

**SODELCO VERSUS MBOSCUA AND THE DEFENCE OF  
MBOROROS CITIZENSHIP AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE  
NORTH WEST REGION OF CAMEROON: A HISTORICAL  
ANALYSIS.**

**BY**

**JABIRU MUHAMMADOU AMADOU  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
HIGHER TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE  
UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE 1**

**ABSTRACT**

Arriving the Northwest Region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Mbororos have typically been viewed as “strangers” by their neighbours despite the high level of immigration that characterised this area during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. As a result, the Northwest Mbororos stood at the margins of citizenship for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Beginning from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Mbororo started encountering socio- economic difficulties due to increase in population density and competition over natural resources. More to that, as a legacy of the colonial period, the Mbororo lacked formal institutions of representation, and largely relied on patron-client relationships with local North westerners in defending their economic and political interests.

Without the support of the newly independent administration in Bamenda, the Mbororo council collapsed. Throughout the 1980s, the Mbororos in the Northwest had no instrument of political representation. In the 1990s, the Biya regime introduced multi-party system, and subsequently endorsed the formation of ethnic and regional elite associations as vehicles of political representation to the states and its resources. It was within this light that Mbororo elites created MBOSCUA and SODELCO in 1992 and 1993 respectively. This article therefore seeks to examine the role played by MBOSCUA and SODELCO in safeguarding or better still protecting Mbororos citizenship and minority status/rights in the Northwest Region of Cameroon.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that SODELCO, and most especially MBOSCUA had contributed enormously in promoting civil awareness among

**Mbororos and also succeeded in redefining Mbororo political and legal status vis-a-vis the state, albeit some failures. It is about time for these two associations to burry their differences, visit their weaknesses, and work in synergy with each other so as to better defend the citizenship and minority status/rights of the Mbororos in Northwest Cameroon.**

**KEY WORDS: strangers, citizenship, MBOSCUDA, SODELCO, status, rights, minority.**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The gradual influx of the Mbororos into the Northwest Region began in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The controversial situation faced by the Fulani which was likely their nomadic way of life, geographical inaccessibility, Pulaaku (Fulani moral code of conduct) and marginalisation in the society as compared to other ethnic groups made it very difficult for them to undertake any meaningful developmental project from outside. More to that, as a legacy of the Colonial period, the Mbororo lacked formal institutions of representation, and largely relied on patron-client relationships. The first decades of post Colonial Cameroon change almost nothing on the situations of the Mbororos in the Northwest Region. This backward situation made some Fulani with creative minds and good knowledge of the Fulani culture, customs and traditions to form an association that could champion their development process by first of all facilitating their integration process into their various local communities and the mainstream society. With this in mind, they formed the Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUDA) in 1992. Another Fulani organisation was formed in 1993 called SODELCO (Socio-Cultural Organisation for Livestock Breeding and Development in Cameroon). The main objective of this paper is to explore the role played by these two associations in protecting the citizenship and minority status/rights of the Mbororos in Northwest Cameroon.

## **BODY**

### **Origin and Objectives of SODELCO in the North West Region**

SODELCO was registered on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1993 in Bamenda with Alhaji Baba as its executive chairman.<sup>1</sup> According to its promotional literature, SODELCO was an N.G.O. aimed at strengthening the economic and social well-being of the Fulani and the Hausa man of the North-West province. The main focus of its activities was the disbursement and collection of loans to and from Fulani graziers.<sup>2</sup> Membership of SODELCO was graduated according to the amount of money donated, and each member was obliged to donate a cow to stock the SODELCO ranch. In return, members were expected to gain advice on livestock development and financial assistance from the profits of the ranch. SODELCO's executive members were predominantly drawn from the traditional Fulani elite of wealthy cattle owners and traditional leaders, many of who remained based in rural areas.

SODELCO also aimed at promoting modern cattle rearing techniques and small scale micro-finance projects for the Fulani ethnic group. It aimed at providing loans to Fulani graziers at little or no interest in order to better develop their socio-economic activity and their standards of living. SODELCO aimed at uplifting Fulani culture and facilitating their transformation and development process in their communities in Cameroon.<sup>3</sup> SODELCO also had as objective the defence and safeguarding of the citizenship and minority status of the Mbororos in Northwest Cameroon. SODELCO registered some successes in the North West Region as can be seen below.

### **Successes of SODELCO**

SODELCO intensified its efforts towards the socio-economic development of the Fulani by creating training centres to train Fulani youths. SODELCO opened tailoring workshops, driving schools; computer centres for Fulani youths in the North West Region. These training centres were located in Bamenda so that it would enable Fulani youths from other places to take part in the training programmes.

SODELCO was also sensitising the Fulani on the importance of peaceful co-existence with their indigenous neighbours and community development through settlement

---

<sup>1</sup> SODELCO was registered under law No. 73-25 of 29<sup>th</sup> May 1973. Opponents claim that Baba used his links within the Department of Territorial Administration to bypass the registration process.

<sup>2</sup> Loans are given of up to CFA 500,000, and repaid with interest at flat rate of CFA 50,000. Prior to the January 1994 devaluation, the exchange rate was approximately CFA 500. As of June 2000, the exchange rate was approximately CFA 1,100.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Yerima Haruna Umaru, Ardo Umaru son, Wum, 37<sup>th</sup> years, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

transformation and active participation in community development projects.<sup>4</sup> SODELCO also help it members with loans and capital to better run their cattle business. Despite all the successes registered by SODELCO in the North West, the association started facing some problems and weaknesses due to exploitation and persecution of members by it leaders.

### **Problems Faced by SODELCO**

Baba held a SODELCO inaugural meeting in 1993; the then Lamido of Sabga was a founding member.<sup>5</sup> The quality of executive participation in SODELCO was strongly reminiscent of neopatrimonial regimes at state-level in Africa.<sup>6</sup> Positions were held on the basis of loyalty to the executive leader, with frequent dismissals and adhoc movement of personnel around executive posts. Executive member's acused of betraying Baba were imprisoned.<sup>7</sup> Members who incurred loans and were unable to pay in time were also imprisoned. Decisions were made on a personalized basis and SODELCO had little institutional decision-making capacity beyond its founder.<sup>8</sup>

SODELCO framed itself as a development organization and was increasingly using the language of the transnational development community in a bid to tap into its financial flows. However, the main SODELCO ranch consisted of only 350 cattle compared to over 15,000 at Baba's personal ranch. This suggests that SODELCO membership base was limited, and also that Baba did not take SODELCO seriously as a commercial livestock ranching operation. Rather, SODELCO was an instrument of neopatrimonial politics disguised as a commercial civic venture: its clearest rationale for existence was to oppose alternative means of participation and representation for the Fulani.

With all of the above problems, SODELCO started losing most of it members. The normal contribution of each member in terms of money and cattle drastically went down. Most of the Fulani and Hausa members of SODELCO left the association because of the persecution they were facing from the leaders. The ranch initially founded to keep SODELCO moving fell short of cattles. Serious financial problems faced the association. As a result,

---

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Mbih, "Aspects of Fulani Population Integration into Stabilised Village Communities in Mezam Division: the Case Study of Akum, Big Babanki, and Sabga VillageCommunities", Maitrise Memoir in Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2007, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> This was Lamido Adamu Jowro Bureh, who passed away in November 1998; Interview with Alhaji Baba Dan Pullo, 58 years, Fulani cattle owner and business magnet, Bamenda, 15 July, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> S. Hickey., "The Role of Non Governmental Development Organization in Challenging Exclusion in Africa: Participatory Development and the Politics of Citizenship Formation Amongst the Mbororo-Fulani in Northwest Cameroon", Unpublished PhD thesis, Staffordshire University, 2002, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> *Political Punch*, "Alhaji Baba at war with Peter Abety", Christmas 1998-99, Vol. 3 No 122.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

SODELCO was bound to collapse. After having examine SODELCO, let us now move to MBOSCUDA.

### **Origin of MBOSCUDA in the North West Region**

From the time the Fulani arrived in Bamenda, efforts began to be made to organize for them an economic and socio-cultural association. Between 1923 and 1930 the colonial administration considered the Fulani as constituting one race, having a homogenous economic (nomadic) and cultural life. This was a symbol of oneness or unity. The only task was to foster a traditional political control of them and maintain peace and co-existence between them and heterogeneous groups in the region. As a result, the Fulani were put under the authority of Ardo Sabga as unique leader in the Bamenda Province as a whole.<sup>9</sup>

Eventually significant differences set in. The colonial administration became embarrassed with the existence of many Fulani clans or settlements. This was not only because the clans had come into the region differently but also because they already had differences since their stay in Nigeria. Many had long broken away from their original stocks, constituted their own authority and were less willing to join other clans.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the authority of Sabga was challenged, first by Tuckanko'en and later by nearly all the clans that came into the region. Each clan produced an Ardo and lived independently.

The colonial administration, however, in order to maintain their unity forced them to set up a Fulani Native Authority (council) comprising heads of all the Fulani clans (Ardo). This council began to exist in August 1941 for the whole of the then Bamenda Division.<sup>11</sup> The Fulani Council comprised sixteen Ardo'en who were leading twelve clans (*Lenyi*). They were from Bafut, Bansa, Wiya, Kom, Ngemba, and Ndop. The table below indicates the members of this council.

The formation of the council was an effort to unite the Fulani and review the movement of cattle to dry season grazing. Through it the Fulani were advised to fit themselves into all sheds of social and economic structure of the division like other citizens.

But by the 1970s the council had faded away because it was simply the arrangement of District Officers to facilitate their work. The government did not recognize it. It lacked the power and authority that the local native councils had.<sup>12</sup> The council also lost its influence

---

<sup>9</sup> PAB, NW/RF/G, 1956/1, file No 1707, Provincial Administration, Fulani Settlement in Bamenda Area, 1956.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ndop by this time was under Mezam. It was separated by the administrative decentralization of the 1990s.

<sup>12</sup> PAB, file 17/3 No 19124 and file 17/4 No 100068 vol.III, the Grazing of Cattle.

because of the spatial distribution of the Fulani into different geographical locations with different ambitions.

That notwithstanding, a second effort was again made to unite the Fulani through the creation of a cattle cooperative in Mezam in the late 1980s. The initiative was that of some enlightened Fulani like the late Sarkinyaki Mama bi Ruga, Alhaji Abdu, Gidado, Ardo Musa Kalala, Sali Jago. Their organizer and adviser was a retired technician of IRZ (Institute of Zoo Technical Research) in Bambui, from Holland. Its headquarters was in Bamenda.<sup>13</sup> If successful, it would gather all the Fulani for it was envisaged to act like a cattle-marketing centre. It was meant to have the same structure and function as the coffee cooperatives in the division. Unfortunately it collapsed by 1988 having done nothing in development, but rather becoming a danger to the people.<sup>14</sup>

Wasting no time a third effort was put into place. This time it was neither the initiative of the administration nor of enlightened Fulani elders, but that of some educated Fulani youths. They were enlightened by education and town life, motivated by locals who often grouped themselves in local meetings or “*Njangi*” houses to plan the development of their different villages, and convicted to identify with their people and promote every aspect of their life to group themselves into what they called MBOSCUDA or Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association.<sup>15</sup>

The youths had taken advantage of the resurgence of multi-party politics in Cameroon. This time they started to fight against their marginalization and advocating development for their societies. By this time too, a good number of Fulani youths had entered Bamenda and some other towns of Cameroon, some for education and others for sheer interest in town life. These latter were hardly united except for crime and wrong doing (alcohol drinking). Some even hated to mix with their kin preferring life with non-Fulani friends and girls. Some even despised *Fulfulde* and spoke only Pidgin English and hated to be called Fulani or worse still, Mbororo that was for them an insult.<sup>16</sup> This time too scholarisation among the Fulani was still

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid; the retire technician from IRZ stayed for one year working for the Fulani cooperative. His intention was that the cooperative would also serve as a center for producing dairy products. He laid the foundation and on return home sent some funds for construction of its center in Bamenda. But in a later future when he sent people from Holland to come and evaluate the work, nothing was done.

<sup>14</sup> It becomes a danger because all the Funds gathered for its running were misused by some individuals and were followed judicially to reproduce it. Others disagreed over it and mass division became the order of the day.

<sup>15</sup> MBOSCUDA at origin took the form of a cultural gathering just only with Mezem. But it grew large and eventually changed to a national and international organization with several powers.

<sup>16</sup> The name Mbororo was considered in the Grassfields to mean people of the bush who were uncivilized and wonderers. The native called Fulbe Mbororo meant on allusion to abuse. A conception the Fulbe themselves had.

low. Of the few who went to school, a good number had withdrawn at the elementary level. Those who had completed secondary studies copied alien behaviour and thought very little about the fellow Kinsmen back in the “bush”.

It was against this background that MBOSCUDA emerged to act as a modern forum for uniting all the Fulani,<sup>17</sup> first in Mezam, the North West and eventually Cameroon as a whole. Conceived by three people, namely Musa Usman Ndamba, Usman Hamman and late Amina Hamman, efforts were made to mobilize the youths in schools around Bamenda town and influential Fulani working with some government and private bodies, to come together and contribute their own ideas concerning the endeavor.<sup>18</sup>

Plans to create MBOSCUDA started in 1987. Three groups: FUSCODA, FUFOUCAM and MDA, formed in Bamenda, Kumbo and Yaounde respectively, merged in 1992 to form MBOSCUDA (Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association) a non-partisan, not-for-profit socio-cultural development association. This time, all the Fulani youths in other towns, especially Douala and Yaounde became interested in the association. It was legalised by a prefectoral order signed in Yaounde on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 1992. The constitution of MBOSCUDA was drawn up and adopted by May 30-31, 1992 by a Consultative Assembly. It was revised and ratified between December 9-11<sup>th</sup>, 1994 and October 15-17 1999 by the General Assembly.<sup>19</sup> The motto of the association read: *Mo Soh’ Yaya PadidisoH Oyaya Daayidi*, meaning “One who does not gather his straying cows while they are within sight is fated to search for his herd where it did not”. Its emblem was a cow grazing around a grass-thatched hut.<sup>20</sup> MBOSCUDA was soon able to gather all the Fulani in Cameroon by 1994, during its first General Assembly in the Sagba village.<sup>21</sup>

MBOSCUDA was structured to ensure maximum representation and general success. The Fulani association took two basic organs in its structure. These included the national and the regional structures. At the national level the following organs were formed:

- i. The General Assembly (GA)
- ii. The Permanent Advisory Council (PAC)

---

<sup>17</sup> Under scholarisation has been and continues to be veritable and serious problem among the Fulani community in the Bamenda Grassfields.

<sup>18</sup> Rhamani, A., “The Political and Socio-Economic History of the Fulbé (Mbororo) in Mezam Division in the Twentieth Century”, Maitrise Memoir in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2004, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> T.C. Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso, 1920s-2004”, M.A Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Sabga village was remembered to be the center of the Fulani in the North West and the dignity and authority of the lamido was to be restored once more.



- iii. The National Executive Council (NEC)
- iv. Standing Committees (SPECOMS)

At the regional level the organs were:

- ❖ Regional General Assembly (RGE)
- ❖ Regional Executive Committees (REC)
- ❖ Standing Committees (SPECOMS)
- ❖ Jihad Executive Committee ((JEC)
- ❖ Fahda Executive Committee (FEC)<sup>22</sup>

According to this structure, the G.A. was the supreme organ of the organization. It comprised members of the national and regional executives as well as delegated persons from regional organs. Meeting once every four years, except during extraordinary sessions, it was the decision making body.<sup>23</sup>

MBOSCUDA was the first Fulani grouping to take a modern structure with well-defined objectives. It was the first gathering grouping Fulani in the whole country. It even extended its influences to other Fulani groupings in Africa, like the *Tabital Pulaaku* in Mali.<sup>24</sup>

The vision of MBOSCUDA remained to empower the Fulani people to achieve sustainable and equitable development on their terms and to secure their human, social, cultural and economic rights as valued and active citizens of Cameroon. Since its formation and at the time of writing this thesis, MBOSCUDA has grown to become one of the most credible social movements in Cameroon. It already had grassroots structures in eight of Cameroon's ten provinces with a membership of 30,000.<sup>25</sup> During the more than ten years of its existence, MBOSCUDA REGISTERED some successes.

### **Successes of MBOSCUDA**

At an initial stage, MBOSCUDA had identified the Fulani in the North West Province and Cameroon as a minority group which had marginalized itself because of its low education. This identification was not only in the cultural domain (history, language and religion), interests and expectations, but also in the economic and social domains.<sup>26</sup> Through this

---

<sup>22</sup> “Deftéré Daarangé Shard; L MBOSCUDA”, (The constitution and Internal Regulations of 1999). Article 10, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> MBOSCUDA, *Constitution*, Article 17 and 18, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Ardo Sule, Wum, Ardo of Wum, 64 years, 27<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

<sup>25</sup> “MBOSCUDA”, Cameroon. P. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *MBOSCUDA constitution*, (Preamble) p. 3.



knowledge, awareness was established that the Fulani were citizens of the same status like other Cameroonians. They were protected by the same laws of the land and had equal rights. They were known to contribute enormously to the state and to the areas in which they were found.<sup>27</sup>

MBOSCUDA acted as a forum where issues of general interest could be discussed and solutions proposed. For example, the disturbing problem of farmer-grazier conflicts in the region. This often featured in most agendas of meeting. Yet, no significant effort was made to reduce it and very little success was achieved in Mezam. MBOSCUDA had also taken part in sensitizing Fulani cattle rearers in Menchum Division concerning the farmer-grazier problem. This association too acted as a liaison through which philanthropists, international bodies, non-governmental organizations and researchers passed to contact the Fulani. These bodies or individuals not only came to make their research works but also to promote Fulani development.<sup>28</sup>

MBOSCUDA held two General Assemblies attended by over 10,000 people at Sabga, North West Province in 1994 and Ngaoundere, Adamawa Province in 1999. The third National AGM took place in Didango, West Province in 2003. The General Assemblies became popular gatherings where, the Fulani came to share ideas, discuss progress, difficulties and find solutions to their problems as a people. Exhibitions of cultural artefacts were usually organized during the assemblies as well as dazzling horse displays. NGO representatives, traditional rulers and Government Ministers attended these assemblies. The Lamibe of Lompta, Didango and Sabga as well as other Ardo'en were regular participants. In addition, MBOSCUDA held provincial general assemblies in eight of Cameroon's ten provinces with similar activities. The Northwest Province held at least six such assemblies by 2005, which always include a popular football cup tournament.<sup>29</sup>

MBOSCUDA created Anglo-Arabic schools in remote areas for children of all ethnic and religious backgrounds funded the construction of classrooms for five schools in Nyang, Akweto, Chako, Ndop and Mbam. In collaboration with CAMUAUW (Cameroon Association of University Women), MBOSCUDA facilitated the award of five scholarships to Fulani girls from poor backgrounds into secondary schools.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Messages of all-important personalities be them the president of MBOSCUDA, politicians, statement attending the G.A. meeting. It was a dominant message in the 1994 Sabga G.A.

<sup>28</sup> MBOSCUDA has had connections with Ballotiral (village Aids Group), HEIFER PROJECT, APEX and Human Right Organization.

<sup>29</sup> "MBOSCUDA", Cameroon, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

To add, the association provided career opportunities for other Fulani women by sponsoring four of them into professional schools: Ali Aishatu became the first Fulani girl to graduate from the Jakiri veterinary school. Ramatu Sali came top of her class at the Cooperative College Bamenda, Ramatu Adamu successfully completed her course in the Technical School of Agriculture in Bambili and Aisha Buba graduated from the school of Social Welfare in Yaounde. Without MBOSCUDA the above successes would not have been possible.<sup>31</sup>

MBOSCUDA set up an Education Fund to support children from poor backgrounds to acquire education and several Fulani children have benefited from this scheme. It also encouraged the admission of several Fulani students into teacher training colleges, the Cameroon Army and other professions. Above all, it awarded Yaya Ahmadou a scholarship to train in a law school in West Africa to become a full-fledged lawyer. MBOSCUDA has employed a full time REFLECT coordinator to support learning circles in 30 communities across the Northwest Province. Each circle had its own trained facilitator supported by the association. The literacy endeavour focuses on development skills, savings and credit, health, education, citizenship and civic rights. The education received provided Fulani women with a focus and strengthened local women's groups, which got engaged in a range of development activities.<sup>32</sup>

MBOSCUDA was in contact with government services, and the service of some international organisations such as SIRDEP, HPI, HELVETAS, Plan Cameroon, and Netherlands Centre for Indigenous People (NCIV), the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Denmark, Survival International UK, Amnesty International Village AID UK and Voluntary Service Overseas (V.S.O.). These development agents helped in financing development projects in Fulani communities through MBOSCUDA. These projects were mostly in the domain of education and agro-pastoral activities with the aim of improving the lifestyle of the Fulani at the local level in the villages of the division. The organisation has also been handling adult literacy programmes for Fulani and training them to be industrious and self-employed on economic activities like the production of detergents like soap, production of cheese, butter and milk. The offering of scholarships to Fulani children in schools, especially female children has been a booster in their integration process.

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid , p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

MBOSCUDA has been playing a very important role at the different levels and domains and facilitating Fulani integration into the various neighbourhood communities.<sup>33</sup>

Besides, MBOSCUDA in collaboration with HELVETAS and IDF/GRET MBOSCUDA provided pipe borne water supply in Sabga, Ntah and Mbang all in the Northwest province. It has also organized three workshops and training seminars on sexual health and the prevention of HIV/AIDS in Wum, Menchum Division.<sup>34</sup>

MBOSCUDA under the auspices of BALLOTIRAL set up a Para-legal Extension Program. The project advocated for the rights of 30 communities in the Northwest Province by providing advice and information to people whose rights were abused and helped them with legal representation in courts if necessary. This empowered members of rural communities whose rights became secured. In 2003, MBOSCUDA employed six para-legal workers and a lawyer to oversee their work. They started work in January and handled dozens of cases.<sup>35</sup> In Donga Mantung and Menchum Divisions, there were 30 successful litigations on behalf of victims in court out of 35 cases of extortion and human rights abuses by unscrupulous perpetrators in remote villages. Several victims were counselled and many differences were amicably settled.<sup>36</sup>

MBOSCUDA organized for the issuing of 1000 birth certificates to community members thereby enabling them to obtain National Identity cards and register for elections. Among these were 70 children who were able to sit their official exams with their new birth certificates. During the 2002 twin parliamentary and Municipal Elections, many Fulani in the North West Province participated by voting with the newly acquired National Identity cards. Many Fulani also stood for elections. For example, the alternate C.P.D.M. candidate for the Parliamentary election in Nkambe was a Fulani. After the municipal elections, three Fulani were councilors in Wum, Esu and Bafmeng and two in Nwa town in Misaje and Nkame Sub-divisions. One of them was a female (Salamatu Yusufa Demsa).<sup>37</sup>

MBOSCUDA was committed to redressing the problem of the marginalisation of the Fulani women, and employed women's coordinators at national and provincial levels. At the national level it hosted the regional office of the Association of African Indigenous Women Organization (AIWO). Fulani and Pygmy women were founding members of AIWO and

---

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Ardo Jaja, Esu, Ardo of Esu, 62 years, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2003; Mbih, "Stabilized Village Communities", p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 4; Interview with Ardo Mama, Wum, Ardo of Wum, 48 years, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

<sup>36</sup> "MBOSCUDA", Cameroon, p. 4; Interview with Sule Jaja.

<sup>37</sup> "MBOSCUDA", Cameroon, p. 4.

participated in its creation in Agadir (Morocco) in 1998. Through AIWO-MBOSCUA women organized seminars, workshops and conferences on various issues affecting their lives. They fed their views into MINASCOF and NGOs and tried to influence policy and improve service provision for women.<sup>38</sup> In the Northwest province it employed a full time women's coordinator who supported 30 women's Common Initiative Groups with a membership of over 700. The coordinator helps the groups to identify their needs, draw up strategies and plans to address them and manages their projects. These groups receive training on leadership and group management techniques, soap and body lotion production and gardening.<sup>39</sup> SIREP, HELVETAS, CAMCUL and village Aid were key partners to this training.

MBOSCUA assisted tremendously in the construction of cattle drinking troughs and crushes in the Menchum Division and Adamawa province of Cameroon. Graziers were sensitized on the certification of grazing lands and pasture improvement. Two workshops were organised in Menchum and Donga Mantung in the Northwest province on land tenure and resolution of farmer-grazier conflicts bringing together the administration, traditional authorities, divisional delegates and other stakeholders.<sup>40</sup>

MBOSCUA employed a credit program coordinator under the auspices of BALLOTIRAL and in partnership with the Cameroon Cooperative Credit Union League (CamCul). The program provided capital to the rural poor and created opportunities for Fulani people to manage their own savings and readily use the services of credit institutions. The association took religious issues into consideration in the development of this scheme. The focus was on 30 communities and in particular the needs of Fulani women in the Northwest Province. The scheme offered training and support in savings mobilization, record keeping and income generating activities. This was a key project in MBOSCUA'S crusade against poverty and exclusion.<sup>41</sup>

MBOSCUA used social drama as a medium for development. A social-Drama coordinator is employed to support this. SIDO forum is a socio-drama group created by MBOSCUA to generate debate and dialogue within the society in Fulani and facilitate cross-cultural communication. It also aims at challenging assumptions, exploring complex and controversial issues and raising awareness on various issues during national day

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 5; interview with Ardo Sule.

<sup>39</sup> "MBOSCUA", Cameroon, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 6; Interview with Ardo Jaja..

<sup>41</sup> "MBOSCUA", Cameroon, p. 8.

celebrations, seminars, workshops and MBOSCUDA General Assemblies. SIDO forum used song, dance, drama, role-play and visual arts to achieve its objectives.<sup>42</sup>

MBOSCUDA aimed at revitalising Mbororo youth culture by encouraging singing, dancing, and the display of horse riding skills during public meetings. This engendered the disapproval of Muslim clerics who reproached MBOCUDA for promoting immoral and aggressive behaviour among Fulani youths.<sup>43</sup> Gradually, MBOSCUDA officials adopted a more inclusive strategy, involving Fulani elders and Muslim scholars in the planning and execution of their programmes. Besides, they addressed the sub-ethnic divide between Jaafun and Aku and stressed need of an overarching Fulani identity.

In order to realise their development projects, MBOSCUDA officials collaborated with international NGOs. They secured the collaboration of the German Development Service (DED), and Village AiD, a UK funding-partner agency. Concurrently, international development discourses impacted on MBOSCUDA's programme orientation. In line with global discourses on human, minority, and cultural rights, MBOSCUDA shifted its initial focus from redefining Fulani political and legal status. Its earlier focus on women's empowerment and children's education remained operational. Current projects included women's training in alternative income schemes, the establishment of Anglo-Arabic schools (co-educational schools that provide primary school education in English as well as in Arabic language and Muslim religion), and the provision of legal advice in land disputes and in cases of human rights abuse and illegal extortion by government officials. On account of these activities the association is well-regarded among Fulani in the Western Grassfields in general and Menchum Division in particular, many of whom have benefited from its projects.

As a quick Internet search conducted in April 2005 revealed, MBOSCUDA was associated with a variety of transnational human and minority rights organisations including Survival International, Amnesty International, Minority rights Group International, and the World Intellectual Property Organisation. This international backing proved instrumental in defying human rights abuses against Fulani.

One of MBOSCUDA's most relevant programmes is Ballotiral, a partnership programme that is funded by AiD and involves the collaboration of representatives of three

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 8; Interview with Ardo Mama.

<sup>43</sup> Mbororo elders' and Muslim clerics' complaints about the loss of *pulaaku* and their youth misconduct resonate with the objection of pastoral Fulbe elders in northern Cameroon as reported by Virtten (2003:85-129) and discussed earlier in this chapter.

regional NGOs. <sup>44</sup> Ballotiral is a *Fulfulde* word and means ‘working together’. The programme’s main objective is to support the Fulani’s social and political integration into the regional community. Among other activities, it ran adult literacy circles and provided legal counselling to Mbororo individuals. Two MBOSCUDA founding members from the North West Province who have been influential in the association’s development throughout the early years and who established contact with Village AiD initiated the programme. Subsequently, both left Cameroon for the UK where they continued to support MBOSCUDA and the Fulani community by facilitating international contacts and promoting Fulani interests in global networks.<sup>45</sup>

In the course of Cameroon’s political liberalisation its constitution underwent a number of changes, and Cameroonian citizenship became defined via membership of an indigenous ethnic group. As stated in the preamble of the Cameroonian constitution of 1996, the state guarantees the protection of minorities and the preservation of the rights of indigenous populations. Fulani thus share the same rights with local Grassfields if they can prove themselves to the state as being indigenous or a minority. When in 2000 new computerised identity cards were issued, MBOSCUDA and Ballotiral encouraged the Fulani population to register. While in the previous system, Fulani were generally registered as being born in northern Cameroon; the new identity cards indicate their actual birthplace. Fulani hence qualify as regional citizens with claims and rights to natural resources and political representation in their home area. MBOSCUDA went a step further and portrayed the Fulani as an engendered minority whose cultural survival had to be guaranteed. In December 2004 the Cameroonian government recognised the Fulani alongside the pygmies as “indigenous minorities”.<sup>46</sup> In line with this discussion, MBOSCUDA officials were enrolled to participate in government programmes for the development of indigenous minorities and autonomous peoples. Moreover, in February 2005 MBOSCUDA was granted consultative status by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations.<sup>47</sup>

Curiously, a few months after these events, dissent emerged within MBOSCUDA’s leading echelons concerning the association’s future programme orientation, and criticism was raised against the idea of the Fulani collaborating and being grouped with southern

---

<sup>44</sup> In its pilot phase from 1998 to 2003, Ballotiral operated only in Donga-Mantung. In the meantime, it has extended its activities to all seven Divisions of the North West Province (Duni et al. 2005).

<sup>45</sup> Pelican Michaela, “Getting along in the Grassfields: Interethnic Relations and Identity Politics in Northwest Cameroon”, Unpublished PhD thesis, Martin Luther Universitat, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, 2006, pp.194-197.

<sup>46</sup> *Cameroon Tribune*, 14/12/2004.

<sup>47</sup> MBOSCUDA Press Release, Bamenda, 16/03/2005.

Cameroon's forest peoples. As a consequence, the two Fulani individuals living in the UK, who had crucially facilitated MBOSCUA's international contacts, quit the association. As one of them explained, they could no longer cope with their colleagues' "complex of Fulani superiority", nor tolerate the misuse of MBOSCUA to advance the personal interests of the Fulani external elite. In the same line, Fulani Ardo'en submitted a petition to European institutions, accusing Fulani intellectuals of misappropriating international aid.

As these developments show, MBOSCUA's international connections and their recourse to global discourses on human, minority, and cultural rights have been instrumental in redefining the political and legal status of the Fulani community. At the same time, they have given rise to internal rivalries and the Fulani's dissociation from other minority groups. However, the message that Fulani have rights and claims has been conveyed on the local, national, and international level and has impacted on Fulani self-understanding. As Fulani informants in Wum pointed out, they no longer see themselves as disunited and marginalised pastoralists, but as an empowered Cameroonian minority whose members can define themselves against illicit infringements and the venality of state officials.<sup>48</sup>

The consolidation of Fulani identity and their growing self-confidence have impacted not only on their relationship with the state, but also on interpersonal relations both with members of neighbouring communities and between Fulani.

Nuhu Salihu Jafaru, the Africa programme co-coordinator of Village AiD, has portrayed a second example of the potentially negative impact of Fulani 'overconfidence'. In a critical essay on Ballotiral's counselling programme, he describes a case in which the Ballotiral staffs were asked to mediate a conflict between rivalling Fulani leaders in Menchum. Unfortunately, Ballotiral's involvement contributed to the conflict's intensification and culminated in a generally unsatisfactory ending. Nuhu suggests that alternatively to legal action and mediation by Muslim Clerics was more sustainable and cheaper.<sup>49</sup> So far, only a few Fulani have pursued their claims and rights through legal action, since a successful lawsuit requires significant input and socio-political leverage.

### **Pastoral Fulani Associations across Africa.**

Pastoral Fulani associations like MBOSCUA exist in many other African countries. The best-documented one is in Benin where, in the mid-1980s, educated Fulani formed the *Comité*

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, pp.195-197.

<sup>49</sup> Concerns about potentially negative effects of legal action on interethnic relations are also expressed by Duni et al. (2005).



*Fulfulde* with the objective of representing pastoral Fulani interests in the country. Like Cameroon, Benin underwent a phase of political transition in the 1980s, which resulted in the opening of political space for ethnic group representation that previously was banned as a form of tribalism. The literature on the *Comité Fulfulde* focuses on the initial years of its formation. There is no information it still existed in 2005 or about its contemporary activities. Similarly, Fulani migrants in Ghana organised themselves in *suudu baaba* (father's house) associations, which represented their members according to home countries. Allegedly, other *suudu baaba* associations also exist in the migrant's home countries, including Mali, Burkina Faso and Nigeria.<sup>50</sup>

Regarding MBOSCUA's interest in international connections, a shift in orientation can be observed. By the mid-1990s MBOSCUA officials were interested in linking up with other Fulani associations across Africa, such as *Mi yeti Allah* (I thank Allah) in Nigeria or *Tabital Pulaaku* (FulBe tradition) in Mali. This was part of their search for a new Fulani identity and implied the vision of a transnational umbrella association of Pastoral Fulani. By the late 1990s MBOSCUA no longer sought the collaboration of other Fulani associations, but focused on contacts with international development and human rights organisations. Furthermore, Fulani individuals deployed global discourses on human, minority, and cultural rights to promote Fulani interests on a national and international scale. In consequence, the Fulani were classified in the category of "tribal peoples", and clustered with other ethnic groups with whom they shared the status of an 'endangered minority'. So far, this strategy has proven instrumental for Fulani in the Western Grassfields, as their ideas of development seemed largely compatible with the notions of the Cameroonian state and international organisations. The latest disagreements within MBOSCUA leading echelons, however, may in the future result in a change of strategies.

### **Failures of MBOSCUA**

In its effort to reinforce unity and ties between members and other people through discussion, cooperation, social integration and tolerance, especially at the level of the executive, MBOSCUA faced the problems of resignations, dismissals, arrogance, and violation of the bi-laws before the year 2000. No doubt that for ten years of its existence very little success was recorded especially at local levels. There was often misunderstanding and poor communication between the grassroots and the leading officials.

---

<sup>50</sup> Pelican, "Interethnic Relations", pp.195-197.

MBOSCUDA had become a subject of an unending trouble between the Fulani leaders (Ardo'en), SODELCO and some politicians in the North West Province. One could notice meetings, counter meetings, arrests and sometimes imprisonment. Some politicians were always present in MBOSCUDA conferences or meetings and instead of paying attention to the interests of the people, played politics in an apolitical gathering.<sup>51</sup> These politicians always made promises that were never fulfilled. In fact, MBOSCUDA became a forum for politicking since it emerged in the midst of political crisis.

The two elites Fulani association, MBOSCUDA and SODELCO were always at logger head with each other. Conflicts between these two associations were at times bloody with some casualties. A clear example was the conflict that pitted the two associations in Sabga and Bamenda in the late 1990s.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that in relation to socio-economic and cultural development projects, MBOSCUDA often lacked finances. Although some international philanthropic bodies helped, there was often the problem of mismanagement of funds. Only a fraction of the help reached its proper destination. If all the contributions received were judiciously used, many achievements would have been made.<sup>52</sup>

Many questions were usually asked about the use of the two thousand francs annual contribution required of every registered member. Many people who had contributed on several occasions often wondered what purpose the money served and questioned the reason for such contributions. In 1994 the annual contribution stood at about four hundred thousand (400,000) francs. By 1998 it fell to fifty thousand (50,000) francs that was contributed by about two Fahdas.<sup>53</sup>

Education was also a principal objective of MBOSCUDA. Much effort was employed to promote it. But the education of the girl child remained a myth in Menchum. The problem is not that girls did not start school but that most of them hardly completed elementary school. Many got married on the way while some were withdrawn by their parents for fear they would copy the Western styles. According to a local Fulani man, Western styles included the wearing of trousers and the mixing of boys and girls in daily activities. Such things, they felt,

---

<sup>51</sup> A provincial president of MBOSCUDA had been a militant of an opposition party. In most MBOSCUDA meeting held, politicians from this party attended. Although they made a lot of promises, very little realities came. Some government Ministers had found these people fertile areas of politicking. They also attended MBOSCUDA gathering but did nothing of significance to the Fulani, which a historian can appreciate.

<sup>52</sup> Pelican, "Interethnic Relations", pp. 195-197.

<sup>53</sup> All this information can be found with the president of MBOSCUDA Santa. Fahda were local structures of MBOSCUDA under an *Ardorate*. There were six *Fahdahs* in Santa by 1996.

were vehemently condemned by Islam and Muslim culture. The non respect for culture and social norms like failing to squat when greeting an elder as well as constantly speaking in alien dialect (English or French) were condemned. To them, the latter if not controlled would one day eradicate *Fulfulde*.

The effort to promote agro-pastoral practices, management of grazing land to ensure maximum protection of the environment, met with no identifiable success. Extensive grazing, transhumance and bush burning remained prevailing practices in the North West Province. In some parts of the province, grazing land had been turned to farms and a good number of Fulani were leaving such places.

To the above could be added problems created by MBOSCUDA itself. Since creation, MBOSCUDA at the provincial level often held its General Assemblies (GAs) every two years. The venue usually moved from one Division or Sub-division to another. Although important discussions on useful issues, cultural exhibitions and reports and assessments were made during the G.As, a problem was often created by youths below 35 years. These youths came there not for meeting but to dance their *Baralla*, exercise very delinquent practices like alcohol consumption, fighting, and unprotected sexual relations.<sup>54</sup> Also, in preparations for the GA, youths sold cows and used the money to buy dresses. The change was kept for use during the GA and if it was not enough a second cow was sold. This thus drained family resources during such times of difficult economic situation.<sup>55</sup>

Youths who did not have cattle to sell stole others' cattle and sold for the purpose. Sometimes after the gatherings, investigations of theft were undertaken and some arrests made. Those arrested ended up in prison if their parents did not spend much money to release them. For these reasons it was advisable that MBOSCUDA revise its methods and activities to better serve the interest of the Fulani and to ensure the integration and development of the community into the communities of Menchum.<sup>56</sup>

## Challenges

---

<sup>54</sup> Delinquent practices were reported in 1995 in Santa when the Ardos after a MBOSCUDA meeting banned all dancing and gathering after the meeting. The DO for Santa wrote a letter refusing all activities after meeting. But the youths refuse and went on dancing. The DO and gendarmerie commander of the Division approach them to talk to them. They rather stone the Commander and break the head light of the DO's car. Similar developments were reported in Fundong in 1998, Wum 2000 during GA meetings. Much alcohol consumption and other activities were reported. What a misfortune.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Ardo Jaja; The Parent complained of being victims as their children sell cattle and abandon work to go to MBOSCUDA GA's to dance. Sometimes they even came back with illness causing parents to spend money in hospitals.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Ardo Sule.

In addition to a lack of adequate resources and capacity, MBOSCUDA was facing reactionary forces within the Fulani community and from the mainstream Cameroon society. Non-Fulani and Fulani people who had hitherto acted as exploitative interlocutors for a vulnerable Fulani clientele for economic and political gains were feeling threatened by MBOSCUDA'S liberating practice of empowerment through participatory, sustainable development. MBOSCUDA refused to submit to these conservative forces. This brought the organization into their firing lines. MBOSCUDA had two choices: align itself with those who thrived in the “backwardness” of their people or empower the Fulani people to liberate themselves from bondage, poverty and social exclusion. There was no ambivalence in MBOSCUDA'S choice.<sup>57</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

From the above elaborations, it has been shown that the two main Fulani organisations, MBOSCUDA and SODELCO, contributed enormously in bringing the Fulani ethnic groups into a uniting forum. Such a forum helped discuss the problems faced by the Fulani. They served as a bridge between the Fulani ethnic groups and the indigenes as well as both national and international institutions. Mbororo-Fulani people democratically elected by their community led the associations. They met regularly to share ideas and exchange information on their activities. These associations had their various approaches as far as development projects were concerned, but their main aim was the uplifting of the socio-economic and political conditions of the Fulani in the Northwest Region.<sup>58</sup>

As to the question of which of those two associations (MBOSCUDA or SODELCO) defended more the status/right of the Mbororos in the Northwest, there is no doubt that it was MBOSCUDA. This is as compared to the number of activities MBOSCUDA carried out on behalf of the Mbororos which are far better and successful than those of SODELCO. SODELCO had good ambitions but was short-lived. MBOSCUDA on the contrary helped the Mbororos enormously to secure access to natural and state resources via legal claims. It also help linked the Mbororos with some international organisations outside the country that helped safeguard their political and legal rights. As a matter of facts, thanks to MBOSCUDA, the Mbororos were able to claimed citizenship and minority status to the Cameroonian states.

---

<sup>57</sup> “MBOSCUDA”, Cameroon, pp. 11-12.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

## REFERENCES

- Awasom, Nicodemus, “From Migrants to Nationals and from Nationals to Undesireable Elements: the Case of the Fulani (Mbororo) Muslim Graziers in Cameroon’s North West Province”, In Catherine coquet Vidrovitch, odile George, Issiaka Mande and Faranirina Rajaonah (eds), *Entre étranger et Migrant en Afrique du XXe Siècle. Enjeux, Idetitaires et Modes d’insertion*, Paris, L’Harmttan, 2003.
- Boutrais, Jean, “Entre Nomadisme et Sédentarité: les Mbororo à l’ouest du Cameroun”, In Chantal Blanc-pamard (ed.), *Le Développement Rural en Question, Paysage, Espaces Ruraux, Système Agraires*, paris, ORSTOM, 1984.
- Emmanuel, N.N., “Settlements, Grazier or Agricultural Land: A Confrontation of Interests in the North West Province of Cameroon”, *Annals of the faculty of letters and Social Sciences, University of Yaounde*, No 10, 1981.
- Fage, D.J., *An Introduction to the History of West Africa*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960.
- Fanzo, V.G., *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges from Prehistoric Times to the Nineteenth Century, Volume I*, London, Macmillan Publishers, 1989.
- Fon, R.N. and Ndamba, M., “MBOSCUA’S Access to Justice and Promotion of land Righs for the Mbororos of the North West of Cameroon”, April 2008.
- Frantz Charles, “Fulani Continuity and change under five flags”, In mahdi Adamu and Anthony, H.M. Kirk-Greene(eds), *Pastoralists of the West African Savanna*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986;
- Hickey, S., “The Role of Non Governmental Development Organisation in Challenging Exclusion in Africa: Participatory Development and the Politics of Citizenship Formation Amongst the Mbororo Fulani in North West Cameroon”, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Staffordshire University, 2002.
- Hickey, Samuel, “Caught at the Crossroads: Citizenship, Marginality and the Mbororo Fulani in North West Cameroon”, In D. Hammet, P. Nugent and S. Rich Dorman (eds), *Citizenship in Africa*, leiden, Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Interview with Alhaji Adamu, 66years, Fulani elder, Bamenda, 20<sup>th</sup> December 2008.
- Interview with Mallam Mama, 47years, Fulani elite, Bamenda, 30<sup>th</sup> November 2008.

- Nchia, C.F., “The Farmer-Grazier Conflict in the Aghem Federation 1905-2005”, Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I, 2006.
- Ndele, S.P., “Inter tribal conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon: Causes, Consequences and Perspectives”, Maitrise Dissertation, Catholic University of Central Africa, 1998.
- Neba, S.A., *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon, Second edition*, Camden, Neba Publishers, 1987.
- Ngoh, V.J., *History of Cameroon Since 1800*, Limbe, Pressbook limited, 1996.
- Njeuma, M.Z., *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (old Adamawa) 1809-1902*, Younde, Ceper, 1978.
- Njeuma, Martin and Awasom, Nicodemus, “The Fulani in Bamenda Grasslands: Opportunity and Conflict 1940-1960”, In Peter Geschiere and Piet Koning (eds) Conference on the Political Economy of Cameroon Historical Perspectives, leiden, African studies Centre, 1988.
- Nkwi, P.N. and Warnier, J.P., *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields*, Yaounde, Publication of the Department of Sociology, 1982.
- Pelican, M., “Mbororo Claims to Regional Citizenship and Minority Status in Northwest Cameroon”, Africa, the Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 78, Number 4, 2008;
- Pelican, M., Mbororo Claims to Regional Citizenship and Minority status (North West Cameroon)”, paper Presented at ECAS 2/AEGIS Conference, Leiden, 11-14 July 2007.
- Pelican, Michaela, “Getting along in the Grassfields: Interethnic Relations and Identity Politics in Northwest Cameroon”, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Martin Luther Universitat, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, 2006.
- Rhamani, Adu, “The Political and Socio-Economic History of the Fulbe (Mbororo) in Mezam Division in the Twentieth Century”, Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I, 2004.
- Tazo, E. and Haman, U., “Contribution of land use Conflicts to Peasant Impoverishment: The Case Opposing the Mbororo Pastoralists and the Indigenous Crop Cultivators of Mezam Division (North West Cameroon)”, Revue de Geographie du Cameroun, volume XVII, N01, 2006.

- “Defteré Daarangé Shard; L MBOSCUDA.” (The constitution and Internal Regulations of 1999). Article 10, p. 6.
- Mbih, R.A., “Aspect of Fulani population Integration into Stabilised Village Communities in Mezam Division: the Case Study of Akum, Big Babanki and Sabga Village Communities”, Maitrise Memoir in Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2007.
- Interview with Yerima Haruna Umaru, Ardo of Wum Son, Wum, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003.
- Interview with Alhaji Mamuda, Bamenda, Fulani Elites, 64 years, 23rd April 2003.
- Interview with Ardo Sule, Wum, Ardo of Wum, 64 years, 27<sup>th</sup> September 2003.
- Interview with Ardo Jaja, Esu, Ardo of Esu, 62 years, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2003.
- Interview with Ardo Mama, Wum, Ardo of Wum, 48<sup>th</sup> years, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003.
- Peterkins, M., “Wum Farmer-Grazier Conflict: When Violence Becomes Inevitable.” The Post, No. 0691, Yaounde, Monday, August 8, 2005.
- Mbonwoh, Nkeze and Tarkang Solomon, “ Lake Nyos Disaster . Relief Aids Commission Meets”, Cameroon Tribune No. 639, 10<sup>th</sup> September 1986, p.10.
- MBOSCUDA Constitution (Preamùble).
- MBOSCUDA Press Release, Bamenda, March 16, 2005.
- Political Punch, “ Alhaji Baba at war with Peter Abety”, Christmas 1989-99, Vol 3, No. 122.
- Jumbam, T.C., “The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso, 1920s-2004”, M.A dissertation in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2005.
- PAB, file 17/3 No 19124 and file 17/4 No 100068 vol.III, The Grazing of cattle.
- PAB, NW/RF/g. 1956/1, file No 1707, Provincial Administration, Fulani settlement in Bamenda Area, 1956.