gatherings.<sup>32</sup> Other traditional institutions such as the *nwarong* also made high use of the palm wine both for consumption by its members on meeting days and for ancestral veneration. The cultural attachment can also be seen among other traditional institutions like the *samba*, *ngiri* and *pshaa*. Apart from the traditional institutions, most male members' *njangi* groups highly consumed palm wine in their meetings and most female *njangi* groups drank the *sha* (corn beer). Palm wine was used in all the shrines in the area for many spiritual purposes.<sup>33</sup>

Still, in the socio-cultural domain, palm wine was seen to be of great importance among the people in the area of marriage. That was because, to marry a girl in the villages within and even outside the parameters of Ndu Sub-Division, the groom's family had to present palm wine as one of the pre-conditions for the marriage to take place.<sup>34</sup> This practice has continued and has been appreciated in contemporary times. Equally, palm wine was also of great cultural significance in major feasts and celebrations in the villages across the Ndu Sub-Division. It was therefore rare to find a feast or celebrations without the palm wine which was often substituted by corn bear and usually accompanied by Kola nut.

## **7. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PALM WINE SECTOR TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NDU**

The palm wine sector has also contributed significantly to the socio-economic development of the Ndu Sub-Division in several ways. The sector was equally a source of livelihood, job creation, wealth creation, and taxes.

In the area of job creation, it is important to note that unemployment has been one of the major challenges facing youth in the Ndu Sub-Division in particular and Cameroon as a whole. In this regard, the palm wine sector has significantly reduced unemployment in that area as it created jobs for the people. Talking about job creation, three categories of people were beneficiaries. These include the palm wine tappers and the transporters or the middlemen and the retailers who owned palm wine joints in village squares and the town. The palm wine tappers were the first people to acquire jobs in this sector. They were the people who first got engaged in the production of palm wine as their main economic activity. More than 60% of men across the villages in the Ndu Sub Division were involved in palm wine tapping. They produced wine and supplied them to the second category of people who were the middlemen and the returns they got from the sales were used to cater for the family. It should be noted that there were some exceptional cases in the palm wine business chain as some tappers were joint owners who sold what they tapped without having it pass through the middle man though at a minimal rate.

The transporters or the middlemen were the second category of people that got employed in the palm wine sector. This class of people was mostly made up of youths and at times students on vacation. They bought wine from tappers in the groves and sold it in towns at a profit. They used their heads to carry the wine to the town daily, covering a distance of 5 to 7 km. After scaling up the business, some of these middlemen bought motorcycles and Land Rovers which enabled them to transport the palm wine with much ease thereby, satisfying the growing demand of the wine in Ndu and making more gain. These motorcycles and vehicles were then used for commercial purposes for the rest of the day after the wine was supplied, creating more jobs.

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Shuye Ngala

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> V. C Asongwa, Competencies Required by Secondary School Graduates in PalmWine Tapping for Sustainable Income in Enugu State, Nigeria, *Journal of Agricultural Science and Technology B* · April 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Mupbaah Nfor Harrison, This is Mbipgo (Cameroon: Ndu Vision Documentation, 2010), 26.

The third class of people who got employed in the palm wine sector was the retailers. The retailers were of both sexes, based in village squares and towns. These people were fully employed as they spent their days in the palm wine joints selling to customers. They opened their joints as early as 8:00 am and closed at midnight making high sales during weekends. In some joints, two or three people were employed to serve the customers and were also placed on salary by the joint owner, thus reducing the rate of employment in the sub-Division in particular and the country at large. The sector also created wealth for the people who got involved in raffia related business. This sector played a key role in developing and improving the livelihoods of all the stakeholders in the sector. In line with this, the palm wine tappers sold most of their products to the middlemen who in turn supplied them to the retailers who also retailed to the consumers in smaller quantities which yielded them enough profit to solve financial challenges.<sup>35</sup> These challenges were in terms of constructing good homes following the changing trends in modernization; paying children school fees and catering for other family needs. As concerns fees payment, a good number of successful people in Ndu Sub-Division were sponsored with the money realized from the sales of these palm wine and other raffia related products. Still, in that line, most middlemen used the profits from this sector to establish other businesses that guaranteed them a regular income. This was a booster to the economy of Ndu and its environs.

This sector equally contributed to development through taxes. Those who were dealing with these products at the frontline in the business world were charged to pay taxes according to the worth of their items before they were allowed to sell their products.<sup>36</sup> Those who had palm wine joints in towns and village squares were also charged to pay taxes through the council. These monies which were later used to carry out developmental projects in the municipality were ways in which this sector contributed to the development. Apart from that, the sales made from these products were annually calculated as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Cameroon.

The palm wine sector also contributed to development in the area of *njagi* groups. The *njangi* group was a form of microfinance institution formed across the municipality by people with common backgrounds and interests and it cut across all walks of life. In the raffia palm industry, the people formed this group consisting of raffia palm owners, palm wine tappers, artisans and retailers. With this group, the people were able to save and loan money at low rates for developmental projects within the communities. These enabled more people to build houses following the changing trends of modernization, set up other businesses, buy farm supplements such as fertilizers and pay their children school fees which were great contributions to the economy.

## **8. CONCLUSION**

From the foregoing analysis, it can be deduced that the palm wine sector in the Ndu municipality was well developed and functioned in a way that benefitted stakeholders at various levels. These benefits were mainly through creating employment and a source of income which they used for the development of the area. This goes a long way to prove that the palm wine sector, as well as the raffia palm industry as a whole, helped a great deal in boosting the economy of the area. Notwithstanding the sector faced many challenges which limited its full contribution to the economy of the Sub-Division and Cameroon in general.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

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## **APPENDICES**



**Plate1.** The Raffia Stem Showing the Nsung and Bati at the Terminal Bud

**Source:** Author's Field Data Collection, 2017





**Plate2.** *Palm Wine Tappers in a Plantation Hut in Mbipgo Village*

**Source:** *Mbipgo Fon's Palace, 1994.*



**Plate3.** *A Raffia Palm Tree in Ndu Sub-Division Showing its Individual and New Stems*

**Source:** *Authors field Data Collection, 2017*



**Plate4.** *A Motorcycle Loaded with 120 Liters of Palm wine*

**Source:** *Author's Field Data Collection, 2018.*



**Plate5.** *Nfuh society members drinking palm wine in 1953*

**Source:** *Ndu Town Elite Group 1953*

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