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## State formation, religion, and land tenure in Cameroon

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Kees Schilder

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**STATE FORMATION, RELIGION,  
AND LAND TENURE IN CAMEROON**

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES  
LEIDEN, NETHERLANDS**



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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this analytical bibliography is to provide the reader with an overview of the recently published social science literature on state formation, religion, and land tenure in Cameroon. It has been compiled for the specific requirements of the research projects to be undertaken in Cameroon by the African Studies Centre (Leiden, the Netherlands). The number of different references mentioned in this study totals at about 800. As in any bibliography, several restrictions have been made to focus the subject. Five important criteria should be mentioned here.

- (1) There is a geographical limitation: only country-focused literature about Cameroon is included.
- (2) Most publications included are based on social-scientific research, i.e. they are historical, sociological, anthropological, social-geographical, economic, or juridical in character. This means that literary books, policy notes of government and other institutions, articles in journals, weeklies and non-scientific periodicals, and brochures have not been systematically inventoried.
- (3) The bibliography is limited in timespan, having a strong emphasis on the literature which was published in the 1970s and 1980s. The reason for this restriction is that the older literature has already been inventoried in several fairly exhaustive bibliographies on Cameroon, such as Dippold (1971), DeLancey & DeLancey (1975), and Gubry (1984). Most relevant references mentioned in those studies have not been entered again in this bibliography. Exceptions have been made for a number of publications which are still often cited, and those studies which deal with themes about which no recently published material is available. The bibliography was closed at

the end of 1986 (although some publications from 1987 have been included as well).

- (4) The bibliography has three main themes, as the title indicates. The first chapter, on the Cameroonian state, is a reconnaissance of the relevant literature on the processes of state formation with an emphasis on nation building, the stability of the post-colonial political system, forms of state penetration on the local level, and the historical continuities which may exist between the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial era. The two following chapters are elaborations of two facets of the complex process of state penetration in the Cameroonian society. The second chapter deals with religious change; the indigenous religions, Islam, and Christianity are discussed in succession. The third (and last) chapter concentrates on land tenure, whereby special attention is paid to the influences of migration and urbanisation.
- (5) The catalogues of the African Studies Centre library — which administers the most comprehensive collection of literature in the Netherlands on the afore-mentioned subjects (Hijma 1986<sup>1</sup>) — have been used as the primary bibliographical tool. In addition, the respective catalogues of the library of the Royal Tropical Institute (Amsterdam) and the central library of the Agricultural University (Wageningen, the Netherlands), and several existing bibliographies, have been consulted. This selection means that the study cannot pretend to be exhaustive, and that several gaps may exist with regard to works which were published in Cameroon itself.

The included literature has been ‘unsealed’ in two ways. Every chapter is made up of several sections and subsections, each dealing with a subtheme. Every subtheme is introduced by a bibliographical essay which presents the relevant literature as a coherent body, i.e.

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<sup>1</sup> Hijma, B.

1986    Gids van Afrika-collecties in Nederlandse bibliotheken en documentatiecentra. Leiden: Africa Studies Centre. 253 p., ind., Asc.

the main themes, debates, and gaps are reviewed. Naturally, these introductory remarks cannot claim any pretension of being exhaustive. A subsequent list of references, arranged in alphabetical order, contains the following information per reference: the author's name, the year of publication, the title and any subtitle; the place of publication and the name of the publishing company of books are mentioned, just as the name, the volume, the number, and the pages of periodicals in the case of articles. Technical annotations indicate the number of pages of a book, the presence of a bibliography (bibl.) and/or an index (ind.), and whether the book or article is available in the African Studies Centre library (Asc. followed by the book number); this information is not complete in all cases. A thematic annotation, giving information on the scientific discipline and the main subjects of a study, concludes a single reference; again exhaustiveness cannot be claimed, because the available time and resources did not allow for consultation of all the books and articles mentioned. In several cases the thematic analysis is based on other bibliographies without this being mentioned explicitly.

The approach adopted implies that several publications are entered in more than one rubric. Generally, different thematic aspects are then emphasised in the thematic annotation.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude towards everyone who, in one way or another, contributed to the realisation of this study.

## LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bjornson, R.

- 1986 'A bibliography of Cameroonian literature', *Research in African Literatures*, 17, 1, p. 85-126, Asc.

DeLancey, M.W. & P.J. Schraeder

- 1986 *Cameroon* (World Bibliographical Series, vol. 63). 201 p., bibl., ind.

A select, annotated bibliography with an emphasis on recent Anglophone publications. The references are classified according to subjects. It is the most useful introduction to the major books and articles on Cameroon for the time being.

DeLancey, M.W. & V.H. DeLancey

- 1975 A bibliography of Cameroon. New York etc.: Africana. 673 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9326.

The most extensive bibliography with regard to Cameroon. It is partly annotated, and the time period covered is to 1973. More than 6000 references are arranged alphabetically by author within subject divisions. The work includes an ethnic, linguistic and geographical index, an author and personal name index, and a subject index.

Dippolt, M.F.

- 1971 Une bibliographie du Cameroun: les écrits en langue allemande. Yaounde: CLE. 343 p., bibl.

This volume contains over 6000 entries of material written in the German language. A subject index is included.

Gubry, P.

- 1984 Bibliographie générale des études de population au Cameroun - General bibliography of population studies in Cameroon. Yaounde: Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut des Sciences Humaines, Centre de Recherches Economiques et Démographiques. 382 p., bibl., ind., Asc A3332.

This partly annotated bibliography includes almost 2500 references on population research and related subjects. The entries are arranged in chronological order within subject divisions.

Haeringer, P.

- 1983 La recherche urbaine à l'ORSTOM: bibliographie analytique 1950-1980. Paris: ORSTOM. 326 p., bibl., ind., Asc 14640.

Illy, H.F.

- 1974 'Bibliographie choisie d'écrits en sciences sociales et humaines sur le Cameroun', in: H.F. Illy (ed.), Kamerun. Mainz: Hase & Kohler. p. 317-343. Asc.

LeVine, V. & R.P. Nye

- 1974 Historical dictionary of Cameroon. Metuchen: Scarecrow Press. 198 p., bibl., Asc 8455.

A handy, but slightly dated booklet of reference. It includes a brief bibliographical essay ('Introduction to the study of Cameroon') and an extensive list of references to books and published essays (p. 139-198).

Mucho Chiabi, E.

- 1981-82 'Dissertations on Cameroon', in: Current Bibliography on African Affairs, 14, 2, p. 88-97.

Includes research materials from the United States, Canada, Africa, and Europe.

Schrader, T.H.

- 1987 Man, environment and development: a bibliography of the Extreme North of Cameroon. Leiden: Leiden University. ind., 181 p.

An annotated bibliography about North Cameroon, focusing on books and articles egarding the topics of environment and development in the Extreme North Province.

Seydou, C.

- 1978 Bibliographie générale du monde peul. Niamey-Parijs. 194 p.

Ungaro, D.

- 1986 'A bibliography of Cameroon', in: M.G. Schatzberg & I.W. Zartman (eds.), The political economy of Cameroon. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. p. 218-238.

This list of references on political and economic topics covers books, articles and documents up to 1985.

## CHAPTER 1

# THE CAMEROONIAN STATE

This chapter concentrates on the themes and discussions which dominate the literature on the Cameroonian state since the end of the 1960s.

In line with the literature on state formation in Africa in general, the huge amount of available literature can be roughly divided into two broad categories. In the 1960s, the first decade of political independence, the literature is characterised by an enthusiastic attitude, optimism with regard to the developmental prospects of the new state, and emphasis on the creative capabilities of the new African rulers. The nation building school of the American structural-functionalist paradigm, accentuating leadership and institutions as the major vehicles for integration and order, is then quite dominant. LeVine, Johnson, and Rubin are the most important representatives for Cameroon.

In the 1970s Marxism becomes more and more the dominant paradigm in the literature on state formation. The inherent limitations of the institutional developments within the post-colonial state then come to the fore. Colonialism and imperialism, and the post-colonial economic domination by France and other Western countries are interpreted as the central factors in the process of state formation. The major expert on Cameroon is the French political scientist Bayart.

This distinction is inherent in the texts of the next sections. The structure of this chapter is inspired by an article of Van Binsbergen et al. (1986)<sup>2</sup>.

## NATION BUILDING

Cameroon is a country with sharp internal contradictions. There are important politico-economic and religious differences between the north and the south, there are many problems springing from the joining of an ex-British and an ex-French colonial area into one state structure, and the country displays an extremely high ethnic diversity. The strong ideological stress on national integration by the Ahidjo regime is reflected in the literature of the 1960s in an uncritical approach of this credo; the central issue is to clarify under which circumstances a stable regime is able to develop. Several themes touching upon integration can be distinguished.

(1) The evolution from a more-parties system to a single-party system. The ruling party, the UC, was able to incorporate all opposition parties in the first half of the 1960s, and since then Cameroon has actually been a one-party state. Information on this process can be found in LeVine (1964, 1971), Johnson (1970a), Rubin (1971), Prouzet (1974), and Kumbuo (1976). The direct effect, the interlacing of party and state, is not theoretically elaborated. This intertwinement is apparent, for example, from the accounts of the four party congresses; these are important sources of information on government policies, especially Ahidjo's speeches; the attendance list is, moreover, an important indicator of the composition of the political elite at any certain point of time (see CNU 1967, 1974, 1975, 1980a, 1981). Tabuwe (1980) sees this development to a one-party system as the reestablishment of traditional political institutions in Cameroon: the more-parties

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<sup>2</sup> Van Binsbergen, W., F. Reyntjens, & G. Hesseling

1986 'Aspects of modern state penetration in Africa', *Les Cahiers du CEDAF - ASDOC-Studies* (Brussels), 2-3-4, p. 369-400. Asc.

system is interpreted as a Western introduction and a rupture with the past.

(2) The evolution from a federal state to a unitary state. The institutional and constitutional aspects of this process have been extensively studied by jurists and political scientists. Juridical studies, focusing on the interrelatedness of this political and constitutional development, are Gonidec (1969), Gonidec & Breton (1976), Enonchong (1967), Kontchou-Kouomegni (1980), Akame (1979), Imbert (1982), and Mbarga (1982). Ngongang-Ouandji (1973) describes the influence of the French model on constitutional law in the Federal State. The juridical studies of Jouve (1977), J. Owona (1973, 1976), Mbarga (1973), Mbome (1981), and Breton (1972) also contain detailed information on the constitutional reforms of 1972. The major studies written by political scientists are LeVine (1971, 1976) and Rubin (1971); they are confined to the federalist period.

Several authors have studied the increasing political and economic integration from a West Cameroonian perspective. A much more critical voice is heard here. They point to the inferior position of this area within the national constellation, and to the extreme concentration of power in the national political centre. Examples are Ardener (1967), Benjamin (1972), Ndonko (1975a), Stark (1976), and Dinka (1986); the latter author even argues in favour of a revision of the constitution of 1972.

(3) The evolution from a moderate presidential system to presidentialism. Studies like LeVine (1971), Johnson (1970a), and Rubin (1971) do not explain this concentration of governmental power in Yaounde, suggesting that it is just a logical outcome of the process of nation building. This evolution is interpreted as being largely determined by the ideas, aspirations, and personal characteristics of the national leader. Cameroonian publications which express this ideological glorification of the person and ideas of president Ahidjo, are the books written by Ahidjo himself (1964, 1969, 1976), biographies (e.g. Beaschlin-Raspail 1968), popular works like Eno Belinga (1976) and Alima (1977), and several

publications from the CNU. (e.g. 1968a, 1968b) The consolidation of the presidential power by Biya, Ahidjo's successor, in 1985 is affirmed by the publication of two similar works at that time: Sam-Kubam et al. (1985) and CNU (1985). Stark (1980-81) is a critical analysis of the function of political rhetoric for legitimizing governmental power.

The constitutional facets of the process of centralisation have been studied by Breton (1973), Etonga (1980), Gonidec (1969), Gonidec & Breton (1976), and Mbome (1978). Several studies, written by students of public administration, concentrate on the tension between centralisation and decentralisation as two organising principles of the state. Information on the diminishing public authority of the local and regional level administrations can be found in Audat (1968), Mbarga (1972), Ndongko (1975a), Champaud (1977), Kontchou-Kouomegni (1979, 1980), and Mawhood (1983). Lippens (1974) and Mawhood (1971) go into the bureaucratic organisation on the local level. Available also is some literature on the Communes or Local Authorities (juridico-territorial units with limited financial and administrative competence), notably Mademba (1957), Biwole (n.d.), Kwayeb (1960), Otabela (1965), and J. Owona (1979). Ngongang-Ouandji (1968) and Mintya (1968) deal with the 1966-67 reforms. Attempts to theoretically analyse centralisation as an administrative-legal process of state penetration on the local level, are almost completely lacking.

The nation building literature has lost much of its prominent position during the 1970s, but it did not disappear altogether. Several Cameroonian scholars continue to work in this tradition, for example Tunteng (1978), Forje (1981), Kofele-Kale (1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c), and Nwabuzor (1980a, 1980b). The two last-mentioned modernisation sociologists have researched into one of the problematical aspects of the concept of national integration: they oppose the prevailing view — also held in political circles in Cameroon — that the creation of a self-reflexive national community cannot be reconciled with expressions of regionalism or ethnic

loyalty, and they point to the dangers of a repressive policy towards cultural pluralism.

Ahidjo, A.

- 1964 Contribution to national construction. Paris: Présence Africaine. 136 p.

This work represents the early systematisation of Ahidjo's political views on the major internal and external problems that could hinder the development of the Cameroonian nation.

- 1969 Nation and development in unity and justice. Paris: Présence Africaine. 94 p.

This volume contains the text of Ahidjo's address to the First Congress of the CNU, in 1969.

- 1976 Fondements et perspectives du Cameroun nouveau. Aubagne-en-Provence: Saint Lambert Editeur. 181 p.

Description of the action programme of the party and the state. The then president goes into the 'Révolution Pacifique' of 20 May 1972, national independence and non-commitment, the CNU's efficiency, social justice, and the need of revolutionary changes.

Akame, J.F.

- 1979 'Les grandes étapes de la construction juridique au Cameroun de 1958 à 1978', in: Penant, 88, 64, p. 188-196. Asc.

Juridical description of the phased constitutional evolution in Cameroon in historical perspective.

Alima, J.-B.

- 1977 Les chemins de l'unité: comment se forge une nation, l'exemple camerounais. Paris: Afrique Biblio Club. 184 p., bibl.

The author is a well-known journalist in Cameroon. He describes the nation building process in Cameroon. The tone is not critical. Nationalism, the UPC uprising, the experiment of the federal form of government and of the 'centralised' democracy, and the economic and foreign policy come up for discussion in succession.

Ardener, E.

- 1967 'The nature of the reunification of Cameroon', in: A. Hazlewood (ed.), *African integration and disintegration*. London: Oxford University Press. p. 285-327.

This article was written from a West Cameroonian perspective. The author points out the distortions of the federative idea and the overwhelming importance of the Francophone part of the federation.

Audat, P.-L.

- 1968 'Décentralisation et développement, l'exemple de l'Afrique de l'Ouest', in: *Cahiers Africains d'Administration Publique*, 4B, p. 1-30 (Fr.), p. 31-57 (Eng.).

Comparative study about the local and regional level administrations in Mali, Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Cameroon. The author distinguishes between decentralisation and deconcentration, and deals with (1) the role of government bodies in modernisation, and (2) the role of authorities and institutions with delegated competence in modernisation.

Beaschlin-Raspail, B.Ch.

- 1968 Ahmadou Ahidjo: pionnier de l'Afrique moderne. Monte-Carlo: Editions Paul Bory. 119 p.

A tribute to the former president Ahidjo, written in journalistic fashion by a Swiss journalist who had worked in Cameroon for two years.

Bella Ndong, M.

- 1974 *Le régionalisme africain: un exemple, le Cameroun. Etude de sciences administratives*, University of Paris.

Benjamin, J.

- 1972 *Les Camerounais occidentaux: la minorité dans un état bicommunautaire*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal. 250 p., bibl., ind., Asc 7412.

The author discusses the influence of federalism on the West Cameroonian Anglophone minority. The first section deals with the effects exercised by the federal institutions on the political, econo-

mic, and administrative activities in West Cameroon, and the second section with the influence of the dominant Francophone political culture in the ex-British colony. Benjamin, a Canadian, develops a theory about federalism which is more generally applicable, for instance in contemporary Canada.

Biwole, G.

- n.d. L'institution communale au Cameroun - Local council in Cameroon.  
n.p.: Editions SOPECAM.

Boorn, P.H.J. van den

- 1984 Kameroen (Landendocumentatie 1984 no. 3). Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.

A useful general introduction. The author successively discusses the natural environment, the origins of the Cameroonian ethnic groupings, the colonial period and independence, several social aspects of the Cameroonian society, the economy, and the means of subsistence. The performance of the Ahidjo government is admired, although several structural problems are noticed.

Breton, J.-M.

- 1972 'Le contrôle supérieur de l'état au Cameroun', in: Bulletin de l'Institut International de l'Administration Publique, 23, p. 543-605.
- 1973 'Le contrôle supérieur de l'état en République Unie du Cameroun', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 4, p. 118-145. Eng. sum.
- 1979 'De la tutelle à la République Unie: réflexions sur la dynamique unitaire dans l'évolution institutionnelle du Cameroun indépendant', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 33, 2, p. 185-215. Asc.

Juridical article about the phased development of the political institutions within the Cameroonian state, as a process based on the principle of national unity. The institutional unity which the constitutional reformers of 1972 had in view — the establishment of the unitary state of Cameroon — is extensively discussed.

Champaud, J.

- 1977 'Afrique Noire: pouvoir central, pouvoirs locaux et développement au Cameroun', in: C. Bataillon (ed.), Etat, pouvoir et espace dans le Tiers-Monde. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, p. 153-165.

Clignet, R.

- 1976 'The impact of educational structures and processes on national integration in Cameroon', in: D.R. Smock & K. Bentsi-Enchill (eds.), *The search for national integration in Africa*. New York: Free Press; London: Collier MacMillan. p. 139-158.

Inventory of the problems which educational institutions, trying to overcome the divisions caused by ethnic factors, are confronted with. In Cameroon this lack of unity is strengthened by the dissimilar colonial experiences of the country.

CNU

- 1967 First National Council of the Cameroon National Union UNC. Yaounde: CNU. 229 p.

A collection of the most important documents, speeches, and other aspects of the First National Council of the CNU, held in Yaounde in 1967. The major topics of discussion were the general role of the party, the relation state-party, elections, the party's role in the execution of the Plan, party meetings, and several financial problems.

- 1968a As told by Ahmadou Ahidjo. Monte Carlo: Paul Bory. 102 p.

A collection of Ahidjo's speeches in commemoration of ten years of Ahidjo rule in Cameroon.

- 1968b The political philosophy of Ahmadou Ahidjo. Monte Carlo: Paul Bory.

A tribute to the accomplishments of the Ahidjo government between 1958 and 1968.

- 1974 First Cameroon National Union Congress held in Garoua. La Loupe: SIPE. 303 p.

Report concerning the Congress, containing important indications of policy intentions. The principle speeches are those of president Ahidjo. There is also a French version.

- 1975 The Second Congress of the Cameroon National Union held in Douala, Cameroun. Yaounde: CNU. 448 p.

A collection of documents, speeches, and reports of the Second CNU Congress, in 1975. It includes messages from friendly political parties from abroad, a report on the party's finance, and a list of high ranking members in the party's political hierarchy.

- 1976 Ahmadou Ahidjo from A to Z: CNU 10th anniversary. Yaounde: CNU. 190 p.

A collection of short quotes by Ahidjo.

- 1980a Third Ordinary Congress of the CNU holding in Bafoussam. Yaounde: Société de Presse et d'Éditions du Cameroun. 64 p., Asc Hc3249.

Includes an interview with president Ahidjo, and several articles on the party's history, activities, and structure.

- 1980b L'UNC dans la nation - CNU in the nation. Douala: CNU. 126 p., bibl.

The document is an exposition of the ideology of the Cameroon National Union. Its purpose is to make available to the public a new publication for information and reflection, and to answer the question on the place and role of the CNU in Cameroon.

- 1981 L'Unité: actes de Troisième Congrès Ordinaire de l'UNC de Bafoussam. Yaounde: CNU. 255 p.

Important source of information about government policies and the political elite in Cameroon at that time. Ahidjo's speech takes up 34 pages.

- 1985 Paul Biya: le président de tous les Camerounais. Yaounde: CNU. 101 p.

A memorial volume about the Fourth CNU Congress, in Bamenda, which was presided by Paul Biya. After a brief biographical sketch follows a summary of his political ideas, concerning, for example, the ethical base for his policy of renovation and the emphasis on the national sovereignty. The work concludes with a discussion of the programme of national integration.

Decret

- 1976 'Decret no. 75-467 du 28 juin 1975 portant délégation de pouvoir au premier ministre', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 9, p. 93-94. Asc.

The literary text of the decree regulating the authority of the prime minister.

DeLancey, M.W.

- 1983 'United Republic of Cameroon', in: G. Delury (ed.), *World encyclopedia of political systems and parties I*. New York: Facts on File. p. 138-142.

Concise outline of the Cameroonian political process and its history.

Dinka, G.

- 1986 'Pour un nouveau contrat social', in: *Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains*, 9, 50, p. 50-65. Asc.

The Foumban Constitution, the agreement between East and West Cameroon about the federal joining of the two territories, was abolished in 1972 when Ahidjo proclaimed the Unitary State of Cameroon. The author discusses what has since become of these arrangements, and makes several proposals for a new system.

Eno Belinga, S.-M.

- 1976 *Cameroun, la Révolution Pacifique du 20 mai*. Yaounde: Lamaro. 200 p.

The 'Révolution Pacifique' of 20 May 1972 refers to the date that Cameroon has become a Unitary Republic. The unitary process, and Ahidjo's role in it, are glorified. The joining of the two territories and the education of the youth are defined as the principle purposes of the Cameroonian nation.

Enonchong, H.N.

- 1967 Cameroon institutional law: federalism in a mixed common-law and civil-law system. Yaounde: Centre d'Édition et de Production de Manuels et d'Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement. 314 p., ind., Asc 5791.

The first juridical analysis of the constitutional institutions of the federation at the national and federal level, written by a Cameroonian student. It contains an extensive survey of the Cameroonian constitutional evolution since the German agreements of 1884 and the constitution of 1886, and it discusses in detail the constitution of the federation.

Etonga, M.

- 1980 'An imperial presidency: a study of presidential power in Cameroon', in: N. Kofele-Kale (ed.), *An African experiment in nation building: the bilingual Cameroon Republic since reunification*. p. 133-157. Asc 11958.

Juridical study on presidential power as laid down in the Constitution. The author draws parallels with the American presidential system. The analysis is focused on the deeper constitutional and political motives which have led up to an authoritarian presidency.

Forje, J.W.

- 1981 The one and indivisible Cameroon: political integration and socio-economic development in a fragmented society. Lund: University of Lund. 191 p., bibl. Asc 14459.

A political-sociological study on nation building in Cameroon. The author focuses the analysis on the interrelations between political integration, system change/social change, and political stability. Three different periods are discussed: the time of federalism (1960-1966), the transition to a uniform government and a unitary party within the Federal State (1966-1972), and the time since the establishment of the unitary state (1972-1980).

Foumban Akawe, J.

- 1983 Paul Biya ou l'incarnation de rigueur. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 293 p.

First published biography on Biya, the second president of Cameroon.

Frenay, P.

- 1987 'Le Cameroun anglophone dans le processus d'intégration nationale', in: Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 40, 159, p. 217-236. ASc.

Gonidec, P.-F.

- 1969 La République Fédérale du Cameroun (Encyclopédie politique et constitutionnelle, série Afrique). Paris: Berger-Levrault. 88 p., bibl., Asc 5798.

Brief, but useful study, written by a jurist, on the Cameroonian political institutions and processes in the Federal State. It contains chapters on the political and constitutional evolution, the political forces, the contemporary political regime, and the nature of the Cameroonian society. Two appendices contain information on constitutional documents of the federation.

Gonidec, P.-F. & J.-M. Breton

- 1976 La République Unie du Cameroun (Encyclopédie Politique et Constitutionnelle, Série Afrique). Paris: Berger-Levrault. 77 p., bibl., Asc 5798.

A continuation and actualisation of Gonidec (1969) on the Unitary State of Cameroon, which was established in 1972.

Imbert, J.

- 1982 Le Cameroun. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Johnson, W.R.

- 1970a The Cameroon federation: political integration in a fragmentary society. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 426 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6494.

An important system-functionalist work. The author applies the integration theory to Cameroon, and analyses the processes which made the bilingual political federation of Cameroon a success, notwithstanding the many social cleavages. Especially the first years after independence are very well treated.

Jouve, E.

- 1977 'Cinq ans d'Etat Unitaire', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 12, 140-141, p. 42-65. Asc.

Article written in reference to 20 May 1977 when Yaounde celebrated the fifth anniversary of the 'Révolution Pacifique'. The author endeavors to explain the long duration and stability of the Ahidjo government, and pays a lot of attention to the almighty position of the head of the state.

Kofele-Kale, N.

- 1978 'Patterns of political orientations: towards the nation: a comparison of rural-urban residents in Anglophone Cameroon', in: *African Social Research* (Lusaka), 26, p. 469-488. bibl.

First publication on a political socialisation project, which makes a reconnaissance of the influence of social environment factors on the process of nation building.

- 1980a 'The impact of environment on ethnic group values in Cameroon', in: J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities and national integration: empirical research in Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p. 121-150. Asc A2482.

Empirical-comparative study about the relation between place of residence and ethnic group values in West Cameroon. Two hypotheses are examined and affirmed: (1) 'Ethnic ties and loyalty do not detract from national orientations', and (2) 'variations in national political identification reflect differences in environmental conditioning'.

- 1980b 'The impact of environment on national political culture in Cameroon', in: J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities and national integration: empirical research in Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p. 151-172. Asc A2482.

Inquiry into the relation between place of residence (village, plantation, or town) and the national political orientation in West Cameroon. The degree of political identification with the Cameroonian nation is measured for four political-cultural subsystems: identification, symbol, rule, and faith. The relation between environment and political orientation, which the author demonstrates, is neither explained nor put into an historical context.

Kofele-Kale, N. (ed.)

- 1980c An African experiment in nation building: the bilingual Cameroon Republic since reunification. Boulder: Westview Press. 369 p., ind.

A collection of twelve essays, divided into four sections: the search for national identity, the distribution of political power, the establishment of an economic order, and aspects of social development.

Kontchou Kouomegni, A.

- 1979 'Le droit public camerounais, instrument de construction de l'unité nationale', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 33, 4, p. 415-441. Asc.

Juridical article on the relation which exists between the official state ideology and the constitutional development in Cameroon: there is a close correspondence between the political ideal of national unity and the establishment of a strong, centralised, omnipresent state. The author points out the dangers which cling to the unitary myth and an excess of concentration of power, namely an alienation between the population and the regime.

- 1980 'Idéologie et institutions politiques: l'impact de l'idée de l'unité nationale sur les institutions publiques de l'état camerounais', in: G. Conac (ed.), *Dynamique et finalités des droits africains (Actes du Colloque de la Sorbonne: La vie du droit en Afrique)*. Paris: Economica. p. 442-464. Asc 12182.

Juridical article in which the author explains the phased evolution of the constitutional institutions in the direction of increased centralisation from 'l'idée-force de laquelle dépend la quasi-totalité des autres principes idéologiques du régime: l'impératif de l'unité nationale'.

Kumbuo, S.

- 1976 'How united is Cameroon?', in: *African Report*, 21, 6, p. 17-20. Asc.

Kwayeb, E.K.

- 1960 *Les institutions de droit public du pays bamiléké (Cameroun): évolution et régime actuel*. Paris: Pichon & Durand-Auzias. 199 p., bibl., Asc 3117.

LeVine, V.T.

- 1963 'The Cameroon Federal Republic', in: G. Carter (ed.), *Five African states*. Ithaca.

- 1964 *The Cameroons from mandate to independence*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. 329 p., bibl.

Important political science analysis of the history of the political developments in especially East Cameroon at the time of French rule. A French translation is available: *Le Cameroun*. Paris: Editions Nouveaux Horizons (1970).

- 1971 *The Cameroon Federal Republic*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press. 205 p., bibl., ind., Asc 7416.

The author examines the stability of the Cameroon Federal Republic since the unification in 1961 of the former French and British trusteeship territories. After a description of the historical background of Cameroonian nationalism, independence and integration, follows a sketch of the contemporary political process and a discussion on several central themes, such as national unity, economic development, and foreign relations.

- 1976 'Political integration and the United Republic of Cameroon', in: D.R. Smock & K. Bentsi-Enchill (eds.), *The search for national integration in Africa*. New York: Free Press; London: Collier Mac-Millan. p. 270-284. Asc 8377.

Brief historical account of the steps which have led to the establishment of the Unitary State in 1972, and an analysis of several dimensions of the integration process.

Lippens, P.

- 1974 'Les relations entre la population et les pouvoirs publics dans la ville de Douala', in: Penant, 84, 744, p. 204-223. Asc.

Article on the lack of dialogue between the urban population and the municipality in the town of Douala. The author discusses the Communes, the institution of the ward chief, and the public services, and argues for administrative structures which better suit to the 'modes d'expression actuels de la population'. The article can also be found in : Bulletin de l'Institut International d'Administration Publique, 27 (1973), p. 45-63.

Loi

- 1976 'Loi no. 75-1 du 9 mai 1975 portant modification de la constitution du 2 juin 1972', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 9, p. 87-88. Asc.

Mademba, S.

- 1957 Les institutions municipales en A.O.F.-Togo-Cameroun. Paris.

Mawhood, P.

- 1971 'Rural local government in Tropical Africa: examples from Tanzania and Cameroon', in: Cahiers Africains d'Administration Publique, 6, p. 109-115.

Comparative study which focuses on the administrative tasks of the local government, its relation to the central government, its internal structure, the local finance, and the local government functions.

- 1983 'Applying the French model in Cameroon', in: P. Mawhood (ed.), Local government in the Third World: the experience of Tropical Africa. Chichester etc.: John Wiley. p. 177-200. Asc 14173.

Study on the local government in Cameroon, focusing on the allocations through the formal structures of government from the theoretical perspective of centralisation versus decentralisation. Since independence Cameroon has been characterised by an increasing dominance of the central government in Yaounde.

Mbarga, E.

- 1972 'La décentralisation territoriale au Cameroun', in: Annales de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Yaoundé, 3, p. 11-64.

- 1973 'Evolution politique du Cameroun en 1972: le référendum du 20 mai 1972 et la formation de la République Unie du Cameroun', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 27, 3, p. 363-394. Asc.

The establishment of the Unitary Republic of Cameroon was adopted by the people through a referendum on 20 May 1972. This article discusses the politics of nation building that underlies this political success.

- 1982 Les institutions politiques du Cameroun. Douala: Centre de Diffusion du Livre Camerounais. 210 p., bibl., Asc 14224.

Juridical article on the different processes and institutions which constitute the political system of the Unitary State. The study is largely descriptive, and confined to the national level. The subjects are: the election system and the role of referendums, the role of the strong presidency and the ministers, the authority of the parliament, and the influence of the consultative and juridical bodies. An appendix contains the integral texts of the Constitution of 20 May 1972, and of the constitutional reforms of 9 May and 29 June 1979.

Mbome, F.

- 1978 'Les empêchements du président de la République au Cameroun', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 32, 3, p. 905-912. Asc.

- 1981 'Réflexions sur la réforme constitutionnelle du 9 juin 1979 au Cameroun', in: Penant, 91, 773, p. 34-47. Asc.

Juridical study in which the constitutional reforms of 9 June 1979 are analysed and evaluated. It concerns the articles no. 5 (regarding the prime ministry as a permanent institution within the government structure) and no. 7 (regarding the procedures for the delegation of presidential power).

Mintya, S.

- 1968 'Les Communes du Cameroun Oriental', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 22, 2, p. 251-362. Asc.

Analysis of the East Cameroon Communes as institutional instruments for socio-economic development. The author describes the different forms as they existed until 1966, and the reforms of 1966 and 1967, which were meant to reduce the villages' autonomy vis-à-vis the Communes.

Ndongko, W.A.

- 1975a Planning for economic development in a federal state: the case of Cameroon, 1960-1971. Munich: Welforum Verlag. 214 p., bibl., Asc 7682.

A study on the process of planning for economic development in the Federal State of Cameroon. The author discusses the nature of the organisations which were set up for this purpose, the societal implications, and the effects on the federal relations between East and West Cameroon.

Ngongang-Ouandji, A.

- 1968 'La Commune, personne morale de droit moderne en République Fédérale du Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 22, 2, p. 343-350. Asc.

Juridical article on the structure and legal competence of the Cameroon Commune.

- 1973 'Les traits caractéristiques de la responsabilité de l'administration publique camerounaise du fait de ses agents', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 27, 4, p. 839-848. Asc.

Juridical article on the public (in)violability of government officials. After the author has demonstrated a legal evolution within the Cameroon Federation in the direction of French written law, he describes the differences between the two legal systems.

Nwabuzor, E.

- 1980a 'Ethnic value distance in Cameroon', in: J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities, and national integration*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p. 205-229. Asc A2482.

Political-science article on political culture in an ethnically pluriform state. The author intends to demonstrate the differences and similarities in political preferences and norms between the major ethnic groupings in Cameroon (the Widikum, the Beti, the Duala, the Wimbun, the Bamileke, the Tikar, the Bassa, and the Hausa-Fulbe). These might be relevant for the process of nation building in the national socio-political arena.

- 1980b 'Ethnic propensities for collaboration in Cameroon', in: in : J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities, and national integration*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, p. 231-258, A2482.

Part of the author's survey investigation of ethnocentrism in West Cameroon. This article's subject is the relation between the propensity for cooperation with other ethnic groupings, and the evaluation of the differences and similarities between these groupings, the so-called ethnic value distance.

Otabela, H.

- 1965 Pour une organisation communale de développement. Yaounde: mimeo.

A review of the fragmented municipal structure, and the administrative inefficiency due to the lack of control of the spending of financial sources, written by a then public officer.

Owona, J.

- 1973 'La nouvelle constitution camerounaise du 20 mai 1972 de l'Etat Fédéral à l'Etat Unitaire', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 27, 1, p. 3-40. Asc.

The establishment of the Unitary State in 1972 — approved by 99.99% of the population — became possible, because of the strong presidency, supported by a single-party system, and the weakening of the controlling and legislative powers of the Parliament. The article concludes with the full text of the new Constitution.

- 1976 'La réforme politique et constitutionnelle de la République Unie du Cameroun en 1975: expérience de déconcentration hiérarchisée d'un régime présidentiel fort', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 9, p. 13-23. Eng. sum., Asc.

The constitutional reforms of 1975 did not affect the presidential system, and emphasised the fundamental, but unwritten, political principle of a systematic balance between the different provinces. Nevertheless, a political opening was made towards the young, rising generation of technocrats. Furthermore, the presidency was deconcentrated, i.e. the tasks and competence vis-à-vis the other top officials within the government were redefined.

- 1979 'Les débuts de l'expérience communale au Cameroun d'expression française', in: *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Sciences Humaines* (University of Yaounde), 9, p. 239-243.

Prouzet, M.

- 1974 *Le Cameroun*. Paris: Pichon & Durand-Auzias. 377 p., bibl., Asc 7418.

Political-science study of the national centres of political authority, paying equal attention to the formal state structures and the actually existing power relations. The author argues that the regime's stability is quite weak, since it rests on the authority of one single person. Furthermore, 'une sorte de léthargie politique semble avoir frappé l'immense majorité de la population'.

Rubin, N.

- 1971 *Cameroun: an African federation*. London: Pall Mall Press. 259 p., bibl., ind. Asc 6503.

Study on the historical processes which have led to the establishment of a federation which includes the former French Cameroun and the southern part of the former British Cameroons, and on the evolution of the political institutions and the policies of the new federal government. The second part deals with the methods through which the national elite has tried to forge Anglophone and Francophone elements into one nation, including the political institutions which were established for this purpose, such as a strong presidency and a unitary party.

Sam-Kumbam, P., & R. Ngwa-Nyamboli (eds.)

- 1985 *Paul Biya and the quest for democracy in Cameroon*. Yaounde: Editions CLE. 100 p.

An collection of six uncritical articles, written by Cameroonian scholars, on the changes which have taken place in Cameroon since the accession to the throne by Paul Biya.

Scheffler, G. (ed.)

1979 Überseeische Verfassungsvergleichung II. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Alfred Metzner. 14 p.

A comparative study on constitutional law in Cameroon, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Ethiopia.

Stark, F.M.

1976 'Federalism in Cameroon: the shadow and the reality', in: Canadian Journal of African Studies, 10, 3, p. 423-442. Asc.

A critical article, written from a West Cameroonian perspective. A real federal state did not come into existence, because of the strongly centralised government structures and the East Cameroonian dominance on the federal level. The author examines why there was almost no resistance in West Cameroon against the unification. He concludes that the Ahidjo circles managed to incorporate the regional political elites through clientalist relations.

1980-81 'Persuasion and power in Cameroon', in: Canadian Journal of African Studies, 14, 2, p. 273-293. Asc.

Political-science study on the relevance of political rhetoric and ideologies in the political life of the Cameroonian state. Political authority is based on shared values and symbols, which function as the vehicles of political legitimization.

Tabuwe, A.

1980 The one-party system and the African traditional institutions - Le système à parti unique et les institutions traditionnelles africaines. Yaounde: SOPECAM. 63 p., bibl., Asc Hc2949.

The author tries to explain the development of a single-party system in post-colonial Africa from its similarities with traditional political institutions; the chosen case study is Cameroon. The text is written in both English and French.

Tunteng, P.K.

- 1978 'Bilingualism as Cameroon's experiment in pan-Africanism', in: West African Journal of Modern Languages, 3, p. 72-85.

A critical article which discusses the potentials of language to become a vehicle for politico-economic subordination.

Werf, S. van der

- 1970 'Kameroen tien jaar', in: Internationale Spectator, 24, 22, p. 2069-2083. Eng. sum, Asc.

An outline of postwar political developments in Cameroon, in a nation building perspective. The achievements of the Ahidjo government are considered in a positive way.

## POLITICAL STABILITY

Since the beginning of the 1970s ever more publications from Cameroonian political students have appeared. These studies are more descriptive than theoretical, and criticisms of the political processes going on in the national arena are usually uttered in a very discrete way. The attention shifted somewhat to the enduring political stability of the Ahidjo government (in comparison to most other African states); this issue is closely bound up with the above-mentioned process of concentration of power among the political top elite. This common theme is present in almost all recently published political-science literature. Several explanatory factors have been proposed, but a satisfactory explanation as has yet not been found.

The nation building literature emphasises a personalistic explanation: Ahidjo's statesmanship is held responsible for a relatively successful economic policy, a strong presidency, a strong national political party, and a well advanced integration of East and West Cameroon. Examples are the already-mentioned LeVine (1976), Jouve (1977), and Prouzet (1974); the last author, however, has his doubts about the durability of the political order, since it is founded on only one person.

Ofiaja (1979) stresses two other factors in his comparative study: the relative cohesion of the Cameroonian political elite and the extreme ethnic fragmentation in the country. A few studies on the political elite are available. \*Elites\* (1976) and Ngayap (1983) are person-oriented inventories, which reveal such a cohesion; the latter work also clarifies the criteria of recruitment. Nassara (1975) investigates the mechanisms through which the state bureaucracy consolidates and perpetuates its privileged position. A major example of a Marxist study which a priori starts from the existence of a dominant class as the 'Träger' of the post-colonial state, is Kom (1971). The suggestion of cohesion, which is implicit in the concept of class, is disputed by the political scientist Bayart. His publications on state formation in Cameroon (including 1974, 1978c, 1979) and in Africa in general (1981, 1983a, 1983b) emphasise the autonomy of the state: the formation of a politico-administrative elite — a kind of nascent ruling class — occurs within the state apparatus. He maintains that the top elite around Ahidjo has managed to establish a broad alliance with many different regional and ethnically based elites, having divergent economic bases and being made up of both the old ruling groups and the new educated leading groups. This clientalist encapsulation presupposes a very prudent manoeuvring from the side of the national elite in order to preserve a regional and ethnic balance in the national political arena. The elimination of open electoral competition resulting from the CNU's party monopoly, has made politicised ethnicity less visible, but did not destroy it at all. The factional competition behind the scenes is rather difficult to investigate in contemporary Cameroon. Kofele-Kale (1986), Stark (1976), Johnson (1970a), and Azarya (1978) pay some attention to the theme, besides Bayart. Geschiere (1984d) points out that an historical continuity between the old and new relations of authority on the subnational level, which Bayart presupposes, won't do in the forest zone in the south and west of Cameroon: institutionalised power positions which could have been encapsulated by the national

political top, were lacking in the strongly segmented societies in these areas.

A fourth factor which may partly explain how the Ahidjo regime managed to continue in power for more than two decades, is the state's autocratic character. As almost everywhere in Africa did the national political structure in Cameroon not develop according to the principles of the Western democracies, as they were instituted at the time of political independence. Only a few empirical studies about the increasing state interference with democratic freedoms and the increasing recourse to repressive means, are available. Joseph (1978) is a major study on the autocratic nature of the Cameroonian state; worth-mentioning are also the Amnesty International publications (1985, 1986) about political prisoners, and the articles of Bayart (1973b) and Nga Ndong (1986-87) about the encroachment on the liberty of the Press. Marxist inspired opposition circles have also raised the question to what degree the Ahidjo government is backed by popular support; these small groups of exiles in Paris and Accra emphasise the neo-colonial relations with France and the suppression of all political opposition. Examples are the afore-mentioned Kom (1971) and Mbembé (1986), and also Eyinga (1978a, 1978b) and Kunde (1979). These analyses, however, strongly polarise between the authoritarian state and a supposedly passive powerless population. Bayart (1979), inspired by Gramsci, takes an important step to overcome this sterile duality by paying more attention to the ideological aspects of political action. He relativises the powerlessness of the popular masses by introducing the theoretical concept of 'popular modes of political action': the apparently a-political, diffuse counter-actions 'from below' against the establishment of new equalities. Geschiere (1984d) is a commentary upon this theory. The socio-economic foundation of the Cameroonian state will be more fully elaborated on in the next section. Foreign policy is an issue that touches upon the Marxist literature which stresses the relevance of the international politico-economic context of the state. Bayart (1972), A.N. Njoya (1976), Kofele-Kale (1981a), Oyono (1983) and

especially Beuth (1975) point out the small margins of an 'independent' diplomacy in a context of international economic dependence.

The Succession Crisis in the political centre in the years 1982-1984 came as a surprise to most scholars, since they were focused on the regime's supposed stability. At the outset the presidential succession seemed to pass off orderly and constitutionally; this was attributed — in conjunction with the personalistic properties of the modernisation sociology — to Ahidjo's careful policy in this respect; see the articles of Kamto (1983), Bipoum-Woum (1983), and LeVine (1983). The delegation of power was, however, incomplete. Ahidjo, still the leader of the CNU Party, turned out to be a menace to Biya's presidential authority. Several Cameroonian publications have been devoted to the escalating power struggle between the two leaders, culminating in an unsuccessful coup d'état in 1984, and the subsequent consolidation of president Biya's power: Oyonó (1984-85), Kamga (1985), Ewandé (1984), Biyiti bi Essam (1984), and Bandolo (1985). LeVine (1986), Moutard (1985, 1986), and Bayart (1986) are attempts to analyse the difficult transition of power. The last two authors interpret the crisis as a conflict between the party and the state against the background of a changing power constellation in the Cameroonian society, which is the result of an ongoing power struggle between the established political elite and a rising generation of technocrats.

#### Amnesty International

1985 Afrika. Amsterdam: Amnesty International, Section The Netherlands. 31 p., Asc Hc3208.

Contains information on the imprisonment and detention of Jehovah Witnesses after the attempted coup d'état of 1984.

1986 Externe A.I.-informatie subregio West-Afrika/Indische Oceaan: January-February 1986. London: Amnesty International. 26 p., Asc Hc3276.

Contains information on the circumstances of political prisoners in Cameroon in the year 1985.

Azarya, V.

- 1978     Aristocrats facing change: the Fulbe in Guinea, Nigeria, and Cameroon. Chicago etc.: University of Chicago Press. 293 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9920.

Historico-sociological study on the changing authority of the Fulbe in North Cameroon, North Nigeria , and Guinea in the political, economic, and religious field, caused by the colonial and post-colonial impact of state formation. Azarya uses the comparative method. The book is not only an important historical study, but contains also relevant information on the contemporary political power of the Fulbe on the national level.

Bandolo, H.

- 1985     La flamme et la fumée. Yaounde: SOPECAM.

Exploratory account on the political crisis of 1982-1984.

Bayart, J.-F.

- 1972     'La politique extérieure du Cameroun (1960-1971)', in: Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, 75, p. 47-64. Asc.

In this article the author compares the general principles on which the Cameroonian diplomacy is based, such as non-commitment, diversification of foreign relations, economic independence, international cooperation, and pragmatism, on the one hand, and their actual realisation on the other. The relations with France, the O.A.U., Francophone Central Africa, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, and the Vatican are examined.

- 1973b    'Presse et développement politique au Cameroun', in: Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, 88. Asc.
- 1974     'Les catégories dirigeantes au Cameroun', in: Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, 9, 105, p. 66-90. Asc.

The author's aim is to clarify the societal base of the Ahidjo government. The major topic is the relation between the regime and the dominating social forces in the Cameroonian society. Bayart concludes that the presidency has acquired an ever increasing autonomy vis-à-vis the party, the army, and the business circles.

- 1978c 'Régime de parti unique et systèmes d'inégalité et de domination au Cameroun: esquisse', in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 18, 69-70, p. 5-35. bibl., Asc.

This is an analysis of the post-colonial state of Cameroon according to theoretical ideas borrowed from Gramsci. The author explains the establishment of an authoritarian state and a one-party system from the inequalities which arose in the colonial era as a result of the expansion of the capitalist mode of production.

- 1979 L'état au Cameroun. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 298 p., bibl., ind., Asc 11880.

A hallmark in the study of the African state in general. The author examines the development of political structures and processes in post-colonial Cameroon in terms of a 'crise hégémonique'. He emphasises the state's autonomy vis-à-vis the societal classes, and explains the government's stability from the existence of a broad alliance of old and new regional elites ('alliance hégémonique'). The totalitarian ambitions of the regime — the struggle for the 'société civile' — are interpreted as an attempt to compensate for the state's weak economic base. Furthermore, the study points out the apparently a-political and diffuse counter-actions 'from below' against the establishment of these new power relations.

- 1981 'Le politique par le bas en Afrique Noire', in: *Politique Africaine*, 1, p. 53-83. Asc.

A theoretical article, inspired by Gramsci, in which the author presents his view on the African post-colonial state. See also Bayart (1983a, 1983b).

- 1983a 'Les sociétés africains face à l'état', in: *Pouvoirs*, 25, p. 23-39.

1983b 'La revanche des sociétés africaines', in: *Politique Africaine*, 11, p. 95-128. Asc.

1986 'La société politique camerounaise (1982-1986)', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 5-35. Asc.

This is a survey of the turbulent years of transition of the Ahidjo government by Biya. The events are discussed in the politico-historical context of the Cameroonian society, and the competition between Ahidjo and Biya is interpreted as a competence struggle between the state and the party.

Beuth, H.-W.

1975 *Bestimmungsfaktoren des Aussenpolitik Kameruns*. Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 440 p., bibl., Asc 8459.

An historical study about the foreign policies of the Cameroonian state. The first section is concerned with the political and economic history of Cameroon during the colonial epoch in terms of international dependence. The second section discusses the internal determination of the foreign policy of the independent Cameroonian state ('die aussenpolitische Aktionen zur internen Herrschaftsstabilisierung'). The final section analyses the economic base of the foreign policy, i.e. its very limited elasticity due to Cameroon's international economic dependence.

Bipoum-Woum, J.-M.

1983 'Le nouveau Cameroun politique', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 37, 3, p. 655-692. Asc.

A juridical study about the quiet delegation of presidential powers in 1982 in accordance with the relevant constitutional rules. The author speculates on the possible effects on the political relations in Cameroon, such as a rise of the political conscience among the population, a desecration of the presidency, and a new balance between the state and the party.

Biyiti bi Essam, J.-P.

1984 *Cameroun: complots et bruits de bottes: quelques données pour débrouiller l'écheveau*. Paris: l'Harmattan. 119 p., Asc 15323.

A journalistic account of the events which led to the failed coup d'état in April 1984. Topics discussed include the quiet succession of Ahidjo by Biya, the growing hostility between the two leaders, and the political manoeuvres for influence.

Boutrais, J.

- 1984 'Entre nomadisme et sédentarité: les Mbororo à l'ouest du Cameroun', in: C. Blanc-Pamard, J. Bonnemaison, J. Boutrais et al. (eds.), *Le développement rural en question: paysages, espaces ruraux, systèmes agraires Maghreb-Afrique Noire-Mélanésie*. Paris: ORSTOM. p. 225-256. Asc 1647.

A case study on a successful project by the Cameroonian government on the Bamenda Plateau to sedentarise the Mbororo, cattle-breeding nomads in the North and West of Cameroon. The author describes the technical, social, and cultural implications of this profound change in the way of living of an entire group.

Clignet, R.

- 1975 'Education, emploi et succès professionnel au Cameroun', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 9, 2, p. 193-212. Asc.

A sociological article on the geographical and temporal variation of education as a determining factor on the professions and income levels in Cameroon.

- 1976 *The Africanization of the labor market: educational and occupational segmentation in the Cameroun. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.* 230 p., ind., Asc 9734.

This is a comprehensive analysis of the cultural determination of the influence of education on the way people enter the salaried labour market, the accessibility of the higher educated levels, and income levels.

- 1977 'Educational and occupational differentiation in a new country: the case of the Cameroun', in: *Educational Development and Cultural Change*, 25, 4, p. 731-746.

Elites

- 1976 Les élites camerounaises: qui est qui au Cameroun. Paris: Ediafric-la Documentation Africaine (Special edition of the Bulletin de l'Afrique Noire). 233 p., Asc A1274.

A survey of the personnel composition of the most important political institutions in Cameroon. It is complemented with an alphabetical list of the political elite, brought up to date until June 1976.

Ewandé, D.

- 1984 'Tentative de coup d'état au Cameroun: une réaction féodale', in: Temps Moderne, 2, (June 1984), p. 289-299.

A brief summary and analysis of the 1984 coup d'état.

Eyinga, A.

- 1978a Introduction à la politique camerounaise. Paris: Editions Anthropos. 356 p., Asc 10665.

The author, a Cameroonian, discusses the neo-colonial properties of the post-colonial state of Cameroon. The major topics discussed are the nationalistic demands since the First World War, the exclusion and repression of the UPC by the French, the institutionalisation of a neo-colonial political structure between 1956 and 1958, and the government's increasing recourse to repression to preserve its power: 'l'Etat néo-colonial est ... avant tout et partout, un Etat repressif'.

- 1978b Mandat d'arrêt pour cause d'élections: de la démocratie au Cameroun (1970-1978). Paris: l'Harmattan. 251 p., Asc 11000.

A critical personal account of the author's unsuccessful attempt to candidate himself for the presidential elections in 1970; he was imprisoned for five years. Eyinga argues that the central leadership of the Ahidjo government, which had entered a new colonial relation with France, maintains a permanent state of emergency, and suppresses any form of free expression of opinion.

Geschiere, P.

- 1984b 'La paysannerie africaine est-elle captive?: sur la thèse de Goran Hyden, et pour une réponse plus nuancée', in: Politique Africaine, 14, p. 13-33. Asc.

The author argues that Hyden's thesis on the uncaptured peasantry is one-sided. It is true that the post-colonial state has only a limited grip on the rural relations of production, but nevertheless the peasants' production is tightly interwoven with socio-economic institutions which are firmly controlled by the state. The theoretical argument is corroborated with a case study of the Maka in southern Cameroon.

- 1984d 'Hegemonische regimes en volksverzet in post-koloniaal Afrika: Bayart, Gramsci en de staat in Kameroen', in: *Sociologische Gids*, 31, 4, p. 344-468. bibl. Eng. sum., Asc.

The author is concerned with the work of the French political scientist Bayart, who tries to elaborate Gramsci's ideas for the African reality, such as the struggle for the civil society, the hegemonic project of the regime, and the various cultural-ideological manifestations of counter-movements in the society. Geschiere focuses on the relation between peasants and the state, sketches the regional differences which can be encountered in Cameroon, and concludes that the theory of the articulation of modes of production may fruitfully enrich Bayart's analyses.

Hebga, J.-A.

- 1984 'Expérience démocratique et réalités socio-économique de l'Afrique Noire: le cas du Cameroun', in: *Mois en Afrique*, 19, 215-216, p. 127-136. Asc.

The author points out the dangers of the existing religious and ethnic disparities for the national upbuilding of Cameroon, but he considers the negative effects of possible conflicts among the political elite even more dangerous.

Hugon, P.

- 1968 *Analyse de sous-développement en Afrique: l'exemple de l'économie du Cameroun*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

An important, non-Marxist analysis of the Cameroonian economy.

Irele, M.

- 1984 *Nigeria and Cameroon: an annotated bibliography*. Lagos: Libriservice. 67 p., bibl., ind., Asc Hc3308.

An annotated bibliography, containing 286 references, on the relations between Cameroon and Nigeria since independence. The author provides some general background information on politics and administration in Cameroon.

Jacquot, H.

- 1974 'La planification économique au Cameroun', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 5, p. 15-30. Asc.

Johnson, W.R.

- 1970a *The Cameroon Federation: political integration in a fragmentary society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 426 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6494.

A major system-functionalist application of the integration theory to Cameroon. Examined are the processes which made the bilingual political federation of Cameroon a successful experiment, notwithstanding the many social divisions, including the ethnic diversity.

Joseph, R.A.

- 1976 'Economy and society in postcolonial Cameroon: a critical assessment', in: *The African Review*, 6, 14.

Joseph, R.A. (ed.)

- 1978 *Gaullist Africa: Cameroon under Ahmadou Ahidjo*. Enugu (Nigeria): Fourth Dimension Publishing corporation. 217 p.

An important volume which centers on the autocratic Ahidjo government and its neo-colonial dependence on France. It contains articles written by Bayart, Mongo Beti, Eyinga, Lippens, Green, and Joseph. The major topics are the relations between Cameroon and France, the internal political system, the violations of human rights to preserve that system, and the Cameroonian economy.

Jouve, E.

- 1977 'Cinq ans d'Etat Unitaire', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 12, 140-141, p. 42-65. Asc.

Article written in reference to 20 May 1977 when Yaounde celebrated the fifth anniversary of the 'Révolution Pacifique'. The author endeavors to explain the long duration and stability of the Ahidjo government, and pays a lot of attention to the almighty position of the head of the state.

Kamga, V.

- 1985    *Duel camerounais: démocratie ou barbarie*. Paris: l'Harmattan. 204 p., Asc A5747.

A popular work about the transition of power in 1982-1984. The author argues for reinforcement of the democratisation policy, as prudently started by the Biya government since 1984, and he strongly opposes against the dictatorial facets of the former Ahidjo regime (1958-1982).

Kamto, M.

- 1983    'Le dauphin constitutionnel dans les régimes politiques africains (les cas du Cameroun et du Sénégal)', in: *Penant*, 93, 781-782, p. 256-282. Asc.

A juridical article about the continuity problems with which a political regime is confronted in the time of succession of the head of state. Ahidjo's policy in this matter was characterised by creating legal guarantees, and a careful political preparation; furthermore, the appointment of a crown-prince is an effective technique of ruling.

Kofele-Kale, N.

- 1981a    'Cameroon and its foreign relations', in: *African Affairs*, 80, 319, p. 197-217. Asc.

An analysis of Ahidjo's foreign policy. The author examines as to how far the principles of national independence, non-commitment, and regional and international cooperation are actually realised in the relations with France, Israel and the Middle East, and like-minded African countries.

- 1986    'Ethnicity, regionalism and political power: a post-mortem of Ahidjo's Cameroon', in: M.G. Schatzberg & I.W. Zartman (eds.), *The political economy of Cameroon*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. p. 53-82.

The author examines the major sources of political conflict in the country, and the general effects of the Ahidjo rule on the mutual relevance of these factors.

Kom, D.

- 1971    *Le Cameroun: essai d'analyse économique et politique*. Paris: Editions Sociales. 335 p., bibl., Asc 491.

A detailed Marxist analysis of the Cameroonian economy under the Federal State. Starting from a class analysis, the author deals with the repressiveness of the post-colonial state apparatus, and he interprets the economic policy ('le libéralisme planifié') as an instrument on behalf of the imperialist forces.

Kunde, N.

- 1979    'Hommage à la mémoire de Ruben um Nyobé, père de la révolution kamerunaise', in: *Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains*, 2, 9, p. 145-154. Asc.

A portrait of Ruben um Nyobé, the secretary-general of the UPC, who was killed in 1958 by French soldiers.

Lanne, B.

- 1984    'Cameroun 1972-1983: la succession', in: *Afrique Contemporaine*, 23, 129, p. 18-29. Asc.

A general survey of the economic situation and the political events for the period 1972 until 1983.

LeVine, V.T.

- 1976    'Political integration and the United Republic of Cameroon', in: D.R. Smock & K. Bentsi-Enchill (eds.), *The search for national integration in Africa*. New York: Free Press; London: Collier MacMillan. p. 270-284. Asc 8377.

Brief historical account of the steps which have led to the establishment of the Unitary State in 1972, and an analysis of several dimensions of the integration process.

- 1983    'The politics of presidential succession (Cameroon)', in: *Africa Report*, May-June 1983, p. 22-26. Asc.

A periodical article about the preparational steps that Ahidjo made before his retirement. The author emphasises that Ahidjo is still powerful as the president of the CNU, and he is quite optimistic about the prospects of Biya's presidency.

- 1986 'Leadership and regime changes in perspective', in: in : Schatzberg & Zartman (eds.), *The political economy of Cameroon*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University. p. 20-52.

The topics discussed include Biya's installation as president, the causes of the presidential change of power, and the conflicts which appeared in the wake of the peaceful delegation of competence.

Mbembé, J.-A.

- 1986 'Pouvoir des morts et langage des vivants: les errances de la mémoire nationaliste au Cameroun', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 37-72. Asc.

The author's aim is to rehabilitate those who died for the nationalist struggle in the 1950s. This conflict is a political taboo in contemporary Cameroon, due to the UPC trauma.

Mboudou, A.M.

- 1982 *Le financement du développement au Cameroun*. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Yaounde.

Medard, J.-F.

- 1977b *Le système politique camerounaise*. Bordeaux.

Moutard, G.

- 1985 '1983-1984: deux ans de vie tourmentée au Cameroun', in: *Afrique Contemporaine*, 24, 135, p. 38-45. Asc.

The author analyses the disorderly change of power in 1983-1984 in terms of a tumultuous change of the power relations between the old political elite and a new technocratic generation, whereby the predominant force of regionalist tendencies made itself felt. Finally the article points out the effects: an increased politicisation of the army, a consolidation of Biya's authority, affected prestige abroad, and a reform of the CNU.

- 1986 'Quelles chances pour la politique du président Biya', in: *Afrique Contemporaine*, 25, 139, p. 20-35. Asc.

Nassara, P.

- 1975 'Aspects de la domination politique au Cameroun', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 10, 113, p. 88-112. Asc.

A critical article on the mechanisms through which the bureaucratic elite in Cameroon is able to consolidate its power; the author points out the bureaucracy's legislative competence, the impedimenta raised for the rise of competing power groups, and the consolidation of privileged positions through the educational system. Also the population's reactions to these forms of domination are briefly considered.

Nga Ndongo, V.

- 1986-87 'Les enjeux d'une libéralisation de l'information au Cameroun', in: *Mois en Afrique*, 22, 247-248, p. 15-28. bibl., Asc.

An article about the relatively liberal policy with regard to information of the Biya government.

Ngayap, P.F.

- 1983 *Cameroun: qui gouverne?: de Ahidjo à Biya, l'héritage et l'enjeu*. Paris: l'Harmattan. 325 p., Asc 13751.

The first systematic study on the Cameroonian top elite (the thousand most powerful persons in the country) under the political system of the Ahidjo regime, inherited by the Biya government. The topics discussed include the criteria for recruitment, several profiles of careers, changes in power positions, and the relations between the various categories. The author concludes that the Cameroonian political elite is quite homogeneous. An analysis in terms of the Cameroonian political economy is not presented.

Njoya, A.N.

- 1976 *Le Cameroun dans les relations internationales*. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence. 414 p., bibl.

Ofiaja, N.D.

- 1979     Stability and instability in politics: the case of Nigeria and Cameroon. New York etc.: Vantage Press. 223 p., bibl., ind., Asc 12930.

A comparative study which deals with the political systems in Nigeria and Cameroon. The author puts forward the following factors to explain the relative stability and progress in Cameroon: an able leadership of the president, a strong national unitary party, a coherent political elite, and a fragmentation of ethnic identities.

Ombe Ndzana, V.

- 1986     Capital, travail et travailleurs dans la pétrochimie camerounaises. Thèse 3e cycle, EHESS, Paris.

- 1987     Agriculture, pétrole et politique au Cameroun: sortir de la crise? Paris: l'Harmattan. 167 p., bibl.

A critical study on the Cameroonian development policy. The volume refers to the South West Province, and centres on the Cameroon Development Corporation and the recent petrol industry boom in Limbe; both are strongly dominated by foreign capital.

Organisation Camerounaise de Lutte pour la Démocratie

- 1982     Dossier noir du pétrole camerounais. Paris: OCLD. 70 p.

A small volume which presents the opposition O.C.L.D. view on Cameroon's development prospects in the light of the petrol reserves. The organisation asserts that only the foreign interest groups which conspire with the top of the government and the CNU Party, profit from the petrol incomes, and not the Cameroonian people.

- n.d.     Le Cameroun vers la lumière: manifeste de l'OCLD. Paris: OCLD. 101 p.

Topics discussed in this manifesto are the nationalist movement and the neo-colonial political system in contemporary Cameroon, as well as several political and economic measures which are considered necessary for a real emancipation of the Cameroon people.

Oyono, D.

- 1983 'Introduction à la politique africaine du Cameroun', in: *Mois en Afrique*, 18, 207-208, p. 21-30. Asc.

A description of Cameroon's African foreign policy in the beginning of the 1980s. It is characterised, on the one hand, by attempts to follow a certain independent course from France, but, on the other hand, by strong economic, especially monetary, ties with that country.

- 1984-85 'Le coup d'état manque du 6 avril 1984 et les engagements de politique étrangère du Cameroun', in: *Mois en Afrique*, 20, 223-224, p. 48-56. Asc.

After the attempted coup d'état in Yaounde, 1984, president Biya insinuated that there had been a relationship between the mutiny within the national forces and a complicity by foreign befriended nations.

Prouzet, M.

- 1974 *Le Cameroun*. Paris: Pichon & Durand-Auzias. 377 p., bibl., Asc 7418.

Political-science study of the national centres of political authority, paying equal attention to the formal state structures and the actually existing power relations. The author argues that the regime's stability is quite weak, since it rests on the authority of one single person. Furthermore, 'une sorte de léthargie politique semble avoir frappé l'immense majorité de la population'.

Schatzberg, M.G.

- 1986 'The metaphors of father and family', in: M.G. Schatzberg & I.W. Zartman (eds.), *The political economy of Cameroon*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. p. 1-19.

A study on the 'moral matrix' of the Cameroonian political system.

Stark, F.M.

- 1976 'Federalism in Cameroon: the shadow and the reality', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 10, 3, p. 423-442. Asc.

A critical article, written from a West Cameroonian perspective. A real federal state did not come into existence, because of the strongly centralised government structures and the East Cameroonian dominance on the federal level. The author examines why there was almost no resistance in West Cameroon against the unification. He concludes that the Ahidjo circles managed to incorporate the regional political elites through clientalist relations.

## STATE PENETRATION

The many administrative and institutional forms of the Cameroonian state, such as schools, hospitals, marketing boards, the police and the army, are the major channels of state penetration. Some information on the legal framework of the government bureaucracy — as studied by administrative law — can be found in Bockel (1971), Mbarga (1966), Nlep (n.d.), Duic (1978), Enonchong (n.d.), Owona (1979, 1985), Bipoum-Woum (1972), and Mawhood (1983). Cameroon's judiciary, regulating the legal relations between the government and its civilians, is, however, not able to control the whole scope of administrative activity; see Ngongnang-Ouandji (1969a), Enonchong (1965), Jacquot (1974), Meschériakoff (1980), Binyoum, Bipoum-Woum (1972) and Owona (1975).

A juridical facet of the process of state penetration is the mutual influence which the lowest echelon of the bureaucratic apparatus and indigenous legal systems exercise on each other's functioning. This theme touches upon the recent debate about the actual functioning of formal administrative structures; Enonchong (n.d.), Essama (1969), and Doumbé-Bill (1983) contain some general information on this topic.

The Marxist-inspired literature on Cameroon extensively deals with the politico-economic facets of the process of bureaucratic state penetration, i.e the limitations of that process. Accordingly, a common denominator is the political economy in Cameroon. A theoretically leading study is the already-mentioned Bayart (1979). The author maintains that the authoritarian pretensions of the political elite are evident from the attempts to control the 'civil society'; he explains this tendency as arising from the weak

economic base of the political leaders, and stresses that encapsulation succeeds only partially, because of the popular counter-movements in the margin of the political domain. Medard (1977a) also points out the relative weakness of the post-colonial state, stressing the extreme inefficiency of many bureaucratic institutions. Illy (1976), Ndongko (1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1985a, 1985b), Ombe Ndzana (1986, 1987) and Willame (1985) are critical economic analyses of the development schemes mapped out by the Cameroonian government. Schatzberg & Zartman (1986) is a recent compilation of articles which deals with several aspects of the Cameroonian political economy.

The limitations of state penetration is also a dominant theme in the Marxist-inspired literature on the relations between the peasants and the state. State intervention in the structures of agricultural production on the grassroots level in the name of development is generally interpreted as an attempt to incorporate the peasants into the market economy; see, for example, Kandem (1984), Ombe Ndzana (1986), and Langley (1984). Its function would be to subordinate the peasants' productivity to capitalist groups, thus, the expropriation of agricultural surpluses for the benefit of a further expansion of capitalism. The major studies which touch upon this 'articulation of modes of production' are Henn (1980), Geschiere (1982), Konings (1986), Ntangsi (1984), Tchala-Abina (1982), and Epale (1985). The (transformed) persistence of non-capitalist structures of production indicates, however, that state penetration into the Cameroonian countryside is far from complete. Geschiere (1984c, 1984d, 1984e) tries to elaborate Bayart's insights, relating them to theoretical views of the French anthropologist Rey in order to find an explanation for the regional variations of state penetration in Cameroon.

Pastoralism takes up a minor position in the Cameroonian society, and, not surprisingly, has attracted little scholarly attention. A small minority of the Fulbe in the northern frontier areas near Nigeria lead a pastoral way of life. No specific monograph is available about these so-called Mbororo, but several descriptive

articles do exist: Hurault (1964, 1969) describes the conflicting relations with sedentary agricultural communities, whereas Frantz (1981) and Boutrais (1977, 1981, 1984) concentrate on the effects of post-colonial state intervention on Mbororo society.

Another aspect of state penetration is the mobilisation of the population through the channel of nation-wide organisations which are encapsulated into the state bureaucracy, for example, trade-unions. The most important vehicle in this respect is the CNU Party, which is totally incorporated into the formal administrative structures. Bayart (1970, 1971, 1973a) analyses the CNU as an inadequate institution to mobilise the population for government politics, express the interests of the population, and acquire sufficient authority vis-à-vis the governmental apparatus. Nevertheless, Bayart (1978a, 1978b) believes that elections do have some meaning in a single-party system as arenas of social competition. Geschiere (1986) is a regional application of Bayart's analytical model, but he is more pessimistic about the political relevance of elections.

Bayart's analysis of the CNU as an inadequate channel of communication between the population and the political elite was corroborated by the Crisis of Presidential Succession (1982-1984): the party stayed passively aloof, and did not stand up for the president. Hence, president Biya announced a reorganisation at the party congress in Bamenda (1985): more room for dialogue and limited democratisation in the appointment policy. This reform was marked by a change of name — 'Union Nationale Camerounaise' became 'Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounaise' (RDPC) — and by a change of party-device ('Unité, Progrès, Démocratie'). Moutard (1985, 1986), Bayart (1986), and Scott (1985) are descriptive articles about this change. It is still too early to evaluate the degree to which these ideas have been put into effect.

Balandier, G.

1963      *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire: dynamique sociale en Afrique centrale*. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1955), 532 p., bibl., ind., Asc 1914.

A sociological study of the ideological reactions of the population to its economic and political incorporation during the colonial epoch. The author extensively discusses the important role the Fang have played in the nationalist movement.

Bayart, J.-F.

- 1970 'L'Union Nationale Camerounaise', in: *Revue Française de Science Politique*.

An article about the unitary party CNU. The author focuses on its integrative role, i.e. its assigned function as the mobiliser of energies on the individual level for the sake of national development.

- 1971 'Cameroun: l'illusion du Parti Unique', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 65, p. 40-49. Asc.

An article about the gap between what the CNU pretends to be, and what it actually is. The author discusses the heterogeneity behind the facade of unity, and the party's powerlessness vis-à-vis the government apparatus.

- 1973a 'One-party government and political development in Cameroun', in: *African Affairs*, 72, 287, p. 125-144. Asc.

The author critically discusses the centralisation of authority, and the party's inability to integrate the population into the national development schemes. 'The regime established by M. Ahidjo is a poor response to the need for integration and identification, for the expression and meeting of interests. It frustrates the adaptation of the Cameroonian people to modernisation; it is dysfunctional from the point of view of political development' (p. 140).

- 1978a 'Clientalism, elections and systems of inequality and domination in Cameroun', in: G. Hermet, R. Rose & A. Rouquie (eds.), *Elections without choice*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. p. 66-87.

Bayart asserts that clientalism, or the existence of extensive networks of patron client relations, 'can be understood only in relation to the historical evolution of the structure of systems of inequality and domination' (p. 67). He believes that elections in the context of the Cameroonian one-party government can play an important role as arenas of social competition.

- 1978b 'Espace électoral et espace social au Cameroun', in: *Aux urnes l'Afrique! Elections et pouvoirs en Afrique Noire*. Paris: A. Pedone. p. 187-216. Asc 8422.

An analysis of the election process in the clientalist state of Cameroon, and of the decreasing significance of elections as an important factor in the political power struggle, due to the 'autonomisation de l'Etat'. The author also pays attention to the popular protests with regard to the elections.

- 1979 *L'état au Cameroun*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 298 p., bibl., ind., Asc 11880.

A hallmark in the study of the African state in general. The author examines the development of political structures and processes in post-colonial Cameroon in terms of a 'crise hégémonique'. He emphasises the state's autonomy vis-à-vis the societal classes, and explains the government's stability from the existence of a broad alliance of old and new regional elite ('alliance hégémonique'). The totalitarian ambitions of the regime — the struggle for the 'société civile' — are interpreted as an attempt to compensate for the state's weak economic base. Furthermore, the study points out the apparently a-political and diffuse counteractions 'from below' against the establishment of these new power relations.

- 1986 'La société politique camerounaise (1982-1986)', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 5-35. Asc.

An analytic article about the change of power in 1982-1984 in terms of a struggle between the state and the party, and about the restoration and consolidation of Biya's presidential authority (1984-1986) through a programme of renovation which meets to a certain degree the increased dynamics of certain social categories.

Binyoum, J.

Le contentieux de la légalité en droit administratif camerounais.  
University of Toulouse.

Bipoum-Woum, J.-M.

- 1972 'Recherches sur les aspects actuels de la réception du droit administratif dans les états d'Afrique Noire d'expression française: le cas du Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 26, 3, p. 359-388. Asc.

A juridical article on the status of administrative law within the Federal State of Cameroon. The author signals a development of administrative law in the direction of bureaucratic regulations and procedures at the cost of judicial procedures.

Bockel, A.

- 1971 *L'administration camerounaise*. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 62 p., Asc 6505.

One of a series of studies in African administrations, this booklet briefly examines the Cameroonian administrative structures and procedures, as well as the juridical foundation of the bureaucratic organisation. An extensive appendix provides the original texts of the documents on the establishment of the 'Cour Fédérale de Justice' in 1969, and of the 'Statut Général de la Fonction Publique Fédérale'.

Boutrais, J.

- 1977 'Une conséquence de la sécheresse: les migrations d'éleveurs vers les plateaux camerounais', in: D. Dalby et al. (eds.), *Drought in Africa*. London: International African Institute. p. 127-139. Asc.

The drought in the Sahel zone in the early 1970s induced many herdsmen to migrate to the high plateaux of Bamenda, the Bamun plateau, and the southern flank of Adamawa, where they often encounter opposition from the authorities and the established population.

- 1981 'L'expansion des éleveurs peul dans les savannes humides du Cameroun', in: *Cahiers ORSTOM*, 18, 1, p. 31-45. Asc.

- 1984 'Entre nomadisme et sédentarité: les Mbororo à l'Ouest du Cameroun', in: Blanc-Pamard et al. (eds.), *Le développement rural en questions: paysages, espaces ruraux, systèmes agraires, Maghreb-Afrique Noire-Mélanésie*. Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM. p. 225-256.

A description of the state-induced sedentarisation of the Mbororo in western Cameroon.

Doumbe-Bill, S.

- 1983 *Recherches sur les rapports entre l'état camerounais et les collectivités locales: contribution à l'analyse du système administratif camerounais*. University of Toulouse.

Duic, W.Z.

- 1978 *Africa administration: directory of public life, administration and justice for the African states - Répertoire des organismes officiels et professionnels de l'administration et de la justice pour les Etats africains - Handbuch des öffentlichen Lebens, der Verwaltung und der Justiz für afrikanischen Staaten*. New York etc.: Verlag Dokumentation Saur. 3 vol., 1285 p., Asc 11096.

A manual of all aspects of the government administration: public life, commerce, the legal system, and public health in the African states, including Cameroon.

Ejedepang-Koge, S.N.

- 1972 *The tradition of a people: Bakossi: a historical socio-anthropological study of one of Cameroon's Bantu peoples*. Douala: the author. 354 p., bibl.

The author, being a member of the Bakossi, intends to preserve the 'dying tradition' of his people. See especially the chapter on 'Traditions'. The book could be read in connection with Ejedepang-Koge (1975).

- 1975 *Tradition and change in peasant activities: a study of the indigenous people's search for cash in the South-West Province of Cameroon*. Yaounde: the author. 328 p., bibl.

The study examines the interaction between traditional and modern

methods of earning a living, in relation with the peasantry's incorporation into the cash economy.

Enonchong, H.N.

- 1965 'The position of the Cameroon state in litigation', in: Abbia, 11, p. 59-67 (Eng.), p. 68-78 (Fr.).

A juridical article about the legal relation between the government and its citizens in the Federal State, i.e. the legal competence to prosecute citizens, and to be sued by its citizens.

- n.d. Principles of Cameroon administrative law: an interplay of common-law and civil-law systems. Yaounde: UNESCO, Centre d'Édition et de Production de Manuels et d'Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement.

Epale, S.J.

- 1985 Plantations and development in western Cameroon, 1885-1975: a study in agrarian capitalism. New York etc.: Vantage. 251 p., bibl.

The author provides an economic-historical analysis of the Cameroon Development Corporation.

Essama, P.R.

- 1969 Structures traditionnelles et nouvelles autorités administratives et politiques dans la République du Cameroun (essai de sociologie politique). Faculty of Law in Paris.

Frantz, C.

- 1981 'Fulbe continuity and change under five flags atop West Africa: territoriality, ethnicity, stratification and national integration', in: J.G. Galaty & P.S. Salzman (eds.), Change and development in nomadic and pastoral societies. Leiden: Brill. p. 89-115. Asc 13994.

This is a case study on the pastoral Fulbe inhabiting the border areas between Nigeria and Cameroon. Topics discussed are the increasing state intervention in their way of life, and the increasing ethnic dynamics of these so-called Mbororo.

Geschiere, P.

- 1982 Village communities and the state: changing relations among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon since the colonial conquest. London etc.: Kegan Paul International. 512 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10472.

An important political-anthropological study about the changing power relations in the Maka villages in southern Cameroon, as a result of the penetration of the colonial state in the forest zone, and of the rise of a regional elite of Maka bureaucrats within the post-colonial state apparatus.

- 1984c 'Imposing capitalist dominance through the state: the multifarious role of the colonial state in Africa', in: W. van Binsbergen & P. Geschiere (eds.), *Old modes of production and capitalist encroachment*. London: Kegan Paul International. p. 94-143. Asc 14448.

An article on the articulation of old and new modes of production, as developed by French Marxist anthropologists like Meillassoux, Rey, and Godelier, and the role of the state in this process. The author tries to clarify the explanatory potential of this model for the colonial state in Africa, focusing on Cameroon and French Central Africa, and its relevance for explaining the precarious role of the post-colonial state.

- 1984d 'Hegemonische regimes en volksverzet in postkoloniaal Afrika: Bayart, Gramsci en de staat in Kameroen', in: *Sociologische Gids*, 31, 4, p. 344-468. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

The author is concerned with the work of the French political scientist Bayart, who tries to elaborate Gramsci's ideas for the African reality, such as the struggle for the civil society, the hegemonic project of the regimes, and the various cultural-ideological manifestations of counter-movements in society. Geschiere focuses on the relationship between peasants and the state, sketches the regional differences which can be encountered in Cameroon, and concludes that the theory of the articulation of modes of production might fruitfully enrich Bayart's analyses.

- 1984e 'Marxistische visies op de post-koloniale staat in Afrika: de discussie in R.A.P.E. en de historische benadering van Rey', in: W. van Binsbergen & G. Hesseling (eds.), *Aspecten van staat en maatschappij in Afrika: recent Dutch and Belgian research on the African state*. Leiden: African Studies Centre. p. 131-161. Asc.

The author argues that several insights of the French Marxist anthropologist P.P. Rey might be relevant for the debate on the post-colonial state in Africa, as carried on in the periodical 'Review of African Political Economy'. Rey's model of the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production provides an opportunity to distinguish regional variations in the patterns of class formation and the role of the state. Geschiere illustrates the argument with the Maka of Southeast Cameroon.

- 1986 'Paysans, régime national et recherche hégémonique: l'implantation de l'U(N)C, le Grand Parti National dans les villages maka', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 73-100. Asc.

The article deals with the establishment and role of the CNU on the regional level, in the Maka villages in Southeast Cameroon. The argument is concentrated on the Party's impact on the relations between the state and the peasantry, and on the formation of a regional elite. The analysis is inspired by the theoretical views of Bayart about a 'recherche hégémonique', but emphasises the historical discontinuity which characterises the process of elite formation.

Henn, J.K.

- 1980 *Peasants, workers, and capital: the political economy of labour and incomes in Cameroun*. Ann Arbor etc.: University Microfilms International. 396 p., bibl., Asc 11768.

This is a Marxist class analysis of the Cameroonian economy. The author distinguishes three modes of production, which together form one social formation: the patriarchal subsistence mode, the merchant capitalist and state dominated petty commodity production mode, and the capitalist mode of production. The expropriation of agricultural surplus by the state is extensively discussed.

Hurault, J.

- 1964 'Antagonisme de l'agriculture et de l'élevage sur les Hauts Plateaux de l'Adamaoua (Cameroun): le lamdat de Banyo', in: *Etudes Rurales*, 15, p. 22-71.

The article discusses the conflicts which have emerged between Fulbe pastoralists and Tikar agriculturalists.

- 1969 'Eléveurs et cultivateurs des Hauts Plateaux du Cameroun: la population du lamdat de Banyo', in: *Population*, 24, 5, p. 963-994; 25, 5, p. 1039-1084.

Illy, H.F.

- 1976 *Politik und Wirtschaft in Kamerun: Bedingungen, Ziele und Strategien der staatlichen Entwicklungspolitik*. Munich: Weltforum Verlag. 437 p., bibl., Eng. and Fr. sum., Asc 9716.

An important history about the development policy of the government in terms of an interaction process between political and economic factors. Topics discussed include the political evolution of the Ahidjo government, the translation of development purposes into a political infrastructure, and the opted strategies for economic development. The author draws the following general conclusion: 'Economic growth and political stability as primary objectives and results of a development policy did not generate more but less social justice' (p. 389).

Jacquot, H.

- 1974 'Les aspects institutionnels de la planification économique au Cameroun', in: *Bulletin de l'Institut International de l'Administration Publique* (Paris), 30, p. 295-331.
- 1975 'Le contentieux administratif au Cameroun', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 7, p 9-31; 8, p. 113-139. Asc.

A juridical article about the history, the organisation, and the competence of administrative law in Cameroon.

Kandem, E.

- 1984 'L'état et la gestion des coopératives: le cas du Cameroun', in: A.-C. Mondjanagni (ed.), *La participation populaire au développement en Afrique Noire - People's participation in development in black Africa*. Paris etc.: Institut panafricain pour le développement, p. 325-336, Asc 331.

A description and analysis of the support the Cameroonian government offers the cooperative movement (1) through the creation of a legal framework, and (2) through finance, management, and control. The many problems involved are also discussed.

Konings, P.

- 1986 'L'état, l'agro-industrie et la paysannerie au Cameroun', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 120-137. Asc.

This is a case study about the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) in West Cameroon. The author analyses the proletarianisation of the local peasantry through the mechanisms of expropriation of land and contract agriculture, which are imposed on the peasants by an alliance of the post-colonial state, international capital circles, and the agro-industry.

Langley, P.

- 1984 'WAPI participation: interpreting development rhetoric as a cargo cult practice: a case study in Kumba area S.W. Cameroon', in: A.-C. Mondjanagni (ed.), *La participation au développement en Afrique Noire - People's participation in development in Black Africa*. p. 171-201. Asc 15269.

A critical article about the very limited participatory opportunities for the popular classes in the decision-making process of state development institutions.

Mawhood, P.

- 1983 'Applying the French model in Cameroon', in: P. Mawhood (ed.), *Local government in the Third World: the experience of Tropical Africa*. Chichester etc.: John Wiley. p. 177-200. Asc 14173.

Study on the local government in Cameroon, focusing on the allocations through formal structures of government from the theoretical perspective of centralisation versus decentralisation. Since independence Cameroon has been characterised by an increasing dominance of the central government in Yaounde.

Mbarga, E.

- 1966 Introduction à l'étude de l'organisation administrative du Cameroun. Yaounde: n. p. 130 p.

An analysis of the principles of the administrative organisation, discussing, among other things, the central government, the local level administration, and the evolution of local government institutions.

Medard, J.-F.

- 1977a 'L'Etat sous-développé au Cameroun'. in: Année Africaine, p. 35-84. Asc 10862.

The author characterises the Cameroonian political system as underdeveloped, because of the inefficiency of its political institutions. A fundamental paradox is clarified: the state is strong, authoritarian and absolute on the one hand, but powerless and weak, due to the absence of bureaucratic discipline, on the other. The cause: 'L'autorité politique-administrative est converti en patrimoine privé par la bureaucratie'.

Meschériakoff, A.-S.

- 1980 'Le déclin de la fonction administrative contentieuse au Cameroun', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 34, 4, p. 825-840. Asc.

A sociological article about a legal institution in crisis: the administrative proceedings in Cameroon. The crisis might be resolved by accommodating this institution, which is modeled after the French version, to the Cameroonian reality.

Moutard, G.

- 1985 '1983-1984: deux ans de vie tourmentée au Cameroun', in: Afrique Contemporaine, 24, 135, p. 38-45. Asc.

The author analyses the disorderly change of power in 1983-1984 in terms of a tumultuous change of the power relations between the old political elite and a new technocratic generation, whereby the predominant force of regionalist tendencies made itself felt. Finally the article points out the effects: an increased politicisation of the army, a consolidation of Biya's authority, affected prestige abroad, and a reform of the CNU.

- 1986 'Quelles chances pour la politique du président Biya', in: *Afrique Contemporaine*, 25, 139, p. 20-35. Asc.

This article, which is a continuation of Moutard (1985), examines the period 1984-1986. President Biya consolidates his authority, and announces a more democratic and liberal policy in the political and economic life. The author pays ample attention to the reform of the unitary party at the CNU congress in Bamenda in March 1985.

Ndongko, W.A.

- 1974 Regional economic planning in Cameroon. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (Research report 21). 21 p., Asc HcD4:6.

- 1975a Planning for economic development in a federal state: the case of Cameroon, 1960-1971. Munich: Welforum Verlag. 214 p., bibl., Asc 7682.

A study of the process of planning for economic development. Topics discussed include the nature of the established development organisations, their societal impact, and the effects of planning for the federal relations between East and West Cameroon.

- 1975b 'Revenue allocation in Cameroun under the federal system', in: *Ikenga*, 3, 1-2, p. 18-27. Asc.

This article deals with the diffuse system of revenue allocation between the federal and state level administrations in the Cameroonian Federation.

- 1985a    Reflexions sur les politiques économiques et la développement du Cameroun - Reflections on the economic policies and the development of Cameroon. Yaounde: Institut des Sciences Humaines. 205 p., bibl., Asc 15357.

An economic analysis of the development policies, the foreign aid, the transmission of technology, and the investment policies in Cameroon.

- 1985b    'The political economy of development in Cameroon: relations between state, indigenous businessmen and foreign investors', in: Vierteljahresberichte, 101, p. 231-248. bibl., Fr. and Germ. sum., Asc.

This is an historico-economic analysis of the economic base of the post-colonial Cameroonian state. Foreign capital is a dominant factor in the national economy. The state expanded from an intermediary institution between indigenous and foreign business circles, usually favouring the foreign interests, to an instrument for the bureaucratic and political elite to accumulate capital through (para)statal enterprises. Thus, the absence of a capitalist middle class in Cameroon is compensated for by bureaucrats and politicians. The same article is published in: M.G. Schatzberg & I.W. Zartman (eds.), The political economy of Cameroon. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. p. 83-110 (1986).

Ngongang-Ouandji, A.

- 1969a    'La juridiction administrative au Cameroun', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 23, 4, p. 927-928. Asc.

This article is concerned with the institutional organisation of the administrative proceedings in the Federal State of Cameroon.

Nlep, R.

- n.d.      Contribution à l'étude de la dynamique structurelle et normative de l'administration publique en Afrique Noire Francophone: le cas de l'administration camerounaise. DE, Droit Public, University of Paris.

Ntangsi, J.V.

- 1984 The political economy of rural development in Cameroon. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International. 174 p., bibl., Asc 13864.

The penetration of capitalist relations of production in the countryside through the introduction of cash crop cultivation goes hand in hand with the generation of a considerable agricultural surplus. The author focuses on the mechanisms of how a large percentage of these surpluses are transmitted to the public sector.

Ombe Ndzana, V.

- 1986 Capital, travail et travailleurs dans la pétrochimie camerounaises. Thèse 3e cycle, EHESS, Paris.

- 1987 Agriculture, pétrole et politique au Cameroun: sortir de la crise? Paris: l'Harmattan. 167 p., bibl.

A critical study on the Cameroonian development policy. The volume refers to the South West Province, and centres on the Cameroon Development Corporation and the recent petrol industry boom in Limbe; both are strongly dominated by foreign capital.

Organisation Camerounaise de Lutte pour la Démocratie

- 1982 Dossier noir du pétrole camerounais. Paris: OCLD. 70 p.

A small volume which presents the opposition O.C.L.D. view on Cameroon's development prospects in the light of the petrol reserves. The organisation asserts that only the foreign interest groups which conspire with the top of the government and the CNU Party, profit from the petrol incomes, and not the Cameroonian people.

- n.d. Le Cameroun vers la lumière: manifeste de l'OCLD. Paris: OCLD. 101 p.

Topics discussed in this manifesto are the nationalist movement and the neo-colonial political system in contemporary Cameroon, as well as several political and economic measures which are considered necessary for a real emancipation of the Cameroon people.

Owona, J.

- 1975 'L'institutionnalisation de la légalité d'exception dans le droit public camerounais', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 29, 1, p. 3-48. Asc.

A critical article about the institutionalisation of exceptive legislation within all sectors of public law, favouring the executive.

- 1979 *Droit administratif spécial de la République Unie du Cameroun*. 2 vol.

- 1985 *Droit administratif spécial de la République du Cameroun (Série Manuels et Travaux de l'Université de Yaoundé)*. Paris: EDICEF.

Schatzberg, M.G. & I.W. Zartman (eds.)

- 1986 *The political economy of Cameroon*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Scott, F.

- 1985 'Biya's new deal', in: *Africa Report*, 30, 4, p. 58-61. Asc.

The article reports on the CNU party congress in Bamenda in 1985. Biya announced a reorganisation of the party, which was symbolised by a change of name to Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM).

Tchala-Abina, F.

- 1982 *The state, the bureaucracy and farmers in rural development: a case study of the social relations of production in selected development corporations in Cameroon*. Ithaca: Cornell University. 437 p., bibl., Asc 13455.

A comparative analysis of the institutional framework of a growing number of state-controlled development corporations which influence the peasantry's modes of production. The author discusses many explanatory factors for the development of the social relations of production in the context of these schemes.

Willame, J.-C.

- 1985 'Cameroun: les avatars d'un libéralisme planifié', in: *Politique Africaine*, 18, p. 44-70. Asc.

## **HISTORICAL CONTINUITY**

### **State formation in the pre-colonial and colonial period**

In the 1970s the relation between the contemporary power structures of the modern state and earlier pre-colonial political systems, especially the transformations of the latter during the colonial and post-colonial era, has become an important field of study. A growing cooperation between anthropologists and historians in the study of African societies reflects this new emphasis on historical continuity. Several general historical works which deal extensively with the 19th century political constellation in Cameroon, are available. The classic study of East Cameroon is still Mveng (1963); see also Mveng & Beling-Nkoumba (1974). Such a survey does not exist for West Cameroon; regionally confined information can be found in Ardener (1962), Eyongetah & Brain (1974) and Nkwi & Warnier (1982).

The more recent historical researches made into Cameroonian pre-colonial societies make systematical use of oral traditions and focus on the processes of state formation. As a general rule, the most sparsely populated regions have been studied least intensively; in combination with the absence of incentives of 'early state' formation, this explains the small number of regional historical works referring to the forest areas of southern Cameroon. Major examples are Geschiere (1982) on the Maka, and Laburthe-Tolra (1977, 1981) and Quinn (1980) on the Beti. The first emphasises the discontinuity between the old power structures and the establishment of French colonial rule. A little more literature is available on the coastal jungle areas. Ardener (1956) and \*Nature\* (1978) describe the segmentary political structures, whereas Bouchaud (1952), Ardener (1968), Austen & Jacob (1974), Austen (1977a, 1977b), Chem-Langhëë (1985), and Wirz (1972, 1973) contain information on several aspects of the 19th century political economy, notably trade and slavery.

Hardly any literature is available on the origins of chieftainships in the Grassfields in the wake of the expellation of large numbers of

people from Adamawa, caused by the Fulbe invasions. Consequently, only few studies contribute to the debate on the development of the old pre-colonial African states from preceding organisational forms. The same holds true for the discussion of the economic foundations of pre-colonial states, which deals with issues such as the grip that state elites held on the peasants' production, and the acquisition of state incomes from trade and plunder. Only Tardits (1979, 1980) on state formation among the Bamun, is important in this respect; see further Chilver & Kaberry (1967), Benjeng Soh (1980-81), Geary (1976), and Fardon (draft). Rowlands (1979) deals with the effects of long-distance trade on state formation. Of course, a considerable number of older anthropological studies do exist, which describe the local remnants of these 'kinship states' as they persisted in the colonial context; the neo-traditional aspects of these incorporated forms of political organisation are, however, usually not drawn into the analysis. The most and the best literature is available about the Bamileke, the numerically largest ethnic grouping in the region. Monographs on this people as a whole do, however, not exist; this may be due to the political fragmentation — the unit of investigation is usually one or several chieftainships — and to the fact that the Bamileke as such are probably a neo-traditional creation. The same applies to the Tikar, who live on both sides of the frontier between East and West Cameroon. The central theme of this expanse of literature is the interrelatedness of the political institutions and the patrilineal social structure. Delarozière (1949), Hurault (1962, 1970a, 1970b), Tardits (1960), Kwayeb (1960), Chilver (1964), Brain (1972), Pradelles de Latour Dejean (1979, 1985), Barbier (1977), and Maillard (1985) describe the Bamileke; Kaberry (1952, 1963), Ritzenthaler & Ritzenthaler (1962), Ritzenthaler (1967), and Strootman (1972) are about the Tikar; and I. Njoya (1950), A. Njoya (1977), and Njeuma (1974) refer to the Bamun. For a multi-ethnic study on the Bamenda region, see Forde & Kaberry (1967). Several works have appeared which draw attention to the changes which these 'traditional' political institutions have undergone as a

result of their incorporation into the Cameroonian colonial and post-colonial state: Nkwi (1976, 1977, 1979) on the Kom, Tabuwe (1974) on the Bafut, and Den Ouden (1979, 1980) on the Bamileke. Nchouat-Njoya (1971) and Eballa (1976), two juridical studies, contain information on the recent modifications of the politico-juridical institutions in West Cameroonian chieftainships. Comparative studies on the social effects of the different administrative systems in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon — indirect versus direct rule — do not yet exist.

The 19th century state formation processes in the Islamic North of the country have been intensively studied since the beginning of the 1970s. Especially worth mentioning are the studies written by Mohammadou (1976, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1983), and furthermore Njeuma (1973, 1978), Dika-Akwa (1970), and Abubakar (1972, 1977). All of them are Cameroonian historians. The power of these Fulbe states was largely based on the exploitation of the surrounding regions through trade and slave-raids, so that sharp contradictions in the form of relations of slavery and serfdom came into existence; see Wirz (1972), Derman (1973), Azarya (1978), and Burnham (1980b). A possible explanation for this richness of historical study might be the fact that the pre-colonial political systems were much better preserved in Adamawa than in other parts of Cameroon, so that forms of historical continuity can be rather easily demonstrated; the German and French colonisers utilised the institutionalised authority of the the Fulbe rulers, the 'laamiido's', to establish their own rule in these remote areas. Not much research has been devoted to the encapsulation of these states into the colonial state. Froelich (1954), Azarya (1978), and Shimada (1984) contain information on this topic; Lestringeant (1964) and Burnham (1980a) deal with the position of the Guider and the Gbaya respectively within this 20th century political context. In the 1960s and 1970s the public authorities did not allow any inquiries into the political structures of the Fulbe chieftainships, because this regional political alliance formed the major power base for Ahidjo, the former president. A comparative study on the

chieftainships in the north and the west of Cameroon is not available.

A second aspect of continuity in state formation processes has to do with the historical relation between the polity and the operation of the colonial state on the one hand, and the contemporary structures of authority within the post-colonial state on the other. Most scientific analyses on this topic were produced by historians and jurists. It is remarkable that documentation on the German Protectorate era is much more extensive than on the successive mandatory and trusteeship periods under France and Great Britain. The most important works on German colonial rule are: Hausén (1970) on the interrelatedness of the colonial economy and the government, Waltz (1981) on criminal law, Wirz (1972) on commercial developments, Mandeng (1973) on forced labour, and, furthermore, Stoecker (1960, 1968) and Rudin (1938). These studies written by German historians are invariably quality products, which may perhaps be explained by the limited scope and duration of the German colonial empire of the time. They are fierce charges against German colonialism and based on Marxist interpretations, excepting Rudin. Accounts about European rivalry in the 1880s concerning Cameroon can be found in several studies, including Rudin (1938), Stoecker (1960), and Ndongo (1984). Literature on the African reactions to European expansionism is much more scanty; see, for example, Geschiere (1982) on the Maka, and Quinn (1980) on the Beti.

Blanc (1953) describes the succession of the Germans by the British and the French, and the international supervision exercised by the League of Nations and later the United Nations. Louis (1967), Welch (1966), Andrews & Konya-Forstner (1974), and Osuntokun (1976) contain information on the partition of the country between France and Britain.

There is not much literature on the topic of French colonial rule in Cameroon. General studies on the French colonial empire which contain empirical information on Cameroon, are: Suret-Canale (1971, 1972, 1982) from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, and

Delavignette (1950), Chazelas (1931), and Costedoat (1930) from a colonial perspective. Quinn (1974) compares the characteristics of German and French rule in Cameroon, and Alexandre (1970) describes the many different public functions within the colonial bureaucracy. Several works deal with the economic foundation of the French colonial state. Kaptue (1979) describes the system of forced labour, while Geschiere (1978, 1982, 1983, 1984a, 1984c, 1984e) and Guyer (1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1984) analyse the role which the colonial state has played in the expansion of capitalism in the southern forest area; also significant is Quinn (1970). It is remarkable that the literature on this topic is largely confined to the southern part of Francophone Cameroon, and that scientific analyses of the societal involvement of the colonial state in the western and northern parts of the country hardly exist. A good source of information on the inside impressions of the colonial experience is the non-scientific literature. There are several works by Cameroonians on the colonial period, such as Kuoh-Moukouri (1963), Mongo Beti (1956, 1957, 1958), and Ferdinand Oyono (1956a, 1956b). Furthermore, annual reports have been published by both the German and the French colonial governments (see France, Germany), and many official documents which contain information on the views of public servants on political issues, can be consulted in the archives of the O.R.S.T.O.M. documentation office in Yaounde. Witherell (1964, 1973) offers surveys of the official publications which came out in British and French Cameroon. Osuntokun (1977-78) is a comparative study on the administrative systems devised by the two colonial powers.

The existing literature on the British colonial administration is scanty, dated, and merely descriptive. Cameroonian scientists have not occupied themselves with the subject. Overview studies are not available. Short functionalist descriptions of the politico-administrative organisations in the distinct regions can be found in Chilver (1963), McCulloch et al. (1954), Chilver & Kaberry (1967), Kaberry (1952), Gardinier (1967), Ruel (1969), and Brain

(1972). Historical works which deal with the societal facets of British rule, are completely lacking.

Abubakar, S.

- 1972 'The establishment of Fulbe authority in the Upper Benue Basin, 1809-47', in: *Savanna*, 1, p. 67-80.

A history of the establishment of the Fulbe in northern Cameroon, including the creation of an emirate, the domination of the pre-existing peoples, and the spread of Fulfulde and Islam.

- 1977 *The lamibe of Fombina: a political history of Adamawa 1809-1901*. Zaira: Ahmadu Bello University Press; Ibadan: Oxford University Press. 190 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10690.

This is a history of the processes of centralised state formation in pre-colonial Adamawa, focusing on Yola, the old capital of the Fombina emirate. The author distinguishes several phases in the process of state formation, notably its origin, consolidation, expansion, and disintegration. Some attention is paid to the rise of Mahdism in the southern part of the emirate.

Alexandre, P.

- 1970 'Chiefs, commandants, and clerks: their relationship from conquest to decolonisation in French West Africa', in: M. Crowder & O. Ikime (eds.), *West African chiefs*. New York. p. 2-13.

Andrews, C.M. & S. Konya-Forstner

- 1974 'The French colonial party and French colonial war aims, 1914-1918', in: *Historical Journal*, 17, p. 79-106.

Discusses the second partition and reunification of Cameroon.

Ardener, E.

- 1956 *Coastal Bantu of the Cameroons (the Kpe-Mboko, Duala-Limba and Tanga-Yasa groups of the British and French trusteeship territories of the Cameroons)*. London: International African Institute. 116 p., bibl., Asc 2202.

Ardener worked as a government anthropologist in West Cameroon from 1952 until 1961. This book is based on thorough fieldwork research, complemented with an extensive survey of the then available literature. The majority of the volume is devoted to the traditional life of the Kpe, including their political organisation.

- 1962 'The political history of the Cameroon', in: World Today (london).
- 1968 'Documentary and linguistic evidence for the rise of the trading polities between Rio del Rey and the Cameroons, 1500-1650', in: I.M. Lewis (ed.), History and social anthropology. London. p. 81-126.

This is an historical geography of the Cameroonian littoral, which supplements the ethnographic study of Bouchaud (1952).

Austen, R.A.

- 1977a 'Duala versus Germans in Cameroon: economic dimensions of a political conflict', in: Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, 64, 237, p. 477-497. Fr. sum., Asc.

An historical article about the enduring Duala resistance in the beginning of this century against the domination of the Germans.

- 1977b 'Slavery among coastal middlemen: the Duala of Cameroon', in: S. Miers & L. Kopytoff (ed.), Slavery in Africa: historical and anthropological perspectives. Madison. p. 305-334.

Austen, R.A. & K. Jacob

- 1974 'Dutch trading voyages to Cameroun, 1721-1759: European documents and African history', in: Annals de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (Yaounde), 6, p. 1-27.

An historical article about pre-colonial slave trade operations. The Duala operated as the middle men between the Dutch and the slave-drivers of the Grassfields.

Austen, R.A. & R. Headrick

- 1983 'Equatorial Africa under colonial rule', in: D. Birmingham & P.M. Martin (eds.), History of Central Africa II. London etc.: Langman. p. 27-94. Asc 13833.

A general survey study about the goals of the European colonisers in Central Africa: the supply of raw materials, the access to protected markets, and the elevated international status. The degree to which these goals were met, depended on the material and historical situation in each colony, and on the investment level from the metropolis. The study provides many references to Cameroon.

Azarya, V.

- 1976 Dominance and change in North Cameroun: the Fulbe aristocracy. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

A short version of Azarya (1978).

- 1978 Aristocrats facing change: the Fulbe in Guinea, Nigeria, and Cameroon. Chicago etc.: University of Chicago Press. 293 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9920.

Historico-sociological study on the changing authority of the Fulbe in North Cameroon, North Nigeria, and Guinea in the political, economic, and religious field, caused by the colonial and post-colonial impact of state formation. Azarya uses the comparative method. The book is not only an important historical study, but contains also relevant information on the contemporary political power of the Fulbe on the national level.

Barbier, J.C.

- 1977 Essai de définition de la chefferie en pays bamiléké. Yaounde: Office Nationale de Recherche Scientifique et Technique. 32 p.

Should be read in connection with Nkwi (1977).

Beek, W.E.A. van

- 1986 'L'état ce n'est pas nous: cultural proletarianization in Cameroon', in: Cahiers CEDAF - ASDOC-studies, 2-4, p. 65-87. bibl., Asc.

An anthropological article about the Kapsiki-Higi in North Cameroon and Northeast Nigeria. The marginalisation of the Kapsiki should not be interpreted in terms of geographical factors, but in terms of this people's interaction with processes of state formation since the 18th century.

Bejeng-Soh, P.

- 1980-81 'From a segmentary to a centralised system of government: a case study of Awing (Bambuluwi), a Ngemba chiefdom of the North-West Province of Cameroon', in: *Revue Scientifique et Technique*, 1, 3, p. 109-114. Asc.

An historical article about the development from a segmentary to a centralised political system among the Awing in West Cameroon, a development which ran parallel with the 19th century sedentarisation of this ethnic grouping.

Beti, Mongo

- 1956 *Le pauvre Christ de Bomba*. Paris: Laffont.

The English translation of this novel appeared in 1971 under the title 'The poor Christ of Bomba', translated by G. Moore.

- 1957 *Mission terminée*. Paris: Buchet-Chastel.

The English translation is 'Mission to Kala' (1966), translated by P. Green.

- 1958 *Le roi miraculé*. Paris: Buchet-Chastel.

Blanc, P.

- 1953 'Les régimes de mandat et de la tutelle: leur application au Cameroun'. Thèse de droit, Montpellier. 460 p.

Bouchaud, J.

- 1952 *La côte du Cameroun dans l'histoire et la cartographie*. Paris: IRCAM.

A history, which is still important because of the archival sources which the author was able to consult.

Brain, R.

- 1972 *Bangwa kinship and marriage*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. 195 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13907.

An important volume about the Bangwa kinship system. The author analyses the patrilineal relations in the context of the economic and political life.

Burnham, P.

- 1975 "Regroupement" and mobile societies: two Cameroon cases', in: *Journal of African History*, 16, 4, p. 577-94. Asc.

- 1980a Opportunity and constraint in a savanna society: the Gbaya of Meiganga, Cameroon. London etc.: Academic Press. 324 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13108.

A major study about the social organisation, history, economy, and environment of the Gbaya, living in the eastern part of Adamawa, including a discussion of the historical relation between the Gbaya and the Fulbe. The author also deals with the adjustments of the Gbaya political system to European colonial rule.

- 1980b 'Raiders and traders in Adamawa: slavery as a regional system', in: J.L. Watson (ed.), *Asian and African systems of slavery*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. p 42-72. Asc 11692.

This is an historical article about slavery in 19th century Adamawa, centering on the effects of slave-raids and trade upon the Fulbe state of Ngaoundere and the neighbouring people of the Gbaya.

Chazelas, V.

- 1931 Territoires africains sous mandat de la France: Cameroun et Togo. Paris: Société d'Éditions. 240 p.

An extensive descriptive study, written by a former public officer, about France's role as the mandated ruler of Cameroon and Togo. The author presents the colonial argument, i.e. the positive achievements of French rule are emphasised.

Chem-Langhëë, B.

- 1985 'The Banyang slave-system: social differentiation and citizenship', in: *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 1, 1, p. 163-182. Eng. & Fr. sum.

Chilver, E.M.

- 1963 'Native administration in the West Central Cameroons 1902-1954', in: K. Robinson & F. Madden (eds.), *Essays in imperial government*. Oxford: Blackwell. p. 91-139. Asc 4222.

An account of the activities of German and British civil servants in the West Cameroonian savanna area, at the fluctuating frontier of two administrative philosophies, i.e. direct and indirect rule. Furthermore, the author discusses the crosscurrent of Christianity, and the process of effecting administrative decentralisation (and its limitations).

- 1964 'A Bamileke community in Bali-Nyonga: a note on the Bawok', in: *African Studies*, 23, 3-4, p. 121-127. Asc.

This article includes information on the political and social organisation of a Bamileke chiefdom which was incorporated into the colonial state.

Chilver, E.M. & P.M. Kaberry

- 1967 *Traditional Bamenda: precolonial history and ethnography of the Bamenda Grassfields*. Buea: Government Printer. 134 p., bibl., Asc 5788.

A socio-historical study about the traditional systems of several Bamenda chieftainships. The historical information is rather meager, because the data were only collected through surveys and interviews. The analysis does not deal with the incorporation of these traditional political institutions into the West Cameroonian colonial state.

Copet-Rougier, E.

- 1987 'Du clan à la chefferie dans l'est du Cameroun', in: *Africa*, 57, 3, p. 345-63. Asc.

Costedoat, R.

- 1930 *L'effort français au Cameroun: le mandat français et la réorganisation des territoires du Cameroun*. Besançon: Imprimerie Jacques et Demontrond. 288 p., bibl.

The author defends the 'effort français' in Cameroon with arguments which are nearly racist. The mandatory system is evaluated as being favourable to both France and Cameroon. Costedoat extensively describes France's involvement in the social, political, and economic development of Cameroon. An appendix includes historical documents about the colonial administration.

Delarozière, R.

- 1949 'Les institutions politiques et sociales des populations dites Bami-léké', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 25-26, p. 5-68 & 27-28, p. 127-175.

The first overview of the Bamileke social structure, centering on the chieftainships and the societies, and compiled from official reports.

Delavignette, R.

- 1950 *Freedom and authority in French West Africa*. London: International African institute. 152 p., Asc 453.

This volume, originally published in Paris in 1946 as 'Service africain', was a classic study in French colonial administrative circles. The author had served as 'Commandant du Cercle' in Francophone Cameroon. The majority of the book deals with the peasantry, and analyses the changes which had taken place as a result of the influence of world economic forces.

Derman, W.

- 1973 *Serfs, peasants and socialists*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

One of the topics of this study is 19th century slavery in North Cameroon (p. 27-41).

Derrick, J.

- 1980 'The Germanophone elite of Douala under the French mandate', in: *Journal of African History*, 21, 2, p. 255-267. Asc.

Dika-Akwa nya Bonambéla, B.G.

- 1970 *Evolution des structures politiques au coeur de l'Afrique du 9e au 19e siècle: essai d'ethno-sociologie historique africaine*. Paris. 158 p., bibl., Asc 6272.

Topics discussed include Fulbe state formation in 19th century Adamawa, and the conflicts which were provoked by the German invasion in the Fulbe regions in the north and the Duala region in the south.

Eballa, Y.

- 1976 'Zum gegenwärtigen Veränderungsprozess im Häuptlingswesen in der Nord-West-Provinz der Vereinigten Republik Kamerun', in: *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde* (Dresden), 35, p. 111-118.

Elango, L.Z.

- 1980 'The Aglo-French "Condominium" in Cameroon 1914-1916: the myth and the reality', in: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 10, 2, p. 35-52.

Eyongetah, T. & R. Brain

- 1974 *A history of the Cameroon*. London etc.: Longman. 192 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10895.

An introductory history about Cameroon, written for educational purposes. The emphasis is on West Cameroon.

Fardon, R.O.

- draft *Raiders and refugees*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Includes analyses of the processes of pre-colonial state formation in the border regions of Nigeria and North Cameroon, focusing on the establishment of the Chamba conquering states.

Forde, D. & P.M. Kaberry (eds.)

- 1967 *West African kingdoms in the nineteenth century*. London: OUP. 290 p., bibl., ind., Asc 5007.

Includes a chapter on the Bamenda kingdoms in West Cameroon.

France

- 1921-38 *Rapport annuel au Conseil de la Société des Nations sur l'administration sous mandat du territoire du Cameroun*.

Annual official reports about Cameroon, addressed to the League of Nations.

- 1947-69 *Rapport annuel à l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun placé sous la tutelle de la France*.

Annual official reports about Cameroon, addressed to the League of Nations.

Froelich, J.C.

- 1954 'Le commandement de l'organisation sociale chez les Foulbé de l'Adamaoua', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 45-46. p.3-91. Asc.

Topics discussed include the formal political organisation of the pre-colonial Fulbe states in Adamawa, and the established polity in the colonial era.

Gardinier, D.E.

- 1967 'The British in the Cameroons, 1919-1939', in: P. Gifford & W.R. Louis (eds.), *Britain and Germany in Africa: imperial rivalry and colonial rule*. New Haven etc.: Yale University Press. p. 513-555, Asc 5439.

Geary, C.

- 1976 *We: die Genese eines Häuptlingstums im Grasland von Kamerun*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 288 p., bibl., Eng. sum., Asc 9192.

A history about the state formation process in a small West Cameroonian kingdom over a period of two centuries.

- 1980 *Options in dispute management: legal change in a Cameroon village chiefdom (Bamenda area) under German and French administration*. Waltham: African Studies Association. 25 p., bibl., Asc A2499.

A descriptive paper about the influence of the legal institutions as established by the colonial government, on the functioning of conflict-regulating institutions in the kingdom of We in the Grass-fields.

- 1983 *The Bamun two-figure thrones: additional evidence*. Boston: Boston University. 20 p., bibl., Asc A3026.

A paper about the Bamun thrones, which were the visual symbols of the kingship. One of them is presently in the 'Museum für Völkerkunde' in Berlin. The author discusses the collection of ethnographic objects by Europeans in the early period of Cameroonian colonialism.

Germany, Auswärtiges Amt

1895-1907 Jahresberichte über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete.

Annual government reports, including Cameroon.

Germany, Reichskolonialamt

1907-1909 Denkschrift über die Entwicklung der Schutzgebiete in Afrika und Südsee.

Annual government reports, including Cameroon.

1910-1912 Die deutschen Schutzgebieten in Afrika und Südsee.

Annual government reports, including Cameroon.

Geschiere, P.

1975 'Traditional elders, colonial chiefs, and modern intellectuals', in: *Kroniek van Afrika*, 5, p. 89-120. Asc.

This article deals with the various forms of local and regional level leadership in the colonial period.

1978 'The articulation of different modes of production: old and new inequalities in Maka villages (South-East Cameroon)', in: *African Perspectives*, 2, p. 45-68.

1982 *Village communities and the state: changing relations among the Maka of South-Eastern Cameroon since the colonial conquest*. London etc.: Kegan Paul International. 512 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10472.

A significant political-anthropological study about the changing power relations in the Maka villages, caused by the penetration of the colonial state in the area, and about the rise of a regional elite of Maka bureaucrats in the post-colonial state.

1983 'European planters, African peasants, and the colonial state: alternatives in the mise en valeur of Maka-land, Southeast Cameroon, during the Interbellum', in: *African Economic History*, 12, p. 83-108.

- 1984a 'Segmentary societies and the authority of the state: problems in implementing rural development in the Maka villages of South-eastern Cameroon', in: *Sociologia Ruralis*, 24, 1, p. 10-29. bibl., Asc.

The author argues that the peasants are not fully incorporated into the modern politico-economic constellation. This factor, in combination with the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist relations of production, and the autistic properties of the national bureaucracy, hinders rural development. The case study presented is the establishment of a ZAPI cooperation in a Maka village in southeast Cameroon.

- 1984c 'Imposing capitalist dominance through the state: the multifarious role of the colonial state in Africa', in: W. van Binsbergen & P. Geschiere (eds.), *Old modes of production and capitalist encroachment*. London: Kegan Paul International, p. 94-143, Asc 14448.

An article on the articulation of old and new modes of production, as developed by French Marxist anthropologists like Meillassoux, Rey, and Godelier, and the role of the state in this process. The author tries to clarify the explanatory potential of this model for the colonial state in Africa, focusing on Cameroon and French Central Africa, and its relevance for explaining the precarious role of the post-colonial state.

- 1984e 'Marxistische visies op de post-koloniale staat in Afrika: de discussie in R.A.P.E. en de historische benadering van Rey', in: W. van Binsbergen & G. Hesselink (eds.), *Aspecten van staat en maatschappij in Afrika: recent Dutch and Belgian research on the African state*. Leiden: African Studies Centre, p. 131-161. Asc.

The author argues that several insights of the French Marxist anthropologist P.P. Rey might be relevant for the debate on the post-colonial state in Africa, as carried on in the periodical 'Review of African political economy'. Rey's model of the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production provides an opportunity to distinguish regional variations in the patterns of class formation and the role of the state. Geschiere illustrates the argument with the Maka of South East Cameroon.

Guyer, J.I.

- 1978 'The food economy and French colonial rule in Central Cameroon', in: *Journal of African History*, 19, 4, p. 577-597. Asc.

This is an historical analysis of the effects of colonial policies during the Interbellum period on the Beti village economy in the Yaounde region. The author focuses on the increase of agricultural output, and the marketing of food for the growing non-agrarian population.

- 1980a 'Head tax, social structure and rural incomes in Cameroun, 1922-1937', in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 20, 3, p. 305-329. bibl., Asc.

- 1980b The provident societies in the rural economy of Yaoundé, 1945-1960. Waltham: African Studies Association. 18 p. Asc A2500.

This paper discusses the interaction between the rural economy in the Yaounde region and the colonial government's development policies. The author concentrates on the long-term influence of the Native Provident Societies, which were the major institutional instruments for rural development programmes over the period 1937-1960.

- 1981 'The depression and the administration in South-Central Cameroun', in: *African Economic History*, 10, p. 67-79.

- 1984 Family and farm in southern Cameroon. Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University. 154 p., bibl.

Hausén, K.

- 1970 Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika: Wirtschaftsinteressen und Kolonialverwaltung in Kamerun vor 1914. Zürich.

Includes several monographic studies about a huge variety of political, economic, and social facets of the colonial state in the time of the German Protectorate.

Heine, P.

- 1980 'Arabische Dokumente aus Nordkamerun', in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 4, p. 224-225.

A study about the colonial history of North Cameroon.

Hurault, J.

- 1962 La structure sociale des Bamiléké. The Hague etc.: Mouton. 133 p., Asc A315.

This is an important volume about the kinship and marriage system and the socio-political structure in the two Bamileke chieftainships of Bandjun and Batié. The study is based on fieldwork in 1955.

- 1970a 'Essai de synthèse du système social des Bamiléké', in: Africa, 40, 1, p.1-24. Asc.

A functionalist overview of the Bamileke social system. The author discusses the system of kinship and descent, marriage relations, and the ward institutions.

- 1970b 'L'organisation du terroir dans les groupements bamiléké', in: Etudes Rurales, 37-38-39, p. 232-256. Asc.

Kaberry, P.M.

- 1952 Women of the Grassfields: a study of the economic position of women in Bamenda, British Cameroons. London: HMSO. 220 p., Asc 1433.

Kaberry is one of the prominent researchers of the Grassfields people in West Cameroon. This study focuses on the position of Bamenda women, but it also includes a vivid account of the traditional socio-political organisation of the Grassfields population.

- 1963 'Retainers and royal households in the Cameroons Grassfields', in: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 3, 10, p. 282-298. Asc.

Kaptue, L.

- 1979 'L'administration coloniale et la circulation des indigènes au Cameroun: le laissez-passer, 1923-1946', in: Afrika Zamani, 10-11, p. 160-184.

Kuoh-Moukouri, J.

- 1963 Doigts noirs: je fus écrivain-interprète au Cameroun. Montreal.

This is an autobiographical writing which sheds a sharp ironic light on the Cameroonian colonial society of the 1950s.

Kwayeb, E.K.

- 1960 Les institutions de droit public du pays bamiléké (Cameroun): évolution et régime actuel. Paris: Pichon & Durand-Auzias. 199 p., bibl.

Laburthe-Tolra, P.

- 1977 Minlaaba. Lille. 3 vol.

A comprehensive study about the pre-colonial history of the Banen, living to the south of Yaounde.

- 1981 Les seigneurs de la forêt: essai sur le passé historique, l'organisation sociale et les norms éthiques des anciens Bété du Cameroun. Paris: Sorbonne. 490 p., bibl., ind., Asc 12691.

The author's goal is to reconstruct the pre-colonial Beti society on the basis of oral traditions and archive documentation.

Lestringeant, J.

- 1964 Les pays de Guider au Cameroun: essai d'histoire régionale. Versailles: n.p., 466 p., bibl., Asc 4996.

An ethnographic account of the geography, history, habits, and social change in 20th century Guider. The author, who had been a colonial officer from 1957 until 1959 in the district of Guider, extensively discusses the establishment of the traditional chiefdoms and their subsequent development under colonial rule, as well as the relations between the Fulbe and the Kirdi. He also presents an overview of such current societal changes as migration, retarded economic development, competition between the Fulbe and the Kirdi for economic power resources, and the general transformation of the social structures.

LeVine, V.T. & R.P. Nye

- 1974 Historical dictionary of Cameroon. Metuchen: Saarecrow. 198 p., bibl.

An alphabetical survey of the major persons, places, and events in the recent history of Cameroon. A comprehensive, but rather outdated, bibliography is included.

Louis, W.R.

- 1967 Great Britain and Germany's lost colonies, 1914-1919. Oxford.

This study discusses the second partition of Cameroon.

McCulloch, M., M. Littlewood & I Dugast

- 1954 Peoples of the Central Cameroons: Tikar, Bamun, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia and Balom. London: International African Institute. 174 p., bibl.

An ethnographic survey of the residence, origins, socio-political organisation, life cycle, religion and magic of the ethnic groupings in the central section of Cameroon. The chapter on the Bamileke is the most interesting one.

Maillard, B.

- 1985 Pouvoir et religion: les structures socio-religieuses de la chefferie de Bandjoun (Cameroun). Bern etc.: Lang. 276 p., bibl., ind., Asc 15302.

This is an anthropological monograph about the Bamileke chiefdom of Bandjun. The author utilises an phenomenologist approach to elucidate how the traditional religion and the political state structures are interwoven. Historical change is not discussed.

Mandeng, P.

- 1973 Auswirkungen der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft in Kamerun: die Arbeitskräftebeschaffung in den Südbezirken Kameruns während der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft 1884-1914. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 204 p., bibl., Asc 7410.

This study is concerned with forced labour. The functioning, ideological legitimation, and socio-economic effects are analysed in terms of the following underdevelopment hypothesis: 'Die Arbeitskräftebeschaffung für die Kolonialwirtschaft stellt den entscheidenden Desintegrationsfaktor der naturwirtschaftlichen Gesellschaftsordnung in der Kolonie dar'.

Mayer, W., F. Metzger & J. Wilhelmi

- 1985 Schwarz-Weiss-Rot in Afrika: die deutschen Kolonien, 1883-1918. Puchheim: IDEA. 242 p., bibl.

A general history of German imperialism. Topics discussed are the life of the German colonist, the administrative system, the colonial economy, the activities of the churches, and the revolutionary impact on the life of the African population. A final section deals with the contemporary activities of business men, tourists, and development workers. Includes many scattered comments regarding Cameroon.

Mohammadou, E.

- 1966 'Introduction historique à l'étude des sociétés du Nord-Cameroun - Historical introduction to the study of northern Cameroon societies', in: Abbia, 12-13, p. 233-271. Asc.

An historical survey of 19th century state formation in North Cameroon. The author describes the pre-Fulbe states of Kotoko and Mandara, the rise of the Fulbe states, and the relations which came into being between the Fulbe and the original peoples.

- 1978 Fulbe Hooseere: les royaumes Foulbé du plateau de l'Adamaoua au XIX siècle: Tibati, Tignère, Banyo, Nagaoundéré. Tokyo: ILCAA. 440 p., bibl., Asc 10449.

This is an anthropological study about the historical traditions of a number of lamidates which were united in the 19th century emirate of Fombina. The author delineates the state formation process into different periods, tries to make a synthesis of this material, and presents accounts from oral witnesses.

- 1982 Le royaume du Wandala ou Mandara au XIXe siècle. Tokyo: ILCAA. 334 p., bibl., Asc 14572.

A cultural-historical study about the political history of the lamidate of Wandala, based on archive material and oral traditions. The author discusses the origins of the state, the royal family, the titles and functions at court, the state activities (financial, administrative, military, and diplomatic), as well as the function of Islam as a court religion.

- 1983 Peuples et royaumes du Foubina. Tokyo: ILCAA. 308 p., bibl., Asc 14571.

The author describes the origins of several smaller Fulbe states, and reconstructs a regional history of the upper valley of the Benne river.

- 1984 'Approche historique au problème du peuplement des monts de Mandara', in: M. Tomikawa (ed.), *Sudan Sahel studies I* (revised version). Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. p. 139-169.

Mohammadou, E. (ed.)

- 1976 L'histoire des Peuls Férobé du Diamaré Maroua et Pétété. Tokyo: ILCAA. 409 p., bibl., Asc lit.739.

This study, a compilation of the oral traditions of the lamidates of Maroua and Pétété, is a part of the author's project of reconstructing the Fulbe history in Adamawa.

- 1979 Ray ou Rey-Bouba: traditions historiques des Foulbé de l'Adamawa (tradition transmise par Alhadji Hamadjoda Abdoullaye). Garoua: Musée Dynamique du Nord Cameroun; Paris: ONAREST. 348 p., bibl., Asc 12216.

A description of the evolution of the lamidate of Ray or Rey Bouba, based on interviews with a former court functionary.

Mveng, E.

- 1963 L'histoire du Cameroun. Paris: Présence Africaine. 334 p., bibl., Asc 4374.

A very well documented history about the pre-colonial and colonial period in East Cameroon.

Mveng, E. & D. Beling-Nkoumba

- 1974 Manuel d'histoire du Cameroun. Yaounde: Centre d'Édition et de Production de Manuels et Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement. 282 p.

Nature

- 1978 Nature et formes de pouvoir dans les sociétés dites acéphales: compte-rendu de la journée scientifique du 1er mars 1978, à Yaoundé, organisée à l'occasion du séjour à Yaoundé du Professeur J. Lombard. Yaounde: ONAREST; University of Yaounde. 146 p., Asc A2460.

A publication about several traditional political systems in the forest areas in Cameroon. There are sections written by J.-C. Barbier, J. Moutome Ekabi (about the Maka), P. Titi Nwel (about Mbombok), P.N. Nkwi (about the Meta), and B. Delpech (about the Banyang).

Nchouat-Njoya, O.

- 1971 Système politique traditionnel et organisation municipale du Cameroun (exemple Bamoun). University of Paris I.

Ndongo, J.A.

- 1984 'Un épisode de la conquête française du Nord-Cameroun: l'occupation de Yagoua (1921-1922)', in: Civilisations (Brussels), 34, 1-2, p. 165-209. Eng. sum.

The author provides a description of the establishment of French colonial rule among the Masa of North Cameroon.

Njeuma, M.Z.

- 1973 'The foundations of pre-European administration in Adamawa: historical consideration', in: Journal of History and Sociology in Nigeria, 7, 1, p. 3-16. Asc.

An historical article about the Fulbe administration of the 19th century Fombina emirate, with an emphasis on political integration. The cohesion within the multi-ethnic system was accomplished by the evolution of an authority system based on personal loyalty or clientalism.

- 1974 'The ancient history of Bamun from its origin to the eve of colonialism', in: Symposium Leo Frobenius: perspectives of contemporary studies. p. 249-265. bibl., Fr. and Germ. sum., Asc 8951.

The three phased evolution of the 19th century Bamun state is typical for many Sudan states: a period of conquest, then a period of consolidation of the dynasty's powers, and finally a period of disintegration. The kingdom was in its last phase when the Germans conquered it.

- 1978 Fulani hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa), 1809-1902. Yaounde: CEPER. 311 p., bibl.

Topics discussed in this historical study are Yola, the 'jihad', the attempts to consolidate the conquests, and finally the European intervention.

Njoya, A.N.

- 1977 Njoya: réformateur du royaume Bamoun. Paris: ABC; Abidjan: NEA. 122 p., Asc 12400.

A biography of the last Bamun king (1867-1933), ~~mb~~ mounted the throne in 1885, and whom the French forced to move to Yaounde in 1931. He is well-known as a ruler, the inventor of a his own writing system, an architect, and a writer.

Njoya, I.A. (ed.)

- 1950 Histoire et coutumes des Bamoun. Yaounde: IFAN Centre du Cameroun. 232 p. (transl. by H. Martin).

Njoya, sultan of the Bamun, devised his own alphabet, which the scholars at the court used to lay down the history of the Bamun people.

Nkwi, P.N.

- 1976 Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields. Fribourg: Fribourg University Press. 233 p., bibl., Asc 8452.

An important political-anthropological monograph about the Kom, written by a scholar who is himself a member of this people. The first section discusses the traditional aspects of the kingship, the jurisdiction, and the local level administration. The second section is devoted to the changes of the political institutions as a result of the incorporation of the chiefdom into the colonial and post-colonial state.

- 1977 Grassfield kings and chiefs and modern politics. Yaounde: Office Nationale de Recherche Scientifique et Technique. 27 p.

Should be read in connection with Barbier (1977).

- 1979 'Cameroon Grassfield chiefs and modern politics', in: Paideuma, 25, p. 99-115. bibl., Asc.

The author examines the role of Grassfields chiefs in the political evolution of West Cameroon in the time of nationalism, and discusses the establishment of a House of Chiefs and the 1977 decree regarding the reorganisation of all chiefdoms in Cameroon.

Nkwi, P.N. & J.-P. Warnier

- 1982 Elements for a history of the western Grassfields. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 236 p., bibl.

Osuntokun, J.

- 1976 'Great Britain and the final partition of the Cameroons, 1916-1922', in: Nigerian Journal of International Affairs, 2, 1-2, p. 36-49.

- 1977-78 'Anglo-French administration of the mandated territory of the Cameroons 1923-1939: a study in comparative administration', in: The Quarterly Journal of Administration, 12, 3, p. 257-271. Asc.

This article is concerned with the colonial administration in the British and French sections of Cameroon. The French practiced an indirect rule principle in the north, like the English in the west, but they devised in the south an hierarchical system, which put severe restrictions on the civil rights of the population through the 'indigénat', the 'prestation', and the 'conscription'. The author concludes that the mandate system was just another moral rationalisation of the traditional concept of imperialist expansion.

O'Toole, T.

- 1984 'The 1928-1931 Gbaya insurrection in Ubangui-Shara: messianic movement or village self-defence?', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 18, 2, p. 329-344. Asc.

Ouden, J., H.B. den

- 1979 The process of incorporation with regard to the relations between local populations and outside world: the case of two Bamiléké chiefdoms, Cameroon, in the period 1900-1970. Wageningen, Agricultural University; Yaounde, Centre Universitaire de Dschang. 32 p., bibl., Asc A2171.

- 1980 'Incorporation and changes in the composite household: the effects of coffee introduction and food crop commercialization in two Bamiléké chiefdoms, Cameroon', in: C. Prevelou & S. Spijkers-Zwart (eds.), *The household, women and agricultural development* (Miscellaneous papers 17, Landbouwhogeschool Wageningen). Wageningen: Veenman. p. 41-67, Asc 11477.

A political-sociological article about the changes in the households of the Bamileke chiefdoms of Tsa and Ngang as a result of their incorporation into national and international systems. The author emphasises the adaptational potential of the traditional structures, and concludes that the commercialisation of staple crops has contributed to a more independent position for the women.

- 1986 In search of personal mobility: changing interpersonal relations in two Bamiléké chiefdoms, Cameroon. Wageningen, Agricultural University. 52 p., bibl., sum., Asc A3633.

A sociological paper about the changing interpersonal relations of power and authority, due to the incorporation of the studied Bamileke chiefdoms into the national and world market, and into the colonial and post-colonial state. The author, utilizing an actor oriented approach, discusses the commercialisation of agriculture, migrational and commercial circuits, and the erosion of the political institutions of the chiefdoms.

Oyono, F.

- 1956a *Le vieux nègre et la médaille*. Paris: Julliard.

The English translation is 'The old man and the medal' (1967), translated by J. Reed.

1956b Une vie de boy. Paris: Julliard.

The English translation of this novel appeared in 1966 as 'House boy', translated by J. Reed.

Paideuma

1985 Paideuma, 31. Asc.

This number of the Paideuma periodical is entirely devoted to architecture and traditional politics in Cameroon, notably the royal residence. Articles are written by R.G. Dillon, B. Chem-Langhèè, E. Geary, E. Ghomsì, P.N. Nkwi, D. Price, C.-H. Pradelles de Latour Dejean, M. Rowlands, E. Shanklin, C. Tardits, and J.P. Warnier.

Pradelles de Latour Dejean, C.-H.

1979 'Les sacrifices faits aux ancêtres chez les Bangwa', in: Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire, 4, p. 131-138. Asc.

This functionalist study analyses several sacrificial rituals of the Bangwa in West Cameroon in the context of the ancestor cult: their function is to contribute to the persistence of the kinship system.

1985 'Les relations entre les générations dans une chefferie bamiléké', in: M. Abélès & Ch. Collard (eds.), Age, pouvoir et société en Afrique Noire. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal; Paris: Karthala. Asc 15266.

An analysis of the power relations between the different generations in a Bamileke chiefdom; see also Pradelles de Latour Dejean (1979).

Quinn, E.F.

1970 Changes in Beti society, 1887-1960. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

1974 'German and French rule in the Cameroons', in: Tarikh, 4, 4, p. 54-69. Asc.

A brief functionalist analysis of the German and French administrative systems in Cameroon. The author compares the political, economic, and cultural aspects of the administrations. Their fundamental similarity is that 'they disrupted the balance of political power in local societies in ways from which the African groupings could not recover by their own means. In the process colonial rule left the leaders of many African societies neither fully in control of their own peoples nor fully involved in the European administration' (p. 54).

- 1980 'Charles Atangana of Yaoundé', in: *Journal of African History*, 21, 4, p. 485-495. Asc.

A history of the political career of Charles Atanga (1880-1943), a Beti chief under the German and subsequently the French government.

Ritzenthaler, P.

- 1967 *The Fon of Bafut*. London: Cassell. 221 p., bibl., ind., Asc 4998.

This is an account of the life of the Fon of Bafut in West Cameroon in the decades around independence. Topics discussed include the traditions, the politico-religious rituals, the Fon cult, and the ancestor veneration.

Ritzenthaler, R. & P. Ritzenthaler

- 1962 *Cameroons village: an ethnography of the Bafut*. Milwaukee: Public Museum. 155 p., bibl., ind.

This anthropological study is devoted to a small village-state of the Tikar in West Cameroon.

Rowlands, M.J.

- 1979 'Local and long distance trade and incipient state formation on the Bamenda Plateau in the late 19th century', in: *Paideuma*, 24, p. 1-19. Asc.

Rudin, H.R.

- 1938 *Germans in the Cameroons 1884-1914: a case study in modern imperialism*. London: Jonathan Cape. 456 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6492.

The author analyses German colonial rule in Cameroon in terms of the imperialism hypothesis. He discusses many aspects of colonial administration and economic exploitation, like trade, tariffs, plantations, and export crops. He concludes that the German activities might be interpreted as 'an unusual achievement' (p. 11).

Ruel, M.

- 1969    Leopards and leaders: constitutional politics among a Cross River people. London etc.: Tavistock. 345 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6493.

This political-anthropological analysis deals with the processes of individual and collective action in a political community in West Cameroon, in the context of the changing political structures due to colonialism.

Shimada, Y.

- 1984    'Dynamique politique des états traditionnels sous l'indirect rule: du pouvoir à l'autorité: étude de cas du lamidat de Rey-Bouba', in: Senri Ethnological Studies, 15, p. 289-359. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

The author discusses the process of political change in the North Cameroonian Fulbe state of Rey-Bouba in the period between the two World Wars, when the area experienced French indirect rule.

Stoecker, H. (ed.)

- 1960    Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: Studien I. Berlin: Rütten & Loening (1960). ind., Asc 5795.
- 1968    Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: Studien II. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften (1968). ind., Asc 5795.

This important work, consisting of two volumes, consists of articles, written by young Marxist historians from East Germany, based on thorough archival research, and meant as a reaction to the dominant colonist historiography. The topics discussed include the annexation, the genesis of a working-class, the imperialist conquest of the south and the north, the land concessions, and the Duala resistance to German rule.

Strootman, G.

- 1972 'Succession to the throne in a Cameroon Fandom', in: *Kroniek van Afrika*, 3, p. 132-145. Asc.

This is an ethnographic account of the accession to the throne in 1968 of a 17 years old schoolboy as the Fon of Bafut (Grassfields) under the name of Aboomi II. The event is depicted against the background of the Bafut traditions and the political incorporation of the Fandom into the Cameroonian state.

Suret-Canale, J.

- 1971 *French colonialism in Tropical Africa 1900-1945*. London: Hurst. 251 p., bibl., ind., Asc 8848.

This is the English translation of 'Afrique Noire II: l'ère coloniale 1900-1945. Paris: Editions Sociales'. The author provides a Marxist-Leninist critique of the political, social, and economic system which came into existence in French Equatorial Africa in the first half of this century. Suret-Canale extensively discusses facets of the economic sector, such as the effects of the First World War and the economic crisis of 1931, the pacification of the equatorial interior, and the forced labour system.

- 1972 *Afrique Noire III: occidentale et centrale: de la colonisation aux indépendances (1945-1960)*. Paris: Editions Sociales. bibl., ind., Asc 6988.

- 1982 'From colonization to independence in French Tropical Africa: the economic background', in: P. Gifford & W.R. Louis (eds.), *The transfer of power in Africa: decolonization 1940-1960*. p. 445-481, Asc 13561.

The nationalism and independence of French Tropical Africa is analysed in terms of being the logical conclusion of an historical dialectic, i.e. of contradictory developments during the colonial era.

Tabuwe, A.

- 1974 *Political conflicts within the traditional and the modern institutions of the Bafut-Cameroon*. Louvain: Vander. 175 p., bibl.

This is an analysis of the different types of conflict within the traditional political institutions of the Bafut society in West Cameroon in terms of the more general conflict between modern and traditional political institutions. The author, himself a member of the Bafut society, believes that economic development can only be achieved through understanding between individuals and through attempts to resolve the inherent tension between traditional and modern institutions.

Tardits, C.

1960 Contribution à l'étude des populations bamiléké de l'Ouest-Cameroun. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 135 p., bibl.

1979 'L'organisation politique traditionnelle du royaume bamoun (Cameroun)', in: Paideuma, 25, p. 73-87.

1980 Le royaume Bamoun. Paris: Colin. 1078 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10899.

This is an important history of the kingdom of Bamun. The first section deals with the political evolution of the state until it was dismantled in 1934, with an emphasis on the reign of sultan Njoya. The second section describes the social relations on the level of the lineages, and the third section the social relations on the central state level (including the economic, juridical, and religious role of the king). These last two sections are a theoretical analysis of the relation between kinship and state institutions as two non-exclusive, overlapping socio-political structures.

1985 'L'espace, indicateur historique, révélateur structural: l'exemple bamoun (Cameroun)', in: Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 40, 6, p. 1261-1287. Eng. sum. (p. 1453).

A political-anthropological study about Bamun kinship structures.

'Parenté et pouvoir politique chez les Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: l'Homme, 13, 1-2, p. 37-49.

Waltz, G.

1981 Die Entwicklung der Strafrechtspflege in Kamerun unter deutscher Herrschaft 1884-1914. Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz. 573 p., bibl.

A juridical study about criminal law in the time of German rule in Cameroon.

Welch, C.E.

- 1966 Dream of unity: pan-Africanism and political unification in West Africa. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 396 p., bibl., ind., Asc 4957.

This is a comparative study of the prospects of political unification in West Africa, examining four examples of attempts to unite (parts of) ex-British and ex-French colonies. The author is quite pessimistic about the results because the political, economic, and cultural necessity of nation building turns out to be stronger. The fourth and fifth chapters discuss the Cameroonian Federation.

Wirz, A.

- 1972 Vom Sklavenhandel zum kolonialen Handel: Wirtschaftsräume und Wirtschaftsformen in Kamerun vor 1914. Zürich etc.: Atlantis. 301 p., bibl., Fr. sum., Asc 9453.

This politico-economic work examines the effects of the European presence in Cameroon before the First World War on African social structures. Topics discussed include the major characteristics of the German colonial economy, trade and politics among the Duala, commerce in South Cameroon and Adamawa, and the expansion of cash crop production.

- 1973 'La rivière de Cameroun: commerce pré-colonial et contrôle du pouvoir en société lignagère', in: Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, 40, 219, p. 172-195.

This is the French translation of a section of Wirz (1972).

Witherell, J.W.

- 1964 Official publications of French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroons, and Togo, 1946-1958. Washington: Library of Congress. 78 p., ind., Asc 3285.

This inventory includes a list of the official publications of the mandated territory of Cameroon; most were printed in the official publishing-office in Yaounde during the Fourth Republic (1946-1958); see p. 26-39.

- 1973 French-speaking Central Africa: a guide to official publications in American libraries. Washington: Library of Congress. 314 p., ind., Asc 2147.

A survey of official documents published in Francophone Central Africa until 1970, which the author was able to find in American libraries. The section on Cameroon (p. 220-253) includes publications which were directed to the League of Nations and the United Nations.

### **Ethnicity and protest**

Cameroon is a country characterised by a mosaic of peoples, languages, cultures, societies, and religions. The important role ethnicity plays behind the scenes in the national political process, has already been indicated. Several historical aspects of ethnic diversity, whose roots reach to the pre-colonial period, are reviewed in this subsection.

Ethnic identities have been shaped in social, political, and economic processes, especially trade, migration, and state formation. Ethnic developments in pre-colonial Cameroon are still far from clear. Although some knowledge is available on the turbulent 19th century patterns of migration caused by the Fulbe invasions in the north — see, for example, Lembezat (1950, 1961), Alexandre & Binet (1958), and Dugast (1949) — its impact on the dynamics of ethnicity is as yet far from clear. The one noteworthy study in this regard is Tardits (1981a), which contains information on the effects of trade and migration on the ethnic composition of the population. The literature on 19th century state formation has been dealt with in the preceding subsection; of these, only Azarya (1978) and Burnham (1972, 1980a) explicitly discuss ethnicity. Awad (1979) gives a description of the ethnic integration which is

caused by the genesis of a commercial region in the Sahel zone in conjunction with the expansion of Islam.

Ethnic contradictions persisted in the colonial era, and even intensified considerably. Colonial civil servants simplified and fixed social reality by imposing ethnic classificatory schemes upon the population. Ethnographic studies served as a scientific basis for legitimizing these administrative divisions. In the 1940s and 1950s several regional surveys on the ethnic heterogeneity in Cameroon were published. For the north, see Lembezat (1950, 1961). McCulloch et al. (1954) is a synopsis of the ethnic groupings in the western parts of East Cameroon. Such a study is not available for West Cameroon. Dugast (1949) is an inventory of the ethnic composition of the forest populations in the southern part of East Cameroon, and Alexandre & Binet (1958) surveys the Pahuin, a collective noun for several culturally and linguistically related ethnic groupings in the south. Murdock's well-known study (1959) contains information on several Cameroonian ethnic groupings in a wider ethnographic context; Mveng (1963) also deals extensively with this topic. Finally, three recently published works should be mentioned: Marguerat (1976) is a concise survey of the ethnic diversity in Cameroon in general, Fonkoué (1981) is an attempt to make an inventory of the complicated ethnic and linguistic nomenclature in Cameroon, whereas Chia (1983) and Breton (1983) try to classify the indigenous languages of Cameroon.

The socio-economic changes which were brought about by the colonial state, led to increasing competition about the sources of economic and social development. The rivalry was predominantly expressed in terms of ethnicity. A good example is Burnham (1980a), a study which includes a discussion of the position of the Gbaya in the eastern part of Adamawa vis-à-vis the other ethnic groupings in the region (Hausa, Fulbe, Mbororo, Bamileke, Mbum etc.). The growth of the cities created new social arenas where social competition was much more intensively felt, and where the ethnic confrontations became more strained. Kleis (1980) makes an analytical distinction between 'incorporational' and 'confrontatio-

nal' ethnicity for rural respectively urban areas in West Cameroon, illustrating the argument with a case study of the Igbo in West Cameroon (see also Kleis 1975). Confrontational ethnicity in East Cameroon is most clearly manifest in the case of the Bamileke. The ethnic tensions in the cities which accompanied the economic dynamics of this ethnic grouping will come up for discussion in Chapter 3. Kofele-Kale (1980a, 1980b, 1981b) comes to the conclusion that ethnicity in an urban environment is less prominent than in the countryside, because of the establishment of inter-ethnic social networks. These networks are also described by DeLancey (1973, 1974), however, not in the towns but in communities of estate workers.

Several other factors which influenced the ethnic categories, are religious in nature. A limited number of indigenous languages was transformed into a standardised written form, because of the translations of the Bible by the missions; this contributed particularly among the Duala to a strengthened ethnic consciousness. The extremely rapid process of collective conversions in the Cameroonian South ran largely parallel to ethnic lines, and should above all be interpreted in terms of upward social mobility. The collective conversions to Islam by the so-called Kirdi in northern Cameroon, a process which also goes hand in hand with a redefinition of ethnic identities, are the subject of several analyses; these are discussed in Chapter 2.

The societal changes during the colonial period led to the rise of politicised forms of ethnicity. Ethnic groups formed the basis for anti-colonial protest movements. Relatively well documented is the armed Gbaya rebellion of 1929; see Mouctar Bah (1974), Burnham (1975), Burnham & Christensen (1983), and O'Toole (1984). Early forms of protest were of frequent occurrence among the coastal peoples of southern Cameroon. Courade (1972a) includes some information on the Bakweri uprising in West Cameroon against the Germans. The Duala, however, are the ethnic grouping with the longest history of anti-colonial resistance, starting with petitions against land expropriation in the town of Douala and running into

demands for political sovereignty. Recently published literature on these early forms of popular resistance is, however, scarce (see Chapter 3).

Information on the nationalist movement since the Second World War can be found in the older literature; see LeVine (1964a), Gardinier (1963), and Chaffard (1965); Nwosu (1976) is a study about the international law aspects. Postwar nationalism was fragmented along ethnic lines, and its leaders originated from the westernised elite. The rise of this elite cannot be separated from the educational opportunities, and these were ethnically restricted; especially the Duala and the Bassa were able to take an advantage in this field. This ethnic factor in the rise of a native politico-administrative elite has as yet not been an explicit field of study. The ethnic competition in the Cameroonian South became acute in the last decade of the colonial period, when great opportunities for promotion arose for educated Cameroonians (because of the intended departure of the French), and when 'political machines' were created to mobilise the ethnically restricted clientele. Specific studies are not available, but empirical information on the formation of political parties can be found in, for example, Zang-Atangana (1960), LeVine (1964a, 1964b), Ziemer (1978), and Geschiere (1982), and, of course, the above-mentioned general works on Cameroonian nationalism.

One of the most important nationalist parties, the UPC, was characterised by an anti-capitalist stance and radical demands concerning immediate independence and the unification of French and British Cameroon. Its following was largely confined to the Bassa, the Duala, and the Bamileke. The major studies on the UPC have been written by Joseph (1973, 1974, 1975, and especially 1977). The party started a revolutionary guerilla warfare after its official suppression in 1955, which lasted until well into the 1970s. The American political scientists Johnson (1970b) and LeVine (1968) have devoted articles to the UPC phenomenon, but a full scientific monograph on the period of guerilla warfare has as yet not been written, although there are several publications from

active participants, like Um Nyobè (1985). In the time of the legal proceedings against Ouandié, who was executed as a result, several UPC-sympathetic publications came out, notably \*UPC\* (1971), Ugeux (1971), and M. Beti (1974). Kunde (1979) and Woungly-Massaga (1984) are recent studies which present the UPC as a communist alternative for the government in power. Kingue & Ntumazah (1982) and \*Opposition\* (1982) voice the internal factional struggles within the exiled branch of the present UPC.

The history of nationalism in West Cameroon is a separate topic, because of the British colonial rule there. Two major themes can be distinguished in the literature. (1) The rise and victory of the reunification movement in the Southern Cameroons; see Welch (1966) and Chem-Langhëë & Njeuma (1980). (2) The important role that the chiefs played in the political process during the 1950s — a fact that cannot be separated from the British indirect rule — and the resulting formation of a House of Chiefs (1960-1972); see Nkwi (1977, 1979) and Chem-Langhëë (1983, 1984). Ethnicity is not an explicit topic in this literature. No information is available on the question of whether and how the existing chieftdoms may function as crystallisation points of ethnic identities within the context of the contemporary Cameroonian state.

Unlike many other African countries, the political leadership of the post-colonial state of Cameroon was not recruited from among the early nationalist UPC leaders. The struggle for political independence is still a taboo subject in contemporary Cameroon, due to the UPC trauma; see Mbembé (1985). This might explain why only a few studies on nationalism, composed by Cameroonians, have been published.

Alexandre, P. & J. Binet

1958    Le groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 152 p., bibl., Asc 2514.

This is an important survey of the Pahuin peoples in the Cameroon-ian South. Characteristics discussed include geography, climate, ethnicity, history, languages, economy, social organisation, and major cultural traits. A comprehensive, but rather dated bibliography is included.

Asiwaju, A.I. (ed.)

- 1985    Partitioned Africans: ethnic relations across Africa's international boundaries 1884-1984. London: Hurst; Lagos: University of Lagos Press. 275 p., bibl., ind., Asc 15411.

Contains a chapter about the division of the Mandara people in a Nigerian and a Cameroonian section in the early colonial period.

Awad, M.H.

- 1979    'The Bilad al Sudan: the common heritage as a basis for regional cooperation', in: Y.F. Hasan & P. Doornbos (eds.), *The Central Bilad al-Sudan: tradition and adaptation: essays on the geography and economic and political history of the Sudan belt*. Khartum: University of Khartum. p. 306-316. Asc 13837.

This historical article discusses the regional integration process of many ethnic groupings in the Sudan belt under the banner of Islam and in the wake of the development of long-distance trade in pre-colonial times. The colonising powers divided the region into artificial administrative units, but for all that, the area still forms a de facto economic region, and its population an (unconscious) ethnic unity.

Azarya, V.

- 1978    *Aristocrats facing change: the Fulbe in Guinea, Nigeria, and Cameroon*. Chicago etc.: University of Chicago Press. 293 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9920.

Historico-sociological study of the changing authority of the Fulbe in North Cameroon, North Nigeria, and Guinea in the political, economic, and religious field, caused by the colonial and post-colonial impact of state formation. Azarya uses the comparative method. The book is not only an important historical study, but contains also relevant information on the contemporary political power of the Fulbe on the national level.

Beek, W.E.A. van

- 1978 Bierbrouwers in de bergen: de Kapsiki en Higi van Noord-Kameroen en Noord-Oost Nigeria - Beer brewers in the Mandara mountains: the Kapsiki and Higi of North Cameroon and North-Eastern Nigeria. Utrecht (the Netherlands): Institute of Cultural Anthropology. 461 p., bibl., Asc 10204.

The author examines in this social anthropological monograph the Kapsiki in North Cameroon and the Higo in Northeast Nigeria, which are ethnically closely related. The different names are a result of external political factors, notably colonialism. The study focuses on the actual functioning of the extremely atomised society of the Kapsiki and Higo.

Beti, Mongo

- 1974 Main basse sur le Cameroun: autopsie d'une décolonisation. Quebec: Editions Québécoises, 217 p. Paris: François Maspero (1977), 270 p.

This fierce attack on the neo-colonialist development policy of Cameroon, was censored by the authorities. Beti rejects the Ahidjo government and the CNU domination, and extensively discusses the circumstances under which Ernest Ouandié, a former UPC leader, and the Catholic bishop Albert Ndongmo were arrested and convicted. The Paris edition from 1977 contains a comprehensive actualisation.

Breton, R. & M. Dieu

- 1983 'More than 230 languages in Cameroon', in: The Couriers, 80, p. 92-95.

Burnham, P.

1972 'Racial classification and identity in the Meiganga region: North Cameroon', in: P. Baxter & B. Sansom (eds.), *Race and social difference*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

1974 'Ethnic correlates of differential fertility in northern Cameroon', in: B.K. Adadewoh (ed.), *Subfertility and infertility in Africa*. Ibadan: Caxtan Press.

1975 'Regroupement and mobile societies: two Cameroun cases', in: *Journal of African History*, 16, 4, p. 577-586.

This article about the 1929 Gbaya insurrection against the many forms of colonial repression, provides a good example of political protest along ethnic lines.

1980a *Opportunity and constraint in a savanna society: the Gbaya of Meiganga, Cameroon*. London etc.: Academic Press. 324 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13108.

This economic-anthropological study of social change among an ethnic grouping in Adamawa, focuses on the historical and social elements in the Gbaya culture which may explain the signalised conservatism. Furthermore, the author deals with the multi-ethnic character of the Meiganga society: Gbaya identity is just a way to express regional inequalities in wealth, power, and opportunities, in other words, ethnic boundaries are demarcations of regional power relations.

Burnham, P. & T. Christensen

1983 'Karnu's message and the 'War of the Hoe Handle': interpreting a Central African resistance movement', in: *Africa*, 53, 4, p. 3-22. Asc.

This article discusses the anti-colonial resistance movement of the Gbaya in Adamawa.

Chaffard, G.

1965 *Les carnets secrets de la décolonisation*. 2 Vol. Paris: Calman-Levy.

Chem-Langhëë, B.

- 1983 'The origin of the Southern Cameroons House of Chiefs', in: *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16, 4, p. 653-673. Asc.

This article discusses the factors which led to the establishment of a House of Chiefs in 1960 in West Cameroon. The author emphasises the central role of the chiefs in the nationalist movement in the 1950s.

- 1984 'Southern Cameroons traditional authorities and the nationalist movement 1953-1961', in: *Afrika Zamani*, 14-15, p. 147-163. Asc.

The author describes the political role of the traditional chiefs in the nationalist movement during the 1950s in the former Southern Cameroons.

Chem-Langhëë, B. & M.Z. Njeuma

- 1980 'The Pan-Kamerun movement, 1949-1961', in: N. Kofele-Kale (ed.), *An African experiment in nation building: the bilingual Cameroon Republic since reunification*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 25-64.

The article discusses the reunification of East Cameroon and the Southern Cameroons in terms of the differing nationalistic aspirations in the 1950s, including the desire to reestablish the 1914 frontiers. The authors focus on this pan-Cameroonian movement in West Cameroon.

Chia, E.N.

- 1983 'The indigenous languages of Cameroon: which are they? how many are they? where are they spoken?', in: *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 11, p. 143-159.

Clignet, R.

- 1976 'The impact of educational structures and processes on national integration in Cameroon', in: D.R. Smock & K. Bentsi-Enchill (eds.), *The search for national integration in Africa*. New York: Free Press; London: Collier MacMillan. p. 139-158.

The author inventories the problems which educational institutions are confronted with when they try to overcome the ethnic discord. This division is aggravated in Cameroon by the different colonial experiences of the country.

Courade, G.

- 1972a 'L'espace urbain de Buéa (Cameroun Occidentale): essai de géographie sociale', in: *La croissance urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. p. 475-492. Asc.

This geographical urban study discusses the contemporary spatial configuration of the city in terms of the way it expresses historical events, such as the Bakweri insurrection against the Germans in the beginning of this century, and the official promotion of Buea to the administrative centre of West Cameroon. The same article is published in: *Etudes géographiques sur les villes du Cameroun*. Yaounde: ORSTOM (1970), p. 41-55.

DeLancey, M.W.

- 1973 Changes in social attitudes and political knowledge among migrants to plantations in West Cameroon. Ann Arbor (Michigan): University Microfilms. 412 p., bibl.

A sociological analysis of the development of attitudes favourable to ethnic mixing as a result of increased interethnic communication at the plantations of the Cameroon Development Corporation.

- 1974 'Plantation and migration in the Mt. Cameroon region', in: H. Illy (ed.), *Kamerun: Strukturen und Probleme der sozio-ökonomischen Entwicklung*. Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag. p. 181-236. Asc.

Dugast, I.

- 1949 Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun. Cahors: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. 159 p., Asc A19.

This is the only comprehensive volume on the ethnic composition of the population in the Cameroonian South. The ethnographic data are, however, rather dated.

Dupire, M.

- 1981 'Réflexions sur l'ethnicité peule', in: *Itinérances ... en pays peul et ailleurs II: littératures et cultures*. Paris: Société des Africanistes. p. 165-181. Asc 13565.

Fardon, R.O.

- 1987 'African ethnogenesis: limits to the comparability of ethnic phenomena', in: L. Holy (ed.), *Comparative anthropology*. London: Basil Blackwell. p. 168-188.

The author discusses the possibilities of comparing ethnic groups, illustrating the argument with the (ethnically defined) ethnography of the Chamba, who inhabit the frontier area between Nigeria and North Cameroon.

Fonkoué, J.

- 1981 *Essai de nomenclature des populations et des langues du Cameroun*. 2 vol. Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 243 p., bibl., Asc A2677.

This is an attempt to classify the nomenclature of indigenous languages and groups in order to standardise the ethnic and linguistic diversity in Cameroon. The societal backgrounds and dynamics of ethnicity are not discussed.

Gardinier, D.E.

- 1963 *Cameroon: United Nations challenge to French policy*. London etc.: OUP. 142 p., bibl., Asc 4373.

This political-science study deals with the international status of Cameroon as a United Nations trusteeship, and its effects on French politics in Cameroon and the postwar nationalist movement.

Image

- 1980 *Image and reality in African inter-ethnic relations: the Fulbe and their neighbours* (introd. E.A. Schultz) (*Studies in Third World societies*, publ. no. 11). Williamsburg: College of William and Mary. 166 p., bibl.

Johnson, W.R.

- 1970b 'The Union des Populations du Cameroun in rebellion', in: R. Rotberg & A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and power in Black Africa, 1886-1961*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Joseph, R.A.

- 1973 *Radical nationalism in Cameroun: the case of the UPC*. Unpubl. Ph. D. Dissertation, Oxford University.

The author's first publication on the UPC phenomenon.

- 1974 'Ruben um Nyobé and the 'Kamerun' rebellion (1956-8)', in: *African Affairs*, 73, 293, p. 428-448. Asc.

This article paints a portrait of the paramount leader of the UPC during its clandestine period.

- 1975 'National politics in postwar Cameroun: the difficult birth of the UPC', in: *Journal of African Studies*, 2, 2, p. 201-229. Asc.

The article discusses the nationalist struggle, particularly of the Duala, and the rise of the UPC on the scene. It contains a section on ethnicity and class formation in the city of Douala.

- 1977 *Radical nationalism in Cameroon: social origins of the U.P.C. rebellion*. Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press. 383 p., bibl., ind. Asc.

The best study on the UPC and an important contribution to the study about decolonisation in general. The author extensively discusses the social and historical factors which may explain the radicalism of the party in the struggle for political hegemony. The analysis covers the period until December 1956, when the party went underground.

Kale, P.M.

- 1968 *Political evolution in the Cameroons*. Buea: West Cameroon Government Printer. 93 p.

The author got involved in West Cameroonian politics in the early 1940s. The booklet contains his memories about the major political events, issues, and persons in the late colonial period.

Kengne Pokam, E.

- 1986 La problématique de l'unité nationale au Cameroun: dichotomie entre discours et pratique politiques dans un système monolithique. Paris: l'Harmattan. 163 p., bibl.

Discusses the failing policy of national integration of the Ahidjo government; the author points to the hostilities which have arisen as a result of the Bamileke successes in the fields of trade and transport.

Kingue, A. & N. Ntumazah

- 1982 'La vérité sur la Comité Révolutionnaire', in: *Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains*, 5, 25, p. 12-47. Asc.

This is a fierce attack on the UPC leadership in the early 1980s, written by a radical group of exiles.

Kleis, G.W.

- 1975 Network and ethnicity in an Igbo migrant community. An Arbor (Michigan): University Microfilms. bibl., 336 p.

A sociological study on ethnic networks and attitudes in Kumba and the nearby village of Kaka.

- 1980 'Confrontation and incorporation: Igbo ethnicity in Cameroon', in: *African Studies Review*, 23, 3, p. 89-100. Asc.

The article deals with ethnicity among the Igbo immigrants in West Cameroon. The author opposes the view that ethnicity is predominantly an urban phenomenon, making an analytic distinction between 'incorporation' and 'confrontation' as alternative patterns for activating the ethnic consciousness. The distinction is grafted upon Barth's notion of ethnicity, which emphasises the ecological conditions of ethnic identity.

Kofele-Kale, N.

- 1980a 'The impact of environment on ethnic group values in Cameroon', in: J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities and national integration: empirical research in Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p. 121-150. Asc A2482.

Empirical-comparative study about the relation between the place of residence and the ethnic group values in West Cameroon. Two hypotheses are examined and affirmed: (1) 'Ethnic ties and loyalty do not detract from national orientations', and (2) 'variations in national political identification reflect differences in environmental conditioning'.

- 1980b 'The impact of environment on national political culture in Cameroon', in: J.N. Paden (ed.), *Values, identities and national integration: empirical research in Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p. 151-172. Asc A2482.

Inquiry into the relation between place of residence (village, plantation, or town) and national political orientation in West Cameroon. The degree of political identification with the Cameroonian nation is measured for four political-cultural sub-systems: identification, symbol, rule, and faith. The relation between environment and political orientation, which the author demonstrates, is neither explained nor put into an historical context.

- 1981b *Tribesmen and patriots: political culture in a poly-ethnic African state*. Washington D.C.: University Press of America. 359 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13028.

The Anglophone political sociologist Kofele-Kale makes use of survey and other research techniques in this study of the compatibility of ethnic and national loyalty. Environment factors, such as the distinction between town and countryside, prove to be more important to determine the orientation vis-à-vis the national political system than tribalism. The author asserts that Ahidjo's nation building policy works out wrongly, and that it is senseless to try to eliminate ethnic loyalties (as they are quite well compatible with national loyalties).

- 1986 'Ethnicity, regionalism and political power: a post-mortem of Ahidjo's Cameroon', in: M.G. Schatzberg & I.W. Zartman (eds.), *The political economy of Cameroon*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. p. 53-82.

The author examines the major sources of political conflict in the country, and the general effects of the Ahidjo rule on the mutual relevance of these factors.

Kunde, N.

- 1979 'Hommage à la mémoire de Ruben um Nyobé, père de la révolution kamerunaise', in: *Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains*, 2, 9, p. 145-154. Asc.

This is a glorifying portrait of Ruben um Nyobé, the Secretary General of the UPC, who was killed in 1958 by French soldiers.

Lembezat, B.

- 1950 'Kirdi', les populations païennes du Nord-Cameroun. Cameroon: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. 101 p., Asc A42.

This is still a classic work about the ethnography of the non-Islamic population in the north of Cameroon. The many ethnic groupings are roughly categorised according to the natural environment (mountains, plains, and transition areas), and the author provides a general survey of their material, social, and religious life. The volume is an addition to J.-P. Lebeuf's work on Chad.

- 1961 *Les populations païennes du Nord-Cameroun et de l'Adamaoua*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 252 p., bibl., Asc 3791.

An extensive survey of the non-Islamic populations in the Cameroonian North, providing information per ethnic grouping. The study is quite superficial, and not exhaustive, particularly as regards the peoples in the central savanna region.

LeVine, V.T.

- 1964a *The Cameroons from mandate to independence*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. 329 p., bibl., Asc 4376.

This is an important political scientist's analysis of the history of the political process when Cameroon was a mandated territory of the League of Nations under the auspices of France. The emphasis is thus on East Cameroon. Subjects discussed include the political institutional growth before the Second World War, the genesis of political parties between 1945 and 1955, the consolidation policy (1955-1960), the policies practiced in West Cameroon, and the problems which were raised at the time of transition to an independent republic.

- 1964b 'Cameroon political parties', in: J.S. Coleman & C. Rosberg (eds.), Political parties and national integration in Tropical Africa. Berkeley.

The formation of political parties in both East and West Cameroon are discussed.

- 1968 'Cameroon (1955-1962)', in: D.M. Caudin & B.H. Cooper (eds.), Challenge and response in internal conflict III. Washington: American University. p. 239-267.

Describes the UPC insurrection.

McCulloch, M., M. Littlewood & I Dugast

- 1954 Peoples of the Central Cameroons: Tikar, Bamun, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia and Balom. London: International African Institute. 174 p., bibl.

An ethnographic survey of the residence, origins, socio-political organisation, life cycle, religion and magic of the ethnic groupings in the central parts of Cameroon. The chapter on the Bamileke is the most interesting one.

Marguerat, Y.

- 1976 Les peuples du Cameroun. Paris: ORSTOM. 23 p.

A short, vivid overview of the various ethnic groupings in Cameroon, in harmony with the classic classification schemes of the older ethnographic survey studies.

Mbembé, J.-A.

- 1985 'La palabre de l'indépendance: les ordres du discours nationaliste au Cameroun (1948-1958)', in: *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 35, 3, p. 459-487. Eng. & Fr. sum.

Mouctar Bah, T.

- 1974 'Kamou et l'insurrection des Gbaya: la situation au Cameroun 1928-1930', in: *Afrika Zamani*, 3, p. 105-161. Asc.

The author discusses the Gbaya insurrection of 1929 against colonial methods of repression.

Murdock, G.P.

- 1959 *Africa: its people and their culture history*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 456 p. Asc.

Probably the most exhaustive survey of the African ethnography. Many Cameroonian ethnic groupings are discussed in their wider ethnographic context.

Mveng, E.

- 1963 *L'histoire du Cameroun*. Paris: Présence Africaine. 334 p., bibl., Asc 4374.

A well documented history of the pre-colonial and colonial history of East Cameroon, written by a Cameroonian scholar. It includes a classification scheme of the ethnic composition of the population (p. 196-251).

Ndon-Lolog Wonyu, E.

- 1985 *De l'UPC à l'UC: témoignage à l'aube de l'indépendance (1953-1961)*. Paris: l'Harmattan. 332 p., ind., Asc 15324.

This is the autobiographical account of a politician who changed from the UPC to the UC in 1960; he was a minister for about a month in 1961, then he was suddenly dismissed. The second section contains historical documents referring to the period 1956-1961.

Nkwi, P.N.

- 1977 *Grassfield kings and chiefs and modern politics*. Yaounde: Office Nationale de Recherche Scientifique et Technique. 27 p.

- 1979 'Cameroon Grassfield chiefs and modern politics', in: *Paideuma*, 25, p. 99-115. bibl., Asc.

The author examines the role which the the Grassfields chiefs played in the political evolution of West Cameroon on the eve of independence. Furthermore, the formation of a House of Chiefs and the 1977 Decree, which reorganised all chiefdoms in Cameroon, are discussed.

Nwosu, H.N.

- 1976 'The concept of nationalism and right of self-determination: Cameroon as a case study', in: *African Quarterly*, 16, 2, p. 1-26.

Opposition

- 1982 'L'opposition kamerunaise et les jeunes générations de Kamerunais', in: *Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains*, 5, 27, p. 45-56. Asc.

This is a polemic reaction against Mongo Beti's articles in 'Peuples Noirs-Peuples Africains' (no. 24 and 25). The young authors remain faithful to the Revolutionary Committee and the 'Programme Général de Transition au Socialisme'.

O'Sullivan, J.

- 1973 'Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC): a study in mass mobilization"', in: *Ufahamu*, 4, p. 53-71.

O'Toole, T.

- 1984 'The 1928-1931 Gbaya insurrection in Ubangui-Shara: messianic movement or village self-defence?', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 18, 2, p. 329-344. Asc.

Problème

- 1956 'Le problème de l'Africanisation des cadres en A.E.F. et au Cameroun', in: *Chroniques d'Outre-Mer*, 25, p. 15-17. Asc.

A brief overview of the Africanisation of the various government services in the 1950s in Francophone Central Africa, including East Cameroon.

Rotberg, R.I. & A.I. Mazrui (eds.)

- 1970 Protest and power in Black Africa. New York: Oxford University Press. 1274 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6914.

This is a collection of 36 essays on anti-colonial resistance movements in Africa. A section on the rise of pressure groups and political parties in Cameroon is included.

Tardits, C. (ed.)

- 1981a Contribution de la recherche ethnologique de l'histoire des civilisations du Cameroun. 2 vol. Paris: CNRS.

Each essay in this collection discusses trade, migration, ethnicity and other traits of one of the many ethnic groupings in Cameroon, so that the whole might be considered as a research synthesis about the Cameroonian pre-colonial history. A variety of well-known researchers, both historians and anthropologists, have made a contribution to this volume.

Ugeux, E.-X.

- 1971 'Le double procès de Yaoundé ou la raison de l'Etat', in: Remarques Africaines, 13, 369-370, p. 17-21. Asc.

The article deals with the legal proceedings against Ouandié and Ndongmo in 1971.

Um Nyobè, R.

- 1985 Le problème national kamerunais. Paris: l'Harmattan. 443 p., bibl.

This is a collection of the most important texts and writings of the paramount leader of the UPC in the colonial period, introduced by J.-M. Mbembé. The topics discussed include the historical circumstances of the rise of the nationalist movement, the involvement of the United Nations, and the UPC demands for independence and for unification of the French and British sections of Cameroon.

UPC

- 1971 L'U.P.C. (Union des Populations du Cameroun) parle... Paris: Maspero. 116 p., Asc 6497.

The official comment of the Revolutionary Committee of the UPC on the political lawsuits against Ouandié and Ndongmo in 1971. It contains several official UPC documents.

Welch, C.E.

- 1966 Dream of unity: Pan-Africanism and political unification in West Africa. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 396 p., bibl., ind., Asc 4957.

A political-science study of movements of political unification in West Africa, focusing on Togo, Cameroon, Senegambia, and Ghana-Guinea-Mali. The section on Cameroon, covering about one hundred pages, provides a good analysis of the electoral politics in Anglophone Cameroon before independence, and of the 1961 referendum.

Woungly-Massaga

- 1984 Où va le Kamerun? Paris: l'Harmattan. 291 p., Asc 14673.

A commentary of the Secretary General of the UPC upon the CNU crisis in the years of the power struggle between Ahidjo and Biya (1982-1984).

Zang-Atangana, J.-M.

- 1960 'Les parties politiques camerounais', in: Recueil Penant, 70, p. 681-708.

A descriptive survey of the political parties in Cameroon in the 1950s, focusing on the UPC.

Ziemer, K.

- 1978 Politische Parteien im frankophonen Afrika. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain. 325 p., bibl.

Includes a discussion on the CNU in Cameroon.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **RELIGIOUS CHANGE**

This chapter presents a survey of the available literature on 20th century religious change in Cameroon. I try to discuss this literature in the light of the following criterion: religious change in the context of the political and economic changes which the Cameroonian society has undergone during the 20th century, and what was the role of the state in this overall process. The chapter consists of three sections; the first deals with the indigenous religions, the second focuses on Islam, and the third on Christianity. Each section consists of an introduction followed by a list of references.

#### **INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS**

Religion is a topic often discussed in the ethnographic monographs which appeared after the Second World War. These works are predominantly descriptive and a-historical, i.e. the religious beliefs and rituals are largely presented as unchanging entities without being analysed in a wider societal context. In this section, I shall discuss first the literature on the Cameroonian South, then on the western regions, and finally on the north. This division is somewhat arbitrary and not wholly exhaustive; therefore, a few transition areas, such as the forest region of the West Cameroonian littoral,

and the frontier areas between Adamawa and the forested south, are slightly underrepresented.

Volumes which deal with the 'traditional' religions in South Cameroon are, for example, Ardener (1956) on the Kpe-Mboko, Duala-Limba and Tanga-Yasa near the coast, Koch (1968) on the Bajue and Bikele, and Dugast (1955, 1959) on the Banen. Among the southern peoples, the Beti-Bulu-Fang conglomerate has attracted most scholarly attention, and among these the Beti have been the most intensively studied. This might be due to the 19th century migrational dynamics of these peoples. The German ethnographer Tessman (1913) wrote the first significant study about the Fang, Bulu, and Beti. French ethnographers are, among others, Alexandre & Binet (1958), and Laburthe-Tolra (1977, 1981). Bochet de Thé (1971, 1985) and Vincent (1976b) discuss the position of women, Balandier (1963) devoted a study to 'modern' changes among the Fang of Gabon, and the American historian Quinn (1980) tried to reconstruct the pre-colonial Beti society. Tsala (1958, 1975) and Ngoa (1975) are social scientists of Beti origin, who wrote works on their people.

Initiation is a theme which has been extensively studied, particularly the So, the Beti initiation ritual for boys. This ritual was already officially prohibited in the German Protectorate period, but it was not before the end of the Second World War that the government and the Christian missions managed to completely suppress it. Therefore, it might be an interesting undertaking to reconstruct the subsequent changes of the ritual over the first half of this century in the context of its growing suppression, referring to the available older ethnographic writings. A chronological overview: Zenker (1895 — in Laburthe-Tolra 1970), Nekes (1911), Atangana & Messi (in Heepe 1919), Dugast (1929), Atangana (1942), Stoll (1955), and Tsala (1958). Recently published studies of the So, such as Laburthe-Tolra (1969), Azombo (1970), Ngoa (1975), and Mbala Owono (1980-81), are not based on personal observations. Houseman (1972, 1976, 1984) makes an attempt to analyse the extinct ritual in symbolic-

anthropological terms. The combined effort of the missions and the colonial government to suppress the 'pagan' rituals in South Cameroon, which is the reverse side of the rapid expansion of Christianity in these regions during the colonial period, has not been systematically examined. This aspect will be elaborated on later.

There are only a few studies available which are explicitly devoted to the magico-occult side of the religions in southern Cameroon. Native concepts like 'evu' (Beti), 'hu' (Bassa), and 'djambe' (Maka) fulfil a key role in the anthropological analyses of the cognitive systems in this respect. Worth-mentioning is the medico-symbolical work of the anthropologist Mallart-Guimera (1978, 1981) on the Beti, and the political-anthropological work of Geschiere (1980, 1982), which comments on the debate about the historical link between witchcraft and power.

In the gerontocratic societies of South Cameroon women have managed to develop a religious counterpower based on the belief in occult forces. They were organised in 'societies' with its own rituals, dances, music, jurisprudence, stories etc. The relationship between religion and feminine power is the common theme of a number of anthropological articles in a recent collection edited by Barbier (1985): Bochet de Thé and Laburthe-Tolra deal with the Beti, and Copet-Rougier (1985) with the Mkako. A key publication on this subject is Werewere-Liking & Hourantier (1982) on the Bassa; see also Vincent (1976b) and Bochet de Thé (1971) on the Beti. The feminine organisations have now disappeared, largely due to the influence of the missions and the colonial authorities. However, a sociological analysis of this process is not available.

Surprisingly, studies on the politico-economic dimensions of ancestor cults — so closely related to the patrilineal-segmentary order, and also evident expressions of the predominant position of the male elders — are non-existent. Yet, an historical analysis of the changes in ideology and organisation of these local cults might be a fruitful line of approach in studying the changing politico-economic power fields in the South Cameroonian villages.

The Fang inhabit the extreme south of the country. However, the majority of this people lives in Mbini (Equatorial Guinea) and Gabon. Religious dynamics among the Fang in Gabon has been thoroughly examined due to the rise and spectacular expansion of the Bwiti cult in that country. This religious reform movement has also spread to the Fang living on the Cameroonian side of the border. Since the early 1960s anthropological and sociological studies on this phenomenon have been published; among these, the historical analyses of Swiderski (1974) and Fernandez (1982) on the societal base and syncretic nature of the cult, are the most prominent.

The literature on the religions in western Cameroon is quite different in nature. The division of the region into a French and a British section since the First World War is clearly reflected in the social sciences: publications referring to the former area are largely written in French, whereas the literature referring to the latter area is predominantly English. The very limited amount of ethnographic literature about West Cameroon, the former British mandated and trusteeship territory, is quite remarkable.

Before 1960, the study of the religions of this region had hardly begun. Since then, studies have appeared which investigate these religions in terms of the debate mentioned in Chapter 1: the interrelatedness of the political and religious authority in the Grassfields chiefdoms, with an emphasis on the chief, the Fon. Thus, the major theme is one aspect of the ideological dimension of the political organisation, i.e. the role of the sacred king in a political context which might be situated at the fracture between a kinship and state dominated society. Unlike the literature on South Cameroon, the ancestral cults are incorporated into the analysis inasmuch as they exhibit a direct link with the political facets of the kinship system; however, the political centres' cults of the deceased Fon draw most scholarly attention, at the expense of the commoners' family cults. An extraordinary faculty to communicate with the supernatural is traditionally attributed to the king. Hence,

in these patrilineal societies, where ancestor veneration is of vital importance, the royal ancestors have developed into 'national' ancestors, to whom the king had the exclusive privilege of address. Barbier (1977), Nkwi (1977a), Chilver (1964), and particularly Maillard (1985) describe the Bamileke Fon cult, whereas Ritzenthaler & Ritzenthaler (1962), Ritzenthaler (1967), Nkwi (1976), Soh Bejeng (1972, 1984), Warnier (1975), Ellis (1974), and Mzeka (1980) provide information on the sacred nature of Tikar political authority. Hurault (1962, 1970), Maillard (1985), Brain (1972), and Pradelles de Latour Dejean (1979) deal with the Bamileke ancestor cults in the context of the kinship system. Historical analyses, which are devoted to the genesis and subsequent rise of this sacred kingship, are not available, with the exception of Tardits (1980).

Other facets of the 'traditional' religions have not been extensively investigated. The recent literature largely refers to West Cameroon. Some examples are: Gebauer (1964) and Krafczyk (1982) on Tikar divination practices, and Brain (1969) and Jeffreys (1963) on the religious significance of twins among respectively the Bangwa and the Bali. A collection about witchcraft, edited by Mary Douglas (1970), includes articles by Brain (on the Bangwa) and by Ardener (on the Bakweri) which analyse the observed changes in witchcraft beliefs in terms of the rapid political and economic changes brought about by European colonialism. A comparative study on the social backgrounds of variations in witchcraft beliefs is, however, not available. Baeke (1984, 1985) on the Wuli in the forest zone of West Cameroon, Geary (1979) on the We in Bamenda, and Valentin (1980) are a few examples of studies which deal with the religious rituals in the 'societies', which form a basic characteristic of this region's social life. The literature about western Cameroon which has been mentioned hitherto, deals mostly with the 'traditional' religions in relation to the 'traditional' political and social institutions of the chieftaincies. Analyses in historical perspective which are devoted to the changing religious beliefs and practices in terms of the drastic social, political, and

economic changes which encroached these regional societies in the colonial era, are still to be composed.

A major characteristic of the literature on Adamawa and North Cameroon is a strong emphasis on the distinction between the Islamic and the non-Islamic sections of the population. Due to the Fulbe migrations over the first half of the 19th century, the more inaccessible areas became densely populated with a multitude of ethnic groupings, who had formerly lived in the plains. They managed to preserve their political and religious autonomy vis-à-vis the Fulbe. the Fulbe called them Kirdi, pagans, a term which has become current in the scientific literature since then. Froelich (1968) introduced the concept of 'paleontigritic peoples' as an historical explanation for the cultural characteristics which these Kirdi have in common with one another: he argues that they are the contemporary heirs of a largely extinct culture which had dominated the Sahel-Sudan belt about 1000 AD, and which presently continues to exist in isolated, marginal areas. In this section I intend to discuss only the (non-Islamic) religions of the Kirdi populations. Literature on the Fulbe is presented in the next section.

Quite a number of anthropological monographs have been published devoted to one or the other of the many Kirdi groupings in the Mandara mountains and the Yaere swamps. They are usually written from a structural-functionalist point of view. Thus, these studies are a-historical, and either neglect the external relations with the Fulbe and Europeans, or explain the isolated position from an historical enmity with the outside world. The next step in the argument is then that this isolation is presented as the major factor explaining the alleged persistence of the Kirdi traditions. The following ethnographies include descriptions of their traditional religious beliefs and practices: Cuingnet (1968) on the Mada, Gauthier (1969) on the Fali, Hinderling (1969) on the Mafa, Juillerat (1971) on the Muktele, Lebeuf (1961) on the Fali, Lembezat (1952) on the Mukulehe, Martin (1970) on the Matakam,

and Pontié (1973) on the Guiziga. Religious change is not in discussion in these volumes, except in the form of a concluding remark that the described religious system is presently in a state of decay due to modernisation.

Recently, a number of symbolic-anthropological monographs have appeared which provide analyses of sacrificial rituals, classification systems, and the religious power of women; see for example Graffenried (1984) on the Zulgo and Gemjek; Barley (1983a) on the Dowayo; and the many articles of Vincent (1971, 1975, 1976a, 1978, 1979) on the Mofu. These studies are also a-historical, and do not account for the influence of external developments.

Relatively few studies have been devoted to the religions of those ethnic groupings in North Cameroon who did not flee from the Fulbe in the last century, but continued to live as more or less dominated peoples in the plains and on the Adamawa Plateau. Population density rapidly decreased during the 19th century in these areas, due to regular slave raids, slaughters, and famines. These Adamawa ethnic groupings, like the Vute, the Duru, and the Mbum, remain the most poorly documented peoples in the ethnographic literature on Cameroon, the Gbaya being the only exception; see Burnham (1980a).

In conclusion, the inventory of the ethnic diversity in Cameroon which was attempted by colonial power representatives since the end of the Second World War, has resulted in a considerable production of ethnographic monographs, both about the traditionally stateless societies in the north and south, and the (non-Islamic) statal societies in the west of the country. This distinction in stateless and statal societies may possibly explain why the literature referring to the religions in western Cameroon has a much more political stamp than in the other parts of the country. A common characteristic is the conservational stance of the researchers, whose goal was to record the 'traditional society' before it had disappeared. Hence, religion is usually presented as a traditional

institutional complex. Most authors are Europeans, particularly coming from the former colonising countries. Surprisingly, the Americans are largely absent in the study of Cameroonian religions. Nor are Cameroonian scholars making serious attempts to examine the field of rural religions. The study of the process of change which the native religions have undergone during this century in relation to the expansion of migration, urbanisation, cash crops, state structures etc., seems hardly begun. Furthermore, the same is true of the study of religious change in an urban environment.

Albert, A.

1943 In French Cameroons, Bandjoun. Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Arbre. 340 p.

This volume, written by a missionary, discusses religion and social structure in the Bamileke society of Bandjoun. The author pays a lot of attention to polygamy, and tries to explain how the concept of the Supreme Being could disappear.

Alexandre, P. & J. Binet

1958 Le groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 152 p., bibl., Asc 2514.

A significant survey of the Pahuin peoples in the south of Cameroon. One of the topics discussed are the traditional religions (p. 106-124).

Amato, F.

1963 'Quelques croyances yambassa', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 67, p. 156-167. Asc.

This is an ethnographic article about the traditional religious beliefs of the Yambassa in South Cameroon, including the concept of the Supreme Being, written from a missiological perspective.

1967 'Croyances bassa', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 83, p. 13-55. Asc.

This ethnographic article, inspired by Lévi-Bruhl, deals with the traditional Bassa religion. Some attention is paid to the Ngué cult, which was opposed by Christianity, and the religious power of the local elders.

- 1968 'Trois études camerounaises: croyances bapées, lemandées et banées', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 21, 87, p. 3-29. Asc.

- 1969 'Les croyances des Ngoros', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 22, 91, p. 30-36. Asc.

Anderson, E.

- 1969 'La notion de Dieu chez quelques tribus congo-camerounaises', in: *Journal of African Religion*, 2, 2, p. 96-112. Asc.

Theological article about the common traits of the belief in a Supreme Being among the different peoples in the Congo Basin.

Antonini, A.R.

- 1966 'Les fondements métaphysiques de la morale chez les Kirdis du Tchad et du Cameroun', in: *Bulletin de la Société Anthropologique de Paris*, 9, 4, p. 367-76.

Ardener, E.

- 1956 *Coastal Bantu of the Cameroons (The Kpe-Mboko, Duala-Limba and Tanga-Yasa groups of the British and French trusteeship territories of the Cameroons)*. London: International African Institute. 116 p., bibl., Asc 2202.

This ethnographic monograph about the traditional life of the Cameroonian coastal peoples, includes a section on the religious beliefs and rituals of the Kpe (p. 92-109).

- 1970 'Witchcraft, economics and the continuity of belief', in: M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft, confessions, and accusations*. London etc.: Tavistock. p. 141-160. Asc 7927.

The author analyses the interrelation between the witchcraft beliefs of the Bakweri, who live near Mount Cameroon, and the various forms of economic and social pressure they have been confronted with over the past fifty years.

Atabe, T.S.

- c.1979 Religion in Bakossi traditional society: a literary enquiry. Yaounde. 111 p., bibl.

Atangana, Ch.

- 1942 'Aken So (le rite So) chez les Yaoundés-Banés', in: *Anthropos*, 36-40, p. 149-157.

Austen, R.A.

- 1983 Cult organizations and trading networks in non-Muslim western Africa. Paper presented at the 26th annual meeting of the ASA. Los Angeles, African Studies Association. 13 p., bibl., Asc A3253.

The subject is the relation between the pre-colonial spread of commercial networks and the rise of religious cults which transcend ethnic and political boundaries. The author discusses the Cameroonian littoral.

Awouma, J.

- 1970 'La tradition de la danse chez les Bulu (Sud-Cameroun)', in: *Abbia*, 24, p. 119-140. bibl., Asc.

The author describes the cultic and ritual function of of the various Bulu dances, but an analysis of their gradual disappearance against the background of the socio-economic changes of the Bulu society is not provided.

Azombo, S.

- 1970 Séquence et signification des cérémonies d'initiation So. Thèse d'Etat, Paris, Sorbonne.

Ba, A.H.

- 1981 'La genèse de l'homme selon la tradition peule', in: *Itinérances en pays peul et ailleurs (Mémoire de la Société des Africanistes)*, 2, p. 219-29. Asc.

A symbolic analysis of several aspects of the Fulbe world view.

Baeke, V.

- 1984 'Sorcellerie, sociétés secrètes et sacrifice chez les Wuli du Cameroun Occidental', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 7, p. 155-174. Eng. sum. (p.194), Asc.

An anthropological village study, referring to the Wuli in West Cameroon, about the function of the sacrificial rituals of several secret 'societies' in the overall magico-religious system.

- 1985 'Les objets rituels des sociétés initiatiques chez les Wuli du Cameroun Occidentale', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 8, p. 177-200. Asc.

Bahoken, J.G.

- 1967 *Clairières métaphysiques africaines: essai sur la philosophie et la religion chez les Bantu du Sud Cameroun*. Paris: Présence Africaine. 121 p.

Balandier, G.

- 1963 *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire: dynamique sociale en Afrique Centrale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. (1st ed. 1955). 532 p., bibl., ind., Asc 1914.

A classic study about the ideological responses of the peoples in the Congo, Gabon, and South Cameroon to its politico-economic encapsulation during the colonial period. The syncretic aspects of the Bwiti cult of the Fang are extensively discussed.

Barbier, J.C.

- 1977 *Essai de définition de la chefferie en pays bamiléké*. Yaounde: Office Nationale de Recherche Scientifique et Technique. 32 p.

Should be read in connection with Nkwi (1977).

Barbier, J.C. (ed.)

- 1985 *Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles*. Bondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. 402 p., bibl., ind., Asc 15265.

Barley, N.

- 1983a *Symbolic structures: an exploration of the culture of the Dowayos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. 125 p.

This is an anthropological study of the symbolic universe of the Dowayo in Adamawa, as displayed in their rituals and beliefs.

- 1983b The innocent anthropologist: notes from a mud hut. London: British Museum. 189 p.

An entertaining account of the author's fieldwork experiences among the Dowayo in northern Cameroon.

Bochet de Thé, M.-P.

- 1971 Des sociétés secrètes aux associations modernes: la femme dans la dynamique de la société beti, 1887-1966. 2 vol. Yaounde: ORSTOM. 470 p.

- 1985 'Rites et associations traditionnelles chez les femmes bété (Sud du Cameroun)', in: J.-C. Barbier (ed.), Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles. Bondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. p. 245-279. Asc 15265.

A reconstruction of the ideological responses of Beti women to the societal changes which took place at the end of the German rule (around 1915)

Bot Ba Njock, H.M.

- 1960 'Prééminences sociales et système politico-religieux dans la société traditionnelle bulu et fang', in: Journal de la Société des Africainistes, 30, 2, p. 151-171.

Brain, R.

- 1969 'Friends and twins in Bangwa', in: M. Douglas & P.M. Kaberry (eds.), Man in Africa. London: Tavistock. p. 213-227. Asc 6016.

Twins are regarded as 'children of God' and undergo special rites at birth. They are 'the only true equals, and therefore the best friends' (p. 206). The Bangwa conceptions about friendship are a crucial factor in the analysis of the participation of this ethnic group in the modern economy.

- 1970 'Child-witches', in: M. Douglas (ed.), Witchcraft, confessions and accusations. London etc.: Tavistock. p. 161-179. Asc 7927.

This is an exploratory inquiry into the psychology of child-witchcraft among the Bangwa. The author asserts that witchcraft accusations and confessions increase in times of rapid social changes; misfortune is then less interpreted in terms of the collective beliefs about the earth, the gods, the ancestors, and the spirits.

- 1972     Bangwa kinship and marriage. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. 195 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13907.

A significant analysis of the Bangwa kinship system, which is presented as being rooted in the economic and political constellation. Ancestor veneration and witchcraft are incidentally discussed.

Burnham, R.

- 1980a     Opportunity and constraint in a savanna society: the Gbaya of Meiganga, Cameroon. London etc.: Academic Press. 324 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13108.

This anthropological study about the Gbaya focuses on the historical and social factors which might explain the marked conservatism of this people. It contains casual remarks about the traditional religion.

Chilver, E.M.

- 1964     'A Bamileke community in Bali-Nyonga: a note on the Bawok', in: African Studies, 23, 3-4, p. 121-127. Asc.

The article contains some information on the politico-social structure of the chiefdom of Bali-Nyong, which is incorporated into the national state. One of the subjects to come under discussion are the religious-ritual functions of the political leadership.

Collard, C.

- 1977     Organisation sociale des Guidars au Baynawas. Thèse 3e cycle, Nanterre.

Colombel, V. de

- 1985     'La naissance d'Aguedzavernda: un pouvoir enfanté et transmis par les femmes (tradition Ouldémé du Nord du Cameroun)', in: J.-C. Barbier (ed.), Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles. Bondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. p. 219-231. Asc 15265.

This symbolic-anthropological study discusses the prevailing mythology among Ouldeme women.

Copet-Rougier, E.

- 1985 'Contrôle masculin, exclusivité féminine dans une société patrilinéaire', in: J.-C. Barbier (ed.), *Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles*. Bondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. p. 153-180. Asc 15265.

This article provides a description of the local gender power relations among the Mkako in Southeast Cameroon. There is a feminine symbolic universe which is excluded to men, and functions as an autonomous source of power.

- 1986a "'Le mal court": visible and invisible violence in an acephalous society - the Mkako of Cameroon', in: D. Riches (ed.), *The anthropology of violence*. Oxford & New York: Blackwell. p. 50-69.

Includes a description of the belief system and witchcraft among the Mkako.

- 1986b 'Categories d'ordres et réponses aux désordres chez les Mkako du Cameroun', in: *Droit et Culture*, 11, p. 79-88. Asc.

A symbolic-anthropological article about the supernatural qualities of the juridical domain among the Mkako in Southeast Cameroon.

Cuingnet, M.

- 1968 'Les Mada: contribution à l'étude des populations du Nord-Cameroun', in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, 30, p. 1062-1139. Asc.

This monograph on the Mada in the Mandara mountains, is based on fieldwork carried out at the end of the 1950s. The author provides in the second and third section a static image of the religious beliefs and rituals of the Mada.

Delarozière, R.

- 1949 'Les institutions politiques et sociales des populations dites Bamiléké', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 25-26, p. 5-68, & 27-28, p. 127-175. Asc.

This is the first overview study of the Bamileke social structure, describing the chiefdoms and the 'societies'. The religious role of the Fon and other court officials are briefly discussed. The volume contains many errors.

Dillon, R.G.

- 1977 'Ritual, conflict, and meaning in an African society', in: *Ethos*, 5, 2, p. 151-173.

The author provides an 'intellectualist' analysis of the healing rituals of the Meta. The religious beliefs of this people include an idiom to explain such complex problems as illness, infertility, and disturbed social relations. The performance of the ritual is the social occasion to recognise and resolve these problems.

Dongmo, J.-L.

- 1981 *Le dynamisme bamiléké (Cameroun)*. 2 vol. Yaounde: Université de Yaounde etc. 424 p. & 293 p., bibl., Asc 12511.

This important geographical study discusses the economic success of Bamileke immigrants in the modern life of the city, notably Douala, Yaounde, and Nkongsamba. The author himself is a member of this ethnic grouping.

Dugast, I.

- 1929 *Documents recueillis en pays (rituel So)*. Dossier J. chemise IR-CAM, Yaounde.
- 1955 *Monographie de la tribu des Ndiki (Banen du Cameroun) I: la vie matérielle*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. 824 p., bibl., Asc A2038.

This is the first volume of a comprehensive ethnography about the Ndiki, based in fieldwork research between 1934 and 1956. The religious life is briefly described (p. 78-85).

- 1959 Monographie de la tribu des Ndiki (Banen du Cameroun) II: vie sociale et familiale. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. 636 p., bibl., Asc A2038.

The old religion is extensively discussed (p. 27-151), but the influence of the Christian missions is only marginally brought into the argument.

Dumas-Champion, F.

- 1985 'Pouvoir et amertume du fétiche: deux études de cas, les Koma du Cameroun et les Massa du Tchad', in: Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire, 8, p. 141-176. Asc.

Eguchi, P.K.

- 1975 'Beer drinking and festivals among the Hide', in: Kyoto University African Studies, 9, p. 69-90. bibl., Asc.

This functionalist story about the Hide in the Mandara mountains is written by a Japanese museum-anthropologist. Agricultural rituals are briefly discussed.

Ellis, W.S.

- 1974 'Afo-A-Kom: a sacred symbol comes home', in: National Geographic, 5, 146, p. 141-148.

The Afo-A-Kom is a group symbol of the Kom, who belong to the Tikar, and represents their politico-religious heritage.

Fernandez, J.W.

- 1982 Bwiti: an ethnography of the religious imagination in Africa. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 731 p., bibl., ind., Asc 13493.

This significant anthropological study deals with the historical development of the Bwiti cult in Gabon during the colonial period. Its rise and rapid expansion are analysed in terms of the changes which were brought about by the colonial administration and the Christian missions in the Fang society.

Fourneau, J.

- 1938 'Un tribu païenne du Nord-Cameroun: les Guiziga', in: Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 5, 8, p. 163-195.

Franqueville, A.

- 1972 'Persistance et évolution des coutumes bété: l'enterrement d'un vieux chef en pays éton', in: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 12, 3, p. 524-528. Asc.

An ethnographic account of a Beti funeral ceremony.

Froelich, J.-C.

- 1954 'Le commandement et l'organisation sociale chez les Foulbé de l'Adamaoua', in: Etudes Camerounaises, 45-56, p. 5-91.

A study of the social and political organisation of the Fulbe states in Adamawa. The author discusses the politico-ethnic function of Islam (p. 63-76), and the religious role of the 'laamiido' (p. 43-46).

- 1968 Les montagnards paléonigritiques. Paris: Berger-Levrault & ORSTOM. 268 p., bibl., Asc 6267.

This comparative study about the 'paleonigritic' peoples in the West African savanna zone includes references to the Chamba and the Fali in North Cameroon. The work contains several casual comments on the traditional religions of these peoples. Modern, external influences are not considered.

Gauthier, J.G.

- 1969 Les Fali: Hou et Tsalo: montagnards du Nord-Cameroun: vie matérielle, sociale et éléments culturels. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications. 272 p., bibl., Asc 6501.

An ethnographic village study about the Fali. It contains some information on the religious beliefs and cults of this people.

Geary, C.

- 1979 'Traditional societies and association in We (N.W. Province, Cameroon)', in: Paideuma, 25, p. 53-72.

Gebauer, P.

- 1964 Spider divination in the Cameroons. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum. 157 p., bibl., Asc A493.

This anthropological monograph about the Tikar in West Cameroon contains a functionalist analysis of divination practices. The traditional system, utilizing the falldoor spider and small heaps of specially indented leaves, is reconstructed. Only remnants of it presently function underground, due to the expansion of Islam.

Geschiere, P.L.

- 1980 'Child-witches against the authority of their elders', in: R. Schefold, J.W. Schoorl & J. Tennekes (eds.), *Man, meaning and history: essays in honour of H.G. Schulte Nordholt*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. *Man, meaning and history: essays in honour of H.G. Schulte Nordholt*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. p. 268-299. Asc overdr. 848.

This symbolic-anthropological article deals with witchcraft among the Maka. Child-witchcraft is one Maka response to the the sweeping historical changes in the power structure of the society, by rearranging the old conceptions of witchcraft. This rearrangement is, however, bound to the structure of these witchcraft conceptions themselves.

- 1982 Village communities and the state: changing relations among the Maka of South-Western Cameroon since the colonial conquest. London etc.: Kegan Paul International. 512 p., bibl., Asc 10472.

Chapter 3 (p. 101-127) discusses witchcraft in an historical perspective.

Graffenried, C. von

- 1984 *Das Jahr des Stieres: ein Opferritual der Zulgo und Gemjek in Nord - kamerun*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag. 308 p., Eng. & Fr. sum., Asc 15510.

The author provides a symbolic-anthropological analysis of a traditional sacrificial ritual, which is actually in the process of disappearing, of two ethnic groupings living in the Mandara mountains.

Heepe, M.

- 1919 'Jaunde Texte von Atangana und P. Messi', in: *Abhandlungen des Hamburger Kol. Institut (Hamburg)*, 24.

Contains a description of the So ritual of the Beti.

Hinderling, P.

- 1969 Die Mafa: Ethnografie eines Kirdi-Stammes in Nordkamerun.

Hourantier, M.-J., W. Linking & J. Scherer

- 1979 Du rituel à la scène chez les Bassa du Cameroun. Paris: Niset. 136 p., Asc 12370.

The volume contains a description of the historical transformation of a Bassa healing ritual which developed into a theatrical happening.

Houseman, M.

- 1972 Structures de parenté et d'alliance dans une société bété. Thèse 3e cycle, Nanterre, University of Paris X.
- 1976 Structure sociale et idéologie patrilineaire: le rite d'initiation So chez les Beti (Cameroun). Mémoire de Maîtrise, Nanterre, University of Paris X.
- 1984 'Les artifices de la logique initiatique', in: Journal des Africanistes, 54, 1, p. 41-65. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

This is a symbolic-anthropological analysis of the So ritual of the Beti as a 'rite de passage'.

Hurault, J.

- 1962 La structure sociale des Bamiléké. The Hague etc.: Mouton. 133 p., Asc A315.

This significant study is devoted to the kinship and marriage system and the politico-social structure of the two Bamileke chiefdoms of Bandjoun and Batié. The author pays some attention to the ancestor cult (p. 23-27), and the book contains an appendix about the Bamileke belief system.

- 1970 'Essai de synthèse du système social des Bamiléké', in: Africa, 40, 1, p. 1-24. Asc.

A functionalist review of the Bamileke social system. Topics discussed include the system of kinship and descent, marriage relations, and the ward institutions, as well as the religious functions of the 'societies' and the social functions of the ancestor cult.

Jeffreys, M.D.W.

- 1963 'Some notes on the customs of the Grassfield Bali of Northwestern Cameroons', in: *Afrika und Übersee*, 46, 3, p. 161-168. Asc.

A descriptive article which includes some information about the religious beliefs regarding twins.

Jest, C.

- 1957 'Fête de récoltes chez les Kapsiki (Nord-Cameroun)', in: *Notes Africaines*, 5, 75, p. 79-83.

Juillierat, B.

- 1971 *Les bases de l'organisation sociale chez les Mouktélé (Nord-Cameroun): structures lignagères et mariage*. Paris: University of Paris. 271 p., bibl., Asc A771.

This is the first comprehensive monograph of the Muktele in the Mandara mountains, providing descriptions of the marriage rituals, agricultural rites, the ritual functions of political authority, and the religious significance of the political kinship institutions. The author, however, does not shed light on processes of religious change (see only p. 120).

Koch, H.

- 1968 *Magie et chasse dans la forêt camerounaise*. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 271 p., Asc 6498.

This ethnographic monograph, referring to the Bajue and Bikele in South Cameroon, focuses on the relation between religion and the economy, i.e. the cosmological conceptions and magical practices pertaining to the hunt are extensively discussed, but are, however, isolated from external colonial influences.

Krafczyk, P.

- 1982 'Orakelmethoden bei den Tikara in Nord-West Kamerun', in: *Sociologus*, 32, 2, p. 161-170. Eng. sum.

This article is devoted to divination.

Laburthe-Tolra, P.

- 1969 'Le So des Béti selon M. Hubert Onana', in: *Annals de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines (Yaoundé)*, 1, 1, p. 5-67.

- 1970 Yaoundé d'après Zenker (1895): le plan de 1892 et l'article de 1895: reproduction du texte allemand ... traduit en français, présenté et annoté. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 116 p., bibl., Asc 6496.

The French translation of Zenker's monograph 'Yaunde' about the Beti-Ewondo. One section is devoted to beliefs and superstitions (p. 58-62).

- 1977 Minlaaba. 3 vol. Lille.

This volume presents a comprehensive description of the pre-colonial history of the Banen, who live to the south of Yaounde.

- 1981 Les seigneurs de la forêt: essai sur le passé historique, l'organisation sociale et les normes éthiques des anciens Béti du Cameroun. Paris: Sorbonne. 490 p., bibl., ind., Asc 12691.

The author's goal is to present a reconstruction of the pre-colonial Beti society on the basis of oral traditions and archive materials.

- 1985 'Le mevungu et les rituels féminins à Minlaaba', in: J.-C. Barbier (ed.), *Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles*. B ondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. p. 233-243. bibl., Asc 15265.

A description of several Beti rituals which are exclusively practiced by women.

Lamaré, M.M.

- 1975 La médecine bamoun: étude d'anthropologie. Yaounde: Lamaro. 286 p., bibl.

Lebeuf, J.-P.

- 1961 L'habitation des Fali, montagnards du Cameroun Septentrional: technologie, sociologie, mythologie, symbolisme. Paris: Hachette. 607 p., bibl.

Lembezat, B.

- 1950 Kirdi, les populations païennes du Nord-Cameroun. Paris: IFAN. 101 p., Asc A42.

This anthropological survey study of the non-Islamic populations in North Cameroon, is particularly devoted to the 'centuries-old' traditions, which are currently in the process of disappearing. A small section discusses the traditional religion (p. 51-61).

- 1952 Mukulehe, un clan montagnard du Nord-Cameroun: coutumes, rites, croyances. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 228 p., bibl., Asc 3118.

An ethnography of the material, social, and religious life of a small ethnic grouping in the Mandara mountains. Modern changes due to migration to the plains are not discussed.

McCullogh, M., M. Littlewood & I. Dugast

- 1954 Peoples of the Central Cameroons: Tikar, Bamun, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia and Balom. London: International African Institute. 174 p., bibl.

This is an ethnographic survey of the peoples of Central Cameroon, discussing such topics as the place of residence, origin, politico-social organisation, life cycle, religion, and magic of these peoples.

Maillard, B.

- 1985 Pouvoir et religion: les structures socio-religieuses de la chefferie de Bandjoun (Cameroun). Bern etc.: Lang. 276 p., bibl., ind. Asc 15302.

This is an anthropological monograph about the Bamileke chiefdom of Bandjun. The author utilises an phenomenologist approach to elucidate the intertwinement of the traditional religion and the political state structures. Historical change is not discussed.

Mallart-Guimera, L.

- 1978 'Witchcraft illness in the Evuzok nosological system', in: Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 2, 2, p. 373-396. bibl. Asc Overdr. 917.

This anthropological article is devoted to the cognitive symbolic system of the Evuzok people, which functions as both explanation of and cure for illnesses.

- 1981 Ni dos ni ventre: religion, magie et sorcellerie Evuzok. Paris: Société d'Ethnographie. 248 p., bibl., ind., Asc 14368.

This symbolic-anthropological study analyses in the structuralist tradition the Beti world of religious experience. Religion is linked with the kinship order of the society, whereas magic and witchcraft form a cultural countermodel.

Martin, J.-F.

- 1970 Les Matakam du Cameroun: essai sur la dynamisme d'une société pré-industrielle. Paris: ORSTOM. 216 p., bibl., Asc A853.

One of the topics discussed in this functionalist analysis of the Matakam peoples in North Cameroon is the traditional religion (p. 185-193). Also some attention is paid to the political and economic influences of European colonialism.

Mbala Owono, R.

- 1980-81 'L'éducation bété', in: Revue Science et Technique, 1, 3, p. 93-108. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

In this article the author, himself a member of the Beti, describes the principles of the traditional upbringing. Topics discussed include the role of the ancestors, the age sets, the circumcision ritual Akel, and the initiation ritual So. The system is in decay nowadays.

Milligan, R.H.

- 1970 The fetish folk of West Africa. New York: AMS Press. 328 p.

A study of fetishism among the Mpongwe and Fon in West Cameroon.

Mukoko-Mukeka, M.P.

- 1963 'Philosophical basis of Bakweri mysticism - Fondement philosophique du mysticisme bakweri', in: Abbia, 5, 3, p. 39-44. Asc.

A description of the fundamental philosophical concepts which anchorage the spiritual life of the Bakweri in West Cameroon.

Mzeka, N.P.

1980 The core culture of Nso. Kimbo-Nso: the author. 121 p., bibl.

This functionalist analysis is devoted to the socio-political and cultural dynamics of the political structure of the Nso (who form a part of the Tikar) during and after the colonial period. One of the subjects discussed is the evolution of the religious cults and the role of the Fon.

Ndzaagap, T.

1976 La pensée des Bamiléké. Bafoussam: Libraire Populaire. 37 p., Asc lit. 1047.

A collection of forty superstitions, forty enigmas, and forty proverbs.

Nekes, P.H.

1911 Lehrbuch der Jaunde Sprache. Berlin: Reiner.

Includes a description of the So ritual among the Beti.

Ngoa, H.

1975 'Le rite So: essai de synthèse ethnographique', in: Abbia, 29-30, p. 129-161. Asc.

A description of this Beti ritual according to Van Gennep's three-phased scheme of 'rite de passage'.

Ngongo, L.

1968 'Signification et portée des rites 'libérateurs' chez les Beti du Sud-Cameroun', in: Cahiers des Religions Africaines, 2, 4, p. 261-288.

A description of the Beti ritual So, referring to purification and exorcism, in the context of the overall interest of clan solidarity.

Nguéma-Obam, P.

1983 Aspects de la religion fang: essai d'interprétation de la formule de bénédiction. Paris: ACCT. 99 p., bibl., Asc 14879.

This anthropological study is devoted to a magico-ritual aspect of the ancestor cult: 'La bénédiction nous est apparue comme l'expression du pouvoir religieux du père. Le père pose l'Ancêtre et l'Ancêtre fonde le cult, l'espérance d'une vie future' (p. 87). The historical and social backgrounds are not discussed.

Nkwi, P. N.

- 1976 Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroonian Grassfields. Freiburg: The University Press. 233 p., bibl., Asc 8452.

This political-anthropological monograph refers to the Tikar kingdom of Kom, where the author was born and raised. One of the topics discussed is the sacred kingship and the royal rituals (p. 48-59).

- 1977a Grassfield kings and chiefs and modern politics. Yaounde: ORSTOM. 27 p.

Noss, P.A. (ed.)

- 1982 Grafting old rootstock: studies in culture and religion of the Chamba, Duru, Fula, and Gbaya of Cameroon. Dallas: International Museum of Culture. 247 p., bibl.

A collection of anthropological studies of the religions of several North Cameroonian ethnic groups.

Nwana, E.M., A.F. Ndangam & D.F. Nti (eds.)

- 1978 The living culture of Bali-Nyonga: the Lela festival, the first attempt of a series of documentation on the Bali-Nyonga tradition. Cameroon: n.p. 16 p., Asc HcD7:5.

A brochure, written by three Cameroonian students, containing ethnographic information about the political institutions and the central festival of the chieftaincy of Bali-Nyonga in West Cameroon.

O'Toole, T.

- 1984 'The 1928-1931 Gbaya insurrection in Ubangui-Shara: messianic movement or village self-defence?', in: Canadian Journal of African Studies, 18, 2, p. 329-344. Asc.

Pontié, G.

- 1973 Les Guiziga du Cameroun Septentrional: l'organisation traditionnelle et sa mise en contestation. Paris: ORSTOM. 255 p., bibl., ind., Asc A1046.

This sociological ethnography of the Guiziga in North Cameroon describes the traditional socio-political system, and analyses the popular reaction to such external influences as the introduction of cotton cultivation, the integration into the Cameroonian state, education, and technical innovations in the agricultural production process, particularly the internal conflicts which they provoke. Small sections are devoted to the traditional religion (p. 175-193) and religiously inspired resistance to modernisation (p. 204-206).

Pradelles de Latour Dejean, C.-H.

- 1979 'Les sacrifices faits aux ancêtres chez les Bangwa', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 4, p. 131-138. Asc.

This functionalist study analyses several sacrificial rituals of the Bangwa in West Cameroon in the context of the ancestor cult. Their function is to contribute to the persistence of the kinship system.

- 1985 'Les relations entre les générations dans une chefferie bamiléké', in: M. Abélès & Ch. Collard (eds.), *Age, pouvoir et société en Afrique noire*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal; Paris: Karthala. Asc 15266.

An analysis of the power relations between the different generations in a Bamileke chiefdom; see also Pradelles de Latour Dejean (1979).

Quinn, E.F.

- 1980 'Beti society in the nineteenth century', in: *Africa*, 50, 3, p. 293-304. Asc.

This historical reconstruction of several aspects of the pre-colonial Beti society contains some information on the So initiation ritual.

Raponda-Walker, A. & R. Sillans

- 1962 Rites de croyances des peuples du Gabon: essai sur les pratiques religieuses d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui. Paris: Présence Africaine. 377 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9356.

The authors present a description of the rituals and beliefs of the peoples of Gabon. The study contains some information on the Fang living in the Cameroonian South, notably the Bwiti cult (p 183-224).

Ritzenthaler, P.

1967     The Fon of Bafut. London: Cassell. 221 p., bibl., ind., Asc 4998.

This is an account of the life of the Fon of Bafut in West Cameroon in the decades around independence. Topics discussed include the traditions, the politico-religious rituals, the Fon cult, and the ancestor veneration.

Ritzenthaler, R. & P. Ritzenthaler

1962     Cameroons village: an ethnography of the Bafut. Milwaukee: Public Museum. 155 p., bibl., ind.

This anthropological study about a small village-state among the Tikar discusses the traditional religious life, such as the ancestor cult, divination, the Fon cult, dreams, witchcraft, magical healing, and omens. Although half of the population is presently christianised, this profound religious change is not brought into the argument.

Rosny, E. de

1975     'La cérémonie de l'Esa chez les Douala', in: Abbia, 29-30, p. 197-209.

This is an eyewitness account of the recent performance of a discredited Duala ritual which is meant to avert misfortune and to restore the cosmic order. The ritual was held in a quarter in Douala in connection with a cholera epidemic.

1985     Healers in the night. Maryknoll: Orbis. 288 p.

This study of Duala religious practices in the town of Douala is the English translation of: *Les yeux de ma chèvre...* Plon (1981).

Ruel, M.

1969     Leopards and leaders: constitutional politics among a Cross River people. London etc.: Tavistock. 345 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6493.

This political-anthropological analysis deals with the processes of individual and collective action in a political community in West Cameroon, in the context of a changing political setting due to colonialism. Topics discussed include the religious functions of a number of associations, particularly the traditional Leopard Association and the more modern Clan Unions.

- 1970 'Were-animals and the introverted witch', in: M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft, confessions and accusations*. London: Tavistock. p. 333-350. Asc 7927.

This article discusses witchcraft confessions among the Banyang in West Cameroon. Misfortune is thus largely attributed to the wickedness of one's own deeds.

Sakah, B.T.

- 1963 'Nso magico-religious practices', in: *Abbia*, 5, 2, p. 67-74. Asc.

Contains some data on the religion and magical practices of the Nso.

Schmidt, A.

- 1951 'Some notes on the influence of religion on economics in a Tikar subtribe, West Africa', in: *African Studies*, 10, 1, p. 130-26. Asc .

This study, based on fieldwork research in 1938-1939 among the Nsei in Bamenda Province, tries to explore the religious values and motives — instead of profit intentions — behind the patterns of economic behaviour.

Soh Bejeng, P.

- 1972 *L'organisation politique traditionnelle chez les Bafut. Mémoire de licence en anthropologie sociale et culturelle*, UNAZA.

- 1984 'The signification and role of royal symbols on Grassfields politics', in: *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 15, p. 265-287. bibl., Asc .

This anthropological article is devoted to those symbols which stress social distinctions and authority. The royal symbols are analysed in the context of the political systems of several Grassfields chiefdoms which exhibit varying degrees of centralisation.

Stoll, A.

- 1955 'La tonétique des langues bantu et sémi-bantu du Cameroun', in: Institut d'Afrique Noire, Mémoire hors-série des Etudes Camerounaises.

Contains some information on the Beti So ritual.

Swiderski, S.

- 1974 'Remarques sur la philosophie religieuse des sectes syncrétiques au Gabon', in: Canadian Journal of African Studies, 8, 1, p. 43-53. Asc.

The author analyses the origin and spread of the Bwiti cult in Gabon. Originating from an ethnically defined ancestor cult, the Bwiti cult got its universalist potential by the incorporation of adapted elements from the Catholic faith.

Talbot, P.A.

- 1969 The peoples of southern Nigeria: a sketch of their history, ethnology and languages with an abstract of the 1921 census. 4 vol. (1st ed. 1926). London: Frank Cass. 976 p., ind., Asc 10811.

A massive ethnography, written by an English colonial officer, which contains some information on the religious beliefs of several ethnic groupings in the former Cameroons Province.

Tardits, C.

- 1979 'Réflexions sur le sacrifice dans la religion traditionnelle des Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire, 4, p. 117-129. bibl., Asc.

The author provides a contribution to the anthropological debate about the analysis of sacrificial rituals. The sacrifice was in the traditional Bamun religion a ritual act which was reserved to the king and the lineage heads, thus, connected with the exercise of political authority. The author also points out the processes of Islamisation and Christianisation within the Bamun society since the beginning of the 20th century.

- 1980 Le royaume bamoun. Paris: Armand Colin. 1078 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10899.

This is an important historical study about the kingdom of Bamun which was dismantled in 1934. A major topic is the interrelation of kinship and state institutions as two non-exclusive, overlapping socio-political structures. The author pays some attention to the religious functions of the king (p. 850-862).

Tessmann, G.

- 1913 Die Pangwe: völkerkundliche Monographie eines Westafrikanischen Negerstammes: Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1904-1907. 2 vol. Berlin: Wasmuth. 402 p., Asc A149.

This ethnography describes the Fang during the German Protectorate period. The section on religious beliefs and rituals provides a slightly simplified picture.

Tsala, T.

- 1958 'Moeurs et coutumes des Ewondo', in: Etudes Camerounaises, 56, p. 8-112.

The author, an Ewondo priest, relates his version of the old religious traditions of the Ewondo. His intention is to inform the youth, which is already strongly alienated from this cultural heritage due to the influence of the Christian missions and the educational facilities.

- 1975 'Les croyances bété à la lumière de la sémantique et des proverbes', in: Camelang, 4, p. 82-115.

Tsala Adah, J.

- 1983 'Le rite 'tso' chez les Bété: une pratique qui ne fait plus l'unanimité', in: Cameroon Tribune, 7 Oct. 1983.

Valentin, P. (ed.)

- 1980 Jusjus in the forest area of West Cameroon. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien. 48 p., bibl.

A collection of descriptive essays on the activities of the secret societies among several ethnic groups in the forest zone of West Cameroon, written by students from the Presbyterian Teacher Training Center in Nyasoso.

Vincent, J.-F.

- 1971 'Divination et possession chez les Mofu, montagnards du Nord-Cameroun', in: *Journal of the Society of Africanists*, 5, 41, 1, p. 71-131. bibl.

- 1975 'Le chef et la pluie chez les Mofu, montagnards du Nord-Cameroun: contribution à l'étude des formes du pouvoir politique', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 1, p. 137-164. Asc.

This article deals with the religious-political significance of authority in the Mofu chiefdoms of the Mandara mountains. Political authority is dependent on the possession of a magical rainmaking force. This reference to agriculture manifests itself in the ritual functions of the ancestor cults.

- 1976a 'Conception et déroulement du sacrifice chez les Mofu (Cameroun du Nord)', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 2, p. 177-203. Asc.

A symbolic-anthropological article about the significance of the sacrificial rituals of the Mofu in the Mandara mountains. The author analyses the ancestor ritual in terms of an alleged internal logic, which is part of the religious system.

- 1976b *Traditions et transition: entretiens avec des femmes bété du Sud-Cameroun: mariage et situation précoloniale, anciens titres de femmes, magie et sorcellerie, réactions à la Christianisation*. Paris: ORSTOM. 167 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9953.

Vincent presents a description of the views of Beti women on the changing reality in which they live. The study consists of seventeen interviews, preceded by a general introduction. Topics discussed include the disappeared marriage practices and feminine rituals in secret societies, as well as the subjective experiences of the process of evangelisation in the colonial period. The economic changes which happened simultaneously, are only incidentally discussed.

- 1978 'Main gauche, main de l'homme: essai sur le symbolisme de la gauche et de la droite chez les Mofu, Cameroun du Nord', in: *Systèmes de Signes (textes réunis en hommage à Germaine Dieterlen)*. Paris: Hermann. p. 485-509.

The Mofu consider the left side as being more valuable than the right side. The author analyses this symbolism in the context of the religious system and in terms of the differences in power and status between women and men.

- 1979 'Place et pouvoir de la femme dans les montagnes mofu (Nord-Cameroun)', in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 19, 73-76, p. 225-251. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

A symbolical-anthropological study of the ambiguous power position of Mofu women in both the social structure and mythology. The recent development that women acquire more religious power through divination, is briefly described, but not explained.

Warnier, J.-P.

- 1975 Pre-colonial Mankon: the development of a Cameroon chiefdom in its regional setting. Unpubl. Ph. D. Thesis.

This is an anthropological study about the Bafut in Bamenda.

Werewere-Liking & M.-J. Hourantier

- 1982 Contes d'initiation féminine du pays bassa (Cameroun). Nguessi Ngonda: Nso Ngond. 48 p., Asc lit.1492.

A description of the dances, stories, and songs which were elements of the Koo, once the major initiation ritual for Bassa women. This ritual affirmed the occult forces attributed to women, and united them in esoteric societies.

## ISLAM

The gradual increase in trans-Sahara trade led to the development of centralised states and to the Islamisation of the population in the Sahel-Sudan belt. Since the 10th century A.D., Islam has also begun to spread in the Cameroonian North. This centuries-old process accelerated in the first half of the 19th century, when the (Islamic) Fulbe established a large empire which extended into North Cameroon and Adamawa. This Sokoto state was divided into a

number of emirates, such as the Fombina emirate in Adamawa, each of which was in itself divided into several, more or less autonomous, lamidates, which were ruled by Fulbe kings, or laamiido's; see for instance Abubakar (1977) for more general information. Islamologists have documented the expansion of Islam in the Cameroonian North fairly well, for example Westermann (1914), Malcolm (1921), Mouchet (1946), and particularly Braukämper (1970). Many studies are written in German. General works which include material on Cameroon, are Clarke (1982) and Hiskett (1984). Büttner (1983), Shagari et al. (1978), Kirk-Green (1958), and Lacroix (1952-53) are specifically devoted to the 19th century 'jihad' of the Fulbe.

The historical study of the lamidates got under way in the 1970s (see Chapter 1). The literature relating to this theme often includes a discussion of the political role of Islam as part of the argument; see particularly Mohammadou's works. Thus, Islam is analysed in relation to its political context, so that only limited space is reserved for the interaction between religious and socio-economic change.

A central theme, as in the literature about western Cameroon, is the interrelatedness of political and religious authority, i.e. the old institution of the sacred king (on whose well-being the entire nation depends). It is a religious complex incorporated in Islam, functioning as a royal cult. As such, Islam operated as the religion of the political elite, in other words, Islam was monopolised, to a certain degree, by the Fulbe. Lacroix (1966) and Mohammadou (1982) discuss this ideological facet of Islam. Mahdism might be interpreted as a popular Islamic protest movement against this politico-religious status quo; see for example Njeuma (1971), Lacroix (1966), and Braukämper (1970). Lebeuf (1969) and Masson-Detourbet (1953) deal with the sacredness of political authority in the city-states of the Kotoko, a river people considered to be the contemporary heirs of the old Chadidic Sao culture. Most studies present the 'divine kingship' as a traditional institution, without considering the adaptations it underwent during the colonial and post-colonial period. Such linguistic studies as P.

Eguchi (1973, 1976) and Haafkens (1983) are centered on the syncretic properties of old Islamic texts, but they do not shed light on the social backgrounds of these writings. Social-scientific studies of the strongly syncretic character of North Cameroonian Islam are non-existent.

A more recent sociological-anthropological debate refers to the interaction between Islam and ethnicity. One of the topics discussed refers to the changes that the non-Islamic Kirdi religions have undergone over the past one hundred years. The Fulbe political hegemony decreased during the colonial and particularly post-colonial period, due to the encapsulation of the Fulbe chiefdoms by the Cameroonian state. The colonial policy of indirect rule entailed that the Fulbe aristocracy was allowed to preserve its political prerogatives and that Islam maintained its elitist status, but the Fulbe monopolisation of Islam came increasingly under attack. In this political context Islam developed into a vehicle of upward social mobility for the Kirdi, who started to adopt the language, habits, and religion of the Fulbe. Blackmeister & Heine (1983) is a brief survey of this topic; for further reading, see Santerre-Veillette (1975), Azarya (1978), and Schultz (1979, 1980, 1984). Collard (1980) discusses the interethnic relations between the Fulbe and the Guider, Burnham (1980a) the Fulbe-Gbaya relations, and Dupire (1981) deals with the Fulbe ethnic identity. This debate touches upon the general theoretical discussion as to whether to put the (dynamics of) ethnicity in the context of social processes of politico-economic competition, or to merely introduce it into the argument as an *a priori* factor which need not be explained in itself. Moreover, the religious focus seems an appropriate starting point for research which aims at making a contribution to catching up with the research backlog in the field of regional power relations in North Cameroon. Inquiries into the Fulbe political power, and into the related theme of the political function of Islam as an elitist religion, has stagnated for the independence period. Another related theme neglected in scholarly circles is the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial state and the regionally-

based Islamic elites. Due to the established pattern of indirect rule, the Fulbe rulers managed to impose severe restrictions on missionary activities in the north, and the Ahidjo government non-officially propagated the Islamisation of North Cameroon.

The process of ethnic boundary crossing is linked up with processes of urbanisation and intra-rural migration from the Mandara mountains to the plains. Several socio-geographic studies on this topic are available, for instance, Boutrais et al. (1984) and Pontié (1979)(see also Chapter 3). Interdisciplinary studies which analyse the process of Fulbeisation-Islamisation in relation with migration, urbanisation, and other aspects of capitalist encroachment, are still to be written. Cameroonian scholars have not contributed to the debate; the political sensitivity of the theme might be a major reason for this.

In western Cameroon, Islam has been spreading to the Bamun since about 1900, but hardly at all to the other Grassfields populations. Today 90% of the Bamun profess Islam. The political dimension of this process of conversion — the political centre of the centralised state of Bamun, although incorporated into the colonial state, actively promoted such conversion in the first decades of this century — is a major topic of Dubié (1957) and Tardits (1979, 1980, 1981b). Some information on the confrontation and competition between Islam and Christianity in this region can be found in Dubié (1957) and Molla (1966), as well as in Labatut (1978) (the latter referring to North Cameroon).

A small Fulbe minority, the Mbororo, live a pastoralist way of life. Literature referring to this group is scanty. Frantz (1981) discusses the ethnic and religious change which took place among the Mbororo during the post-colonial period, due to the encapsulation in the national state of Cameroon.

Abubakar, S.

- 1977 The Lamibe of Fombina: a political history of Adamawa 1809-1901. Zairia: Ahmadu Bello University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press. 190 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10690.

This historical study is devoted to the rise and fall of the Fombina emirate in Adamawa.

Azarya, V.

- 1978 Aristocrats facing change: the Fulbe in Guinea, Nigeria, and Cameroon. Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press. bibl., ind., Asc 9920.

This historico-sociological study about the Fulbe in North Cameroon, North Nigeria, and Guinea includes several remarks on the Islamisation-Fulbeisation of the North Cameroon Kirdi during the colonial and post-colonial era, in connection with national government politics and urbanisation (p. 91-99, 197-199).

Azevedo, M. & G. Prater

- 1986 'The comparative status and future of Muslim women in Cameroon', in: Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 7, 2, p. 419-438. Asc.

Blanckmeister, B. & P. Heine

- 1983 'Ethnizität und Islam in Nordkamerun', in: Afrika Spectrum, 18, 2, p. 171-175. bibl., Eng. & Fr. sum., Asc.

This is a short article about the ethnic significance of Islam in a society where the Muslims form a numerical minority. Since independence the Kirdi migration to the towns and plains is attended with a process of Fulbeisation-Islamisation as a result of the changed power relations in the region.

Bocquené, H.

- 1981 'Note sur le pulaaku: d'après le récit autobiographique d'un Mbororo du Cameroun', in: Itinérances en pays peul et ailleurs (Mémoire de la Société des Africanistes), p. 229-47. Asc.

An illustration, through a young Mbororo man's life history, of several facets of 'pulaaku', i.e. the Fulbe model for correct behaviour and dignity.

Boutrais, J., J. Boulet, A. Beaucilain et al.

- 1984    Le Nord du Cameroun: des hommes, une région. Paris: ORSTOM.  
551 p., bibl., Asc 15450.

Braukämper, U.

- 1970    Der Einfluss des Islam auf die Geschichte und Kulturentwicklung  
Adamauas: Abriss eines Afrikanischen Kulturwandels. Wiesbaden:  
Steiner. 223 p., bibl., ind., Asc 7262.

Topics discussed in this Islamologist study include the historical expansion of Islam into Cameroon, the ethnic monopolisation of Islam by the Fulbe, the syncretic aspects of the conversion of the other peoples in the region, the privileged position of Islamic leaders under colonialism, and the influence of Islam on the various aspects of the culture.

Burnham, R.

- 1980a    Opportunity and constraint in a savanna society: the Gbaya of  
Meiganga, Cameroon. London etc.: Academic press. 324 p., bibl.,  
ind., Asc 13108.

This economic-anthropological study about social change among an ethnic grouping in Adamawa, focuses on the historical and social elements in the Gbaya culture which may explain the marked conservatism. Furthermore, the author deals with the multi-ethnic character of the Meiganga society: Gbaya identity is just a way to express regional inequalities in wealth, power, and opportunities, in other words, ethnic boundaries are demarcations of regional power relations.

Büttner, T.

- 1983    'The jihad in Adamawa at the beginning of the 19th century: some  
reflections', in: G. Brehme & T. Büttner (eds.), African studies -  
Afrika-Studien: dedicated to the 9th International Congress of  
African Studies in Nigeria. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. p. 97-109.

Cardaire

- 1949    Contribution à l'étude d'Islam Noir. Paris: Le Charles Louis. 120 p.

Clarke, P.B.

- 1982     West Africa and Islam: a study of religious development from the 8th to the 20th century. London: Arnold. 275 p., bibl., ind.
- 1983     'Christian approaches to Islam in Francophone West Africa in the independence era (c. 1960 - c. 1983)', in: Bulletin on Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa, 1, 2, p. 1-20.

Collard, C.

- 1980     'Relations between the Guidar of Northern Cameroon and the Fulbe (1800-1977)', in: Studies in Third World Societies (Image and reality in African Inter-Ethnic Relations), 11, p. 107-125.

An historical study about the changing interethnic relations between the Fulbe and the Guidar in North Cameroon. Political revolutions are presented as the major determinant factor.

Dubié, P.

- 1957     'Christianisme, Islam et Animisme chez les Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: Bulletin IFAN, 19, 3-4, p. 337-373. Asc.

This religious-historical article about the spread of Islam among the Bamun, focuses on king Njoya's role in this respect. It is supplemented with a literal translation of sultan Njoya's Muslim doctrine. Some attention is paid to the diffusion of Christianity.

Dupire, M.

- 1981     'Reflexions sur l'ethnicité peule', in: Itinérances ... en pays peul et ailleurs II: littératures et cultures. Paris: Société des Africanistes, p. 165-181. Asc.

Eguchi, M.J.

- 1973     'Aspects of the life style and culture of women in the Fulbe districts of Maroua', in: Kyoto University African Studies, 8, p. 17-92. bibl., Asc.

An anthropological description of the 'modern' life-style and culture of Fulbe women in the Fulbe dominated quarters of Maroua. It contains a few remarks about contemporary magic (p. 85-86).

Eguchi, P.K.

- 1973 'The chants of the Fulbe rites of circumcision', in: Kyoto University African Studies, 8, p. 205-231. bibl., Asc.

A linguistic study of the chants which used to be sung at the Fulbe initiation rituals. (They are dropping out of use nowadays). The author centers on the preIslamic facets of this oral literature, which he recorded in 1971 in Maroua.

- 1976 Poem of repentance. Tokio: ILCAA. 160 p., bibl., Asc lit.735.

Analysis of the historical and religious significance of an Islamic poem which was used by the Fulbe to spread Islam.

Frantz, C.

- 1981 'Fulbe continuity and change under five flags atop West Africa: territoriality, ethnicity, stratification and national integration', in: J.G. Galaty & P.S. Salzman (eds.), Change and development in nomadic and pastoral societies. Leiden: Brill. p. 89-115. Asc 13994.

This article deals with the pastoral Fulbe inhabiting the border areas of Cameroon and Nigeria. The author points out the ethnic dynamics of these Mbororo, and the religious influence of the urban Fulbe.

Froelich, J.-C.

- 1966 'Essai sur les causes et méthodes de l'Islamisation de l'Afrique de l'Ouest du 9e siècle au 20e siècle', in: W.H. Lewis (ed.), Islam in Tropical Africa. London: Oxford University Press. p. 160-171. ind., Asc 4882.

This article, written by an Islamologist, is concerned with the historical spread of Islam in West Africa, and the dominant role of the Fulbe in the process. Islam generally penetrates into a society via the elites, and thus presupposes an hierarchical social structure. Hence, this religion has troubles to penetrate acephalous societies. Some information on Cameroon is included.

Haafkens, J.

- 1983 Chants musulmans en Peul: textes de l'héritage religieux de la communauté musulmane de Maroua, Cameroun. Leiden: Brill. bibl., ind., Eng. sum., Asc lit.1380.

This is an Islamologist analysis of several Fulbe chants. The historical context is clarified to a certain extent, but not the social circumstances in which this literature originated and was sung.

Hiskett, P.B.

- 1984 The development of Islam in West Africa. London etc.: Longman. 393 p., bibl., ind.

Kirk-Green, A.H.M.

- 1958 Adamawa, past and present. London: Oxford University Press.

Includes some information on the 'jihad' in Adamawa (p. 126-135).

Labatut, R.

- 1978 'Contribution à l'étude du comportement religieux des Wodaabe Dageeja du Nord-Cameroun', in: *Journal des Africanistes*, 48, 2, p. 63-92. Eng. sum.

Lacroix, P.F.

- 1952-53 'Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des Peuls de l'Adamawa', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 39-40.

- 1966 'L'Islam peul de l'Adamawa', in: I.M. Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press. p. 401-406. Asc 4882.

This sociological article discusses the ethnic encapsulation of Islam by the Fulbe in North Cameroon, and Mahdism as an expression of protest.

Lebeuf, A.M.D.

- 1969 Les principautés kotoko: essai sur le caractère sacré de l'autorité. Paris: CNRS. 388 p., bibl., ind., Asc 5800.

This anthropological analysis deals with the symbolic universe in which political authority in the Kotoko kingdoms is anchored. The theoretical orientation is the structuralism of Cl. Levi Strauss.

Malcolm, L.W.G.

- 1921 'Islam in the Cameroons, West Africa', in: *Journal of the African Society*, 21, 71, p. 35-46. bibl.

This article briefly discusses several of the factors which were important in the spread of Islam in North Cameroon.

Masson-Detourbet, A.

- 1953 'Croyances relatives à l'organisation politique du royaume lagouane (Kotoko du Nord-Cameroun)', in: *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 5, 23, p. 7-34.

Mohammadou, E.

- 1982 *Le royaume du Wandala ou Mandara au XIXe siècle*. Tokio: ILCAA. 334 p., bibl., Asc 14572.

A cultural-historical study of the political history of the lamidate of Wandala, based on archival data and oral traditions. Topics discussed are the origin of the state, the royal family, the titles and functions at the court, the government's principal activities, as well as the function of Islam as a royal cult.

- 1983 *Peuples et royaumes du Foubina*. Tokio: ILCAA. 308 p., bibl., Asc 14571.

A description of the origins of several small Fulbe lamidates, based on oral traditions, as well as a reconstruction of the regional history of the upper valley of the Benne river.

Molla, C.F.

- 1966 'Les régions en voie d'Islamisation et l'église', in: *Flambeau*, 10, p. 82-94.

Discusses the spread and competition of Islam and Christianity, containing several examples from Cameroon.

Mouchet, J.

- 1946 'Note sur la conversion à l'Islamisme en 1715 de la tribu Wandala', in: *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises*, 15-16, p. 105-107.

Njeuma, M.Z.

- 1971 'Adamawa and Mahdism: the career of Hayatu Ibn Sa'id in Adamawa, 1878-1898', in: *Journal of African History*, 12, 1, p. 61-77.

Njoya, A.N.

- 1977 Njoya: réformateur du royaume Bamoun. Paris: ABC; Dakar-Abidjan: NEA. 122 p., Asc 12400.

Pierre, A.

- 1969 'Cameroun', in: Kritzeck, J. & W.H. Lewis (eds.), Islam in Africa. New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold. p. 270-277. bibl., ind., Asc 6031.

A brief overview article about the spread of Islam in North Cameroon, and the important 'sects' (Tijaniyya, Qadiriyya, and Mahdism).

Pontié, G.

- 1979 'La contestation par la migration (le cas des Guiziga du Nord-Cameroun)', in: Cahiers ORSTOM, 16, 1-2, p. 11-127. bibl., Asc.

This sociological article deals with intra-rural migration among the Guiziga, an ethnic grouping near Maroua. Particularly push factors, notably having to do with structural conflicts in the traditional society, are presented for an explanation.

Prestat, M.G.

- 1959 Maroua, ville d'Islam. 24 p.

Santerre-Veillette, R.

- 1975 Acculturation-conversion de la société nord-camerounaise. Thèse présentée à l'Ecole des Gradués de l'Université Laval.

The author analyses the political, social, and economic factors determining the combined process of Islamisation and Fulbeisation in North Cameroon. Conversion is interpreted as a reaction to a conflict situation, and is attended with processes of migration and urbanisation.

Scalabre, C.

- 1977 'Notes sur l'Islam, le Christianisme et l'Animisme au Cameroun', in: Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, 12, 140-141, p. 79-92.

A religious-sociological article, containing several examples of syncretism.

Schultz, E.A.

1979 Ethnic identity and cultural commitment: a study of the process of Fulbeization in Guider, Northern Cameroun. Indiana University.

1980 'Perceptions of ethnicity in Guider town', in: *Studies in Third World Societies (Image and Reality in African Inter-Ethnic Relations)*, 11, p. 127-153.

This article deals with Fulbe ethnic identity vis-à-vis non-Fulbe populations in an urban society. The author presents a description of the recent changes in the criteria of membership to the Fulbe ethnic grouping, due to the growing numerical strength of the Kirdi and resemblances of identity with the pastoral Fulbe.

1984 'From pagan to Pullo: ethnic identity change in Northern Cameroon', in: *Africa*, 54, 1, p. 46-64. bibl., Fr. sum., Asc.

This article is devoted to the dynamics of ethnic identities in Guider town. The incorporation of the Kirdi into the Fulbe ethnic grouping is possible because membership rests on cultural attributes, like language, religion and urban customs, which may be internalised.

Shagari, S., Alhaji & J. Boyd

1978 Uthman dan Fodio: the theory and practices of his leadership. Lagos: Islamic Publications. Bureau. 74 p., bibl.

Tardits, C.

1965 'Stratification sociale et parenté chez les Bamoun', in: *l'Homme*, 5, 3-4, p. 174-188.

1979 'Réflexions sur le sacrifice dans la religion traditionnelle des Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 4, p. 117-129. bibl., Asc.

This is a contribution to the anthropological debate on the analysis of sacrificial rituals. The author discusses, among other topics, the conversion of the Bamun to Christianity and Islam since the first decades of this century.

- 1980    Le royaume bamoun. Paris: Armand Colin. 1078 p., bibl., ind.,  
Asc 10899.

Includes a few remarks on the Islamisation of the Bamun in the beginning of this century, as stimulated by sultan Njoya (p. 862-877).

- 1981b   'Passage d'une religion traditionnelle (culte des ancêtres) à l'Islam: le cas bamoun', in: Sociétés Africaines, Monde Arabe et Culture Islamique (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), 1, p. 135-152. Asc 14457.

The article deals with political facets of the diffusion of Islam among the Bamun. The author argues that the traditional ancestor cult corroborated the gerontocracy. King Njoya stimulated his subjects to convert to Islam, and devised his own variant of this religion.

Wazaki, H.

- 1978   'On the festivals in an African folk town: the case study of Foumban in Cameroun of West Africa', in: Journal of Asian and African Studies, 15, p. 51-78. Eng. sum., Asc.

This anthropological article discusses religious rituals in the town of Foumban. The central points of orientation in the local value system are the royal court, Bamun ethnicity, and Islam. The author analyses three rituals, making an analytical distinction between ritual process (formality) and festivity process (orgy).

Westermann, D.

- 1914   Die Verbreitung des Islams in Togo und Kamerun. Berlin: Reimer. 90 p.

## CHRISTIANITY

### Expansion

Missionaries were working in the Cameroonian coastal zones even before Germany annexed the country in 1884. At first the English Baptist Mission, and later the American Presbyterians gained considerable influence among the Bassa and Bulu. Since then, large percentages of the members of most ethnic groups in the Cameroonian interior were formally proselytised at a surprisingly rapid rate. The German-Swiss Basler Mission appeared on the scene when German rule was established; then, when, after about four decades, the Germans were succeeded by the French in East Cameroon, this order was replaced by the French Protestant 'Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris' (SMEP), and the German Catholics, the Pallotines, by their French co-religionists. Meanwhile, the American Presbyterian Mission managed to rapidly expand its sphere of influence in this transitional period. In 1960, at independence, about half the population in the southern forest zone had converted to Christianity. A large amount of missiological literature discusses this success story, for example, Keller (1969), Kwast (1971), Nkwi (1977b), Reyburn (1968), Labatut (1978), Van Slageren (1969, 1972), and Wheeler (1964). The conversions were largely collective, and along ethnic lines. Analyses in terms of upward social mobility — i.e. a peripheral group's tendency to adopt the language, customs, and faith of the dominant category, notably the Europeans — are, however, missing.

A related subject is the influence of mission-work on the intensification of ethnic identities. The use of the Duala language in the Christian cult and schools in large parts of the Cameroonian littoral, and the early standardisation of that language in the form of a popular Bible translation, have surely contributed to a strengthening of Duala ethnic consciousness, and to the development of a Duala sphere of influence along the coast. Unfortunately, no studies on this aspect of the Christian missions

are available, notwithstanding the vital role it has probably played in the formation of the independent Native Baptist Church.

There is almost no literature about the influence of Christianity on the indigenous religions in Cameroon. Although it is quite likely that the historical change of the latter took place in the context of evangelisation, no studies about syncretism are available. The study of Cameroonian Christianity is predominantly devoted to the European facet — i.e. about the missions — and largely neglects the rise of African versions of Christianity, whether within the institutional form of independent churches or without.

Bureau (1962a, 1962b) is a structural-functionalist analysis of the evangelisation of the coastal peoples in the South, and also discusses the influence of the missions on the indigenous religions; the author asserts that a real change of faith took place rather than a syncretic development, since no new religious movements have arisen in South Cameroon; see also Bureau (1964, 1968). Binet (1958) and Bureau (1962a) are religious-sociological studies of the religious practices of the new converts, but they do not bring the political and economic changes during the colonial era into the argument. Laburthe-Tolra (1983) includes some information on the Christianisation of the Beti, discussing the harmonisation of the conceptual system of Catholicism with the religious way of thinking of this people. Vincent (1976a) describes the personal experiences of several Beti women with regard to this conversion process. Reyburn (1957, 1959) devotes two articles to the socio-economic foundation of the susceptibility of South Cameroonian women to proselytisation.

After independence, the missiologically biased literature was succeeded by a number of theologically inspired studies on Christianity; they particularly refer to western Cameroon, and the authors are Christian Cameroonians who are members of the group about which they publish. In most cases the interaction between Christianity and indigenous religions is a major topic. A few examples: Fotso (1966), Ngangoum (1972), Simo Somo (1978), and Tchouanga (1979) refer to the Bamileke, and Nkwi (1971, 1977b)

is devoted to the Tikar. Studies on religious syncretism published in the 1980s, are not available.

Literature about the independent churches in Cameroon is largely non-existent. No monographs are available on even the principal denominations. The rise of institutionalised forms of African Christianity has been largely confined to the coastal regions, notably the Duala and related ethnic groupings. Studies which aim to explain this relative lack of independent churches in Cameroon, are yet to be written. \*Graines\* (1973) is a brief survey study of the independent church phenomenon in Cameroon. Curley (1983) analyses the function of dream narratives among the members of a West Cameroonian independent church, without, however, discussing the societal position of the church goes. Turner (1965) describes syncretic phenomena in the independent churches, just like Reyburn (1969) and Hebga (1973, 1979, 1982); the latter, a Cameroonian priest, reports on the role of witchcraft in South Cameroonian Christianity. Brutsch (1949), Kwast (1971), and Joseph (1980) discuss the Native Baptist Church, the largest independent church in the country; Keller (1969, 1981) analyses the Presbyterian Church, and Van Slageren (1972) the Evangelical Church.

### **Church-state relations**

The relationship between religious authorities and the state has a political dimension. Churches are national or international organisations which have the potential to function as channels of political mobilisation, and as such they may be channels of state penetration, especially in the ideological field. Therefore, this subsection is devoted to the possibilities and limitations of the Cameroonian state in controlling denominations in the country with juridical and political measures.

The literature about political relations between the different Christian churches and the national state in Cameroon is rather extensive in comparison with the literature about the relationship

between the national state and Islam, but rather scarce in comparison with other African countries. Some general characteristics are as follows. (1) This subject has attracted mainly scholars from the former colonising powers, and that largely in the margins of missiological studies; (2) the period of the German Protectorate has been much more thoroughly investigated than later periods (including the period of independence); and (3) almost no literature is available about West Cameroon. For a review study referring to the years before the First World War, see Obdeijn (1983), whereas Joseph (1980) is a key to the whole colonial period.

Most authors characterise the relationship between state and church as being ambiguous: on the one hand, there would have been an alliance between the colonial authorities and the missions, on the other, the latter are presented as representing an autonomous power in society which has played an intermediary role between the population and the state. The Muslim-religious authorities have never made such a stand. The different studies emphasise more or less one of the two sides. Besides differences in theoretical preoccupation, this is caused by the fact that the churches were not one monolithic power vis-à-vis the state, so empirical distinctions in time and space are accounted for in the literature.

The historical studies about the commercial involvement of the missions emphasise the interlacing of Christianity and colonialism; see Epale (1974) about the pre-colonial Baptist Mission, Lewis (1930) regarding the German annexation in 1884, and Kaeselitz (1965) on trade activities of the Basler Mission in the German Protectorate. The missiological literature neglects this aspect: Berger (1978), for instance, hardly discusses the support of the Catholic Pallotines for the system of forced estate-labour, whereas Van Slageren (1972) stresses the protests of the Basler Mission against this form of exploitation near Victoria. There are no studies about direct economic involvement of the missions in more recent times.

Missionary activities in the colonial period were particularly effective in the field of education, and they have resulted in a

remarkably high level of literacy in southern Cameroon. Geltzer (1966) explicitly points out the nationalistically slanted education of the Pallotine order in the German colonial period, and Essiben (1980), a study written by a Cameroonian, emphasises the shared interest which the state and the churches had in the expansion of Western-Christian values via confessional education. Most studies about missionary education, though, stress the conflicting interests between the two 'parties'. The missiological literature emphasises the issue of which language to use in teaching; Berger (1978), for instance, points out only incidentally the identification of the Catholic Pallotine Mission with the German colonial culture policy, and Haldén (1968) contains a discussion of the Basler Mission's resistance against government interference at the missionary schools.

The autonomous societal power base of the Christian denominations vis-à-vis the state, a position which enabled them to set up intermediary activities between the native population and the colonial state in certain situations, is the explicit subject of the volume of Ngongo (1982), a Christian Cameroonian. The topic is also dealt with by Prouzet (1974). In fact, this regard for the interests of the Cameroonian people was often prompted by the wish to promote Christian values vis-à-vis the state, notably in the fields of education and marriage. Chilver (1963), Nkwi (1976, 1977b), and Labatut (1978) provide a concrete case: the conflict between the authorities and the missions over the English indirect rule system in West Cameroon, which implied legitimization and official support for the 'pagan' sacrality of the traditional chiefs.

Because of this potentially critical stance it might be interesting to investigate how far the churches have taken sides with the political opposition. The small amount of literature on this subject is entirely devoted to the relation between the Catholic Church and the rising tide of postwar nationalism in the form of the UPC. Mfoulo (1978) and Retif (1956) emphasise the mutual hostility; Zoa (1957) tries to counter the anti-nationalist image of the Roman Catholic Church; Alima (1970a, 1970b), M. Beti (1974), LeVine (1971), Ugeux

(1971), \*Condamnations\* (1971), and Bayart (1972) all discuss the sensational arrest and conviction of the Catholic Bamileke bishop Ndongmo for his active support to the UPC guerillas.

There are surprisingly few studies devoted to the post-colonial relationship between the churches and the Cameroonian state available. Officially Cameroon is a secular state; nevertheless the Jehova Witnesses, who are quite popular among the Bamileke, have been banned since 1970. In Cameroon, where political pluralism is officially prohibited, the churches are one of the few domestic forces which are able to criticise the government. This position of autonomous power, built up in the colonial period, still manifests itself in dominance in the fields of education, health, and the press; secularisation of these domains by the state are as yet impossible for financial reasons. Notwithstanding all that, Bayart (1972, 1973) argues that the 'fonction tribunitienne' of the Christian denominations is steadily declining in the independence period, because the socio-economic autonomy of the churches is increasingly affected by the single-party state.

In the previous sub-section it has been mentioned that the literature concentrates much more on missionary Christianity than on African Christianity. There is not one study about the activities of the independent churches at the grassroots level of the nationalist movement, although it is quite clear that the Native Baptist Church has been quite prominent in this regard. Also it is largely unknown if these churches have a predominantly ethnic following, or if they overcome subnational identities.

It is remarkable that there is no literature concerned with the specific problems of Christianity in North Cameroon. At the time of the German Protectorate, it was, for example, prohibited for Christian denominations to work in that part of the country. Nowadays the Roman Catholic Church in the North strongly sympathises with smallhold farmers, and is intensively involved in projects for agricultural development; see e.g. \*Propos\* (1986).

Alima, J.-B.

- 1970a 'Cameroun, l'Eglise contre l'Etat?', in: *Jeune Afrique*, 508, p. 32-35. Asc.

An article in journalistic style about the arrest of a Catholic Bamileke bishop, who was accused of actively supporting for the UPC guerilla war.

- 1970b 'L'évêque comploteur', in: *Jeune Afrique*, 506, p. 34-35. Asc.

About the arrest of Ndongmo, bishop of the diocese of Nkongsamba, in 1970.

Bahoken, J.C.

- 1960 Les rapports des missions chrétiennes avec l'administration au Cameroun de 1941 à nos jours. Thèse de licence de théologie protestante, Paris.

Balz, H.

- 1984 Where the faith has to live: studies in Bakossi society and religion. I: living together. Basel: Basel Mission. 404 p.

This missiological study deals with the Basler Mission's attitude towards Bakossi witchcraft and 'secret societies' in West Cameroon.

Bayart, J.-F.

- 1972 'Les rapports entre les Eglises et l'Etat du Cameroun de 1958 à 1971', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 80, p. 79-104. Asc.

This political-science article discusses the political relations between the Christian churches and the East Cameroonian state in the time of the federation. In spite of an easy and friendly relationship, the author stresses a structural conflict. The state's ultimate goal is to limit the churches' autonomy in the fields of education and health, so that the latter's 'fonction tribunitienne' is increasingly going to the wall. The arrest and sentence of bishop Ndongmo is briefly discussed.

- 1973c 'La fonction politique des églises au Cameroun', in: *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 23, 2, p. 514-536.

Benoist, J.-R. de

- 1981 'L'église catholique et la naissance des nouvelles nations en Afrique Occidentale Francophone', in: *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 68, 250-253, p. 100-111.

Berger, H.

- 1978 *Mission und Kolonialpolitik: die katholische Mission in Kamerun während der deutschen Kolonialzeit*. Imensee: *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*. 358 p., bibl., Asc 9613.

A missiological study of the Pallotines in Cameroon, emphasizing the theological backgrounds in Germany and the Catholic mission theory. The author pays only slight attention to the identification of this Catholic order with German colonial politics in the fields of forced estate labour and education ('Erziehung zur Arbeit')(p. 328-333), and only a little more to the Church's role to promote the interests of the population vis-à-vis public officers and traders (p. 268-299).

Beti, M. (pseudonym for A. Biyidi)

- 1971 *Le pauvre Christ de Bomba*. (1st ed. 1956). Paris: *Présence Africaine*.

One of the subjects of this novel, written by the most famous Cameroonian oppositional writer, is the conflicting interests of the colonial government and the missions in expelling polygamy. The English translation is: *The poor Christ of Bomba*. London (1971).

- 1974 *Main basse sur le Cameroun: autopsie d'une décolonisation*. Québec: *Editions Québécoises*. 217 p.

This fierce attack on the (neo-colonial) Ahidjo government pays some attention to the circumstances of the arrest and conviction of bishop Albert Ndongmo, who was accused of having supported the UPC. The French edition of 1977 is profoundly actualised.

Binet, J.

- 1958 'Sociologie religieuse dans le Sud-Cameroun', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 47-48, p. 153-184. Asc.

A sociological description of the spread of Christianity in South Cameroon. Topics discussed include the competition between the various denominations, the social structure of the Christian communities, and the degree of intensity of conversion (which the author correlates with the degree of criminality and polygamy).

Brutsch,

- 1949 'Origine et développement d'une église indépendante africaine: l'Eglise Baptist Camerounaise', in: *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 12, p. 408-424. Asc.

Bureau, R.

- 1962a 'Ethno-sociologie religieuse des Duala et apparentes', in: *Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises*, 7-8, 1-2, p. 17-372. bibl., Asc.

A functionalist, religious-sociological study of the Duala conversion to Christianity. The author, a colonial civil servant, discusses the devastating effects of the missions on the traditional religious institutions, and provides a synchronic description of the religious praxis of the evangelised Duala.

- 1962b *Sociologie de la conversion au Cameroun Méridional*. Thèse 3e cycle, Paris, Sorbonne.
- 1964 'Flux et reflux de la Christianisation camerounaise', in: *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 17, p. 97-112.
- 1968 'Influence de la Christianisation sur les institutions traditionnelles des ethnies cotières du Cameroun', in: C.G. Baëta (ed.), *Christianity in Tropical Africa* (studies presented and discussed at the 7th International African Seminar, University of Ghana). London: Oxford University Press. p. 166-181. Asc 5413.

Chilver, E.

- 1963 'Native administration in the West Central Cameroons 1902-1954', in: K. Robinson & F. Madden (eds.), *Essays in imperial government*. Oxford: Blackwell. p. 89-139. Asc.

This study includes a description of the conflict between Catholic converts and the chiefs in several West Cameroon chieftaincies.

Comité pour l'Évangélisation Urbaine de Yaoundé

- 1973 'La population urbaine de Yaoundé et son attitude à l'égard de l'église', in: Flambeau, 37, p. 27-36.

Condamnations

- 1971 'Les condamnations de Yaoundé', in: Jeune Afrique, 524, p. 28-31. Asc.

An account of the Ndongmo lawsuit.

Curley, R.T.

- 1983 'Dreams of power: social process in a West African religious movement', in: Africa, 53, 3, p. 20-38. Fr. sum., Asc.

A sociological analysis of dream narratives among the members of a Christian independent church in West Cameroon, the True Church of God, which originates from Nigeria. These narratives function as a mechanism for social mobility.

Dah, J.N.

- 1983 Missionary motivations and methods: a critical examination of the Basel Mission in Cameroon 1886-1914. Basel: University of Basel. 328 p., bibl.

Dubié, P.

- 1957 'Christianisme, Islam et Animisme chez les Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: Bulletin IFAN, 19, 3-4, p. 337-373. Asc.

This religious-historical article is devoted to the spread of Islam among the Bamun, paying some attention to the diffusion of Christianity.

Epale, S.J.

- 1974 'The impact of early English Christian missionary contact on economic growth in Cameroon, 1800-1884', in: Symposium Leo Frobenius: Perspectives of Contemporary African Studies. p. 37-66. Engl. & Germ. sum., Asc 8951.

This article discusses the economic influence of missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society on the pre-colonial trading states along the Cameroonian coast.

Essiben, M.

- 1980 Colonisation et évangélisation en Afrique: l'héritage scolaire du Cameroun (1885-1956). Bern etc.: Peter Lang. 293 p., bibl., Asc 12692.

This study examines the intellectual careers of leading Cameroonian politicians. The author emphasises the existence of an alliance between the colonial government and the missions for the promotion of the Western-Christian civilisation through schooling.

Fauré, J.

- 1978 Histoire des missions et églises protestantes en Afrique Occidentale des origines à 1884: texte préparé ... par P. Cadier. Yaounde: CLE. 363 p., bibl., ind.

A theological study of the pre-colonial history of Protestantism in Africa, including Cameroon.

Fotso, M.

- 1966 Le Bamiléké devant le Christianisme. Mémoire de License, Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Montpellier. 183 p.

Gelzer, D.G.

- 1966 'Mission et colonisation: éducation au temps des Allemands', in: Flambeau, 9, p. 45-53.

A descriptive study of the highly nationalistic education of the missions in the time of the German Protectorate. There is an English translation: Missions and colonization: education in Cameroon in the days of the Germans, in: Bulletin of the Society for African Church History, 3 (1969), p. 1-14.

Geschiere, P.

- 1982 Village communities and the state: changing relations among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon since the colonial conquest. London: Kegan Paul International. 512 p., bibl., ind., Asc 10472.

This monograph of the Maka includes several remarks about the harmony of interests between the missions' activities and the economic goals of the French colonial administration, i.e. the promotion of agricultural productivity and marketing. The author briefly mentions the autonomy of the mission stations in the region vis-à-vis the colonial state (p. 161-162).

Graines

- 1973      Graines d'évangile: aperçu des églises indépendantes africaines. Yaounde: Clé. 63 p.

Haldén, E.

- 1968      The culture policy of the Basel Mission in the Cameroons 1886-1905. Lund: University of Uppsala. 142 p., bibl.

Contains a description of the cooperation of the Basler Mission with the colonial authorities. The author thus interprets the mission as a vehicle for the German culture policy. But, on the other hand, there were also conflicts with the government about such issues as education and the interests of the native population.

Hebga, M. et al.

- 1973      Croyance et guérison (chrétienne). Yaounde: Clé. 148 p.
- 1979      Sorcellerie, chimère dangereuse ...? Abidjan: INADES. 304 p., bibl., Asc 11374.
- 1982      Sorcellerie et prière de délivrance: réflexion sur une expérience. Paris: Présence Africaine; Abidjan: INADES. 215 p., Asc 13067.

Hebga is a Cameroonian priest who describes, with a Christian eye, a number of healing rituals in African Christianity, as he had witnessed it in the Yaounde region.

Joseph, R.A.

- 1977      Radical nationalism in Cameroun: social origins of the U.P.C. rebellion. Oxford: At the Clarendon press. 383 p., bibl., ind., Asc.

Includes several brief comments on the tensions between the American Presbyterians and the French colonial government (p. 30-31).

- 1980 'Church, state, and society in colonial Cameroun', in: International Journal of African Historical Studies, 13, 1, p. 5-32. Asc.

This article is a key to the study of the relations between the colonial state and the different Christian denominations in East Cameroon. The intermediary role of the missions between the government and the population is clarified. Other topics discussed are the conflicting interests between the two in the fields of schooling and language, and the position of the Native Baptist Church and its charismatic leader Lotin Same vis-à-vis the state.

Kaeselitz, R.

- 1965 Untersuchungen über die Rolle der christlichen Missionen in der Kamerun während der deutschen Kolonialzeit 1884-1914. East-Berlin: Humboldt Universität. 162 p.

This dissertation is devoted to the role of the missionaries in German colonial politics. The Basler Mission established a trade company which managed to monopolise the supply of commodities to its converts; thus, commercial interests were very important in the mission's policy. The theoretical orientation of the study is Marxist, i.e. the missions are regarded as pillars for capitalist imperialism.

Kalu, O.U. (ed.)

- 1980 The history of Christianity in West Africa. London etc.: Langman. 378 p., ind.

This is a reprint of 21 formerly published articles.

Keller, W.

- 1969 The history of the Presbyterian Church in West Cameroon. Buea: Radio and Literature Department of the Presbyterian Church. 154 p., bibl.

- 1981 Zur Freiheit berufen: die Geschichte der Presbyterinnischen Kirche in Kamerun. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag. 652 p., bibl., ind.

A missiological study of the Presbyterian Mission before and during the German Protectorate (1841-1914), its way to independence (1925-1957), and the independent church itself (1957-1979).

Kraft, C.H.

- 1976 'Cultural concomitants of Higi conversion: early period', in: *Missiology* (Pasadena), 4, 4, p. 431-442.

Kwast, L.E.

- 1971 *The discipling of West Cameroon: a study of Baptist growth*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company. 205 p., bibl.

Labatut, R.

- 1978 'Contribution à l'étude du comportement religieux des Wodaabe Dageeja du Nord-Cameroun', in: *Journal des Africanistes*, 48, 2, p. 63-92.

The study includes a chapter on 'the colonial impact and the Christian mission', which discusses the conflict between the missions and the colonial government regarding the traditional Tikar rulers in West Cameroon.

Laburthe-Tolra, P.

- 1983 'De la conversion chez les Béti (Cameroun): ambiguïtés dans le transfert d'une religion à l'autre', in: *Cultures et Développement*, 15, 1, p. 3-10. Asc.

The author reconstructs the central principles of the pre-colonial Beti religion, and indicates how far it harmonises or conflicts with the conceptual world of Catholicism.

LeVine, V.T.

- 1971 *The Cameroon Federal Republic*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press. 205 p., bibl., ind., Asc 7416.

Contains some data on the specific political status of the Roman Catholic Church in Cameroon. The tense situation is illustrated by the many critical articles in the Catholic newspaper 'L'Effort Camerounais' and by the Ndongmo affair in 1970-1971 (p. 129-131).

Lewis, Th.

- 1930 *These seventy years: an autobiography*. London: Carey Press. 300 p.

The author was a prominent member of the Saker Baptist Mission, which was important in the pre-colonial history of Cameroonian Christianity. The book contains a description of the German conquest and the SBM's role in it.

Maimo, M.

- 1958 'Catholicism and politics in the southern Cameroons', in: *The Cameroons Voice*, 1, 3, p. 10-11.

Mfoulo, J.

- 1978 'The Catholic Church and Camerounian nationalism: from misunderstanding to opposition', in: E. Fasholé-Luke et al., *Christianity in independent Africa*. London: Rex Collings. p. 216-227. Asc 10394.

The article deals with the development of the relationship between the Catholic Church in Cameroon, which was predominantly run by French missionaries, and the anti-colonial UPC.

Mirbt, C.

- 1910 *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Tübingen.

Mohr, H.

- 1965 *Katholische Orden und deutscher Imperialismus*. East-Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Molla, C.F.

- 1966 'Les régions en voie d'Islamisation et l'église', in: *Flambeau*, 10, p. 82-94.

Discusses the spread and competition of Christianity and Islam. Several examples taken from Cameroon, are included.

Mvondo Nyina, B.

- 1976 'L'enseignement dans la politique coloniale française au Cameroun de 1916 à 1938', in: *Etudes d'Histoire Africaine*, 8, p. 199-213.

Contains some information on the important role of the missions in the field of education.

Ndi, A.

- 1986 'The Second World War in southern Cameroon and its impact on mission-state relations, 1939-50', in: D. Killigray & R. Rathbone (eds.), *Africa and the Second World War*. London: MacMillan. p. 204-231.

Nestvogel, R.

- 1982 'Mission und Kolonialherrschaft in Kamerun', in: K.J. Baden (ed.), *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission: kaiserliches Deutschland und koloniales Imperialismus*. Wiesbaden: Steiner. p. 205-225. Asc 13696.

The author discusses the long, sometimes troubled cooperation between the administration and the missions in the time of the German Protectorate.

Ngangoum, B.F. & P. Tchouanga Tiegoum

- 1972 *La vérité du culte des ancêtres dans le pays bamiléké*. Bafang: Edition Essor des Jeunes. 76 p. (2nd ed. 1975, 81 p.).

Ngongo, L.

- 1982 *Histoire des forces religieuses au Cameroun: de la Première Guerre Mondiale à l'indépendance (1916-1955)*. Paris: Karthala. 300 p., bibl., Asc 13290.

This historical study is devoted to the political role of the Christian denominations in the French colonial period. Topics discussed include the intermediary role of the missions between the government and the population ("fonction tribunitienne") and the conflicting interests between the government and the churches in the fields of marriage law and educational policy (regarding the instruction language). The author thus stresses the autonomy of the churches vis-à-vis the state.

Nkwi, P.N.

- 1971 *Kom religion and Christianity*. Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Theology, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Rome.
- 1976 *Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroonian Grassfields*. Freiburg: The University Press. 233 p., bibl., Asc 8452.

Two of the topics in this political-anthropological monograph of the Tikar chiefdom of Kom, are the sacred kingship and royal rituals (p. 48-59), and the conflict between the missions and the state about this religious dimension of political authority (p. 158-170).

- 1977b The Catholic Church in Kom: its foundation and growth, 1913-1977. Yaounde: Afo-A-Kom publication. 23 p.

One of the few local studies of Christianity in Cameroon.

Nomenyo, S.

- 1971 'Le chrétien face aux coutumes traditionnelles africaines', in: Flambeau, 32, p. 224-228.

Nyansako-ni-Nku (ed.)

- 1982 Journey in faith: the story of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. Yaounde: Burma Kor. 173 p.

This is a jubilee publication of the history of the Presbyterian Church in West Cameroon, containing 20 essays written by leading figures in the church, among whom are S.T. Muna (former prime minister of West Cameroon) and V. Mukete (former president of the Cameroon Development Corporation).

Nyom, B.

- 1964 Le sacré et l'unité de l'homme chez les Bantou du Sud-Cameroun: perspectives morales et pastorales concernant la vertu de religion dans les conditions de vie de Basa. 2 vol. Dissertation de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie, Lille. 608 p.

A theological study of the traditional Bassa religion.

Obdeijn, H.L.M.

- 1983 The political role of Catholic and Protestant missions in the colonial partition of Black Africa: a bibliographical essay. Leiden: Centre for the History of European Expansion. 95 p., bibl., Asc A2950.

A bibliographical essay of recent publications (after 1950) about the political role and activities of the missions over the period 1850-1914. This review also contains indications of important sources of information. on Cameroon, see p. 61-62.

Propos

- 1986 'Propos sur le développement agricole au Cameroun (Document technique élaboré en avril 1983 par les diocèses de Garoua, Maroua-Mokolo, Ngaoundéré et Yagoua)', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22 (Le réveil du Cameroun), p. 138-157. Asc.

An inventory of the structural problems of agriculture and proposals for improvement, drafted at the initiative of the North Cameroonian Catholic Church.

Prouzet, M.

- 1974 *Le Cameroun*. Paris: Pichon & Durand-Auzias. 377 p., bibl.

This study includes a section on the power relations between the Christian churches and the Cameroonian state. The former are interpreted as 'un état dans un état' (p. 102-112).

Retif, A.

- 1956 'A propos de l'Union des Populations des Cameroun: communisme et religion au Cameroun', in: *Afrique et l'Asie*, 5, 33, p. 51-55.

This article discusses the mutual accusations of the Catholic Church and the UPC of being respectively colonialist and communist-atheistic.

Reyburn, W.D.

- 1957 'The church, male and female', in: *Practical Anthropology*, 4, 4, p. 140-145.

A majority of the members of Christian denominations among several peoples in Cameroon (the Bulu, Yaounde, Bafia, Meka Gbaya, and Kaka) consists of women who either have a high status or a low economic value.

- 1959 'Polygamy, economy and Christianity in the eastern Cameroon', in: *Practical Anthropology*, 6, 1, p. 1-19.

- 1968 *Out of the African night*. New York-London: Harper & Row. 176 p.

- 1969 'Quelques réflexions sur les mouvements ecclésiastiques indépendants en Afrique', in: *Flambeau*, 22, p. 95-100.

Rudin, H.R.

- 1938 *Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: a case study in modern imperialism*. London: Jonaphan Cape. 456 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6492.

This significant analysis of German colonial rule in Cameroon, contains a section on the political involvement of the Basler Mission. Topics discussed include the cooperation with the government, and the promotion of the Duala interests in the case of land expropriations and the establishment of estates, as well as the conflict about the instruction language in the Presbyterian Mission schools (p. 261-382).

Sanneh, L.

- 1983 *West African Christianity: the religious impact*. London: C. Hurst. 286 p., bibl., ind.

Scalabre, C.

- 1977 'Notes sur l'Islam, le Christianisme et l'Animisme au Cameroun', in: *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, 12, 140-141, p. 79-92.

Several examples of syncretism are presented in this religious-sociological study.

Simo Simo, A.

- 1978 *L'hénothéisme bamiléké face au monothéisme biblique*. Travail de fin d'études à l'Ecole de Théologie Protestante de Ndoundoué. 52 p.

Slageren, J. van

- 1969 *Histoire de l'église en Afrique (Cameroun)*. Yaounde: CLE. 149 p.

The second section deals with the history of the European missions in Cameroon.

- 1972 *Les origines de l'Eglise Evangélique du Cameroun: missions européennes et Christianisme autochtone*. Leiden: Brill. 302 p., bibl., ind., Asc 6506.

This religious-historical study is devoted to the origins and further development into an independent church (in 1957) of the Evangelical Church of East Cameroon, emphasising the situation among the Bamileke. The orientation is missiological, so that political issues are only incidentally dealt with. Topics discussed include the change of denominations in the wake of a change in colonial rule, the ambiguous relation between the German colonial authorities and the Basler Mission, and the origin of the Native Baptist Church.

Stummann, F.

1970 'Wer ist Bischof Ndongmo?', in: *Afrika Heute*, 21, p. 318. Asc.

Stumpf, R.

1979 *La politique linguistique au Cameroun de 1884 à 1960*. Bern.

This study is devoted to the language issue in the missionary schools during the colonial period.

Stürzinger, U.

1983 'Handwerk und Entwicklung: die Ausbildung von Handwerken durch die Basler Mission und Helvetas in Westkamerun', in: P. Hablützel et al. (eds.), *Dritte Welt: historische Prägung und politische Herausforderung*. Wiesbaden: Steiner. p. 217-241.

Tardits, C.

1979 'Réflexions sur le sacrifice dans la religion traditionnelle des Bamoun (Cameroun)', in: *Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*, 4, p. 117-129. bibl., Asc.

This is a contribution to the anthropological debate about the analysis of sacrificial rituals. One of the topics discussed is the Islamisation and Christianisation of the Bamun society since the beginning of this century.

Tchouanga, P.

1979 'Dieu chez les Bamiléké', in: B. Eboussi (ed.), *Dieu en Afrique*. Douala.

Trépanier, G.

1970 'La paysanne camerounaise entre l'émancipation et l'alienation', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 4, 3, p. 321-332. Asc.

The article deals with the ways Bassa women view their own lives in a rapidly changing socio-cultural environment. The coming of Christianity is also briefly discussed.

Trobisch, W.A.

- 1961 'Pre-marital relations and Christian marriage in Africa', in: *Practical Anthropology*, 8, p. 257-261.

The author's goal is to reconstruct the traditional attitude of the Bassa, Bulu, and Bamileke toward sex before marriage on the basis of interviews with male students at a mission school.

Turner, H.W.

- 1965 'Pagan features in West African independent churches', in: *Practical Anthropology*, 12, 4, p. 145-151.

This study is devoted to syncretism in the African independent churches. 'Pagan' characteristics include divination, ecstasy, spirit possession, and purificatory rites.

Ugeux, E.-X.

- 1971 'Le double procès de Yaoundé ou la raison d'état', in: *Remarques Africaines*, 13, 369-370, p. 17-21.

About the law-suit against bishop Ndongmo.

Umezina, W.A.

- 1973 'Les éléments constitutifs de la religion traditionnelle dans les romans de Mongo Beti, Benjamin Matip et Ferdinand Oyono', in: *Cahiers des Religions Africaines*, 7, 13, p. 15-42. bibl.

Vernon-Jackson, H.O.H.

- 1967 *Language, schools and government in Cameroon*. New York.

This volume contains information about the continued use of English by missionaries after the establishment of the German Protectorate in Cameroon, and their emphasis on using African languages instead of German as the instruction language in schools.

Vincent, J.F.

- 1976a Traditions et transition: entretiens avec des femmes bété du Sud-Cameroun: mariage et situation précoloniale, anciens titres de femmes, magie et sorcellerie, réactions à la Christianisation. Paris: ORSTOM. 167 p., bibl., ind., Asc 9953.

Vincent presents a description of the views of Beti women on the changing reality in which they live. The study consists of seventeen interviews, preceded by a general introduction. Topics discussed include extinct marriage practices and feminine rituals in secret societies, as well as the subjective experiences of the process of evangelisation in the colonial period. The economic changes which happened simultaneously, are only marginally discussed.

Wazaki, H.

- 1978 'On the festivals in an African folk-town: the case study of Foumban in Cameroun of West Africa', in: Journal of Asian and African Studies, 15, p. 51-78. Eng. sum., Asc.

This anthropological article discusses religious rituals in the town of Foumban. The central points of orientation in the local value system are the royal Court, Bamun ethnicity, and Islam. The author analyses three rituals, making an analytical distinction between ritual process (formality) and festivity process (orgy).

Wheeler, J.M.

- 1964 L'action missionnaire de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit au Cameroun entre 1919 et 1939. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Paris.

Wilbois, J.

- 1934 Le Cameroun: les indigènes, les colons, les missions, l'administration française. Paris.

Zoa, J.

- 1957 Pour un nationalisme chrétien au Cameroun. Yaounde: Imprimerie St. Paul.

## **CHAPTER 3**

# **URBANISATION AND LAND TENURE**

This chapter consists of two sections. First, urbanisation, migration, and urban society are all briefly discussed; the second section then goes on to discuss land tenure, both in rural and urban areas. As before, each section and subsection is made up of an introduction and a list of references.

## **THE URBAN SOCIETY**

As everywhere in Africa, Cameroon has witnessed heavy urbanisation over the last few decades. Since independence the total amount of urban dwellers has greatly increased. As a result, researchers started to explicitly devote themselves to questions of the new urban society. The phenomenon of migration has been most thoroughly studied since then by demographers and geographers. Just a few significant studies can be listed here; a very extensive survey is the bibliography of Gubry (1984). Bako (1984), Barbier et al. (1981-2), Bessat & Trouve (1982), Dongmo (1981), Marguerat (1979), and Tandap (1982) investigate urbanisation on a national level. The regional studies of migration include Boutrais et al. (1984) and Beauvilain (1980, 1983-4) about North Cameroon, and Gwan (1980) about West Cameroon. Dongmo (1980) is a comparative study of the Yaounde and Douala migration fields.

The trade centres along the coast were the nuclei around which the first cities in Cameroon developed since the middle of the 19th century. These centres of mercantile capitalism were the cradle of an emerging native petty bourgeois class, which no longer complied

with old social structures and traditional values. Douala, being the major port, became the largest city; westernisation had its strongest impact here. Until the 1960s Yaounde and Douala remained the only 'true' cities in the country. Hence, the older urban studies are largely confined to these two metropolitan towns. The classic works exclusively refer to Douala, and discuss the problems the colonial municipal authorities were confronted with as a result of rapid urbanisation, such as overpopulation and (neo-traditional) land tenure conflicts in the immigrant quarter of New Bell. Rivalries over a host of scarce socio-economic resources and opportunities offered by the colonial state, were most intense in Douala. These struggles came to be structured according to ethnic labels. Confrontational ethnicity — the term is introduced by Kleis (1980), see Chapter 1 — is most manifest in the case of the Bamileke. They migrated from their home territories to the Mungo Valley and to Yaounde and Douala, and managed to increasingly dominate the petty trades and handicrafts; see Nkwi (1976) in particular. The voluntary organisations for mutual assistance are an important explanatory factor for their economic dynamics; some information on this ethnic professional solidarity, which intensified ethnic group boundaries, is provided by the afore mentioned Nkwi (1976) and by Soen et al. (1971). The social tensions which are aroused by the thrust and aggressiveness of the Bamileke in pursuit of economic opportunity, are usually referred to as 'le problème bamiléké'; Dongmo (1981) is the major study on this topic. The indigenous population of Yaounde, the Beti, regard the Bamileke as a major economic threat. Many recently published geographic studies briefly discuss contemporary relations between indigenous and immigrant town dwellers, usually focusing on social stratification and ethnicity, i.e. the relative socio-demographic and economic retrogression of the indigenous categories due to the rapid growth of the immigrant population. Gouellain (1961), Merlo (1962), Lacan (1974), Mainet (1978b, 1979a), and Mansveld Beck (1983) refer to Douala in this respect, and Franqueville (1979, 1984) to Yaounde. In West Cameroon the receptivity of the Igbo to

economic change and opportunity are a major cause for ethnic frictions; this was a decisive factor in 1961 when the majority of the population of the Southern Cameroons opted for joining East Cameroon instead of Nigeria; see Kleis (1980). Most geographical urban studies include discussion of the spatial manifestations of ethnicity, notably the phenomenon of concentrated housing along ethnic lines; some of these works present a description of intensified ethnic rivalry. However, they generally lack an analysis in terms of the prevailing socio-economic circumstances.

In the 1960s the study of the city was a by-product of the study of rural development, which was a major field of inquiry for economists, sociologists, and geographers in those days. Exceptions are, among others, N'Difo (1966) and Franqueville (1968) — both referring to Yaounde — and Gardinier (1969) — which is devoted to Douala. In the 1970s the city, as a separate field of inquiry, attracted growing numbers of social scientists. This trend coincides with an increase in attention for the internal social problems of the cities by the national government authorities. Nearly all studies, which are predominantly socio-geographical in discipline, are devoted to the topic of urbanisation and its direct social effects. A key concept is 'néo-citadin'. The three most significant works have been composed by the French geographers Mainet (1981) about Douala and Franqueville (1984) about Yaounde, and by the sociologist Gouellain (1974) about Douala. The majority of urban studies have, however, been written by Cameroonian geographers (in the broad French meaning of the word, i.e. it also includes research which is informed with economic, sociological and anthropological issues); it includes many unpublished dissertations, which are not available outside of Cameroon.

Many geographical studies about Douala take the ward as the unit of analysis, usually a 'quartier spontané', and discuss the social problems by which urbanisation is attended. Those studies which explicitly analyse the problems of land tenure in Douala, are presented in the next section. The problem of housing the urban poor has drawn most attention; see, for example, Mainet's articles

(1976a, 1977a, 1977b, 1978b, 1979b, 1980b), and also Kilama (1982), Mouafo (1981), Mougoué (1977a, 1977b), Ngalle Edimo (1974), and Tchounkoue (1978). There are not that many quarter studies available about Yaounde; see, for example, Franqueville (1972) and Mbono Samba (1971). However, there are several housing studies which are not confined to a single quarter, such as Douandju (1977), Eyango-Kouo (1970), Nsutebu Fru (1985), and Maximy & Mougoué (1980). Comparative studies of Yaounde and Douala are few; an example is Clignet & Jordan (1971).

The cities' growing inability to absorb the population influx gave rise to such problems as alcoholism and prostitution, and generally problems within the field of incomes and employment. Hence, in the 1970s the informal sector of the urban economy was 'discovered' as a field of inquiry. Since the middle of that decade a large amount of socio-economic literature about this theme has been published, notably referring to Douala and particularly Yaounde. See, for example, Bengam et al. (1976) about Douala, and Abado (1982), Braakhuis et al. (1979), Lachaud (1982), Laval (1985), Nihau et al. (1982), Penouil (1982), Demol & Nihau (1982), and Steel (1982) about Yaounde. The informal sector of other cities has been much less explored; Schamp (1983), about Bamenda, and Baumann (1985), about Saa, are two notable German articles. In the terminal colonial period the social tensions in Douala led to a radicalisation of the immigrant section of the population; to strikes, revolts and other forms of social unrest. The growing popularity of the UPC among these ranks in the 1950s coincides with this development; see Melo (1961), Sween & Clignet (1969), and Joseph (1974, 1977).

The city as a social phenomenon is difficult to demarcate. This is one of the reasons why studies which are not primarily devoted to urban life may contribute to a better understanding of the urban society. Many migration studies, regional studies, and urban periphery studies take part in the general debate of the relation between town and countryside. Barbedette (1980), Moby-Etia (1976), and Vernière (1973) are migration studies about Douala. Yaounde is the focus of a number of geographical studies which

analyse the town as the centre of a region with an asserted socio-economic cohesion; most refer to Lekié, a district specialised in commercial horticulture; Bosch (1980), Delpech (1978), Franqueville (1973), and Morinière (1972) are but a few examples.

A new impulse to the study of the city phenomenon was the appearance of urban studies about secondary Cameroonian cities since the early 1970s. Most were dissertations written by young Cameroon students from the Sub-Faculty of Geography of the University of Yaounde. The common theme was, again, the socio-spatial effects of population growth upon the urban society. Nowadays almost every province or district capital has been the focus of one or more of these studies, except for the south of the country where the rate of urbanisation is still small. The following list is far from complete.

|             |                                  |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Bafang      | Tchamgme Njende (1973)           |
| Bafoussam   | Kamga Souop (1972,1977, 1983)    |
| Bagangte    | Nganso (1977)                    |
| Bamenda     | Schamp (1983)                    |
| Belabo      | Hamel (1971) en Kengne (1982)    |
| Buea        | Courade (1972a, 1972b)           |
| Kousseri    | Pabo Sale (1974)                 |
| Kumbo       | Bongfen Jumbau (1973)            |
| Maroua      | Nkili (1977) en Pabo Sale (1981) |
| Mbandjok    | Barbier & Tissandier (1977)      |
| Mbouda      | Nofiele (1973)                   |
| Nanga-Eboko | Hess (1974)                      |
| Ngaoundere  | Gondolo (1978) en Hetzel (1980)  |
| Nkongsamba  | Tchamgme Njende (1979, 1984)     |

A number of these geographical studies analyse secondary towns as the centre of a socio-economic region. The major examples are the following.

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Edea          | Minoué (1970)     |
| Eseka         | Tjeega (1971)     |
| Mokolo        | Steck (1972)      |
| Nanga Eboka   | Tissandier (1972) |
| Ngaoundere    | Hino (1984)       |
| Victoria-Bota | Courade (1979)    |

Urban-anthropological studies are largely non-existent. Cameroonian scholars usually do not preoccupy themselves with anthropological issues. Two examples, referring to secondary cities, are Lagerhuis & Wilms (1974) about Kumba and M. Eguchi (1973) about Maroua. Both studies discuss the rise of neo-traditional life styles — without utilizing the term —, a development which is closely bound up with the earlier stated formation of novel forms of social conscience in urban centres, notably ethnic identities and loyalties. Much more research could be directed toward this theme.

A comparative survey study of secondary cities is not, as yet, available. Only Marguerat (1974b) is concerned with the absolute and relative decline of a number of small cities in Cameroon as caused by the monopolisation of the 'exode rural' by Douala and Yaounde.

To sum up: the urban study of Cameroonian cities is dominated by social-geographers; focuses on the process of urbanisation; is quite productive since the rise of a new generation of Cameroonian students in the early 1970s; and includes since that time the secondary cities of the country. Pioneering theoretical studies have as yet not been produced.

The following references are divided into four distinct lists under the following headings: migration and urbanisation; cities (general); Douala; Yaounde; other cities.

## Migration and urbanisation

Bako, H.

- 1984 'Cameroun: l'exode rurale: manifestations et signification de classe de l'exode rurale dans l'Afrique actuelle', in: *Journal of African Marxists*, 5, p. 51-76. Eng. sum., Asc.

The author provides a Marxist analysis of the causes and effects of migration to the cities in Cameroon: 'The rural exodus is first of all a product of the development of neo-colonial capitalism in Cameroon'.

Barbier, J.-C., G. Courade & P. Gubry

- 1981-82 'L'exode rural au Cameroun', in: *Cahiers ORSTOM*, 18, 1, p. 107-147. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

Beauvilain, A.

- 1980 'Les migrations au Nord-Cameroun', in: *Revue de Géographie du Cameroun*, 2, 1, p. 25-32. Asc.

- 1983-84 'Evolution démographique et faits migratoires dans les cantons Guisseye, Mousseye et Bougoudoum', in: *Revue de Géographie du Cameroun*, 4, 1, p. 45-53. Asc.

Bessat, C., & J. Trouve

- 1982 'L'exode rural des jeunes et les politiques de développement: l'expérience camerounaise', in: J. Gaude (ed.), *Phénomène migratoire et politiques associées dans le contexte africain: études de cas en Algérie, au Burundi, en République-Unie du Cameroun et en Haute-Volta*. Genève: Bureau International du Travail. p. 165-237. bibl., Asc 12988.

Biyong, B.

- 1982 'La croissance urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar: l'exemple du Cameroun', in *La croissance urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar*. Paris. p. 339-357.

Boutrais, J., J. Boulet, A. Beauvilain et al.

- 1984 *Le Nord du Cameroun: des hommes, une région*. Paris: ORSTOM. 551 p., bibl., Asc 15450.

Includes an extensive discussion of migration in North Cameroon (p. 305-374).

Champaud, J.

- 1981 'L'espace commercial des Bamiléké', in: *Espace Géographique*, 10, 3, p. 198-206.

The rise of the Bamileke in agriculture and commerce is closely related to the massive migration of this ethnic group. The author explains the success by the integration of traditional social structures into the modern commercial system.

Chendi Nde, F.

- 1985 Cameroon's policies towards human settlement. Yaounde: Ministère de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat.

Dongmo, J.-L.

- 1980 'L'attraction migratoire nationale des deux capitales camerounaises: Douala et Yaoundé', in: *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 33, 129, p. 49-62. Eng. sum., Asc.

A geographical article about the migration fields of Yaounde and Douala.

- 1981 'Les échanges de population entre les unités administratives au Cameroun', in: *Revue de Géographie du Cameroun*, 2, 1, p. 13-24. Asc.

A rather superficial analysis of migratory movements, based on data from the 1976 census. Most important are the inter-departmental migrations within provinces. The major emigration regions are the Grassfields, and the Bamileke and Bassa territories. Central recipatory areas are Littoral, Sud-Ouest, and Mfoundi.

Franqueville, A.

- 1983 'Une Afrique entre le village et la ville: les migrations dans le Sud du Cameroun', in: *Revue de Géographie du Cameroun*, 4, 2, p. 7-12. Asc.

Gubry, P.

- 1984 Bibliographie générale des études de population au Cameroun (arrêtée au 31 mars 1984)-General bibliography of population studies in Cameroon (at 31th March 1984). Yaounde: Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut des Sciences Humaines, Centre de Recherches Economiques et Démographiques. 382 p., bibl., ind., Asc.

Gwan, E.

- 1980 'Migrational changes in West Cameroon', in: I. Clarke et al. (eds.), *Redistribution of population in Africa*. Nairobi etc.: Heineman. p. 124-132. bibl., Asc A3029.

A short historical overview of the migratory movements which have occurred in West Cameroon.

Marguerat, Y.

- 1973 Analyse numérique des migrations vers les villes du Cameroun. Yaounde: ORSTOM. 161 p.

A general quantitative analysis of the rural exodus in Cameroon, and the causes of the urban pull. The author tests several hypotheses.

- 1979 'Les migrations vers les villes', in: *Le Nord du Cameroun: bilan de dix années de recherches*. Yaounde: ONAREST. p. 402-410.

Podlewski, A.M.

- 1966 'La dynamique des principales populations du Nord-Cameroun (entre Dénoué et Lac Tchad)', in: *Cahiers ORSTOM*, 3, 4, p. 3-194. bibl., Asc.

In the first section the demographic dynamics of each important ethnic group in North Cameroon is explained, and in the second section thematic comparisons are made.

- 1970 Un essai d'observation permanente des faits d'état civil dans l'Adamaoua: recherche méthodologique sur la collecte des données démographiques dans les pays dépourvus de données permanentes. Paris: ORSTOM. 150 p., Asc A689

A demographic study about civil status, marriage, birth and fertility rates, natural growth, and migration in Adamawa

Pontié, G.

- 1979 'La contestation par la migration (le cas des Guiziga du Nord-Cameroun)', in: Cahiers ORSTOM, 16, 1-2, p. 11-127. bibl., Asc.

This sociological article deals with intra-rural migration among the Guiziga, an ethnic group living near Maroua. The author concentrates on push factors to explain the phenomenon, i.e. conflicts within the traditional society.

Tandap, L.T.

- 1979 'Evaluation of the sequence of urbanization and population redistribution in Cameroon', in: Abbia, 34-35-36-37, p. 392-422, bibl., Asc.

- 1982 'Urbanization and population redistribution trends in Cameroon', in: J.I. Clarke et al. (eds.), Redistribution of population in Africa. Nairobi etc.: Heineman. p. 139-145. Asc A3029.

An evaluative study about the impact of urbanisation on population distribution in Cameroon. The author briefly discusses the migratory effects of administrative decentralisation in the public service.

Vincent, M.

- 1984 'Urbanisation et développement au Cameroun', in: Tiers Monde, 25, 98, p. 427-436.

### **Cities: general**

Beauvilain, A. et al.

- 1983 Atlas aérien du Cameroun: campagnes et villes. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 138 p., Asc 14599.

An image of the diversity of the cities and the countryside of Cameroon, utilizing aerial photos from the period 1952-1982.

Chendi Ndé, F.

- 1985 Cameroon's policies towards human settlement. Yaounde: Ministère de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat.

Cotten, A.-M. & Y. Marguerat

- 1977 'Deux réseaux urbains africains: Cameroun et Côte d'Ivoire (deuxième article): les villes et leurs fonctions', in: Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 30, 120, p. 348-382. Eng. sum., Asc.

A geographical system analysis in which the authors try to functionally compare the urban patterns in Ivory Coast and Cameroon. Some attention is paid to decentralisation and the 'administration territoriale'.

Koenig, E.L., E. Chia & J. Povey (eds.)

- 1983 A sociolinguistic profile of urban centers in Cameroon. Los Angeles: Crossroads Press. bibl.

This collection of articles deals with the social aspects of language and language policies. The topics discussed include the spread and role of Pidgin English and the usage of language in the cities.

Marguerat, Y.

- 1974a Atlas du Cameroun, planche 17: les villes et leurs fonctions, commentaire provisoire. Yaounde: ORSTOM. 132 p.
- 1974b 'Réflexions provisoires sur la décadence des villes secondaires au Cameroun', in H.F. Illy (ed.), Kamerun, Strukturen und Problemen der sozio-ökonomischen Entwicklung: Französische, Englische und Deutsche Beiträge. Mainz: Hase & Koehler. p. 131-136. Asc 7420.

A description of the decline of a number of secondary cities in Cameroon since independence. The following causes are presented: (1) 'la diffusion de la fonction administrative', (2) 'le déclin relatif de leur fonction commerciale', (3) 'la concurrence de plus en plus forte des grands centres, due à l'amélioration des communications routières', and (4) 'concentrations des européens dans les grandes villes'. The article is also published in: Etudes géographiques sur les villes du Cameroun. Yaounde: ORSTOM, p. 109-118. Asc.

- 1982-83 'Citadinité et ruralité des populations urbaines au Cameroun: note sur les caractères spécifiques de la population des villes selon le recensement de 1976', in: Cahiers ORSTOM, 19, 2, p. 219-232. Asc

The author proposes five criteria to measure the degree of 'city-hood' of a town.

Tjeega, P.

- 1981 Bibliographie de la géographie urbaine du Cameroun, Travaux et documents de l'ISH. Yaounde. 21 p.

Includes 248 titles which are alphabetically ordered according to author's name.

## Douala

Barbedette, L.

- 1980 'Social itineraries of young migrants living in the peri-urban environment', in: African Environment, 4, 14-16, p. 89-106. Asc.

This socio-psychological study of youth migration is based on fieldwork. Migration is regarded as a transitional ritual, made up of different phases.

Bengam, P.M., J. Jover, J.M. Pouymiroo & E. Tanging

- 1976 Douala: centre nationale d'assistance aux petites et moyennes entreprises. 123 p.

This study discusses the informal sector in Douala, notably the wood-working industry.

Bory, P.

- 1971 'Douala, capitale économique du Cameroun', in: Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, 78, p. 9-61.

Cameroun

- 1981 'Cameroun: urbanisme à Douala', in: Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens, 36, 1832, p. 3483-3485.

Discusses the government's response, in the form of services and projects, to the massive migration to Douala.

Clignet, R. & F. Jordan

- 1971 'Urbanization and social differentiation in Africa: a comparative analysis of the ecological structures of Douala and Yaoundé', in: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 11, 42, p. 261-297. Asc.

Derrick, J.

- 1979 Douala under the French Mandate 1916-1936. Ph. D. thesis, University of London.

Direction de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat

- 1980 Projet de développement urbain (PDU): Yaoundé-Douala, étude de factibilité (rapport définitif). 7 vol. Halcrow Fox .

Diziain, R. & A. Cambon

- 1960 'Etude sur la population du quartier New Bell à Douala 1956-1962', in: Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises, 3, p. 9-210. Asc.

A geographical study of the problems which have emerged in the fields of employment, housing, public services, and land tenure in an immigrant quarter in Douala, due to rapid urbanisation.

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- 1961 'Parenté et affinités ethniques dans l'écologie du grand quartier de New-Bell, Douala', in: A. Southall (ed.), *Social change in modern Africa: studies presented and discussed at the First International African Seminar*, Makerere College, Kampala, January 1959. London: Oxford University Press. Eng. sum., Asc 3331.

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- 1975 *Douala, ville et histoire: enquête réalisée dans le cadre de l'ORSTOM.* Paris: Musée de l'Homme, Institut d'Ethnologie. 402 p., bibl.(1st ed. 1969), Asc 7478.

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- 1955 'L'aménagement de New-Bell (Cité indigène de Douala)', in: *Bulletin d'Information et de Documentation*, 104, p.10-13.

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- 1949 'Les conditions de vie des indigènes de Douala', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 27-28, p. 179-239. Asc.

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A comparative geographical study of Abidjan, Brazzaville, San Pedro, and Douala. Topics discussed include the problems which the municipality faces for effective city planning in the overpopulated residential quarter of New Bell in Douala, such as 'illegal' housing, lack of public services etc.

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The best study of the UPC and a significant contribution to the study of decolonisation in general. The author extensively discusses social and historical factors which may account for the party's radicalism in the struggle for political hegemony. The analysis runs until December 1956, when the party changed over to violent resistance.

Kilama, A.

1982 *Quartiers spontanés et quartiers périphériques à Douala, Cameroun: l'exemple de la zone Nylon*. Thèse de 3<sup>e</sup> cycle, University of Toulouse. 184 p., bibl.

Lacan, M.

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LeVine, V.T.

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1974 *Contribution à l'étude des migrations vers les villes au Cameroun: l'exemple de la population active de l'ensemble portuaire de Douala*. Yaounde: FLSH. 23 p.

- 1976a Logement et niveau de vie dans les quartiers nord de Douala. Yaounde: FLSH. 59 p.
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- 1979b New-Bell, prototype des quartiers des étrangers à Douala. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 31 p., bibl.
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Mouafo, D.

- 1981 Le nouveau front d'urbanisation au nord-est de Douala: le secte Ndogbong-Kondi KM 8 (étude géographique). Thèse 3e cycle, University of Yaounde.

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- 1977a Les quartiers chics à Douala: Nkondo, Bonapriso, Bonadoumbé et Bonadouma. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Yaounde.
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- 1976 Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields. Fribourg: Fribourg University Press. 233 p., bibl., Asc 8452.

An important political-anthropological monograph about the Kom, written by a scholar who is himself affiliated to this people.

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A survey of more than hundred black and white photos of the history of Douala from 1860 until 1955. Little information on the residents of the city is included.

Sween, J. & R. Clignet

- 1969 'Urban unemployment as a determinant of political unrest: the case study of Douala, Cameroon', in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 3, 2, p. 463-487.

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## Yaounde

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- 1982 'A la recherche de données: enquêtes au Cameroun, le cas des menuisiers', in: I. Deblé & Ph. Hugon (eds.), Vivre et survivre dans les villes africaines. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. p.113-118. Asc 13954.

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Bopda, A.

- 1979-80 La transformation du centre ville de Yaoundé. Mémoire Maîtrise, University of Yaounde. 142 p.

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A sociological study of migration. Land scarcity in the lékié district stimulates youth to migrate to Yaounde, hoping to earn a bridewealth there.

Braakhuis, N., J. -P. Lachaud & P. Mettelin

- 1979 Recherches sur les activités informelles à Yaoundé. Talence: Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux, Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire. 491 p., bibl., Asc A3048.

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- 1971 'Urbanization and social differentiation in Africa: a comparative analysis of the ecological structures of Douala and Yaoundé', in: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 11, 42, p. 261-297. Asc.

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A significant geographical study of the economic success of Bamileke immigrants in urban modern life, notably in Douala, Yaounde, and Nkongsamba.

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A geographical analysis of three sections of an immigrant quarter in Yaounde, which is largely inhabited by Bamileke residents. The author shows that professional dynamics correlates to the immigrants' region of origin.

- 1973 'L'émigration rurale dans le département de la Lékié: contribution à l'étude des relations ville-campagne dans le Sud du Cameroun', in: Cahiers ORSTOM, 10, 2-3, p. 151-193. Asc.

This article discusses patterns of migration and re-migration of the rural population in the Lékié district, a heavily populated area with intensive cocoa cultivation.

- 1979 'Croissance démographique et immigration à Yaoundé', in: Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 32, 128, p. 321-354. Eng. sum.

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This geographical study, composed by order of the Yaounde municipality, is devoted to the social problems which accrue from the rapid growth of the city. Topics discussed include land holding relations and the stagnatory effects of Yaounde on the development of nearby secondary towns.

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- 1985 'Les relations entre les marchés du travail moderne et informel: le cas de Yaoundé', in: M. Penouil & J.-P. Lachaud (eds.), Le développement spontané: les activités informelles en Afrique. Paris: Pedone. p. 179-194. Asc 15296.

A socio-economic study of the dynamic interplay of the formal and informal sector of the Yaounde economy. The author concludes that the latter does not drag on the further economic development of the town.

LeVine, V.T.

- 1971 The Cameroon Federal Republic. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press. 205 p. bibl., ind., Asc 7416.

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Barbier, J.C. & J. Tissandier

- 1977 *Mbandjok: ou, les promesses d'une ville liée à un complexe agro-industriel sucrier (Cameroun)*. Yaounde: ONAREST. 128 p., bibl., Asc A2456.

This study is devoted to the social problems which have emerged in a recently established industrial centre one hundred kilometres to the northeast of Yaounde. Topics discussed include the failure of the parcelling out of land and the municipality's inability to control the expansion of the 'quartiers spontanés'.

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This is a juridical overview of the housing policies of the East Cameroonian government in relation to urbanisation policies.

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A compilation of Fulbe oral traditions in Garoua.

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This demographic study is devoted to the North Cameroonian cities. The data are based on the 1976 census, and comparisons are made with census material collected in the early 1960s.

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- 1973 Kumbo: a study in urban geography. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 107 p., bibl.

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- 1983 Villes et campagnes du Cameroun de l'Ouest. Paris: ORSTOM. 508 p., bibl., Asc 14661.

An extensive survey of the cities and countryside of this region. Rural-urban migration is one of the topics discussed.

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- 1972a 'L'espace urbain de Buéa (Cameroun Occidentale): essai de géographie sociale', in: *La Croissance Urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. p. 475-492. Asc.

This geographical study discusses the present-day spatial configuration of urban quarters in Buea, which is argued to express major historical events, notably the Bakweri insurrection against the Germans in the beginning of this century, and the promotion of the town to the administrative capital of West Cameroon. The article was also published in: *Etudes géographiques sur les villes du Cameroun*. Yaounde: ORSTOM, 1970, p. 41-55.

- 1972b The urban development of Buea: an essay in social geography. Yaounde: ORSTOM. 27 p

This booklet is a concise survey of the towns in the Fako district (Buea). The author is a French geographer with many years of fieldwork experience in Cameroon.

- 1979 Victoria Bota: croissance urbaine et immigration. Paris: ORSTOM. 125 p., bibl., Asc A2413.

The author tries to explain the relative decline of Victoria-Bota since 1960, and describes the modest population growth which the city nevertheless has witnessed, i.e. 'growth without development'.

Dongmo, J.-L.

- 1981 Le dynamisme bamiléké (Cameroun). 2 vol. Yaounde: University of Yaounde etc. 424 p. & 293 p., bibl., Asc 12511.

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An anthropological description of the 'modern' life style and culture of women in a number of Fulbe residential quarters in Maroua.

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- 1971 M'Balmayo: étude de morphologie urbaine. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 199 p., bibl.

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- 1954 'Ngaoundéré: la vie économique d'une cité peul', in: Etudes Camerounaises, 43-44, p. 3-66.

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- 1978 N'Gaoundéré: évolution d'une ville peul. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Rouen. 301 p.
- 1979 'Evolution économique de la ville de N'Gaoundéré (Cameroun)', in: Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 32, 126, p. 179-193. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

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A description of the development of the township of Belabo since the construction of the Transcamerounais railway between Yaounde and Ngaoundere.

Hess, P.

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Hetzel, W.

- 1980 'Ngaoundere: wissenschaftlicher Bericht über Feldforschungen in Kamerun vom 15-7 bis 22-9-78', in: Afrika Informationen, 3, p. 1-14. Asc.
- 1983 N'Gaoundéré: Tradition und Wandel im Raum einer 'Fulbe-Stadt' in Kamerun. Köln: University of Köln. 108 p., bibl.

A monograph of recent urban developments in the fields of trade, transport and relations with the surrounding region, and the impact of these infrastructural and economic factors on the ethnic differentiation of the city, i.e. the decreasing political and economic hegemony of the Fulbe.

Hino, Sh.

- 1984 'Social relations between towns and villages in Adamawa regional society: a case study of Ngaoundéré and Mbang Mboum', in: M. Tomikawa (ed.), *Sudan Sahel studies I*. Tokyo: ILCAA. p. 169-198. bibl., Asc 14472.

Kamga Souop, A.

- 1972 *La croissance de Bafoussam: étude géographique*. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 129 p., bibl.
- 1977 *Bafoussam: étude géographique*. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Bordeaux III. 154 p., bibl.
- 1983 'Les activités urbaines à Bafoussam (Cameroun)', in: *Travaux et Documents de Géographie Tropicale*, 47, p. 211-224.

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- 1982 'Quelques aspects de la vie de relation de Belabo', in: *Revue de Géographie du Cameroun*, 3, 2, p. 123-128. Eng. sum. (p. 135), Asc.

An analysis of the commercial opportunities of this new town along the Transcamerounais railway. However: 'La promotion urbaine et administrative sera ... freinée par Bertoua, chef-lieu et principale ville de la Province de l'Est'.

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- 1980 'Confrontation and incorporation: Igbo ethnicity in Cameroon', in: *African Studies Review*, 23, 3, p. 89-100. Asc.

The article deals with ethnicity among the Igbo immigrants in West Cameroon. The author opposes the view that ethnicity is predominantly an urban phenomenon, making an analytic distinction between incorporation and confrontation as alternative patterns for activating the ethnic identity. The distinction is grafted upon Barth's notion of ethnicity, which emphasises the ecological conditions of ethnic identity.

Lagerberg, C.S.I.J. & G.J. Wilms

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Contains some remarks about the socio-economical and ethnic tensions in Douala, Yaounde, and Kamba (p. 49-53).

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- 1970 L'industrialisation d'Edea et ses conséquences géographiques sur la ville et sa région. University of Bordeaux III.

Nganso, E.

- 1977 Bangangte: étude urbaine. University of Yaounde. 102 p., bibl.

Nkili, R.

- 1977 Maroua, la ville et la région des origines à 1919. Paris, University of Paris IV. 467 p., bibl.

Nofiele, D.

- 1973 Mbouda: étude de géographie urbaine. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 140 p., bibl.

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1981 'Maroua, aspects de la croissance d'une ville du Nord-Cameroun (des années 50 à nos jours)', in: Revue de Géographie du Cameroun, 2, 1, p. 63-67. Asc.

Prestat, M.G.

1959 Maroua, ville d'Islam. 24 p.

Soh, P.B.

1983 Abokpa-Mankou-Bamenda: creation and evolution of an urban centre in a traditional milieu. Yaounde: Centre d'Editions et de Production pour l'Enseignement et la Recherche. 44 p.

Schamp, E.W.

1983 'The economic situation of private garages in Bamenda: preliminary findings on field studies in August 1983', in: Revue de Géographie du Cameroun, 4, 2, p. 1-6. Asc.

A geographical study of the informal sector of the capital of Northwestern Province.

Steck, B.

1972 'Mokolo dans ses relations avec le milieu rural environnant', in: Cahiers ORSTOM, 9, 3, p. 387-308.

Tchamgme Njende, D.

1973 La ville de Bafang: étude de géographie urbaine. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 201 p., bibl.

1979 Nkongsamba: étude de géographie urbaine. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Bordeaux III. 373 p., bibl.

1984 'La population de Nkongsamba: structures et problèmes', in: Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 37, 147, p. 257-285. Eng. sum.

Tissandier, J.

- 1972 'Aspects des relations villes-campagnes dans le département de la Haute-Sanaga (République Fédérale du Cameroun)', in: La Croissance Urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar. Paris: CNRS. p. 1029-1046.

About the township of Nanga Eboka.

Tjeega, P.

- 1971 Eseka: la ville, l'arrondissement: étude géographique. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 254 p., bibl.

Vennetier, P.

- 1980 'La consommation de l'énergie traditionnelle en milieu africain: l'exemple de Ngaoundéré (Cameroun)', in: Colloque l'énergie dans les communautés rurales des pays du Tiers-Monde. Talence: Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale, p. 1-16.

About the trade in fire-wood and its ecological impact on the environment.

## **LAND TENURE**

The second section of this chapter is devoted to : (1) the prevailing indigenous systems of land tenure in rural areas; (2) state intervention through nationwide legislation into these unwritten judicial systems (preceded by a short subsection on private law in general); and (3) land holding relations in the urban society.

### **Indigenous systems of land tenure**

The literature about indigenous systems of land property rights in Cameroon is rather dispersed: the topic is usually discussed in the context of the traditional agricultural systems, descriptions of which can be found in many early anthropological monographs. The unit of analysis is the tribe, which is implicitly presented as a static entity; an exception is Boutrais (1973, 1978). The possible impact of land tenure on ethnicity is not explicitly discussed. The information is largely descriptive and a-historical, and hampered by the utilisation of such unclear concepts as the dichotomies modern vs. traditional and individual vs. collective. The land is primarily interpreted as a means of production — i.e. land property rights are presented as part and parcel of the agricultural structure — in the context of a putative overall process of rural modernisation. Thus, traditional systems of land holding relations are regarded as a disappearing phase in a unilineal process of agricultural development. Historical change of land tenure systems is largely attributed to external factors which may be capitalised under the common denominator of modernisation; particularly land scarcity and the introduction of cash crops and arboricultures are mentioned in this respect, as they further the individualisation of property rights.

A comparative survey study of the different prevailing systems of land tenure in Cameroon is not available. Short descriptions of such systems are, among others, included in the following books and articles: Alexandre & Binet (1958) about the Pahuin; Dugast

(1955, 1959) about the Banen; Geschiere (1982) about the Maka; Nkwi (1976) about the Kom; Jeffreys (1963) about the Bali; Kaberry (1950, 1960) about the Nsaw; Tardits (1960) about the Bamileke; Gosselin (1970) about the Bamileke; Lembezat (1961) about the 'Kirdi'; Garine (1964) about the Massa; Martin (1970) about the Matakam; Pontié (1973) about the Guiziga; Boulet (1970, 1975) about the Mafa; Hallaire (1970, 1971) about the Ouldeme; and, finally, Gleave & Thomas (1968) about the Ngemba.

One of the topics which has attracted considerable attention is the issue of the appearance or non-appearance of individual property rights in African traditional land tenure systems. The issue was considered urgent because individual property rights of land was generally seen as a general prerequisite of agricultural development. The majority of the afore-mentioned monographs depicts land as an inalienable asset to which individuals have only limited and temporary rights. Binet (1951) explains the appearance of individual rights of property by the rate of population mobility in the pre-colonial period. This theory, which has recently been adopted by Weber (1977), argues that individualisation of rights goes hand in hand with sedentarisation of the population, appearing in a situation of increased land scarcity and/or the introduction of perennial crops for export (the latter implies permanent cultivation of the land). The prevalence of individual property rights among the peoples which inhabit the heavily populated Mandara mountains in North Cameroon, has been an intriguing object of study in the light of this debate, as witness the many studies available on this marginal part of the country; Martin (1970), Boulet (1970), and Hallaire (1970, 1971) are all examples which have been recently published.

The foregoing discussion of the individualisation of land property rights is closely connected to the theme of the impact of the introduction of cash crops. Nearly all afore-mentioned studies devote some pages to this topic. Furthermore, Delpech (1982-83, 1985) discusses the conflicts which accompany the individualisation of property rights between the different parties involved which

claim the land, in the case of the Eton. Boutrais (1973, 1978) describes the conflicts over land in the North Cameroonian plains, which result from the introduction of export crops and a massive migration from the Mandara mountains.

Much less literature is available on the religious dimension of systems of indigenous land tenure. A paper of Dikoumé & Lippens (1970) discusses the relation between the ancestor cult and the inalienability of land in East Cameroon in general. Tonye Mbua (1973) explores the possibilities of transference of land within traditional land tenure systems. A few ethnographic studies pay some attention to agricultural rituals, for example, Juillerat (1971) on the Mouktele, Dugast (1959) on the Banen, and P. Eguchi (1975) on the Hide. Th. Melone (1969) analyses the religious meaning of land in the works of the well-known writer Mongo Beti.

Land tenure systems are intricately interwoven with structures of kinship and descent. Land holding relations exist only in the framework of socio-political interaction patterns among and between family groups. Delarozière (1949) and Hurault (1962, 1970a, 1970b) provide a functionalist analysis of land tenure in terms of its interrelatedness with the social structure of a number of Bamileke chiefdoms. Froelich (1954) discusses the politico-religious role of the centre of a Fulbe chieftaincy with respect to the land. There is a complete lack of any literature that analyses the land holding rights in the context of the legal order which was established in the chiefdoms of West and North Cameroon after their incorporation in the colonial and post-colonial state organisation. Guyer (1984) discusses the relationship between land, kinship, and households in the general context of a socio-economic analysis of the Beti agricultural system. Finally, S. Melone (1972) and Pougoue (1977) are significant studies of the territoriality of kinship groupings, with the intention of providing a juridical contribution to the study of the (restricted) opportunities to modernise society through the production of novel legislation on a national scale.

Alexandre, P. & J. Binet

- 1958 Le groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 152 p., bibl., Asc 2514.

A significant survey of the geography, climate, ethnicity, history, languages, economics, social organisation, and major cultural traits of the Pahuin peoples in the Cameroonian South. It includes an extensive, but outdated bibliography. A small section refers to land tenure (p. 73-75).

Anyangwe, C.

- 1984 'Land tenure and interests in land in Cameroonian indigenous law', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 27, p. 29-41. Asc.

A general description of the nature of group and individual holding and interest in land in the traditional Cameroonian society.

Auber, Y.

- 1956 'Coutumes foncières et droit foncier au Cameroun', in: Institut de Sociologie Sovay, Etudes Coloniales, 3, p. 503-542.

Bawden, M.G. & I. Langdale-Brown

- 1963 An aerial photographic reconnaissance of the present and possible land-use in the Bamenda area, southern Cameroons, Tolworth, Dept. of Technical Cooperation, Directorate of Overseas Survey, Forestry and Land Use Section.

Bertant, M.

- 1935 Monographie d'une tribu de Sud-Cameroun. Paris: Domat Montchrestien. 227 p.

Contains the hypothesis that individual property of land does not exist in African customary law.

Binet, J.

- 1951 'Droit foncier coutumier au Cameroun', in: Le monde Non-Chrétien, 18, p. 180-165. Asc.

This article, composed by a French colonial civil servant, discusses aspects of the customary land tenure in East Cameroon, providing illustrations from the Bamileke, Fang, Yaounde, and Fulbe. One of the topics discussed is the individualisation of the usufruct of land due to the introduction of cash crops.

Boulet, J.

- 1970 'Un terroir de montagne en pays Mafa Magoumaz (Cameroun du Nord)', in: *Etudes Rurales*, 39-38-39, p. 198-211. Asc.

A geographical village study of the traditional adaptation of an agrarian community to the ecology of the Mandara mountains. Includes some remarks about the structures of land holding relations.

- 1975 *Magoumaz: pays mafa (Nord Cameroun): étude d'un terroir de montagne*. Paris: Mouton. 92 p.

Boutrais, J.

- 1973 *La colonisation des plaines par les montagnards au Nord du Cameroun (Monts Mandara)*. Paris: ORSTOM. 278 p., bibl., Asc A1112.

A geographical monograph of the migration from the Mandara mountains to the North Cameroonian plains, based on fieldwork in 1968-1969. Contains a few remarks regarding land tenure.

- 1978 'Compétition foncière et développement au Nord du Cameroun: la Plaine de Mora', in: *Cahiers ONAREST*, 1, 2, p. 53-90. bibl., Asc.

An interesting article about the developments in the land tenure system prevailing in the Mora Plain within the context of the migration from the Mandara mountains and the introduction of cotton cultivation. The author also discusses how these socio-economic changes influence the interethnic relations in the region.

Buijtenhuis, R.

- 1971 *Landscarcity, land tenure, and rural revolt in Africa: the Kikuyu and the Bamileke*. Paper presented on the Seminar on Problems of Land Tenure in African Development. Leiden, African Studies Centre. Asc A781.

An analysis of the relation between land scarcity, systems of land tenure, and peasant revolts. The author discusses two cases, the Kikuyu (in Kenya) and the Bamileke, and concludes that land scarcity, not land tenure, provokes political unrest.

Delarozière, R.

- 1949 'Les institutions politiques et sociales des populations dites Bamiléké', in: *Etudes Camerounaises*, 25-26, p. 5-68, & 27-28, p. 127-175.

This is the first survey study of the Bamileke social structure, notably the chiefdoms and the societies, compiled from official reports. Traditional land tenure is one of the minor topics (P. 28-32). The study contains many errors.

Delpech, B.

- 1982-83 'La terre et les femmes: conflits ruraux au Cameroun du Sud', in: *Cahiers ORSTOM*, 19, 2, p. 189-193. Asc.

This is an analysis of local conflicts among the Eton through archival research at a customary court. One of the main sources of tensions is the individualisation of land property rights due to the introduction of cocoa cultivation and rapid population growth.

- 1985 'Femmes éton devant les tribunaux coutumiers', in: J.-C. Barbier (ed.), *Femmes du Cameroun: mères pacifiques, femmes rebelles*. Bondy: ORSTOM; Paris: Karthala. p. 327-340. Asc 15265.

Dikoumé, C. & Ph. Lippens

- 1970 *Les problèmes fonciers au Cameroun Oriental*. Douala: Institut Panafricain pour le Développement. 35 p.

A description of systems of land tenure in East Cameroon, focusing on the religious dimension: the land belongs to the ancestors, and hence it is inalienable. The second section briefly describes the history of land legislation: the authors indicate that it is meant to harmonise customary law, public land property, and individual property rights. A somewhat revised version is: 'Les hommes et la terre: éléments sur les problèmes fonciers au Cameroun Oriental'. Douala: Institut Panafricain pour le Développement. (1972), 41 p.

Dugast, I.

- 1955 Monographie de la tribu des Ndiki (Banan du Cameroun) I: la vie matérielle. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. 824 p., bibl., Asc A2038.

This is the first volume of an extensive ethnography of the Ndiki, based on fieldwork between 1934 and 1956. Many aspects of traditional land tenure are discussed, but, nevertheless, the changes which occurred during the colonial period remain unclear.

- 1959 Monographie de la tribu des Ndiki (Banan du Cameroun) II: vie sociale et familiale. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. 636 p., bibl., Asc A2038.

Several aspects of traditional land tenure are discussed (p. 500-516).

Eguchi, P.K.

- 1975 'Beer drinking and festivals among the Hide', in: Kyoto University African Studies, 9, p. 69-90. Asc.

A functionalist description of the Hide, a tribe inhabiting the Mandara mountain region, focusing on the integrative impact of collective regular celebrations at the end of the dry season. The author makes a few comments on agricultural rituals.

Eléments

- 1963 'Eléments du droit coutumiers bassa', in: Abbia, 4, p. 136-156. bibl., Asc.

Includes a small section about land tenure as it existed in the early decades of this century.

Froelich, J.-C.

- 1954 'Le commandement et l'organisation sociale chez les Foulbé de l'Adamaoua', in: Etudes Camerounaises, 45-56, p. 5-91.

This study is devoted to the social and political organization of the Fulbe chiefdoms in Adamawa. It includes a few remarks about the political dimension of the traditional land tenure system prevailing in these states (p. 29-31).

- 1968 Les montagnards paléonigritiques. Paris: Berger-Levrault, ORSTOM. 268 p., bibl., Asc 6267.

A comparative study of the 'paleonigrific' peoples in the savanna belt of West Africa, including the Chamba and the Fali in North Cameroon. It contains a few remarks about the land tenure systems of these ethnic groups. Modern, external influences are not taken into consideration.

Gariné, I. de

- 1964 Les Massa du Cameroun: vie économique et sociale. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 250 p., bibl., Asc 4375.

This ethnographic monograph, based on fieldwork research in 1957-1960, intends to explain the idiosyncracies of the Massa society in North Cameroon from three external factors, notably the impact of neighbouring peoples, Muslim chiefdoms, and European colonialism. Some attention is paid to traditional land tenure (p. 51-56).

Geschiere, P.

- 1982 Village communities and the state: changing relations among the Maka of South-Eastern Cameroon since the colonial conquest. London etc.: Kegan Paul International. 512 p., bibl., Asc 10472.

This is the revised translation of Geschiere's dissertation, which is written in Dutch. (*Stamgemeenschappen onder staatsgezag: veranderende verhoudingen binnen de Maka dorpen in Zuidoost Kameroen sinds 1900*. Free University, Amsterdam, 1978). It is the first extensive monograph about the Maka. German and French colonisation resulted in the encapsulation of the egalitarian political system of the Maka into the authoritarian structures of the colonial state. This tension is still discernable in the early 1970s. The author briefly discusses the pre-colonial system of land tenure (p. 39-41).

Gleave, M.B. & M.F. Thomas

- 1968 'The Bagango Valley: an example of land utilization and agricultural practice in the Bamenda Highlands', in: Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Série B, 30, p. 655-681.

A description of the agricultural system on the local level of the Ngemba, and the recent changes due to the introduction of coffee cultivation. Includes a few remarks on the prevailing land tenure system (p. 665-666).

Guyer, J.I.

- 1984 Family and farm in southern Cameroon. Boston: Boston University. 154 p., bibl.

This study of the historical interaction between family structures and the Beti agricultural system, focuses on the agricultural activities of women. Land tenure is comprehensively discussed in the fourth and fifth chapter.

Hallaire, A.

- 1970 'Des montagnards en bordure de plaine Hodogway (Cameroun du Nord)', in: Etudes Rurales, 37-38-39, p. 212-231. Asc.

A geographical village study of the Ouldeme in the Mandara mountains. The land tenure system, operating in a situation of land scarcity, is briefly discussed.

- 1971 Hodogway (Cameroun Nord): un village de montagne en bordure de la plaine. Paris: Mouton. 79 p., bibl., Asc A936.

A local level study of the agricultural system prevailing in the Mandara mountains. the section on land tenure (p. 45-57) concludes that the sale and purchase of land is closely related to the opportunities to actively cultivate the soil. Village leaders sometimes aid the weak and impoverished who are in need of land.

Hurault, J.

- 1962 La structure sociale des Bamiléké. The Hague etc.: Mouton. 133 p., Asc A315.

This is an important volume about the kinship and marriage system and the socio-political structure within the two Bamileke chieftainships of Bandjun and Batié. The study is based on fieldwork in 1955.

- 1970a 'Essai de synthèse du système social des Bamiléké', in: Africa, 40, 1, p. 1-24. Asc.

A functionalist overview of the Bamileke social system. The author discusses the system of kinship and descent, marriage relations, ward institutions, and the system of land tenure (p. 11-16).

- 1970b 'L'organisation du terroir dans les groupements bamiléké', in: Etudes Rurales, 37-38-39, p. 232-256. Asc.

This is a socio-economic study of the Bamileke. Land tenure is an aspect of the 'organisation du terroir', which is a spatial translation of the Bamileke social structure and culture, which are, in its turn, influenced by the geographical environment.

Jeffreys, M.D.W.

- 1963 'Some notes on the customs of the Grassfield Bali of Northwestern Cameroons', in: Afrika und Übersee, 46, 3, p. 161-168. Asc.

Succession, land tenure, and twins are briefly discussed.

Juillerat, B.

- 1971 Les bases de l'organisation sociale chez les Mouktélé (Nord-Cameroun): structures lignagères et mariage. Paris: University of Paris. 271 p., bibl., Asc A771.

This is the first extensive monograph about the Mouktele in the Mandara mountains, including descriptions of marriage rituals, agricultural rituals, the religious functions of authority, as well as the traditional land tenure system.

Kaberry, Ph. M.

- 1950 'Land tenure among the Nsaw of the British Cameroons', in: Afrika, 20, 4, p. 307-323. Asc.

This article discusses the rights and duties of lineage heads with reference to the traditional land tenure system in the chiefdom of Nsaw in West Cameroon.

- 1960 'Some problems of land tenure in Nsaw', in: Journal of African Administration, 12, 1, p. 21-28. Asc.

A description of the problems which have emerged in the traditional land tenure system in Nsaw due to the introduction of coffee cultivation and the Mbororo demand for pastoral rights.

Kouassigan, G.A.

- 1966 L'homme et la terre, droits fonciers coutumiers et droit de propriété en Afrique Occidentale. Paris: Berger-Levrault, ORSTOM. 284 p., bibl., Asc 5596.

A juridical survey study of the principal characteristics of the various systems of land tenure in West Africa as well as the general trend towards individualisation due to socio-structural change. Several examples from East Cameroon are presented.

Lembezat, B.

- 1961 Les populations païennes du Nord-Cameroun et de l'Adamaoua. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 252 p., bibl., Asc 3791.

An extensive survey of the non-Islamic populations in the Cameroonian North, providing information per ethnic grouping on the natural environment, language, economic life, social organisation, and main cultural traits. The rubric 'procédures juridiques' includes occasional remarks on land tenure.

Mandessi Bell, E.

- 1987 'Radioscopy d'un système foncier africain: l'exemple du Cameroun', in: Penant, 97, 794, p. 268-290. Asc.

Martin, J.-F.

- 1970 Les Matakam du Cameroun: essai sur la dynamisme d'une société pré-industrielle. Paris: ORSTOM. 216 p., bibl., Asc A853.

A functionalist analysis of the Matakam peoples in North Cameroon. One of the topics discussed is the traditional land tenure system (p. 124-127). The author gives some attention to the political and economic impact of European colonialism.

Meek, C.K.

- 1957 Land tenure and land administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons. London: HMSO. 420 p., bibl., ind., Asc 2508.

The second section of the book (p. 343-410) discusses the evolution of the indigenous systems of land tenure in colonial West Cameroon as well as the history of land administration by the German and British colonial government.

Melone, S.

- 1971 'Régimes matrimoniaux et droits fonciers en Afrique', in: Penant, 732, p. 141-163. Asc.

This is a juridical article about the opportunities to strengthen the societal position of women through legislation. The author argues that changes in family law should be accompanied by more rights for women with regard to the land they cultivate.

- 1972 La parenté et la terre dans la stratégie du développement (l'expérience camerounaise: étude critique). Paris: Klincksieck. 201 p., bibl., Asc 3366.

This is a significant juridical study of the traditional intertwining of kinship structures and land tenure in Cameroon, as well as the impact of the colonial and post-colonial government on these relations through legislative measures.

Melone, Th.

- 1969 'Mongo Béti et la terre camerounaise', in: Annales de la Faculté de Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, 1, 1, p. 87-118.

An analysis of the religious and social significance of land in the literary works of Mongo Beti, the most important oppositional Cameroonian writer.

Mitchell, N.P.

- 1931 Land problems and policies in the African mandates of the British Commonwealth. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. bibl.

An outdated description of the systems of land tenure. Topics discussed are expropriation, native segregation, surveys, and land registration. Includes examples from West Cameroon.

Nkwi, P. N.

- 1976 Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields. Freiburg: The University Press. 233 p., bibl. Asc 8452.

This political-anthropological monograph of the Tikar chiefdom of Kom includes some remarks on traditional and modern land holding relations within the perspective of government control (p. 59-63, 197-199).

Ouden, J. H. B. den

- 1981 'Changes in land tenure and land use in a Bamileke chiefdom, Cameroon, 1900-1980: an historical analysis of changes in control over people', in: Essays in rural sociology in honor of R. A. J. van Lier. Wageningen: Agricultural University. p. 171-261.

Discusses how the tenure and utilisation of land provides opportunities for the government to control the population.

Pahai, J.

- 1974 Bagara, étude de géographie rurale. Yaounde: University of Yaounde.

Penant, M.

- 1946 'La propriété foncière indigène au Cameroun II', in: Recueil Penant, 51, p. 17f.

Pontié, G.

- 1973 Les Guiziga du Cameroun Septentrional: l'organisation traditionnelle et sa mise en contestation. Paris: ORSTOM. 255 p., bibl., ind., Asc A1046.

This is a functionalist sociological ethnography of the Guiziga in North Cameroon. The author describes the traditional socio-political system, and analyses people's reactions to general processes of incorporation, such as the introduction of cotton cultivation, the integration into the Cameroonian state, schooling, and technical innovation in agriculture, particularly the internal conflicts they provoke. Traditional land tenure is briefly discussed (p. 124-128).

Pougoue, P.G.

- 1977 La famille et la terre: essai de contribution à la systématisation du droit privé au Cameroun. DES, University of Bordeaux.

Rowling, C.W.

- 1948 A study of land tenure in the Cameroons Province. Lagos. 37 p.,  
Asc HcD7:9.

An official report on, among other things, traditional land tenure among the Nsaw. The study is based on unpublished research data collected by Ph. Kaberry.

Tardits, C.

- 1960 Contribution à l'étude des populations bamiléké de l'Ouest-Cameroun. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 135 p., bibl.

The author concludes in a small section (p. 69-72) that the prevailing land tenure system offers sufficient security to stimulate investments, and possesses enough flexibility to adapt itself to increasing land pressure.

Tonye Mbua, N.

- 1973 Le serment en droit camerounais. Thèse 3e cycle, DEPA, University of Paris I.

This dissertation discusses traditional contract law, including the supernatural sanctions which are associated with the procedures for the transference of land.

United Nations

- 1951 Population, land categories and tenure in the Cameroons under British administration. New York: UNO. 13 p., Asc HcC20:6.

This working paper was published by the secretariat of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

Weber, J.

- 1977 Structures agraires et évolution des milieux ruraux: le cas de la région cacaoyère du Centre-Sud Cameroun. Paris: ORSTOM. 50 p., bibl. Asc A2461

A sociological study of the historical evolution of land tenure systems in Central and South Cameroon. The introduction of commercial cocoa cultivation led to individualisation of land property rights and to sedentarisation of the population.

Yongabi, A.N.

1966 'Land acquisition in Kom', in: Saghaah Kom, 3, p. 44-46.

### **State intervention with reference to land tenure**

The majority of the literature on the prevailing indigenous land tenure systems either do not take into account the changes these systems have undergone during this century, or these changes are only analysed in terms of economic and demographic developments. But these factors cannot be seen apart from the process of state formation in Cameroon over the last hundred years. National legislation makes the state visible and its authority felt on the local level, but it also manifests the limits inherent in state penetration; the official aspirations for legal hegemony have not, as yet, resulted in an effective power monopoly for the state. Ethnically confined systems of land tenure function beside and through the official system, a situation which is generally defined as legal pluralism. The discussion of this process of state intervention and the concomitant legislative measures is preceded by a small subsection containing some introductory notes on the most significant juridical studies on private law in Cameroon, as legislation relating to land tenure might be considered as a specific aspect of private law.

*Private law*

General information on the legal system in Cameroon in a supra-national context, is provided by Anderson (1963), Salacuse (1971), Allott (1962, 1970), and the many volumes of the 'Encyclopédie Juridique de l'Afrique' (1982). The article of Pannier (1973), on the sources of law, is more specifically related to Cameroon. Surveys of laws and decrees can be found in \*Documentation\* (1958, -), in the 'Journal Officiel' (1916, -), and in several juridical periodicals, like 'Penant', 'Revue Juridique et Politique', and 'Revue de Droit Camerounais'.

The earlier literature, written by Europeans, usually depicts the indigenous legal systems as isolated, coherent entities. Most of these studies refer to South Cameroon, perhaps because of the relatively early spread of the Christian missions in that part of the country. Some examples of this kind are Nicol (1929) about the Bakoko, Bertant (1934) about the Bulu, Jaeger (1967) about the Bulu, and \*Eléments\* (1963) about the Bassa. A dominant theme in the most recent literature on private law, which is predominantly composed by Cameroonian students, is the mutual impact of official written law and the many unwritten indigenous legal systems; this theme touches upon legal pluralism and legal syncretism. First, there are a number of articles which discuss the problems of law codification which are provoked by the sheer existence of this multitude of customary law systems playing a prevailing role in daily life and social relations; see Langoul (1966), Dipanda Mouelle (1986), and Melone (1986). Secondly, there are a few studies about this interplay in the context of an ethnically confined unit of analysis; see, for example, Kwayeb (1960) and Kanga (1957, 1959) about the Bamileke, Dillon (1979) about law of legal proceedings among the Meta, and Bekombo (1984) on family and succession law among the Duala. Thirdly, there are a few general studies; Nguini (1972) on modern vs. traditional law, S. Melone (1982) on personal and family law, Ngongang-Ouandji (1972) on law of succession, and

André (1980) and Doumbé-Moulango (1972) on law of legal proceedings.

The recently published literature almost exclusively derives from Cameroonian scholars who have studied in France. Imbert (1979) is an article which discusses the contemporary judicial training-course in Cameroon.

The available literature on the organisation of the judiciary and on law of legal proceedings is not very extensive. Over the colonial period, only Waltz's study (1981) on the German Protectorate is of interest. Nguini (1973) and Ngongang-Ouandji (1969b) refer to the Federal State, and Kaha (1985), Guermann (1974), Kamden (1984), and Bringer (1981) to the Unitary State of Cameroon.

Allott, A.N. (ed.)

1962 Judicial and legal systems in Africa. London: Butterworths. 226 p., Asc 3601.

A general study of the judicial system in the Anglophone countries of Africa. Includes a section on the Southern Cameroons, written by W.C. Daniels.

1970 Judicial and legal systems in Africa. (2nd ed.). London: Butterworths. 314 p., Asc 3601.

A heavily revised edition of Allott (1962). Includes a section on the judicial system in the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

Anderson, J.N.D.

1954 Islamic law in Africa. London: Colonial office. 409 p., ind., Asc 1796.

A general juridical study of Islamic law in the African English colonies. Islamic law is still quite influential in large parts of Central and North Cameroon. Given the absence of specific literature on Islamic law in Cameroon, this book provides significant background material.

André, B.Y.

- 1980 'Droit moderne et population rurale', in: Jahrbuch des afrikanischen Recht, 1, p. 21-24. Asc.

This article discusses the attitude and reactions of the rural population to modern criminal law in Cameroon.

Bekombo, M.

- 1984 'Famille, hiérarchie et succession chez les Dwala', in: Droit et Culture, 8, p. 15-28. Eng. sum. (p. 105-106), Asc.

This study analyses an aspect of the legal evolution among the Duala: the law of succession has evolved in heritage law under the influence of European penetration and the introduction of a Western legal system based on the principle of individual right of property. Both legal systems function beside and through each other within one socio-cultural reality.

Bertant, M.

- 1934 Les Boulou. Paris.

A juridical monograph on traditional law among the Bulu.

Boum, E.N.

- 1979 Le droit disciplinaire dans la fonction publique camerounaise. Yaounde, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature. 141 p.

Bringer, P.

- 1981 Stellung und Funktion des Richters in Kamerun: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Strafrechtspflege. Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlagsgesellschaft. 272 p., bibl.

Dillon, R.G.

- 1979 'Limits to ritual resolution in Meta society', in: Paideuma, 25, p. 35-39.

A description of the different types of conflicts and disputes which were not resolved through the performance of a ritual in the pre-colonial Meta society. The cases presented refer to theft, witchcraft, adultery, and land disputes between different kingroups.

Dipanda Mouelle, A.

- 1986 'Les techniques de codification au Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 40, 3-4, p. 297-306. Asc.

This juridical article deals with the different techniques of codification in order to make legal texts harmonise with the many (unwritten) legal practices and habits in Cameroon.

#### Documentation

- 1958,- Documentation législative africaine. Dakar: Université de Dakar, Centre de Recherche, d'Etude et de Documentation sur les Institutions et les Législations Africaines.

Cameroon is one of the fifteen countries discussed in this yearly overview of laws and decrees.

Doumbé-Moulango, M.

- 1963 'Conséquences des juridictions de droit traditionnel sur l'évolution des coutumes dans le Sud Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 17, 4, p. 533-572. Asc.

This article discusses the traditional political system, family and marriage law, and law of succession in the Cameroonian South.

- 1972 Les coutumes et le droit au Cameroun. Yaounde: CLE. 147 p., bibl., Asc 11420.

#### Eléments

- 1963 'Eléments de droit coutumier bassa', in: *Abbia*, 4, p. 136-156. Asc.

This article, based on data obtained from a research among the Bassa in 1907, discusses various aspects of the traditional legal system, such as family and person, estate and crime, as well as public and intertribal law.

#### Encyclopédie

- 1982 Encyclopédie juridique et politique. Abidjan etc.: Les Nouvelles Editions Africains. Asc A3314.

This legal encyclopedia about Francophone Africa consists of ten volumes which each discuss one facet of the legal systems. Since there are no indexes, it is hard to find information referring to a specific nation.

Guermann, M.

- 1974 'L'organisation judiciaire de la République Unie du Cameroun', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 5, p. 10 -14.

Imbert, J.

- 1979 'Cameroun', in: Bockel, A., Y.P. Ghai & J. Imbert et al. (eds.), *Legal education in Africa south of the Sahara - La formation juridique en Afrique Noire*. Brussels: International Association of Legal Sciences. p. 215-233. Asc 11359.

A juridical article about the goals, contents, structure, and methods of legal education at the faculty of law of the University of Yaounde. 'Le rôle des juristes camerounais semble essentiellement de fournir les structures juridiques nécessaires au développement harmonieux du pays. Il ne s'agit pas ... de substituer brutalement des cadres juridiques modernes aux cadres juridiques traditionnels, mais de remodeler les moeurs anciens pour les adopter aux nécessités de la vie moderne'(216).

Jaeger

- 1967 'Eléments de droit boulou', in: *Abbia*, 16, p. 155-170. Asc.

The translation of a German colonial official document from about 1910, which was intended as a continuation of a similar earlier article about Bassa customary law (see \*Eléments\* 1963). Topics discussed are family and personal law, law on estate, criminal law, judicial procedures, and public and intertribal law.

Journal Officiel

- 1916-. *Journal Officiel*. Yaounde: Imprimerie du Gouvernement.

Official publication. The official section includes new laws, decrees, ordonnances etc., and the non-official section notes on the publication of official reports, books etc. The name has changed several times: Journal Officiel des Territoires du Cameroun (1916-1939), Journal Officiel du Cameroun (1939-1940), Journal Officiel du Cameroun Français (1940-1957), Journal Officiel de l'Etat sous Tutelle du Cameroun (1957-?), Journal Officiel de la République Fédéral du Cameroun (1961-1966), Journal Officiel de la République Unie du Cameroun (1972-.). The journal is presently a weekly.

Kaha, A.

- 1985 'Le procureur de la République Janus de la magistrature camerounaise', in: Penant, 95, 786-787, p. 115-134. Asc.

Kamden, J.-C.

- 1984 'L'intérêt et la qualité dans la procédure administrative contentieuse', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 28, p. 59-72. Asc.

Kanga, V.

- 1957 Le droit bamiléké au contact des droits européens. Thèse de doctorat, Paris.

A monograph on Bamileke tribal law.

- 1959 Le droit coutumier bamiléké au contact des droits européens. Yaounde: Government printer. 163 p.

- 1961 'Le rôle du pouvoir judiciaire et du barreau dans la protection des droits de l'individu au sein de la société', in: Penant, 688, p. 489-495. Asc.

Kwayeb, E.K.

- 1960 Les institutions de droit public du pays bamiléké (Cameroun): évolution et régime actuel. Paris: R. Pichon, R. Durand-Auzias. 199 p., bibl., Asc 3117.

The first section of this book describes Bamileke traditional legal institutions, focusing on institutions with political, judicial and employment functions as well as specific social and governmental functions. The second section discusses the adaptations of these traditional institutions to the institutional framework and practices which were introduced by the colonial powers. The study concludes with a description of the establishment of urban and rural Communes in the Bamileke region.

Langoul, E.

- 1966 'Problèmes particuliers de codification du Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 20, 1, p. 107-113. Asc.

This essay discusses the position which customary law should have in the long-term codification project, which has been underway since 1960 in the fields of criminal law, civil law, and commercial law.

Melone, S. (ed.)

- 1982 *Droit des personnes et de la famille*. Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines. 477 p, bibl., Asc A3314.

This is the sixth volume of the 'Encyclopédie Juridique de l'Afrique', which is confined to the Francophone parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Many references to Cameroon are included.

Melone, S.

- 1986 'La technique de la codification en Afrique: pratique camerounaise', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 40, 3-4, p. 307-318. Asc.

Ngongang-Ouandji, A.

- 1969b 'L'organisation judiciaire du Cameroun en matière pénale', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 23, 4, p. 733-736. Asc.

A short description of the system of criminal law in the Federal State of Cameroon.

- 1972 'La dévolution successorale au Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 26, 4, p. 639-662, bibl., Asc.

In Cameroon, written law of succession applies to only a small minority of the population, and systems of customary law to the majority. The determination of heirs is rather diffuse, except for the Fulbe and the Bulu.

Nguini, M.

- 1972 Droit moderne et droit traditionnel. Bordeaux, Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire. 13 p.

A short sketch of Cameroonian law, discussing both its modern written aspects and its unwritten customary facets.

- 1973 'La Cour Fédéral de Justice du Cameroun', in: Recueil Penant, 741, p. 337-349.

This article discusses the structure and development of the Federal Court of Justice which was established in 1961, as well as the legal reforms which accompanied the establishment of the Unitary State in 1972.

Nicol, Y.

- 1929 Les Bakoko. Larose. 240 p.

A monograph of the legal system of the Bakoko.

Nsutebu Fru, Z.

- n.d. Land inheritance and litigation in Mbatu, Mezam, North West Province of Cameroon. Yaounde: Direction d'Urbanism.

Pannier, J.

- 1973 'Les sources du droit au Cameroun Oriental', in: Annales de la Faculté de Droit, (Yaounde), 1.

Rubin, N. & E, Cotran (eds.)

- 1970 Annual survey of African law I: 1967. London: Cass. 426 p., ind., Asc 6095.

A review of the legal developments in sub-Sahara Africa during 1967. A small section on Cameroon is included.

Salacuse, J.W.

- 1971 An introduction to law in French-speaking Africa I: Africa south of the Sahara. Charlottesville: Michie company. 616 p.

Waltz, G.

- 1981 Die Entwicklung der Strafrechtspflege in Kamerun unter deutscher Herrschaft 1884-1914. Feiburg: Klaus Schwarz. 573 p., bibl., Asc 12404.

An historico-juridical study which analyses criminal law in terms of the phenomenon of colonialism.

### *National legislation in rural areas*

The colonial authorities stimulated the individual ownership of land, for the sake of the spread of capitalist relations of production. Modernisation was, in fact, another word for the introduction of cash crop production in rural economies. Individualisation was regarded as a prerequisite of the establishment of a land market; and land could then also start functioning as a security for credit allowance to the modernizing farmer. The literature mentioned in the former section — an exception being Geschiere (1982) — implicitly accepts these general development goals as good and desirable, and even plays a legitimating role for public intervention in pre-existing land tenure systems. An important study with regard to state penetration is Den Ouden's article (1981) on the impact of public interference in the politico-economic power relations of a Bamileke chieftainship.

The colonial state could choose from among several legal mechanisms to penetrate on the local level of the society. But in fact there were only two ways to enhance the rate of individual property of land. The first way was the transformation of customary rights into individual rights via land registration ('régime foncier'). The other way was the nationalisation of the land and the subsequent granting in concession with the promise of ultimately transferring the concession into individual property rights ('régime domanial'). The fifth volume of the 'Encyclopédie Juridique de l'Afrique'

(1982), on 'Droits des Biens', contains a lot of historical information about land legislation in colonial and pre-colonial Francophone Africa, including chronological overviews of land legislation in Cameroon. The early juridical studies about state intervention in Cameroonian rural societies did not appear before the latter half of the 1950s. They generally focus on the technical interpretation of the law and its jurisprudence, and fail to critically question the state's role in spreading 'modern' land tenure rights. Stockhardt (1920) is an historical review of the land legislation enacted during the German Protectorate, and Krauss (1966) covers the English and French mandatory period. Ballhauss (1968) discusses the land concession policy of the German colonial government around the change of the century, whereas Meek (1957) and Ardener et al. (1960) concentrate on the 'régime foncier' in the former British Cameroons. Aka'a Owoundi (1970a, 1970b) focuses on the 'régime foncier' in French Cameroon and the Federal State of Cameroon. He approves the attempts of the post-colonial government to push back the influence of pre-existing land holding relations, thus distancing himself from Blanc (1959, 1961, and P.B. 1957), the major authority on land legislation in late colonial Cameroon, who had argued in favour of showing as much respect as possible for the prevailing systems of land tenure. A survey of recent land legislation is the official publication \*Cameroon\* (1981). An official review of the management of the 'régime domanial' in French Cameroon is \*Cameroon\* (1957); P.B. (1957) is a juridical comment upon this report. Jouhaud (1966) and Aka'a Owoundi (1970a) discuss the public land category of 'patrimoine collectif national', which was established by the Federal State regime. Tjouen (1979, 1981) describes the management of the Public Domain over more recent years. Fisiy (1984, n.d.) and Nforti (1984) discuss the impact of the new unified land legislation of 1974 and 1976 on the prevailing land holding relations; the latter focuses on West Cameroon. Analyses in the field of land expropriation — a phenomenon which goes hand in hand with the expansion of the Public Domain — are Beb A Don (1957), Prouzet

(1972), and Aka'a Owoundi (1970b). Most of the above studies confess a modernist attitude, i.e. they presume that land legislation is ultimately meant to enhance agrarian production rates. The same holds for a number of U.N.O. reports on land, land utilisation, and land tenure in Cameroon, written in the 1950s and early 1960s; see United Nations Organisation (1951a, 1951b, 1951c, 1951d, 1952a, 1952b, 1957, 1963, 1964, 1965).

In conclusion, the juridical study of land tenure and public intervention has only begun in the last decade of the colonial period. The government's role is taken for granted, and evaluations are made in terms of modernisation. This holds true for both foreign researchers in the colonial and post-colonial period and for Cameroonian jurists who started publishing since about 1960. It is remarkable that the theme of the socio-economic impact of national land legislation on rural populations has not been a major field of inquiry; only Barbier & Tissandier (1977) briefly discuss the effects of land expropriations on behalf of an agro-industrial project undertaken during the Ahidjo epoch. There are no analyses which attempt to collate the literature on the prevalent systems of land tenure and the literature of official land legislation with the aid of the concept of legal pluralism. In other words, the limits inherent in legislation as a vehicle for socio-economic change is as yet a largely neglected subject in the juridical literature.

Aka'a Owoundi, L

1970a 'Les droits fonciers coutumiers au Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 24, 4, p. 1163-1174. Asc.

A description of the legislation of 1932, 1959, and 1963 with regard to customary land rights. The author attempts to clarify a general evolution.

1970b 'L'expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique au Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 24, 4, p. 971-978. Asc.

A description of the history of the legislation with regard to public expropriation. The law of 1922 proved to be ineffective since it only referred to registered land. Therefore, the 1959 law also covered procedures to expropriate communal lands. The 1966 law is a simplification and rationalisation of the 1959 law.

Ardener, E., S. Ardener, & W.A. Warmington

- 1960 Plantation and village in the Cameroons: some economic and social studies. London: Oxford University Press. 435 p., bibl.

Includes a chapter on the history of land legislation and land tenure in the Victoria District in West Cameroon (p. 309-335). The interests of the local population, the Bakweri, were subordinated to those of the European estate holders during the German Protectorate period.

Ballhaus, J.

- 1968 'Die Landkonzessionsgesellschaften, in: Stoecker (ed.), Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft II. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. p. 99-179.

This Marxist analysis is devoted to the German colonial policy of opening up rural regions for capitalist exploitation by attracting investors through the granting of monopolistic land concessions.

Banoun, D.S.

- 1980 La gestion du patrimoine de l'Etat en République Unie du Cameroun. Yaounde: CLE.

Barbier, J.-C. & J. Tissandier

- 1977 Mbandjok: ou la promesses d'une ville liée à un complexe agro-industriel sucrier (Cameroun). Yaounde: ONAREST. 128 p., bibl., Asc A2456.

Contains some information about land expropriation of small-holder farmers by the state on behalf of a large-scale agricultural project, the sugar agro-industry SOCUCAM in the region of Vulé.

Beb A Don, Ph.

- 1957 Histoire de l'aliénation des terres au Sud Cameroun. Paris. 78 p.

Bekombo, M.

- 1984 'Famille, hiérarchie et succession chez les Dwala', in: *Droit et Cultures*, 8, p. 15-28. Asc.

One of the topics discussed in this socio-juridical article is the complementary relationship of neo-traditional customary rights on land and modern written legislation.

Blanc, P.

- 1959 'A propos du classement dans les terres domaniales au Cameroun', in: *Revue Juridique et Politique*, 13, 1, p. 28-139. Asc.

This article discusses the juridical problems of the granting of land concessions by the French colonial government.

- 1961 'Cronique foncière et domaniale: la réforme camerounaise', in: *Penant*, 71, p. 108-113. Asc.

A juridical interpretation of the 1959 law on land.

- 1970 'Nouvelles tendances du droit foncier africain et malgache', in: *Penant*, 727, p. 97-127. Asc.

A description of the development of land legislation in post-colonial Francophone Africa, including Cameroon.

Cameroon, French

- 1957 *Recueil des textes législatifs et réglementaires relatifs au régime domanial, foncier forestier et à l'urbanisme (mis à jour au 1er juillet 1954)*. Yaounde.

Cameroon, Government Department of Lands

- 1981 *Régime foncier et domanial - land tenure and state lands*. Yaounde: Government Printer. 152 p.

A survey of land legislation. These laws and decrees are significant for the procedures which they provide for the tranference of communal land into private property.

Denoyer, J.F.

- 1968 *L'exploitation du domaine public*. Thèse 3e cycle, Paris.

Dikoumé, C. & Ph. Lippens

- 1970 Les problèmes fonciers au Cameroun Oriental. Douala: Institut Panafricain pour le Développement. 35 p.

The second section describes the evolution of land legislation. The general goal of legislative attempts is to harmonise customary land rights, public ownership of land, and individual property of land. A somewhat revised version is: 'Les hommes et la terre: éléments sur les problèmes fonciers au Cameroun Oriental'. Douala: Institut Panafricain pour le Développement, (1972), 14 p.

Encyclopédie Juridique de l'Afrique

- 1982 Encyclopédie Juridique de l'Afrique V: l'Etat et le droit . Abidjan etc.: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines. 493 p., bibl., Asc A3314.

A collection of articles on customary land rights, the impact of colonial legislation, and the legislative reforms on public land enacted in post-colonial Francophone Africa. It includes an historical survey of land legislation until 1978, and contains a lot of information on Cameroon.

Fisiy, C.P.

- 1984 The juridical nature of native land rights and responses to the 1974 land ordonnances in Cameroon. Yaounde: ISH-CRESS.

- n.d. Land reforms and social differentiation in Cameroon. Yaounde: ISH-CRESS.

Food and Agriculture Organization

- 1964 'Cameroon (East) decree-law no. 63-2 laying down the system for private and public land tenure in East Cameroon', in: Food and Agriculture Legislation, 13, 1, p. V-1a.

Jouhaud, Y.

- 1966 'La notion de domaine ou patrimoine collectif national dans les nouvelles législations du Sénégal et du Cameroun, essai de synthèse entre le droit foncier coutumier et le droit foncier moderne', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 20, 1, p. 30-53. Asc.

The author depicts the notion of 'domaine collectif national' as a significant legislative innovation meant to harmonise customary land rights and the desire among official circles and certain categories of the population to have exclusive rights of property.

Konings, P.

- 1986 'L'Etat, l'agro-industrie et la paysannerie au Cameroun', in: *Politique Africaine*, 22, p. 120-137. Asc.

This article analyses the incorporation of Bamileke peasants into the capitalist system. The author focuses on an agro-industrial tea complex of the Cameroon Development Corporation, which was established with the aid of the Cameroonian government and the World Bank. The proletarianisation of the peasants is the result of land expropriation and production on a contract basis for the C.D.C.

Krauss, H.

- 1966 *Die moderne Bodengesetzgebung in Kamerun 1884-1964*. Berlin etc.: Springer. 156 p., bibl., Asc 4997.

This juridical study discusses the evolution of land tenure in rural East Cameroon under the impact of land legislation enacted in the colonial and early post-colonial era. It contains a few comments on legal pluralism (p. 107-108). There is an English translation: 'Land legislation in the Cameroons 1984-1964'. Berlin: Springer, (1966).

Meek, C.K.

- 1957 *Land tenure and land administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons*. London: HMSO. 420 p., bibl., ind., Asc 2508.

The second section of the book (p. 343-410) discusses the evolution of the indigenous systems of land tenure in colonial West Cameroon as well as the history of land administration by the German and British colonial government.

Melone, S.

- 1971 'Régimes matrimoniaux et droits fonciers en Afrique', in: Penant, 732, p. 141-163. Asc.

This is a juridical article about the opportunities to strengthen the societal position of the woman through legislation. The author argues that changes in family law should be accompanied by more rights for women with regard to the land they cultivate.

- 1972 La parenté et la terre dans la stratégie du développement (l'expérience camerounaise: étude critique). Paris: Klincksieck. 201 p., bibl., Asc 3366.

This is a significant juridical study of the traditional intertwining of kinship structures and land tenure in Cameroon, as well as the impact of colonial and post-colonial governments on it through legislative measures.

Mitchell, N.P.

- 1931 Land problems and policies in the African mandates of the British Commonwealth. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. bibl.

An outdated account of land tenure systems in, among other countries, Cameroon. Topics discussed are expropriation, native segregation, surveys, and land registration.

Nforti, N.

- 1984 'The impact of the present land tenure reforms in Cameroon on the former West Cameroon', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 28, p. 73-85. Asc.

The author discusses the effects of the present land tenure reforms, contained in three Ordonances passed on 6 July 1974 and three Decrees of Application which followed on 27 April 1976, on the status of customary land rights, the concept of full property rights, and the question of jurisdiction in land matters in West Cameroon.

Nkwi, P. N.

- 1976 Traditional government and social change: a study of the political institutions among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields. Freiburg: The University Press. 233 p., bibl., Asc 8452.

This political-anthropological monograph of the Tikar chiefdom of Kom includes some remarks on traditional and modern land holding relations in the perspective of government control (p. 59-63, 197-199).

Onalaja

- 1977 France au Cameroun entre les Deux Guerres: les problèmes de mise en valeur. Mémoire de Maitrise, University of Paris.

This study includes comments on the land concession policy of the French colonial government in Cameroon favouring French colonists, for the sake of agricultural modernisation.

Ordonnance

- 1975b 'Ordonnance no. 74/1 du 6 juillet 1974 fixant le régime foncier', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 7, p. 82-84. Asc.

- 1975c 'Ordonnance no. 74/2 du 6 juillet 1974 fixant le régime domanial', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 7, p. 80-82. Asc.

- 1975a 'Ordonnance no. 74/3 du 6 juillet 1974 relative à la procédure d'expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique et aux modalités d'indemnisation', in: Revue Camerounaise de Droit, 7, p. 84-85. Asc.

Ouden, J. H. B. den

- 1981 'Changes in land tenure and land use in a Bamileke chiefdom, Cameroon, 1900-1980: an historical analysis of changes in control over people', in: Essays in rural sociology in honor of R. A. J. van Lier. Wageningen: Agricultural University. p. 171-261.

Discusses how the tenure and utilisation of land provides opportunities for the government to control the population.

P.B. (= P. Blanc)

- 1957 'La réorganisation foncière en A.O.F., en A.E.F., au Togo et au Cameroun', in: Revue Juridique et Politique, 2, 1, p. 101-114. Asc.

This is a critical juridical interpretation of the 1955 and 1956 land laws. The author asserts that the legislator does not sufficiently take into account the customary land rights of the population when it attempts to nationalise all 'terres vacantes et sans maître'.

Peux, B.

- 1952 'La réforme du régime foncier', *Marchés Coloniaux*. p. 1269.

Prouzet, M.

- 1972 'L'expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique au Cameroun Oriental', in: *Revue Camerounaise de Droit*, 1, p. 27-33. Asc.

This is a juridical interpretation of the 1966 expropriation law, which contains specific regulations with regard to East Cameroon. Public expropriation is an administrative, and not a judicial procedure.

Stockhardt, W.

- 1920 *Die Landpolitik des deutschen Reiches im Schutzgebiet von Kamerun*. Würzburg: Rechts-Universität für Staatswissenschaften, F. Dissertation. 91 p.

Tjouen, A.D.

- 1979 *Le régime domanial et foncier de la République Unie du Cameroun*. DE, University of Paris.

- 1981 *Droits domaniaux et techniques foncières en droit camerounais: étude d'une réforme législative*. Paris: Economica.

- n.d. *Le régime foncier au Cameroun*. Paris: Economica.

United Nations Organisation

- 1951a *Population, land categories and tenure in the Cameroons under British administration*. New York: UNO. 13 p., Asc HcC20:6.

Working paper of the secretariat of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

- 1951b *Land legislation of the trust territories of Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration*. T/AC. 36/L. 6. 26 p.

Report of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

- 1951c Law, policy, and practice relating to land tenure and utilisation in the trust territories under British administration: memorandum submitted by the United Kingdom delegation. T/AC. 36/L. 10. 100 p.

Report of the United Nations Trusteeship Council

- 1951d Renseignement concernant les questions foncières dans les territoires sous tutelle française. T/AC. 36/L. 23. 30 p.

A note of the United Nations Trusteeship Council

- 1952a Land alienation and land and population distribution in the territory of the Cameroons under French administration: memorandum submitted by the government of France. T/AC. 36/L. 40. 32 p.

Report of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

- 1952b Land utilisation in the trust territory of the Cameroons under French administration: memorandum submitted by the French government. T/AC. 36/L. 40. 32 p.

Report of the United Nations Trusteeship Council

- 1957 Summary of population, land utilisation and land tenure in the Cameroons under French administration. T/AC. 36/L. 61. 77 p.

- 1963 Observations sur l'application du décret-loi fixant le régime foncier et domanial au Cameroun Oriental. Yaounde: FAO. 35 p.

A report, compiled by A.C. Bessis, on land legislation and its application in East Cameroon.

- 1964 Rapport au gouvernement du Cameroun sur les problèmes de la réforme foncière au Cameroun Oriental: loi no. 59-47, 17-6-1959 portant l'organisation domaniale et foncière: EPTA no 1872. Rome: FAO. 45 p.

This report, written by A.C. Bessis, discusses agricultural structures in Cameroon and the problems encountered during agricultural reform in the fields of land tenure and new land legislation.

- 1965     Report to the government of Cameroon on land use and agricultural development of West Cameroon: EPTA no 2062. Rome: FAO. 116 p.

This report, composed by M. Brouwers, recommends the registration of land rights, and discusses the Fulbe culture.

Verdier, R.

- 1971     'Evolution et réformes foncières de l'Afrique Noire Francophone', in: Journal of African Law, 15, 1, p. 85-101. Asc.

This juridical article is concerned with the development of land tenure in colonial and post-colonial Francophone Africa, including Cameroon. French land legislation oscillated between the maintenance of traditional land tenure systems and the introduction of Western notions such as land registration on behalf of individual land property rights. After independence the notion of 'terres vacantes et sans maître' was replaced by the 'domain collectif national', a category referring to all lands without individual property claims which do not belong to the state domain.

### *Land tenure in urban areas*

There is almost no literature which focuses on the actual land tenure situation in Cameroonian urban society. During the colonial period this topic was largely neglected. Only in the 1950s a few studies appeared which were devoted to the residential quarter of New Bell in Douala. Since then this case ranks among the international classics. In the years prior to independence, this 'spontaneous' immigrant quarter had become a problem for the municipal authorities in Douala, because they had not been able to direct the process of settling. This is the general background for the quarter confined studies of the geographers Gouellain (1956a, 1956b, 1961)

and Diziain & Cambon (1960). These authors discuss the diffuse land tenure situation, particularly the conflicts due to the claims on land of the indigenous population of the area, the Duala. This problem dates back to the early decades of this century when the German colonial government deprived the Duala of their customary land rights in the city of Douala; since then a decent settlement has never been effected by the German nor subsequently by the French government. The Duala resistance under the leadership of the famous Mongo Bell was the first manifestation of ethnically restricted anticolonial protest, and might thus be interpreted as an herald of the nationalist movement; see e.g. Austen (1977), Lobe (1977), Rüger (1968), Joseph (1977), and Derrick (1980). The construction and subsequent expansion of the European quarter of Douala during the colonial period is extensively discussed by Gouellain (1961, 1973, 1974, 1975); this author also describes the Duala land claims in the city.

Significant research of land tenure conditions has rarely been undertaken in the 1960s, notwithstanding the rapid rate of urbanisation at the time. Since the beginning of the 1970s, land tenure is back on the scene. In such geographical studies on Douala as Dongmo (1981), Haeringer (1972), Mainet (1978b, 1979b, 1980b), Mougoué (1977a, 1977b), Mouafo (1981), Nana (1979), and Tsémo (1972a, 1972b) some attention is drawn to this subject. Many of these studies, which were predominantly composed by Cameroonian scholars, once again refer to the immigrant quarter of New Bell. Four brief studies explicitly discuss the conflicts between municipal land policies and the operative land tenure systems in the city, and, thus, might be relevant for the debate on legal pluralism; they are Haeringer (1973), Lippens (1973), and Mainet (1982, and 1986). This rekindling of scholarly interest is probably prompted by a growing concern on the part of the municipal authorities for the land tenure problems in the rapidly growing urban periphery. No doubt many official documents and reports on this topic might be consulted in Douala itself.

There are hardly any publications on land tenure conditions in Yaounde. The geographer Franqueville (1968, 1984) makes some comments on the subject, and Vincent (1984) discusses land tenure in the urban periphery. It is not clear if this scientific neglect should be explained by a lower level of conflict on this issue in Yaounde compared to Douala, or by a less attentive Yaounde municipality; possible factors which act upon this situation, are the relatively recent growth of the city of Yaounde, the absence of an indigenous population as defensive as the Duala, and the traditional political power relations in which the chiefs held a key position. A comparative study about the municipal land policies in Douala and Yaounde is Petit (1976); see also some casual comments on this subject in S. Melone (1972).

The situation of land holding relations in the Cameroonian secondary towns is also still largely unexplored. The recent wave of geographic urban studies of Cameroonian students hardly pays attention to the 'problème foncier'. A few casual comments can be found in Bongfen Jumbau (1973) about Kumba, Enyegue Mongo (1971) about M'Balmayo, and Barbier & Tissandier (1977) about Mbandjok.

In conclusion, little scientific attention has been paid to land tenure conditions in Cameroonian cities, and it is a relatively recent phenomenon, except in the case of Douala. Socio-geographical urban monographs dominate the field, and Douala has attracted the most attention. The available literature does not relate the urban land tenure situation to the land tenure systems in rural areas (see the former section of this chapter). Hence, almost nothing is known about the changes to these systems when they are 'transplanted' to the city. Studies which critically explore the opportunities and limitations of a viable municipal land tenure policy in the light of legal pluralism in the urban peripheries, are not, as yet, in existence.

Austen, R.A.

- 1977 'Duala versus German in Cameroon: economic dimensions of a political conflict', in: *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 64, 237, p. 477-497.

A description of the attempts of German colonial officers to expropriate Duala owned real estate in the town of Douala in the beginning of this century.

Barbier, J.C. & J. Tissandier

- 1977 Mbandjok: ou, les promesses d'une ville liée à un complexe agro-industriel sucrier (Cameroun). Yaounde: ONAREST. 128 p., bibl., Asc A2456.

This study is devoted to the social problems which have emerged in a recently established industrial centre one hundred kilometres to the northeast of Yaounde. Topics discussed include the failure of the parcelling out of land and the municipality's inability to control the expansion of the 'quartiers spontanés'.

Blanc, P.

- 1961 'Cronique foncière et domaniale: la réforme camerounaise', in: *Penant*, 71, p. 108-113. Asc.

Bongfen Jumbau, L.

- 1973 Kumbo: a study in urban geography. University of Yaounde. 107 p., bibl.

Denis, J.

- 1958 *Le phénomène urbain en Afrique Centrale*. Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales. 407 p., bibl., ind., Asc.

This geographical survey study of urbanisation in Central Africa contains some information on the policies of land distribution and housing in Yaounde and Douala (p. 299-301, 310-322); legal pluralism with regard to the land in Cameroonian towns (p. 318-319); and the construction of a public services apparatus (p. 323-333).

Derrick, J.

- 1980 'Free French and Africans in Douala, 1940-41', in: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 10, 2, p. 53-70.

Direction du Cadastre

- 1985 Etude pour l'établissement d'un projet cadastre et cartographie national.

Diziain, R. & A. Cambon

- 1960 'Etude sur la population du quartier New Bell à Douala 1956-1962', in: Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises, 3, p. 9-210. Asc.

This geographical study is devoted to the social problems due to rapid urbanisation, which had arisen in an immigrant quarter of Douala, in the areas of employment, housing, public services, and land tenure.

Dongmo, J.-L.

- 1981 Le dynamisme bamiléké (Cameroun). 2 vol. Yaounde: University of Yaounde etc. 424 p. & 293 p., bibl., Asc 12511.

A significant study of the economic success of Bamileke immigrants in urban modern life in Douala, Yaounde, and Nkongsamba. The second volume contains some comments on land tenure in Douala (p. 42-45).

Enyegue Mongo, L.

- 1971 M'Balmayo: étude de morphologie urbaine. University of Yaounde. 199 p., bibl.

Franqueville, A.

- 1968 'Le paysage urbain de Yaoundé', in: Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 21, 82, p. 113-154. Asc.

A geographical study of the history of Yaounde. The author briefly comments on land tenure and rents (p. 144-145).

- 1984 Yaoundé: construire une capitale. Paris: ORSTOM. 192 p., bibl., Asc 14663.

A significant geographical study of Yaounde on the social problems created by the recent rapid growth of the city. Topics discussed include the stagnatory impact of Yaounde on the development of nearby secondary towns, and land tenure, i.e. private property of land, customary rights elements in leases, and the social relations between the Ewondo and Bamileke (the land owners) on the one hand, and other ethnic groupings on the other. Includes an extensive bibliography.

Gouellain, R.

1956a Enquête socio-géographique sur Douala-New-Bell. Yaounde: Institut de Recherche Scientifique du Cameroun. 62 p.

1956b New-Bell, Douala, enquête sociologique. Yaounde: ORSTOM.

1961 'Parenté et affinités ethniques dans l'écologie du grand quartier de New-Bell, Douala', in: A. Southall (ed.), *Social change in modern Africa: studies presented and discussed at the First International African Seminar, Makerere College, Kampala, January 1959*. London: Oxford University Press. Eng. sum., Asc 3331.

A sociological study of the major immigrant quarter of Douala. The author notes an increasing friction between traditional group formation on the basis of ethnicity and kinship, and new group formation on the basis of neighbourhood and profession.

1973 'Douala: formation et développement de la ville pendant la colonisation', in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 13, 51, p. 442-468. bibl., Eng. sum., Asc.

This historical-sociological study is devoted to the spatial organisation of the Duala on the eve of the German occupation, the process of urbanisation during the colonial period, and native resistance against the Douala municipality's policy with regard to land tenure.

1974 Sociologie d'une ville coloniale. Douala-Paris.

- 1975 Douala, ville et histoire: enquête réalisée dans le cadre de l'ORSTOM. Paris: Musée de l'Homme, Institut d'Ethnologie. 402 p., bibl., (1st pr. 1969), Asc 7478.

A sociological study of the social history of Douala during the pre-colonial and colonial period.

Haeringer, P.

- 1972 'L'urbanisation de masse en question: quatre villes d'Afrique Noire', in: La Croissance Urbaine en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar, Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, no 539, p. 625-651.

A comparative geographical study of Abidjan, Brazzaville, San Pedro, and Douala. Topics discussed include the local government's difficulties with city planning in the overpopulated quarter of New Bell in Douala, i.e. the 'illegal' construction of houses, the lack of public services, and land holding conflicts.

- 1973 'Propriété foncière et politiques urbaines à Douala', in: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 13, 51, p. 469-496. Asc.

One of the few studies explicitly devoted to land tenure in an urban setting. The author presents an historical review of the Duala claims for land tenure rights in the city, discusses the municipal land policies during the French period, and analyses the contemporary administrative applications of several systems of land tenure at the same time (legal pluralism).

Hernandez, M.

- 1980 Rapport sur l'organisation foncière et l'organisation administrative du cadastre et des domaines: projet de développement urbain en République Unie du Cameroun. Paris: Worldbank.

Joseph, R.A.

- 1977 Radical nationalism in Cameroun: social origins of the U.P.C. rebellion. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 383 p., bibl., ind., Asc.

Lafier, F.

- 1986 Title unknown. See annexe B: 'Les problèmes fonciers: acquisition et libération des terrains'. Hasiconine.

This study discusses the legal framework of land tenure, the actual land tenure situation in several Douala residential quarters, and the procedures for land expropriation. Chronological surveys of the legislation in the areas of the organisation of the Central Administration, the Communal Administration, and land tenure are included.

Lippens, P.

- 1973 'Le problème foncier de Douala est-il soluble?', in: Cauris, Sep-Oct, p. 337-338.

Lobe, I.K.

- 1977 Douala Manga Bell: héros de la résistance douala. Paris: AB; Abidjan: NEA. 110 p., Asc 8359.

This is an account of chief Manga Bell's resistance against the politics of land expropriation and native segregation by the Germans in the city of Douala. He was arrested and executed in 1914.

Mainet, G.

- 1977b 'L'occupation sociale de l'espace urbain à Douala: l'exemple des beaux quartiers', in: Bulletin de l' Association Géographique Française, 449, p. 37-40.

- 1979b New-Bell, prototype des quartiers des étrangers à Douala. Yaounde: University of Yaounde. 31 p., bibl.

- 1980b 'New Bell: environnement et cadre de vie', in: Revue de Géographie du Cameroun, 1, 2, p. 95-117. bibl., Eng. sum. (p. 204), Asc.

A geographical study of an immigrant quarter in Douala, based on fieldwork research in 1977. The subject is the spatial manifestation of a number of social characteristics of the residents, notably ethnicity, income level, house construction, and duration of residence.

- 1982 'Partage du sol et dynamique du système foncier à Douala', in: Revue de Géographie du Cameroun, 3, 1, p. 49-56. bibl., Eng. sum. (p. 83), Asc.

A description of the conflicts over land between the Duala population and immigrant ethnic groups in the quarter of New Bell, as well as the municipality's inability to codify the actual situation of land tenure rights in the urban periphery. The author asserts that the absence of individual property rights facilitates slum formation.

1986 Douala, croissance et servitudes. Paris: Hasmattan.

Chapter 13 discusses the problems of land tenure in Douala, such as the contradiction between customary and modern rights.

Melone, S.

1972 La parenté et la terre dans la stratégie du développement (l'expérience camerounaise: étude critique). Paris: Klincksieck. 201 p., bibl., Asc 3366.

This is a significant juridical study of the traditional interrelatedness of kinship structures and land tenure in Cameroon, as well as the impact made on them by the legislative measures of the colonial and post-colonial governments.

Moby-Etia, P.

1976 Les pays du Bas-Mungo, Bas-Wouri: étude géographique de la vie rurale et des relations avec Douala. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Paris I. 271 p., bibl.

Mouafo, D.

1981 Le nouveau front d'urbanisation au Nord-Est de Douala: le secte Ndogbong-Kondi KM 8 (étude géographique). Thèse 3e cycle, University of Yaounde.

Mougoué, B.

1977a Etude géographique d'un type de quartiers de l'agglomération de Douala: Bonapriso, Bonadoumbe, Bonadouma et Nkondo. Yaounde, University of Yaounde, 196 p., bibl.

1977b Les quartiers chics à Douala: Nkondo, Bonapriso, Bonadoubé et Bonadouma. Thèse 3e cycle, University of Yaounde.

Nana, A.

- 1979 Un sous-quartier de New-Bell à Douala: Nkolmintag. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 78 p., bibl.

Nsutebu Fru, Z.

- n.d. Land inheritance and litigation in Mbatu, Mezam, North West Province of Cameroon. Yaounde: Cellule d'Urbanisme.

Petit, J.G.

- 1976 Le problème de l'aménagement foncier: les exemples de Yaoundé et Douala. Douala, IPD. 20 p.

Prouzet, M.

- 1981 République Unie du Cameroun: problématique juridique et foncière de l'urbanisme: rapport d'orientation. Yaoundé-Paris: Univeristy of Paris XII.

Rüger, A.

- 1968 'Die Duala und die Kolonialmacht 1884-1914: eine Studie über die historischen Ursprünge des afrikanischen Antikolonialismus', in: Stoecker (ed.), Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft II. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. p. 183-257. Asc.

Schamp, E.W.

- 1983 'The economic situation of private garages in Bamenda: preliminary findings on field studies in August 1983', in: Revue de Géographie du Cameroun, 4, 2, p. 1-6. Asc.

Contains some casual comments on land leasing (p. 3).

Tsémo, A.

- 1972a Le quartier de New Deido. DES, University of Yaounde.
- 1972b New-Deido, quartier de Douala: étude géographique. Yaounde, University of Yaounde. 191 p., bibl.

Vincent, M.

- 1984 Formes et fonction de la production foncière et immobilière à Yaoundé, Cameroun. p. 45-52.

## **EPILOGUE: RESEARCH GAPS**

I would like to conclude this study with a brief enumeration of the major research gaps mentioned in the preceding chapters. These gaps indicate areas for future research.

### **State formation processes**

- The pre-colonial past of West Cameroon, and the regional histories of most of the ethnic groups in the southern and northern areas of the country.
- The origins of the chieftaincies in the Grassfields, including the rise of the institution of the 'sacred king', the economic foundations of these pre-colonial states, as well as their persistence — as incorporated forms of indigenous political structures — under colonial and post-colonial rule. The latter point also holds true for the North Cameroonian lamidates.
- The social impact of French and British colonial rule, especially in the north and west of Cameroon.
- The process of increasing centralisation of the administrative-legal structures; a related theme are the limitations of this aspect of state penetration that can be witnessed in the Fulbe dominated north of the country.
- The increasing interference with democratic freedoms by the Ahidjo government, Biya's policy of limited democratisation, and the considerable political influence wielded by the army behind the scenes.

## **Ethnicity**

- The impact of 19th century migration patterns on the genesis of the country's ethnic diversity.
- The rise of such regional vernacular languages as Duala and Fulfulde, and its effects upon ethnic consciousness.
- The rise and scope of indigenous resistance movements against the establishment of colonial rule in the early decades of this century.
- The rise of an indigenous politico-administrative elite due to the spread of Western education, and the heightened ethnic competition in the 1950s in the form of ethnically-based political machines.
- The nationalist struggle for political independence in the 1940s and 1950s, and the Bassa and Bamileke uprisings against the colonial and post-colonial governments in the form of a guerilla warfare.
- The interethnic relations in North Cameroon, notably the related process of Fulbeisation and Muslimisation, and the (supposed) impact of the chieftaincies in the north and west of the country on the strengthening of ethnic identities.
- The rise of novel forms of social conscience in urban centres, notably ethnic identities and loyalties, and the intensification of ethnic rivalries in Cameroonian cities due to increased socio-economic competition.
- The delicate ethnic equilibrium in the national political arena under Ahidjo and Biya.

## **Indigenous religions**

- The magico-occult facets of the South Cameroonian indigenous religions, the political and economic foundations of ancestor worship in West and South Cameroon, and local variations in witchcraft beliefs in relation to divergent politico-economic developments.

- Processes of religious change in Cameroonian cities.
- The indigenous religions of several small ethnic groups in the north of the country.

### **Islam**

- The correlation between Islam and socio-economic changes in 19th century North Cameroon.
- The syncretic character of North Cameroonian Islam, its legalistic aspects, and its position as an elitist religion vis-à-vis the colonial and post-colonial authorities.
- The political and economic backgrounds of the process of Fulbeisation-Islamisation in North Cameroonian cities.

### **Christianity**

- The phenomenon of massive collective conversion to Christianity along ethnic lines in South Cameroon during the colonial era.
- The economic involvements of the missions.
- The syncretic nature of Cameroonian Christianity.
- The establishment of independent churches in Cameroon, notably the formation of the Native Baptist Church and its role in the nationalist movement.
- Church-state relations in the north and west of the country.
- The degree of oppositional stand taken by the churches against the colonial and especially post-colonial government.

### **Land tenure**

- The different types of indigenous land tenure systems prevalent in Cameroon.
- The impact on the prevailing land holding relations of the incorporation of the North and West Cameroonian chieftaincies into the Cameroonian state, and of the massive migration movements in these areas.
- The socio-economic effects of national land legislation in rural areas, or, in other words, the opportunities and limits inherent in official land legislation as a vehicle for socio-economic development.
- The actual land tenure situation in the Cameroonian cities, particularly the urban peripheries, and the impact of rural land tenure systems on these complicated urban systems.



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