

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

* * * * *

POST-GRADUATE SCHOOL
FOR SOCIAL AND
EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

* * * * *

DOCTORAL RESEARCH
UNIT FOR
SOCIAL SCIENCES

* * * * *

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY



UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

** * * * **

*CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION
DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES
HUMAINE ET SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVE*

** * * * **

*UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION
DOCTORALE EN
SCIENCES HUMAINE ET SOCIALES*

** * * * **

DEPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE

**PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND NATION
BUILDING IN THE CITY OF YAOUNDE, 1972-2018**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Award of a Master of Arts (M.A) Degree in History**

Specialization: History of International Relations.

BY:

Linus TIH NJI
B.A in History

Supervisor

Pr. Confidence CHIA NGAM
Associate Professor
Department of History
The University of Bamenda

August, 2022

To
Malen TIH
and Susana TIH, all of blessed memory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A work of this nature could not have been the effort of a single person. It is therefore incumbent for me to register my profound gratitude to some of those who contributed to its realization. Heartfelt acknowledgements go to my supervisor, Pr. Confidence Chia Ngam, who did not hesitate to accept to supervise this work. His legendary selflessness and patience, encouragement and supervision of the work from inception to realization inspired me. I am equally grateful to my lecturers of the History Department, University of Yaounde I. They were instrumental in sharpening the skills I badly needed in historical analysis and presentation.

I am equally indebted to Fon Evarestus Ntuh Mbeng who encouraged me during difficult moments of this work. I am also heartily indebted to professor, Hycenth Ami Nyoh in a special way for his mentorship during my previous years in the University of Yaounde I. I am particularly thankful to Roger Che Chu, Evaristus Nji Sam, Eric Koizah, and Relindis Akomoneh who took their time to read through the work and made valuable corrections.

I equally extend sincere gratitude to my informants, who sacrificed time from their tight schedules to furnish me with the information needed. Paramount of them are: Abe Ngomo, Gisele Bernadette Ambomo, Clement Defang, Francis Ben, Dr. Margaret Neba Numfor, Longin Zanga Onana, Monique Nga Zoa, Iness Tchakountio Nguenia, Relindis Akomoneh, among others. I remain indebted to all the documentation centers that opened their doors and offered their services for me. I hereby recognize the role of the personnel of the National Archives Buea (NAB), National Archives Yaounde (NAY), library of the department of History, History-Geography-Archaeology, of the University of Yaounde I, library of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Science, University of Yaounde I, and Advanced Teachers Training College, Yaoundé.

Immeasurable thanks go to my family members especially my wife, Solange Nji and my kids: Arielle Nji; and Ivana Nji. I equally express gratitude to my brothers and sisters: Denis Kendah Tih (of blessed memomry), Michael Che Muh-Nyoh, Francis Tih Ntam, Thierry Tih, and Honorine Tih, for their financial support from inception to the final stage.

ABSTRACT

The study examines Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building in the city of Yaounde from 1972 to 2018. It admits that as a result of immigration of people from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds and their settlement in the area created a multi-cultural society. The focus of the study resonates in examining the socio-economic and political manifestations of Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building in the capital city. It argues that the immigrants introduced these cultural diversities. The study relies on data from primary and secondary sources including interviews. Concerning primary data, we drew evidences after critically treating archival materials and oral information. With regards to secondary sources, we made extensive use of literature that offered some general and specific information concerning our topic of investigation. To ensure a logical presentation of the data, chronological-cum thematic approaches were used in analyzing information gathered using qualitative and quantitative approaches. Results of our investigations revealed four main issues: Firstly, that the initial organization of indigene was different from that of the later immigrants. Secondly, that late settlers created and altered cultures in the area, thirdly, that the late settlers brought about cultural diversities that manifested in the city of Yaounde, economically, socially and politically. Fourthly, that challenges were encountered as time went by. It outlines the bases of multi-culturalism in the city of Yaounde, infiltration of different cultures into the area, cultural mutations and its challenges. It establishes that people from all the angles of the country with different cultures came in later and brought with them new systems of organization, a situation that brought about multiculturalism in the area. The Work ends with perspectives for stake holders to promote appropriate development in the capital city of Yaounde.

RÉSUMÉ

L'étude examine la co-existence pacifique et la construction de la nation dans la ville de Yaoundé de 1972 à 2018. Elle analyse que l'immigration de personnes d'origines culturelles et ethniques diverses et de leur installation dans la ville créant une société multiculturelle. L'objectif de cette étude résonne dans l'examen des manifestations socio-économiques et politiques de la coexistence pacifique et de la construction de la nation dans la capitale. Il soutient que les immigrés ont introduit ces diversités culturelles. L'étude s'est appuyée sur des données provenant de sources primaires et secondaires, y compris des entrevues. Concernant les données primaires, nous avons tiré des preuves après avoir traité de manière critique les documents d'archives et les informations orales. En ce qui concerne les sources secondaires, nous avons largement utilisé la littérature qui offrait des informations générales et spécifiques concernant notre sujet d'investigation. Afin d'assurer une présentation logique des données, des approches chronologiques et thématiques ont été utilisées dans l'analyse des informations recueillies à l'aide d'approches qualitatives et quantitatives. Les résultats de nos enquêtes ont révélé quatre problèmes principaux : Premièrement, que l'organisation initiale des indigènes était différente de celle des immigrants ultérieurs. Deuxièmement, que les derniers colons ont créé et modifié des cultures dans la région, troisièmement, que les derniers colons ont apporté des diversités culturelles qui se sont manifestées dans la ville, économiquement, socialement et politiquement. Quatrièmement, que des défis ont été rencontrés au fil du temps. Il expose les bases du multiculturalisme dans la ville de Yaoundé, l'infiltration des différentes cultures dans le territoire, les mutations culturelles et ses enjeux. Il a établi que des gens de tous les angles du pays avec des cultures différentes sont venus plus tard et ont apporté avec eux de nouveaux systèmes d'organisation, une situation qui a entraîné le multiculturalisme dans la région. L'Œuvre se termine par des perspectives qui sont important pour les parties prenantes de promouvoir un développement approprié de la capitale de Yaoundé.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
RÉSUMÉ.....	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	viii
LIST OF ABBRATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	ix
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
Conceptual Framework	3
Statement of the problem.....	11
Objectives of the Study.....	13
Literature Review	13
Significance of study	20
Scope and Delimitation of Study	21
Sources of data and Methodology	22
Problems Encountered	23
Organization of Work	24
CHAPTER ONE : GEO-HUMAN BACKGROUND OF STUDY	26
I. Geographical Setting.....	26
A. Location and Climate	26
B. Topography and Hydrology.....	33
C. Soil and Agriculture.....	36
II. Human Background	38
A. Early History	38
B. Economic Activities.	46
C. Sociocultural	52
D. Political.....	62
CHAPTER TWO: BASIS NATION BUILDING IN THE CITY OF YAOUNDE	66
I. Economic Factors.....	66

A. Employment and Commerce	66
B. Transport and communication	69
C. Soil and Agriculture.....	70
D. Industry.....	72
II. Socio-Cultural Factors:.....	73
A. Population Composition and Growth.....	73
B. Language and Education	79
C. Health and Sport	83
D. Religion, Hospitality and Tourism	85
III. Geo-Political Factors:	88
A. Climate.....	88
B. Land Laws and Government Projects.....	88
C. Reunification and Strategic Location	90
D. Administration and Politics.....	91
 CHAPTER THREE: MANIFESTATIONS OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND NATION BUILDING	 94
I. Economic Manifestations:	94
A. Commerce.....	94
B. Transfer of Workers.....	95
C. Agriculture.....	96
D. Finance	97
II. Social Manifestations:	97
A. Education and Gastronomy.....	97
B. Multiculturalism and Music.....	102
C. Sport and Dressing.....	103
D. Marriage and religion	107
E. Urbanisation and Bilingualism	112
III. Political Manifestations:	114
A. Constitutional framework.....	114
B. Party Politics.....	115
C. National days Celebration	116
D. Legislation and Judiciary.....	117

CHAPTER FOUR	118
CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES.....	118
I. Charllenges	118
A. Economic challenges: Overcrowding and inaccessibility	119
B. Socio-cultural challenges: Ethnocentrism	121
C. Political Challenges: Governance.....	127
II. PERSPECTIVES	130
A. Effective Unity in Diversity	131
B. Litratrue and Language.....	131
C. Inclusive and sincere dialogue.....	133
GENERAL CONCLUSION	136
SOURCES CONSULTED	139

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Tables

Table 1: Average Climate of the City of Yaoundé.....	30
Table 2: Relative Humidity of the City of Yaounde	31
Table 3: The indigenous families in the city of Yaounde	46
Table 4: Population Composition and Growth in the City of Yaounde, 1976.....	74
Table 5: Population distribution in the city of Yaounde in 1990.....	78

Figures

Figure 1: Average Climate of the City of Yaounde.	31
Figure 2: Relative Humidity of the City of Yaounde.....	32
Figure 3: Population Composition and growth in the City of Yaoundé, 1976.....	75

Map

MAP I: The Location of Yaoundé in Cameroon map.....	28
---	----

Plates

Plate 1: Mount Eloundem.....	34
Plate 2: Post Central in the city of Yaoundé	95
Plate 3: The University of Yaounde I.....	99
Plate 4: Mario Academic Complex Mendong.....	100
Plate 5: “Achu”, widely consumed in the city of Yaoundé.....	101
Plate 6: Water Fufu and Eru prepared in the capital city	102
Plate 7: Indigenes of Bafut living in Yaoundé dressed in Bamileke traditional regalia	105
Plate 8: Philemon Yang dressed in Muslim traditional Regalia.....	106
Plate 9: Oumarou, from the North producing and selling “Atoghu”	107
Plate 10: Inter-tribal marriage in the city of Yaounde.....	109

LIST OF ABBRATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFCON	African Cup of Nations
AGR	Annual Growth Rate
APM	American Presbyterian Mission
ASMAC	Advanced School of Mass Communication
ASTI	Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters
BTC	Bilingual Training Centre
CAMSUCO	Cameroon Sugar Company
CAMTEL	Cameroon Telecommunications
CBC	Cameroon Baptist Convention
CETIC	<i>Collège d'Enseignement Technique Industriel et Commerciale</i>
C.H.U	<i>Centre Hospitalier Universitaire</i>
CFA	<i>Communauté Financière Africaine</i>
CIMA	Chartered Institute of Management Accountants
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
COBAC	<i>Commission Bancaire de l'Afrique Centrale</i>
CPDM	Cameroon People Democratic Movement
CUSS	<i>Centre Universitaire des Sciences de la Santé</i>
DO	Divisional Officer
EEC	<i>Eglise Evangélique du Cameroun</i>
EMIA	<i>Ecole Militaire Inter-Armees</i>
ENAM	<i>Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature</i>
ENS	<i>Ecole Normale Supérieure</i>
ENSP	<i>Ecole Normale Supérieure Polytechnique</i>
EPC	<i>Eglise Presbytérienne du Cameroun</i>
ESSTIC	<i>École Supérieure des Sciences et Techniques de l'Information et de</i>
<i>la</i>	<i>Communication</i>
FM	Frequency Modulation
GBHS	Government Bilingual High School

HCY	Yaounde Central Hospital
HGY	Yaounde General Hospital
IAI	<i>Institut Africain d'Informatique</i>
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IFORD	<i>Institute de Formation et de Recherches Démographiques</i>
INJS	<i>Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports</i>
IRIC	<i>Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun</i>
LIWAIC	Light World Anglo-Saxon International College
MAITU	New Lay Out
MINSEC	Ministry of Secondary Education
MINESUP	Ministry of Higher Education
MINSANTE	Ministry of Public Health
MINFOPRA	Ministry of Public Works
MINPOSTEL	Ministry of Post and Tele-communication
MINFI	Ministry of Finance
MINEPAT	<i>Ministère de l'Economie , de la planification et la l'Aménagement du Territoire</i>
MRC	Cameroon Renaissance Movement
MNPS	Mario Nursery Primary and Secondary Schools
MAC	Mario Academic Complex
MTN	Mobile Telecommunications Network
NAB	National Archives Buea
NAY	National Archives Yaounde
NECC	National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon
NEXTEL	“Next” “Telecommunication”
NGR	Natural Growth Rate
NOFIA	<i>Nouvelle Foncière Africaine</i>
NTACCUL	Ntarinkon Cooperative Credit Union
NCPBM	National Commission for the Promotion Bilingualism and Multi- culturalism
OHADA	<i>Organisation pour l'Harmonisation en Afrique du Droit des Affaires</i>

PCC	Presbyterian Church in Cameroon
PCWC	Presbyterian Church of West Cameroon
PGR	Population Growth Rate
RTS	<i>Radio Tiemèni Siantu</i>
RAB	Regional Archives Buea
RIC	Royal Investment Credit
SDO	Senior Divisional Officer
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SOFINA	<i>Société Financière Africaine</i>
SODECAO	<i>Société de Développement du Cacao</i>
SOSUCAM	<i>Société Sucrière du Cameroun</i>
SOCACAO	<i>Société Camerounaise de Cacao</i>
STV	Spectrum Television
TV	Television
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
UPC	<i>Union des Population du Cameroun</i>
UCAC	<i>Université Catholique d'Afrique Centrale</i>
UPAC	<i>Université Protestante d'Afrique Centrale</i>
UBCC	Union of Baptist Churches in Cameroon
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The scramble for and colonization of the African continent by colonial powers such as: Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany and Italy, brought about arbitrary state boundaries among ethnic groups thereby sowing the seeds of discordant which overtly manifested itself especially after the independence of most African states.¹ For instance, after independence, ethnic and socio-cultural disparity culminated into civil wars in most African states like Rwanda, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Congo Democratic Republic among others. This encouraged the coining of internal policies such as: family hood, national authenticity, Ujamaa, national integration, and national unity among others which were used by most African leaders who wanted to ensure peaceful co-existence and nation building.

Kah and Nkwi reveal that imperialists' ambition to control economic and political activities balkanized African continent, separating homogenous communities and their adjacent neighbours as well as human relationship (Kinship). This was highly noticed in Cameroon especially in the city of Yaounde where ethnic groups distanced themselves from each other in their socio-cultural and economic ways of life. Being a melting point of all cultures, the city of Yaounde harboured different religious beliefs, (Christianity, Islam, and traditional religion), disparity in educational systems, diet, languages, dressing among others. The indigenous peoples had two colonial cultures that is, English and French adding to the diverse ethnic backgrounds. It can therefore be said that Africa as a whole especially Cameroon went through colonial transformation from "Kamerun", a German protectorate, "Cameroon" under British rule, and "Cameroun" under French rule.²

In the same light, another school of thought holds that, Africa in general, particularly Cameroon's extraordinary identity originate from both endogenous and exogenous sources and it was manifested in almost every aspect of the state: colonial, political, economic, cultural and

¹ W. Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration in Cameroon 1961-2000: Dreams and Realities", PhD thesis, University of Yaoundé I, 2006, p.1.

² D. Abwa, A. P. Temgua, et al, *Boundaries and History in Africa. Issues in Conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontier*, Bamenda, Maryland Printer, 2011, p. 45.

ethno-linguistic components.³ This reflects our area of study, a cosmopolitan city with diverse socio-cultural, economic and political set ups. This resulted from the fact that, the German colonial administration failed to establish a “Kamerun nation” since cultural relations were not largely promoted as well as economic exchange among the indigenes. The territory is a conglomeration of over 250 ethnic groups with over 268 national languages and is often referred to as the Tower of Babel.⁴ This is an epitome of the city of Yaounde. Faced with the ethnic and colonial differences, the government of Cameroon adopted domestic policies to foster peaceful co-existence that is bringing together all the various ethnic groups and their diverse cultures to live together in peace and as one especially in the city of Yaounde.

Being a melting point for all cultures, it was necessary to preach about peaceful co-existence in the area under study to enhance development and progress in the country at large. National integration was equally introduced given the ethnic diversity of Yaounde, it was important to bring together all the ethnic groups that constitute Cameroon today to form one nation. This policy was put in place by President Paul Biya since 1982.⁵ National integration and national unity were introduced to promote development. The latter, was introduced by President Ahidjo from 1958-1982⁶ when he handed over power to President Paul Biya. This was to make Cameroonians especially in the capital city to think, act, and feel as one and indivisible and to avoid squabbles emanating from tribal, ethnic, regional and religious dissimilarities, coupled with tension and conflict from disparity in values and identity as well as diverse colonial heritages.⁷

Like other cities in Africa, the city of Yaoundé in particular embraced foreign religions like Christianity and Islam adding to the indigenous traditional religious practices: idol worship, animism among others which animated the atmosphere from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. Cultural identity or ethnic disparity among major tribal groups such as Bamum, Bamileke, Bassa, Beti group, Douala, Fulbe, Kirdi, Grass fields, Forest people was a call for concern.⁸ The city of Yaounde is a point of convergence of all of economic, social and political

³ P. N. Nkwi and F. B. Nyamnjoh, *Regional Balance and National Integration in Cameroon: Lessons Learned and Uncertain Future*, Mankon, Langaa Research & Publishing CIG, 2011, p.140.

⁴ Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 96.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ W. R. Johnson, *The Cameroon Federation: Political Integration in a Fragmentary Society*, New Jersey, Princeton University press Princeton, 1970, p. 5.

⁸ Johnson, *The Cameroon Federation: Political Integration in a Fragmentary Society*, p. 43.

activities. Despite the ecological divergences that characterised the city, it is important to examine how the domestic policies of Cameroon, to an extent, have helped to bring the various tribal groups together to form a nation in the capital city.

Conceptual Framework

The concept and practice of peaceful co-existence and Nation Building in the city of Yaounde is a vivid exposition of how the two Cameroons; former British and French and French Cameroon with their diverse communities co-exist following the reunification entente between the aforementioned territories especially with the creation of a unitary state in 1972⁹ that merged the former West and East Cameroon to form one state. For an easy understanding of this work, it is important to define some terms and concepts that shall run all through this dissertation: Co-existence, Nation Building, Nation-state, National Integration and Unity. It should be noted that there is no specific definition given to the above concepts as they are often used interchangeably by different authors to suit their contexts. These definitions shall enable us to better comprehend our subject and what we intend to examine.

Co-existence

Co-existence refers to the understanding of one another among the diverse ethnic factions in the society.¹⁰ According to the United Nations, living together in peace is all about accommodating differences and having the ability to listen, recognize, respect and appreciate others.¹¹ In the context of this research topic, Peaceful Co-existence simply refers to the various efforts the government of Cameroon is carrying out to enable the diverse ethnic groups in the capital city to live in peace and harmony, a vital tool for development and progress in the country as a whole. The concept of Peaceful Co-existence has been an uphill task in the area under research since the establishment of a unitary state in 1972¹². This has adversely affected the living standard of some Cameroonians.

The United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) report on human development stated that, even though Cameroon's human development index has been on the rise in the past ten years:

⁹ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 248.

¹⁰ E. M. Aziz, "The Concept and Practice of Living together in Cameroon: Historical Perspectives and Common-sense solutions", *Journal of Scientific Research and Studies* Vol. 6 (5), 2019, p. 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 96.

2008 (0.492%) to 2018 (0.556%), much is left to be done to catapult the country out of poverty, linguistic apartheid among others.¹³ This could be mitigated by living together which calls for human solidarity and justice, love, equalitarianism, responsibility, and accountability in the country especially in the capital city of Yaounde. This entails, reiterating the importance of respect for one another, accommodation of the diverse identities and cultures, and the promotion of an egalitarian society.

Nation

The word nation has been used by many authors inter-changeably to suit their contexts. A Nation refers to a group of people or race that share common History, tradition, culture as well as religion, and a common language.¹⁴ Thus, a nation is characterised by: National consciousness, common geographical location, and solidarity which remains a stimulus administering the country. A Nation can equally be defined as a group of people with common characteristic; ethnically, linguistically and culturally linked to each other.¹⁵ In like manner, a Nation can be seen as an imagined political community due to the fact that not all persons know one another but feel that they share common values.¹⁶ Note that a nation must not necessarily be a geographically and/ or legally defined as some people may think. The driving force within a nation is psychological than any other.¹⁷ According to Fanson, a nation is a large community of people that speak a single language, and same political vision.¹⁸ Better still; a Nation can be defined as a country, considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and History who live in a particular area, under one government.¹⁹ In the topic under study, a Nation refers to an ethnic community that share common values such as customs and tradition, language and History of origin, acknowledging the same ancestors.

It can be said that Cameroon as a whole and the city of Yaounde in particular cannot be regarded as a nation due to its multiple tribal and cultural backgrounds. The city of Yaounde is a

¹³ Aziz, "The concept and practice of living together in Cameroon", p. 62.

¹⁴ V. K. Ngwoh, "An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies in Cameroon since Colonial Times", Vol: VIII, No. II, University of Buea, 2017, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ S. Engola, "Translation and National Integration", University of Yaoundé I, 2019, p. 89.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 89.

¹⁷ D. S. Papp, *Contemporary International Relations*, New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988, p. 19.

¹⁸ V. G. Fanson, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, Revised and Updated Combined Edition, Bamkika'ay-Kumbo, Team Work Press, 2017, p. 311.

¹⁹ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, p. 982.

conglomeration of diverse socio-cultural and ethnic groupings, a situation that prompted the introduction of domestic policies of National Integration and National Unity in the area to bring together these groups to form a nation in order to promote harmonious living together. Pre-colonial societies were characterised by a multiplicity of tribal groups without a single language, same socio-cultural and political aspiration. German colonisation did not transform the various ethnic groups into a community that could speak the same language and or with the same political vision to form a nation.²⁰ This overtly affected Peaceful Co-existence especially in the capital city.

Some authors believe that a nation is not just about speaking the same language, and having the same political aspiration, it encompasses a group of people that trace a common origin, speak a common language and share the same culture, and above all, with a common vision for the future.²¹ Yaounde city cannot be seen as a nation given that it harbours people from over 250 tribal groups with more than 268 languages. It can therefore be affirmed that, within a state, we may find a Nation and/ or Nations for instance; Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans, African-Americans make up Nations in the United States of America.²² Coupled with this, a Nation may be found in different States for example: Palestinians are a Nation but settled in the State of Israel, Lebanon and Jordan.²³ Thus, in the context of our area of study, Yaounde is considered as a city with different nations and Cameroon in general as a nations-state.

Nation building

Many research works have attempted to give a comprehensive definition on nation building policies. According to Ngwoh, when most African countries obtained their independence, they opted to give a shape to the arbitrary colonial boundaries established by colonial powers without taking into consideration the socio-ethnic and other aspects of African realities such as political and economic diversities. These restructured territories became national entities.²⁴ To promote peace and social cohesion among others, nation building policies were inevitable. This involves different measures and apparatus such as: socio-economic integration, military subjugation, political centralization, bureaucratic control, democratization, creation of a single nationality

²⁰ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, p. 982.

²¹ Dze-Ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 4.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Ngwoh, "An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies", pp. 2-3.

among others. The *raison d'être* was to rekindle patriotic sentiments, social cohesion in a homogenous community and fostering of the spirit of National Unity, develop a new nation and an integrated race.

Nine nation-building policies can be distinguished with practical experience in at least eight African countries. While some have attempted just one since independence like: Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda and Togo, Nigeria and Uganda practiced all. Ngwoh opines that fourteen approaches have been applied in Cameroon since independence, and are conveniently broken down into four categories namely: indigenization, harmonization, centralization and building citizenship.

Nation-state

To better comprehend the definition of a nation-state, it is necessary to understand the meaning of a state. Glancing over the works of various authors it was realized that many definitions have been advanced as far as a state is concerned. A state is defined as a territory occupied by a group of people under a central administration that is able to create laws, rules, and decisions which are enforced on its people within its territorial boundary.²⁵ It means for a state to exist, it must be recognised by the international law as a legal entity capable of making laws from the global law-making mechanism. Thus, three elements must be mentioned here to complete the definition of a state, that is; a political community or people, a political government and a territory or land. In the context of the area under study, Cameroon in which the city of Yaoundé is found can be qualified as a state.

A state differs from a country in that the latter is an actual situation or milieu where a state or Nation is established.²⁶ However, whatever definitions given to a state, what must be understood about a State is that, a State is made up of a sovereign government, with defined territorial boundaries, inhabited by a group of people, under one leader capable of reinforcing rules and regulations on the people. On the other hand, there exist conflictual definitions as far as a nation-state is concerned. According to Gemandze, the term nation-state is considered as a misnomer due to the fact that just few, if any can legitimately claim to be a nation. Being an ethnically homogenous political entity, a nation remains rare to find given that we have about one hundred

²⁵ Papp, *Contemporary International Relations*, p. 18.

²⁶ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 5.

and ninety (190) independent states with more than 5000 to 8000 nations signifies that, most states share more than one nation and often by dozens.²⁷ The term remains consequential in recent times as most states wish to be nation-states, a situation that has influenced the various nation building plans such as national integration and national unity in the city of Yaoundé.

Other scholars hold that, a nation-state is a more current historical term from the old terms such as State and Nation. Most countries today are referred to as Nation-states, like Cameroon in which the city of Yaoundé is found, but in many cases they are not. The definitions of nation-state are many and varied. An ideal nation-state is a political unit with territorial boundaries made up of a population with common culture (cultural sameness) and homogeneity.²⁸ It was therefore consequential to bring together the various ethnic groups of Cameroon in the city of Yaoundé to form a nation-state that led to the introduction of national integration and national unity.

Integration

Many theories of integration have been put forward by different schools of thought with different meanings to suit their context, but the definition of integration shall be limited to the area under study. The word integration comes from Latin, *integrare*, which means to renew, make whole.²⁹ Integration is when people become part of a whole, a group or a society (and are accepted by them). Dze-Ngwa further buttressed integration by including its economic, social and political aspects. To him, economic integration is the amalgamation of firms for industrial cooperation and *Laissez-faire* trade, and to ensure self-dependency and a common market for all.³⁰ According to the Dictionary of Economic Terms, integration can either be vertical or horizontal. While vertical integration is the merging of firms involved in different stages of production of the same good aimed at achieving greater economic power and high profit, horizontal integration is the amalgamation of firms involved in the same stage of production, of the same good, aimed at achieving greater economic power and high profit.³¹

²⁷ B. J. Gemandze, “Public Discourse, Governance and Prospects for the Nation-state Project in Cameroon”, CODESRIA, 12th General Assembly, Yaoundé, 2008. pp. 2-3.

²⁸ I. Ang, “Beyond Unity in Diversity: Cosmopolitanizing Identities in a Globaling World”, Western Sydney University, 2014, Vol. 60 (1) I-II, p. 3.

²⁹ “Cameroon’s National Integration Strategy”, MINJEC, CAB, 2015, p. 15.

³⁰ Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, p. 7.

³¹ Gilpin, *Dictionary of Economic Terms*, 4th edition, pp. 105-237.

Politically, integration is, “the process whereby political interaction becomes more systematic”.³² In other words, it is the interaction within the nation as a whole in an organised manner excluding other nations. In the social perspective, integration is the creation of a single culture, universally accepted, that overshadows and brings other sub-cultures together in the society.³³ The introduction of the policy of national integration in the city of Yaoundé was to transform the various diverse ethnic and cultural groups in the area to form one nation. Thus, with integration, two or more groups either merge or disappear to form one or new single grouping.

National.

National means, connected with a particular nation, and/or shared by the whole nation.³⁴ Thus what a group of people (nation) share in common or similar characteristics of or what belong to a nation. Microsoft Encarta Dictionaries define national as, “of nation: relating to, belonging to, representing, or affecting a nation, especially a nation as a whole rather than a part of it or section of its territory”.³⁵

National integration

National integration, a harmonization policy, remains a sine qua non to nation building. It means bring together diverse ethnic groups into a homogenous society. It promotes a common sense of consciousness, national identity, values, tradition, History and aspirations. It remains the base for social cohesion aimed at constructing a global image using the power of the state. The socio-cultural and linguistic dichotomy of Cameroon particularly the capital city earns descriptions like; “a harmony of differences”, or “Africa in miniature.” At times, it is referred to as the land of friendship and crossroads of civilizations. Harmonizing the socio-cultural and linguistic pluralism is a good move to nation building, and equal opportunities for all as some researchers put it, “...although the rooster belongs to one person, it crows in the morning for the whole village.”³⁶

National integration presupposes the bringing together or disappearance of separate groupings (nations) to form a community with homogenous socio-cultural and political activities

³² Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, p.8.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 6th Edition, p. 982.

³⁵ Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation

³⁶ Ngwoh, “An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies”, pp. 1-16.

called nation. Elad defines national integration as the act of amalgamating culturally and socially diverse groups into a territorial entity, creating a national identity in a pluralistic society.³⁷ Thus, it is the process whereby the various peoples of Cameroon and their ethnic backgrounds, language, religious beliefs especially in the area under study engage themselves in nation building.³⁸ National integration is mostly carried in two aspects of assimilation such as: “minority group Assimilation” and/or “melting pot assimilation”.³⁹ Minority group assimilation signifies that the minority group abandon their culture and embrace that of the majority under due compensation by the majority, while melting pot assimilation is a long-term phenomenon which requires a gradual process towards eventual assimilation of the minority through interaction.

The introduction of the policy of national integration and unity in Yaounde was aimed at dissolving the diverse ethnic cultures in Cameroon to form one or united nation. Engola stipulates that, national integration is a successful stage of assimilation in view of creating unity.⁴⁰ The two methods mentioned above appear difficult to practice in Cameroon given its ethnic pluralism and colonial heritage. However, the latter is been practice in the city of Yaounde given the wide interaction among the various ethnic groups found in the city has made difficult to distinguish tribal groupings in the area. It can be said that national integration and national unity in the area under study to a greater extent was influenced by the government desire to harmonise the English and French cultural heritage in order to build a nation-state that will bring about peace, stability, development and progress for all. Kofele-Kale testifies that; “It is however, the contradictions resulting from four decades of French and British colonial occupation and the subsequent attempts to reconcile this dual heritage that makes Cameroon’s experiment in nation building so fascinating and instructive”.⁴¹

Looking at national integration in the Cameroonian context, it is, “The process by which all the peoples of Cameroon without exception become full members of the Cameroon nation and are

³⁷ G. M. Elad, “Schooling and National Integration in Cameroon”, (PhD) Thesis, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London, 1982, p. 57.

³⁸ A. A. S. Albert, *Introducing Nation Building and Human Rights In Colleges and Institutions of Higher Learning In Cameroon*, Yaoundé, Mama Press, 2010, p. 105.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 106.

⁴⁰ Engola, “Translation and National Integration”, p. 89.

⁴¹ N. K. Kale, *An African experiment in Nation Building: The Bilingual Cameroon Republic Since Reunification*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1980, p. 3.

fully and equally involved in its activities without any restrictions”.⁴² It is the full engagement in nation building by all the peoples of the city of Yaoundé irrespective of their ethnic origins, language, and religious beliefs. His Excellency, President Paul Biya re-echoed the significance of National integration as he stipulated that:

It is necessary to inculcate into all Cameroonians a sense of their own existential solidarity which is the base for development of those essential forces needed to increase the speed of the country’s progress. Therefore, consider national integration which is the ultimate step towards national unity to be the cardinal historic task of the highest priority which I have to carry out with all Cameroonians.⁴³

National integration, a domestic policy formulated by President Paul Biya, was in line with Ahidjo’s domestic policy of national Unity.

Unity

To better understand National Unity, it is necessary to define the word Unity which is, “The state of being joint together to form one unit, for instance, European Unity”.⁴⁴ In the same light, unity is “the condition of being one” or “The combination or joining of separate things or entities to form one”.⁴⁵ In connection to our research topic, this refers to the bringing together the over 250 ethnic groups and about 268 languages in the city Yaounde to form one nation. The concept of National Unity is undergoing mutations. It is contemporary contextualised as, “a state in which all citizens from various groups (ethnic, religion, regions) live in peace as one united nation, giving full commitment to national identity based upon the Federal Constitution and the National Ideology.”⁴⁶

In the area under study, national unity was therefore, the bringing together of peoples of diverse ethnic origins, cultures, language, religion, regions among others to form one identity and one nation. The main force of national unity is oneness. In other words, it can be seen as the merging of people inhabiting a state, based on three main aspects: laws unanimously agreed by all parties in the union, an independent legitimate government or authority, and well-defined state boundaries. The introduction of these policies was influenced by two main factors,⁴⁷ the desire to merge the two reunited former British Southern Cameroons (West Cameroon) and the former

⁴² Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration in Cameroon”, p.8.

⁴³ Albert, *Introducing Nation Building and Human Rights*, p. 105.

⁴⁴ *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 6th Edition, p. 1631.

⁴⁵ Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation

⁴⁶ C. L. Wei, A. Baharuddin et al. “National Unity at the University Level: Importance of Civilizational Dialogue and Way Forward”, University of Malaysia, 2013, p. 175.

⁴⁷ Albert, *Introducing Nation Building and Human Rights*, p. 104.

French Cameroon (East Cameroon) in order to ensure internal bondage and to inculcate the sense of nation building among the diverse ethnic groups especially in Yaounde.

Cameroonians were to think of Cameroon first above all other ethnic sentiments as stated by the President Ahidjo, “National Unity in a work yard of national construction has neither Ewondo, nor Douala, neither Bamileke nor Bulu, neither Fulbe nor Bassa, we are one and all simply Cameroonians”.⁴⁸ The concept of National Unity was promoted by Cameroon’s first president, Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1962 as he stated that:

...We want a Nation, a real united nation, a nation in which all citizens have the same rights and the same duties, a nation in which every citizen, wherever he may be, feels at home and is considered as a brother and a fellow countryman by the other citizens of Cameroon. We want to build a strong and united nation. To do so, we must strengthen the union of brotherhood between all Cameroonian men and all Cameroonian women, whatever their origin.⁴⁹

Yaounde, located in the Centre region of Cameroon, brings all the ethnic groups especially the English and French speaking Cameroonians to form one nation with the vision of implanting everlasting peace, stability, development and progress.

Statement of the problem

Cameroon like other African countries is made up of diverse ethnic groups (over 250) grouped into five (5) main regional and cultural zones such as: the western highlands (grass fielders), the coastal tropical forest, Southern tropical forest, the Northern semi-arid regions, and the Northern desert and central highlands. With the advent of industrial revolution, three European powers (Britain, France and Germany) scrambled over Cameroon. It is worth mentioning that in 1884, Germany annexed the territory and named it *Kamerun*.⁵⁰ Prior to German colonisation, Cameroon did not exist as a nation, but inhabited by interdependent autonomous ethnic and political units.⁵¹ In 1884, Germany formally occupied *Kamerun* till 1916 when she was defeated in the First World War and ousted from the territory by a joint Anglo-French force.⁵²

⁴⁸ Dze-ngwa, “Rethinking Cameroon’s National Anthem and the Challenges to Internal Cohesion: A Historical Review, Fifty Years after Independence and Reunification”, *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science* 2, No. 7, University of Yaoundé I, 2014, p. 94.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ J. M. Mbaku, *Cultures and Customs of Cameroon*, London, Greenwood press, 2005, pp. 1-2.

⁵¹ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 135.

⁵² V. J. Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Pressbook, Limbe, 1996, p. 61.

With the defeat and expulsion of the Germans in Cameroon in 1916, the territory was partitioned due to the failed Anglo-French condominium. Britain occupied one-quarter (1/4) of the western portion while France occupied three-quarter (3/4) of the Eastern portion.⁵³ This further culminated into socio-cultural, economic and political dichotomies. The need to bridge these cleavages influenced the formulation of nation building policies of national unity and national integration.

The idea of Cameroon becoming a nation-state was initiated immediately after the Second World War with the formation of “*Union des Population du Cameroun*”, (UPC) on the 10th April, 1948 in Douala by Leonard Bouley. It had three main objectives: it called for immediate independence and reunification of the two Cameroons; to fight against racial apartheid and extension of secondary education system without bias; and to combat discrimination against prices of raw materials⁵⁴ The rise of nationalism in French *Cameroun* obliged France to grant independence to territory on 1st January, 1960 under the name, “The Republic of *Cameroun*”.⁵⁵ In a UN conducted plebiscite of February 11th 1961, British Southern Cameroons voted overwhelmingly to achieve independence by joining the republic of Cameroon. On October 1st 1961, British Southern Cameroons became independent by reunifying with the Republic of Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.⁵⁶ The creation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon was short-lived because on May 20th 1972, President Ahidjo abolished the Federal system in favour of a unitary state.⁵⁷ This was in line with Ahidjo’s nation building philosophy of national unity.

The problem of managing the two colonial heritages from Britain and France, couple with diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political and social disparities, necessitated the formulation of domestic policies of national integration and national unity as nation building policies aimed at promoting peaceful co-existence in Cameroon particularly in the city of Yaounde. From the aforementioned, the central preoccupation that rekindled our curiosity was to know if cohabitation

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 126.

⁵⁴ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, p. 126.

⁵⁵ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 315.

⁵⁶ Aaron Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Bamenda, Neba Publisher, 1999, p. 10.

⁵⁷ Mbaku, *Cultures and Customs of Cameroon*, p. 2.

in its History in Yaounde contributed to nation building in Cameroon. Sub-questions were equally used to guide this work such as:

- 1) What circumstances surrounded the introduction of these domestic policies and what experience has been carried out in the city to ensure internal cohesion?
- 2) How successful were these nation building policies in the area under research?
- 3) What can be put forward to achieve peaceful cohesion and integration in the city of Yaounde?

It is the desire of this dissertation to provide answers to the aforementioned questions which will be of help to assess whether the domestic policies peaceful co-existence and nation building policies are practiced in Yaoundé, the capital city given the cleavages that exist in the country as a whole.

Objectives of the Study

Generally, the study intends to examine and analyse the motives, applicability, and evaluate peaceful co-existence and nation building policies in the city of Yaounde. It equally intends to:

- 1) Account for the introduction of these policies in the area under study;
- 2) Examine their implementation and Challenges;
- 3) Propose a way forward in promoting peaceful cohesion

Literature Review

The History of peaceful co-existence and nation building occupies a privileged position in Africa and Cameroon in particular where our area of study is found. This has attracted many researchers from diverse disciplines such as: History, Anthropology, Psychology, Linguistics among others to research on it. This section of the work shall make a synthetic analysis of exploited documents. Many researchers have written extensively on the subject, but have not exhausted all its ramifications. Therefore, much is still left unexploited on the subject especially in the area of study. Nevertheless, some works were very relevant to the study and have been exploited to complement this research work as seen below.

Fanso in his work traces the origin of bilingualism stating that though English and French were adopted as two official languages in Cameroon shortly after reunification, only a few were

able to speak both languages. He further states that French language was being made superior over English language especially by the two Presidents, that is, Presidents: Ahidjo and Paul Biya who did not employ significant effort to speak in English. Again that, the position of English language as an official language has been further reduced by educational reforms through harmonization of syllabuses from the French speaking region regions. Though he did not focus on language as a tool of Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building which is our point of focus, the work enables us to understand that if bilingualism is effectively promoted; national integration and national unity can be achieved, and peaceful cohesion will be guaranteed.⁵⁸

Albert on his part sees the concepts of nation building as Ahidjo's aim of merging the two Cameroons after independence and reunification of the former British Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon, and the need to bring together diverse ethnic groups to form a nation. He goes ahead to state the processes involved in establishing it such as, minority assimilation and melting pot assimilation. He also examines its advantages and disadvantages in the context of Cameroon.⁵⁹ His work cannot be under estimated as it partly contributes to the realisation of this dissertation. It enables us to know the advantages involved in nation building, and the methods to use in realising a nation state.

Another relevant work to this study is that of Mbaku. He traces the predicaments to nation building policies from colonisation. He holds that imperialists arbitrary balkanised African continent creating multi-nation and poly-ethnic states which emerged as independent African countries. He adds that, this caused secessionist tendency and the desire for complete independence by most ethno-cultural groups in Africa leading to civil wars, an obstacle to national integration and national unity. He puts forward three suggestions to curb these challenges to nation building such as: self-government rights, poly-ethnic rights, and special representation rights.⁶⁰ He did not make mention of peaceful cohesion and nation building in the area under consideration. Therefore, this research is hoped to fill the vacuum.

⁵⁸ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, Pp. 383-384.

⁵⁹ Albert, *Introducing Nation Building and Human Right*", pp. 104-107.

⁶⁰ J. M. Mbaku, "Constitutions, Citizenship and the Challenge of National Integration and Nation-Building in Africa", 2018, Vol. 18, No. 1.

Aziz examines the main features, concepts, and practical aspects of living together peacefully, the historicity of cohabitation in Cameroon and humble measures to the challenges of cohabitation, referring back to the 1961 constitution that define the terms of cohabitation between the English and French speaking Cameroonians.⁶¹ Though he has presented the main features, concepts, and practical aspects of living together peacefully. He has failed to establish the weaknesses of peaceful co-existence and nation building in the area under review. This study is therefore intended to fill the gap.

Konings and Nyamnjoh equally examine government moves to dismantle the Anglophone identity inherited from the British administration of former Southern Cameroons. They hold that the advent of multipartism in Cameroon activated Anglophone identity, seen as an obstacle to the Francophone dominated government. They equally contend that the government has been fueling North-west and South-west divide tension, a situation that has decreased powerful opposition parties on Anglophone alliances.⁶² This work educates us on the challenges to foster national integration and national unity especially in the city of Yaoundé.

Another relevant work to this dissertation is that of Ngwoh. He holds that national integration to an extent is a success. He further examines the manifestations and limitations of national integration in Cameroon.⁶³ However, he did not focus on Yaoundé to show how the various policies are practiced to ensure peaceful co-existence among the poly-ethnic groups especially between ethnic Anglophones and ethnic Francophones. This piece of work intends to fill up the gap.

Writing about the Cameroon National Anthem, and its challenges to internal cohesion, Ndze-Ngwa argues that two National Anthems exist in Cameroon composed in two different territories, under two different groups with different historical context and colonial legacies inherited from Britain and France. He establishes that the above dichotomies are a threat to national unity. He

⁶¹ Aziz, "The concept and practice of living together."

⁶² P. Konings and F. B. Nyamnjoh, "Construction and deconstruction: Anglophones or autochthones?" Vol. 7 No. 1, 2000.

⁶³ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", *international journal of humanities & social studies*, Vol. 7, 2019.

suggests that a quite new National Anthem that will bind all Cameroonians as a patriotic or rallying song for all should be established.⁶⁴ The article helps us in reshaping our work.

Lang in an article posits that ethnic pluralism, colonial dichotomies, religious cleavages and their opposing views have been a threat to nation building moves in Cameroon. He examines the role of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the promotion of national integration in Cameroon.⁶⁵ The work is therefore important to the current one because it gives it an in-depth in the understanding of the role of the Church in promoting of peaceful cohabitation in Cameroon.

Fauzia and Ahmed, in an article contend that the youths are a cohesive factor for nation building. They opine that university education has enforced national bond in Pakistan alongside with other existing formulated policies aimed at enforcing national integration in the university milieu. They expose some proposals aimed at fostering national unity among youths in the university institutions.⁶⁶ This work helps us to better understand the role of youth in nation building and particularly the city of Yaoundé with a conglomeration of ethnic groups, having two state universities and other higher institutions where students from various ethnic backgrounds merge especially from the English and French speaking regions.

Nyamnjoh in an article examines the factors binding Cameroon together despite the unstable atmosphere in Africa and the sub-region in which Cameroon finds herself. He equally highlights the internal disparities and/or cleavages that exist in the country.⁶⁷ Though the research work was extended to the area under study, it did not explain how peaceful co-existence is practiced in the capital city, despite that, the work enables us to understand the factors that can be used to promote national integration and unity in Yaoundé.

Another relevant work is that of Gemandze. He gives a presentation of the atmosphere of a nation constructed in Cameroon and further revisits formal discourse based on nation building. He affirms that formal discourses based on nation construction are often left out in governing policies

⁶⁴ NDze-ngwa, "Rethinking Cameroon's National Anthem."

⁶⁵ L. M. Kpughe, "Christian Churches and National Integration in Cameroon since reunification: A Historical survey", *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)* Volume 3, Issue 2, 2017.

⁶⁶ S. A. Fauzia and H. Ahmed, "Strengthening National Integration among Educated Youth", University of Punjab, 2015.

⁶⁷ F. B. Nyamnjoh, "Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Differences", University of Cape Town, 1999.

of Cameroon.⁶⁸ This piece of work is consequential in the realization of this dissertation as it provides vital information on nation building policies.

In the same light, Nyamnjoh in a journal points out that the Anglophone problem in Cameroon has been a bulwark to national unity and national integration, a situation that has prompted controversies. While some argue for federalism, some think secession is the best option. He traces the genesis of Anglophone problem to the 1961 federal system chosen by the two parties to govern themselves, but later turned out to be a transitional phase of integrating Anglophones into a central unitary system of government, thus, leading to Anglophone nationalism. In addition, he further highlights that Anglophone nationalism manifested itself with the advent of multi-partism in the early 1990's. Though some international organisations called for a return to federalism, it all fell in deaf ears, a situation that forced some Anglophones to adopt a secessionist tendency.⁶⁹ This piece of work partly contributes to the understanding of some of the root causes of the obstacles to national integration and national unity in the country especially in the area under study.

Fanso in an article traces the Anglophone and Francophone nationalism from 1916 when German Kamerun was partitioned, a situation that ushered in two different nationalist spirits and agitations in the two areas. He further argues that despite the Fouban constitutional conference of 1961 for the newly reunified states, division still remained along linguistic and cultural lines, a situation that has enabled the majority of Francophones since reunification to deprive Anglophone leadership of the country. Despite that, it has not stopped Anglophones from presenting novel proposals that can enable togetherness, and rescue Cameroon from the verge of collapse.⁷⁰ This piece of work is vital to this dissertation as it enables us to understand that the partition of Cameroon in 1916. This was one of the reasons for the cultural and linguistic disparities between English and French speakers in Cameroon especially in the city of Yaoundé. This one of the reasons for the formulation of domestic policies of national integration and national unity to submerge division tendency introduced by colonialism and to bring the country as one nation.

⁶⁸ Gemandze, "Public Discourse, Governance and Prospects."

⁶⁹ F. B. Nyamnjoh, "The Anglophone problem in Cameroon", *article in the journal of modern African studies*, University of Cape Town, 1997.

⁷⁰ Fanso, "Anglophone and Francophone nationalism in Cameroon", University of Yaoundé I, 1999.

Ngwoh in an article examines nation building in Cameroon since the colonial times and the various methods put in place to realize the dream. Using the nation building rules grouped into four themes, he establishes that these methods have almost succeeded in creating one Cameroon if not of the Francophone dominated political barons that have ushered in marginalization, subjugation, and domination of Anglophones that have destroyed their colonial legacies and identity.⁷¹ Though he did not extend his research to our area of study, the work enables us to understand that the marginalization of the English speakers in Cameroon is a serious barrier to nation building.

Dze-Ngwa in examining national unity and national integration concentrates on the dreams and realities in Cameroon, the short comings, given its ethnic diversity and colonial legacies, and the way forward based on Cameroon reality not foreign. He further highlights that, if internal realities are well managed, Cameroon can become a peaceful Island as he puts it, “If well harnessed, Cameroon’s internal policy guidelines could transform relative peace to real peace and stability.”⁷² However his work did not consider our study area as a focal point of concern. The current work is therefore intended to fill the gap.

NOA outlines the foundation of multiculturalism in Yaoundé based on political, economic, legal and socio-cultural order. She establishes that multiculturalism has resulted to economic, political, socio-cultural, environmental and land problems. She adds that the municipal entity of Yaoundé is multicultural, an obstacle to national integration or national cohesion and in the creation of a Cameroon nation.⁷³ While examining the multicultural and political aspects of municipal entity of Yaoundé, little or nothing is mentioned about the introduction of national integration and national unity in the capital city of Yaoundé to foster nation building and peaceful cohesion. This dissertation is hoped will complement her study.

Lengha in his thesis examines urban farming in the city of Yaoundé as an activity that is being influenced especially by migrants. He establishes that food crisis in the city of Yaoundé results from low purchasing power of city dwellers and adds that those involved in urban farming

⁷¹ Ngwoh, “An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies.”

⁷² Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration.”

⁷³ J. S. NOA, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques dans l’Entité Municipale de Yaoundé”, (1941-2011), Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2015.

are mostly women especially house wives. He examines the agricultural activities of the city dwellers and pays little attention on how political, economic and social interaction foster peaceful cohabitation in the city of Yaoundé.⁷⁴ This study intends to fill the vacuum.

Mbouombouo analyses the common practices associated with accommodation in the city of Yaoundé. He establishes that accommodation habits are most challenging coupled with urbanity and challenges of living together, problem of urban identity, resistance and segregation.⁷⁵ Though the work did not examine how people cohabit in the capital city, but it enables us to know that urbanization and segregation in the urban area is a hinderance to peaceful cohesion.

Ouamba examines the sport fan-clubs' activities in the city of Yaoundé as a mobilizing factor, supporting Cameroonian football players abroad. She adds that sport activities have brought about harmony and symbiotic relationship among its members.⁷⁶ This piece of work is essential because it makes us understand the role of football in national integration and cohesion in the study area.

In addition to the relevant works consulted is that of Nkeng. His work examines how musical works are pirated in the city of Yaoundé. He explains that piracy has degrading impact on the Artists, Producers, and Distributors. He further establishes that musical piracy in the capital city is due to population increase and technological evolution with devastating effects on economic activities, a situation that has culminated into unemployment, forcing many into informal sector.⁷⁷ His work did not mention how music brings national integration and national unity. This dissertation is hope to fill the gap.

Bepede examines how food consumption habits at the roadsides act as a socializing factor in the capital city. He establishes that roadside feeding in Yaoundé provides a venue for socio-cultural

⁷⁴ T. N. Lengha, "Urban agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé", PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2006.

⁷⁵ P. Mbouombouo, "Habitat et Dynamiques Urbaines à Yaoundé", PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.

⁷⁶ E. F. P. Ouamba, "Les Fan-Clubs Sportifs dans la Ville de Yaoundé", Masters of Arts Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.

⁷⁷ J. C. N. Akeng, "Piraterie ou Contrefaçon des œuvres Musicales : Facteurs explicatifs, Modes Operatoires et Impact sur les artistes Interprètes à Yaoundé", Masters Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde I, 2010.

interaction, peaceful cohesion and unity.⁷⁸ Though she did not examine how national integration and national unity is born from the socio-cultural interaction emanating from roadside feeding in the city of Yaounde, her piece of work contributed in reshaping this work.

Significance of study

The study is hoped to be significant to the Cameroon government in that; it deals with the socio-political and economic History of the country, which forms an indispensable part of the development of the society. This offers room for some strategies to be implemented which could be harnessed to mitigate future political and socio-economic problems likely to prevail in their absence. Again, it provides measures to the Cameroon government and peace seekers to resolve problems emanating from the course of amalgamating the various socio-cultural backgrounds in view of creating a homogenous society or better-still Cameroonian nation especially in the city of Yaounde.

The study is an essential contribution to the History of integration and unity relations in Cameroon especially the city of Yaounde in the sense that, it enables the people of the area to share the benefits of prosperity and achieve mutual understanding against the challenges of globalization, and to respect and tolerate each other. It also helps to retain elements of History through which we could formulate reliable propositions susceptible to guiding policy makers towards integration and unity management. It also serves as a source for further research in diverse disciplines. Moreover, it creates awareness to the people of the region and politicians in particular that liberalism or collectivity is very vital in community building than individualism.

The study gives a comprehension of integration and unity among the indigenous population of the city of Yaounde and how they have undergone changes in respect to their actual location. It is an embodiment of a peculiarity that has not been the center of focus of previous research works. This gives an attempt in rethinking the object of belonging to any community in Yaounde. It also gives an account of how the presence of diverse ethnic groups in the area necessitated the introduction of nation building policies. It is hoped that this study will give researchers or scholars an understanding of how the quest for unity and integration exposed the various ethnic groups in

⁷⁸ L. E. II N. Bepede, "Mode de Consommation Alimentaire et Socialité en Milieu Urbain : Contribution à une Etude de la Restauration de Rue à Yaoundé", Masters Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2010.

the area. This is because one faces difficulties in locating the various ethnic groups in the area under review.

Moreover, the study is an asset in the understanding of the History of colonization on African traditional institutions. This would obviously show the role of modern, traditional and political actors in establishing an integrated and united nation, disintegrated by imperialists during the scramble for and partition of Africa in order to ease the formation of a single culture in the area under study. This work is also intended to show how the introduction of nation building policies have reshaped our area of study due to frequent interaction among the indigenous people from various ethnic backgrounds. It shows how the introduction of these policies has been one of the remedies to the predicaments face in the area. It will also be a pre-emptive measure to cancel the erroneous views of the past by initiating strategies that would go a long way to rekindling and dynamizing cooperation between both groups in the area at all levels.

Scope and Delimitation of Study

This research work is spatially limited to the city of Yaoundé, located at the heart of the nation. The study begins from 1972 to 2018. The year 1972 is chosen because it marks the date in which the two federated states of East and West Cameroons came together to form the United Republic of Cameroon. The creation of a unitary system was in line with Ahidjo's call for national unity, aimed at merging the socio-cultural and political cleavages emanating from colonialism as well as ethnic pluralism that existed in the country especially in the city of Yaoundé between English speaking and French speaking ethnic groups. In addition, the immigration of Anglophones (former West Cameroonians) into the capital city significantly increased especially with the abrogation of the federal system in favour of a unitary state. Most researchers hold that most Anglophones migrated to the capital city especially after 1972. This was either through appointment into services and transfer of civil servants, or treatment of files as stated by Mercado:

Other ethnic neighborhoods developed after reunification, when Anglophone appointees to federal positions began to move to the capital. After the movement of important public services to the Yaoundé in 1972, immigration from the Anglophone region turned into a flood and remained intense. Around this time, occupancy of Yaoundé by the native Ewondo is believed to have dropped by about 50%, and they may constitute as little as 20% of the city's population. It is difficult to measure exactly how many residents of the city are native and how many are immigrants due to a high rate of 'rurbanites,' people.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ M. Mercado, "Multilingualism in Cameroon: A Sociolinguist's Dream (or Nightmare)." DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.3494.1529, November 2013. pp. 9-10.

The later date, 2018 is chosen because it was the year the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism was created to foster national integration and national unity in Cameroon especially in the city of Yaounde where the main office is found. The main aim was to amalgamate all the ethnic and socio-cultural dichotomies in view of promoting Peaceful Co-existence among diverse ethnic groups especially between English speakers and French speakers in the area under study. It was realized that, after the introduction of diverse measures to to promote peaceful co-existence and nation building in the country especially in the capital city considered as a melting pot for all the different cultures, a lot of lapses were visible, thus language was seen as a vital tool that could cement peace among the diversified cultural groups that were found in the city and as a prerequisite to nation building, and cohabitation among different cultures in the area.

Sources of data and Methodology

In this research reflection, interesting History of national integration on one hand and national unity on the other was uncovered. Some of the root causes of national integration and national unity in the area under study were also identified. After consultation with university intellectuals (researchers, lecturers and students), some directives on some major documentation centers were acquired. Two methods were used to collect data: the cumulative bibliographical study and the systematic research methods. While the first consisted of searching for most recent articles and books concerning the research question, the second consisted of visiting documentation centers, making fastidious details on books and files concerning the research question. In this connection, both secondary and primary sources were exploited.

In relation to secondary sources, we consulted both published and unpublished materials which handled aspects directly linked or associated to the study. Published sources included: books and articles in journals, while unpublished sources included: Theses, Dissertations and Long Essays. These sources were consulted in documentation centers like the Central Library of the University of Yaoundé 1 and the libraries of the History Department, Advanced Teachers Training College Yaoundé, Ministry of Scientific Research, University of Buea, History-Geography-Archaeology Library, of the University of Yaounde1 and that of the Institute of International Relations of Cameroon (IRIC).The reading of abundant literature on the subject permitted us to have an appraisal of what has been done by other researchers, their different arguments and approaches used in analyzing topics related to the area under study.

The National Archives in Yaoundé (NAY), the National Archives Buea (NAB), Regional Archives Bamenda (RAB), and the Archives of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation were consulted to have first-hand information. Special emphases were laid on the collection of oral data through interviews. This was carried out with people who had knowledge of the events by means of participation or learning. Question guides acted as road maps for our interviews. Some were handed to literate informants who were either on retirement or less occupied. Group discussions were indispensable in information acquisition in that they provided consensus opinion on controversial issues. And to better ensure the authenticity of information gotten from oral information, and that acquired from published and unpublished sources, efforts were made to reconcile both sources of information at all levels.

The internet was an indispensable asset exploited for the study. After having a conceptual knowledge of our topic from secondary sources, this enabled us to start with the collection of primary data including oral interviews. The methodology of this study followed the Historical techniques of data collection from various complementary sources, validity checks, interpretation and analysis. As a writing technique, we adopted both the thematic and chronological approaches. Due to variance in sources, we were guided by objectivity and scrutiny to best ensure historical credibility.

Problems Encountered

Compiling this work was a long and tedious task as it was associated with a lot of obstacles. It is therefore important to highlight the problems and some of the solutions that were applied to overcome. Firstly, the vastness of the area of study was a problem. Communication was a constraint as some of the roads and telecommunication network systems were almost not functional. Some areas in this Region were inaccessible. This was noticed particularly in the rainy season where roads were cut off within the Region. In this connection, some of the autochthons residing in the outskirts of the city could not be easily reached to acquire information, and even when they were met, translating from their language to English was another issue. To this, motorbikes were used as means of transportation. We also trekked to those areas where roads were bad. Also, interpreters and translators were taken along to solve the problem of language.

We also had a lot of difficulties, collecting personal testimonies through interviews and news reports. Some of the active participants during the period of study were either dead, unavailable or in most cases unwilling to discuss the issues in question. The reason for this was that field work was done at a time when the English-speaking regions of the country were facing some socio-political tensions. Some even distorted information for fear of being task for what they never knew. In situations where the informants were unwilling to speak, we dispatched question guides through contacts to those who could read and respond to them. The credibility of data was done with a lot of confrontation of sources. We equally remained very patient with them.

The poor conservation of archives and other documents in state institutions was also noticed, and this made their use at the needed time difficult. Many archival documents were not well preserved and some partially or completely destroyed. This posed problems because a lot of time was spent to search for relevant materials from alternative sources. To resolve this occurrence, we exercise patience. We also helped the care takers to rearrange the books in order in some cases. Another complex problem was the lengthy procedure used to obtain an authorization from administrative authorities. They nursed a lot of complicated issues: while some repeatedly asked reasons for the research and summary of the work, some went to the extent of considering the school research authorization as being useless. Diplomacy, patience and soliciting some personalities were employed to overcome these situations.

Organization of Work

The work is divided in to four chapters including the general introduction, conclusion and sources consulted. Each chapter starts with a brief introduction and ends with a brief conclusion aimed at maintaining internal logic between chapters. The general introduction contextualizes the study. It presents a substantial literature and exposes the research problem. The first chapter deals with the geo-human background of the study area. This include: Location and climate, topography and hydrology, soil and vegetation, early History, economic activities, and socio-political setup. Chapter two connects chapter one and is devoted to the reasons for peaceful co-existence and nation building in the area of study. It examines the population growth, community market, the Ahidjo and Biya's administrative systems, land laws, justice system and community development, transportation and formation of political and cultural Associations as the root causes of co-existence in the study area.

Incidents of peaceful co-existence and nation building are illustrated in chapter three. It should be mentioned that it is the core of the study. The chapter outlines the geographical, political, socio-cultural and economic cohesion among others. It discusses the relationship between autochthons and late settlers (allochthons) and their relations in all forms. It presents inter marriages among the indigenes and allochthons. It introduces chapter four constituting ramifications and attempted solutions. Chapter four, the last chapter focuses on the ramifications and attempted solutions. It argues that peaceful co-existence and nation building policies promote cordial relation (Increase in food varieties, employment and development of a mixed community) in the capital city of Yaoundé. Attempted efforts and solutions are provided in this chapter to help the government of Cameroon in resolving issues which are more likely to prevail in the absence of this study.

CHAPTER ONE

GEO-HUMAN BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Introduction

Chapter one is devoted to the geographical setting and historical evolution of the city of Yaounde. It gives an indebt analysis of how the physical environment of the city influenced the introduction of nation building policies in the view of promoting internal cohesion. This background analysis will enable a good socio-economic and political assessment of the programs based on promoting Peaceful Co-existence and nation building in the area under study.

I. Geographical Setting

The location and physical elements such as climate, topography, soils, vegetation and hydrology which influenced human settlement will be examined, as well as their influence on human activities in the area under research.

A. Location and Climate

Located at the heart of the country, the city of Yaoundé is inhabited by Bantu ethnic group known as the Beti-Pahuin, situated in the rain forest region with undulating topography stretching from the Sanaga river in the North to Equatorial Guinea and Northern part of Gabon to the South, from Atlantic Ocean in the West to Dja river in the East of the republic of Cameroon.¹ Though made up of over 20 individual clans, the Beti-Pahuin defer from each other but, share the same origin, History, and a similar culture.² Other sources estimate that this Bantu ethnic group constitutes 8million inhabitants at the dawn of the 21st century, thus, remains the bigger ethnic group in the Centre region of the country, especially in the city of Yaounde.

Created in 1888,³ the city of Yaounde lies at about 750 meters above sea level, and it is situated between latitude 3°45 to 3°59 North of the Equator, and between longitude 11°34 to 11°58

¹ Beti-Pahuin peoples, en.wikipedia.org, 6/12/2021. 9:56pm

² *Ibid.*

³ Lengha, "Urban agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde", p. 88.

East of the Greenwich Meridian.⁴ It is bounded to the North West by Oliga, Nougou, Ekounou and Mbala I quarters, to the West by Messa, Azegue, Nkolbikok quarters. Melen and Etoug-egbe separate the city in the south-west from the partially exploited forest. Nsam and Mvan at the airport road constitute the Southern limits of the city while Nkomo, Kondengui, Mimboman stretching to the Akonolinga road are found in the East of the city⁵.

The different limits of the city also correspond to some of the administrative sub divisions found in Yaoundé: Yaounde I corresponds to the Northern zone, Yaounde II to the North west zone, Yaounde III to the South zone, Yaounde IV to the South-east zone which shares a side with Yaounde III, Yaounde V to the North east zone, Yaounde VI to the South west zone and Yaounde VII to the West.⁶ It is important to mention here that, in 1925, the city was limited to two hills situated each on a valley of Ekozoa, with one specialized in trade and other in administrative functions but, today, it has become a cosmopolitan city, and encompasses the entire socio-cultural groupings from all the angles of the country triangle.⁷ The location of the capital city of Yaounde is seen in map 1 below.

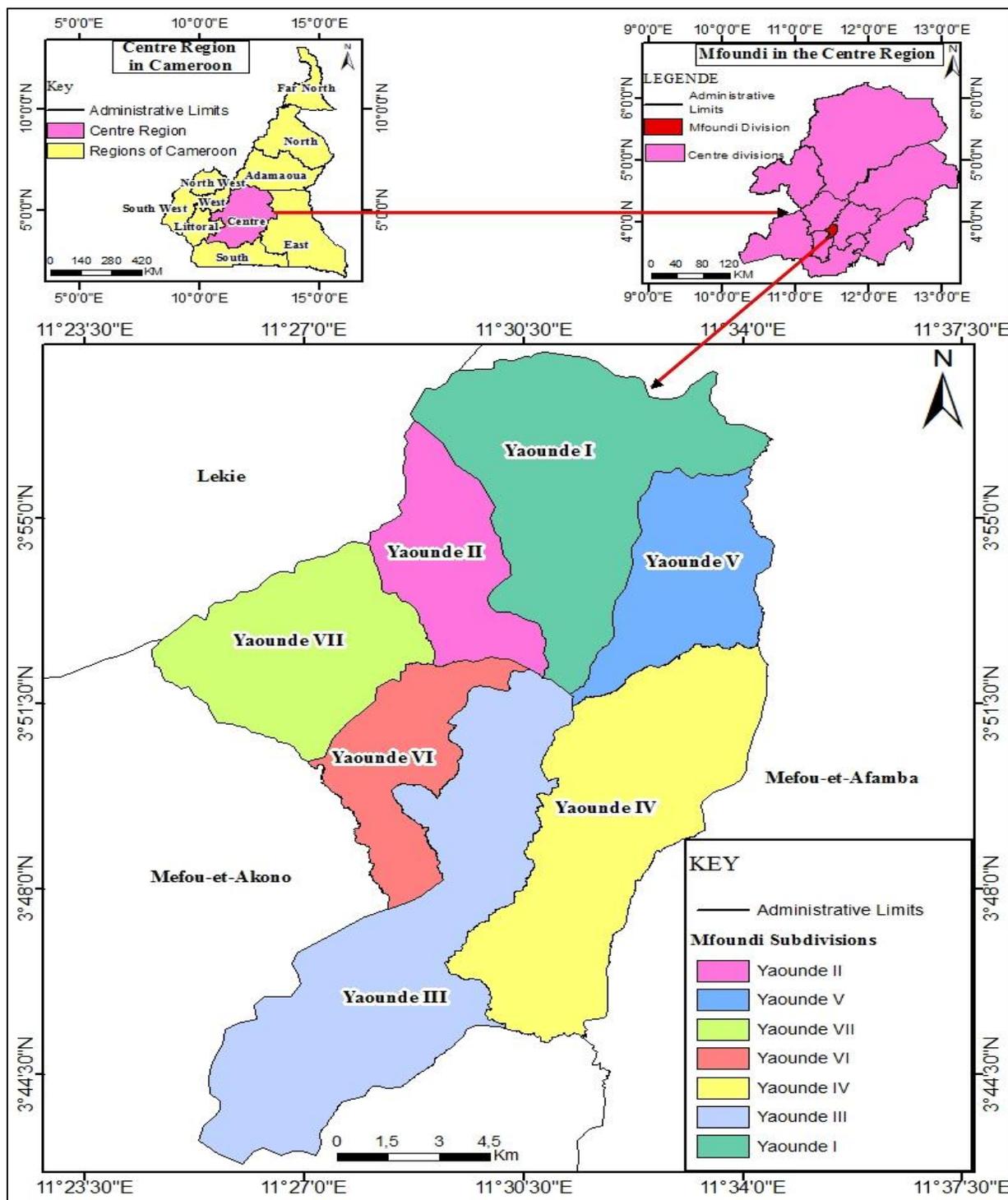
⁴ M. P. B. Eloundou, "Le Systém de Soins de Santé de Yaoundé : Un Approche Géographique", PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde I, 2011, p. 11.

⁵ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde", p. 93.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

MAP I: The Location of Yaoundé in Cameroon map.



Source : Shape Profile INC, plus levee gps 2021.

The Centre falls completely in the Equatorial climate, Guinean type with four seasons; two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The two dry seasons are (November-March and June-August) and

two rainy seasons (March-June and August to November).⁸ The longest rainy season runs from May to December and the longest dry season from December to February. This brings about high precipitation in the region with annual rainfall of about 1600mm.⁹ Temperatures are fairly steady averaging 24°C for the entire region except for the North western portions of Mbam division where it drops to 23°. This climatic condition did not only influence human settlements, it equally promoted agricultural activities which encouraged many people of different cultural groupings to migrate and settle in the area. To bring together these diverse socio-cultural groupings, nation building policies such as; national unity and national integration were introduced to promote peaceful cohesion among different ethnic groups in the capital city.

As earlier mentioned, the city is made up of Equatorial climate with four seasons alternating between two rainy seasons interrupted by two dry periods with an average humidity of about 77% and an average annual sunshine of 7141w per m².¹⁰ It has an altitude of 750m, and a network of hills that help in moderating the climatic conditions of the city.¹¹ The relative climatic elements are the reasons that explain the regular increase in population in the city of Yaounde. Table 1 below shows the average climate of Yaounde.

⁸ I. B. Ndzana, "L'Esprit D'Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti au Cameroun: Un Etude Anthropologique Comparee.", PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2007, p. 85.

⁹ B. H. E. Owona, "La Morgue à Yaoundé. Contribution à une Analyse Anthropologique du Rituel Funéraire en milieu Urbain", PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2014, p. 43.

¹⁰ E. M. N. Djiala, "Variabilité Climatiques à Yaoundé entre 1999 et 2008", Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2010, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ T. M. Ndi, "La Prese en Charge du Corps en Milieu Urbain : le Cas des Tatouages et des Piercings dans la Ville de Yaounde. Contribution à une Anthropologie Somatique", Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2018, pp. 14-39.

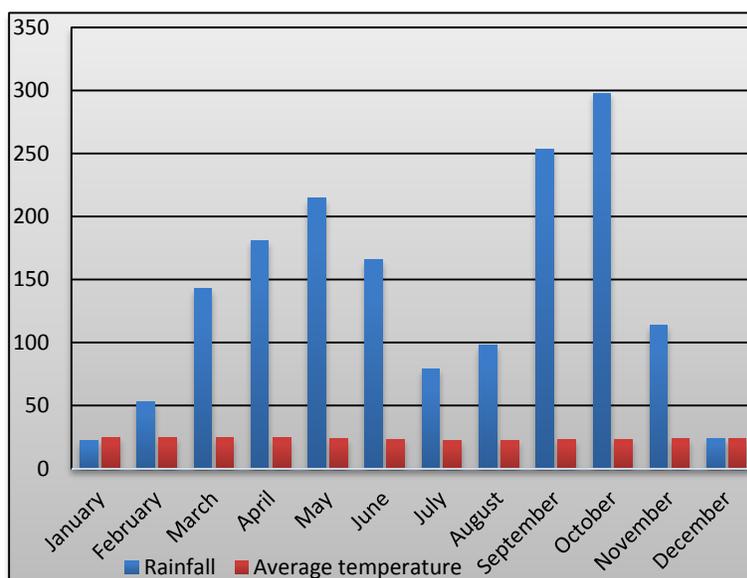
Table 1: Average Climate of the City of Yaoundé.

Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Average rainfall (mm)	22	53	143	181	215	166	79	98	253	298	114	24
Average temperature (°C)	24.5	24.5	24.6	24.3	24.1	23.3	22.1	22.6	23.1	23.0	23.6	23.9
Minimum temperature (°C)	19.5	19.5	19.6	19.2	19.6	19.2	19.0	18.5	19.0	18.6	19.0	19.2
Maximum temperature (°C)	29.5	29.6	29.6	29.5	28.6	27.4	26.7	26.7	27.3	27.4	28.3	28.6

Source: WWW.infoclimat.fr, 10/3/2021

mm = millimeter °C = Degree Celsius

The values in table 1 above enable us to understand the relation between precipitation and temperature. The table above reveals that the Month of March is the hottest, and the Month of August is the Coldest. The Month of October is the wettest, and the month of January is made up of light rainfall. This climatic condition did not only influence human settlements, it equally promoted agricultural activities which encouraged many people of different cultural groupings to migrate and settle in the area. To bring together these diverse socio-cultural groupings, nation building policies such as; national unity and national nitrination were introduced to promote peaceful cohesion among different ethnic groups in the capital city. See figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Average Climate of the City of Yaounde.

Source: Author's conception base on table 1.

The alternation of two rainy seasons and two dry seasons had moderation effects humidity. The favourable Relative Humidity equally encouraged many to settle in the area. See table 2 below.

Table 2: Relative Humidity of the City of Yaounde

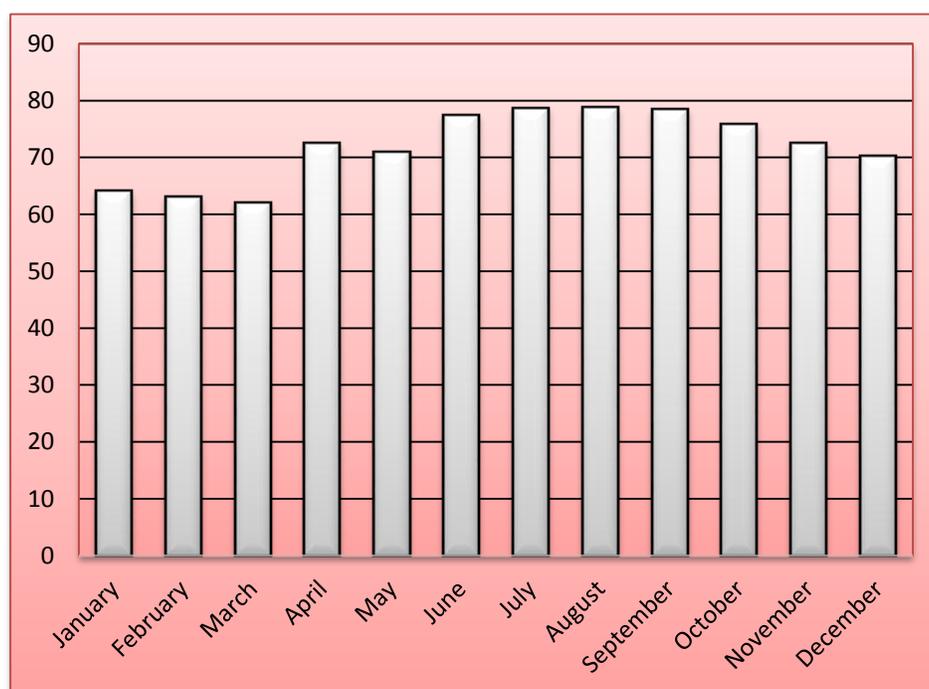
Monthly humidity	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Average annual humidity
Maximum humidity	98.7	97.5	100.0	99.0	99.1	99.2	98.4	98.5	99.1	99.6	99.0	99.2	98.94
Minimum humidity	29.3	28.5	24.0	45.9	42.7	55.6	58.3	58.9	57.6	51.8	46.1	41.1	44.98
Average humidity	64.0	63.0	62.0	72.4	70.9	77.4	78.6	78.7	78.3	75.7	72.5	70.1	71.9

Source: Meteorological station of IRAD, Nkolbisson, 2020.

Table 2 above situates relative humidity between 62% and 78.7%. The two rainy seasons per year account for the high relative humidity in the capital city. This has rendered the soil humid

throughout the year.¹² This partly acts as a pull factor to many practicing agriculture from various angles of the country with different cultures to migrate and settle in the City. A situation that warranted the quest for national integration and national unity in the area under study. In a nutshell, the combination of three climatic elements in the City has attracted not only those in agricultural sectors, but also many in different works of life. See figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Relative Humidity of the City of Yaounde



Source: Author's conception base on table 2.

Figure 2 above depicts Relative Humidity which was higher in the months of July and August due to heavy rainfall in the month of July, and low in the month of March which is dry season period. At this moment, cold dry harmattan blows across the city giving rise to low humidity. Relative humidity and average temperature recorded in the area has brought about conducive climatic conditions which attracted various ethnic groups into the city. To enable Peaceful Co-existence in the poly-ethnic political capital, nation building policies of national unity and national integration were introduced.

¹² F. François "Activités des Production et de Subsistance d'un Espace Rural touchés par l'Urbanisation: L'exemple d'Afanoyoa (Yaounde 3^e), Master s of Art Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2013, p. 44.

B. Topography and Hydrology

Superficially, the city covers a surface area of about 17000 hectares made up of seven hills giving rise to the name, “Ville au Sept Collins”.¹³ This is due to the hilly nature in which the city is found. These hills and Mountains include: Mount Minkom being the highest peak (1295m), Mount Nkolodom (1221m), Mount Eloumdem (1159m), Mount Mbankolo (1096m), Mount Febe (1077m), Mount Messa (1015m), and Mount Akok-Ndoué (870m).¹⁴ These mountains surround the city. The North-west of the city is bounded by Mount Febe and Mount Mbankolo, to the West, the city is bounded by Mount Messa and Mount Akok-Ndoué, to the West, Mount Eloumdem consist a barrier that closes up the horizon.¹⁵ The hills are separated by swampy valleys (*Elobi*) that drain into the river courses of Mfoundi, Djoungolo, Ekozoa, Tongolo and Ewoue.

The city is dominated by the low-lying zones, basins and depressions that slope gradually towards the cross river and transcend the frontier into neighboring region of Equatorial Guinea.¹⁶ The area is entirely situated on the South Cameroon plateau. The land varies from 500-1000 meters above sea level except for the valleys of the Sanaga and its tributaries, which deep as low as 200 meters. The land rises gently in escarpment from the South Western Coastal plain before joining the Adamawa plateau through depression and granite Massifs.¹⁷ The terrain is characterized by rolling, forested hills, the tallest of which have bare rocky tops separated by deep valleys. The highest point is Mbam Minkom, North-west of Yaounde with the height of 1,295 meters.¹⁸ Mt. Eloumdem was well noted in the city. See plate 1 below.

¹³ Messi, “Le Systém de Soins de Santé de Yaoundé”, p. 11.

¹⁴ Ndi, “La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain”, Pp. 14-39.

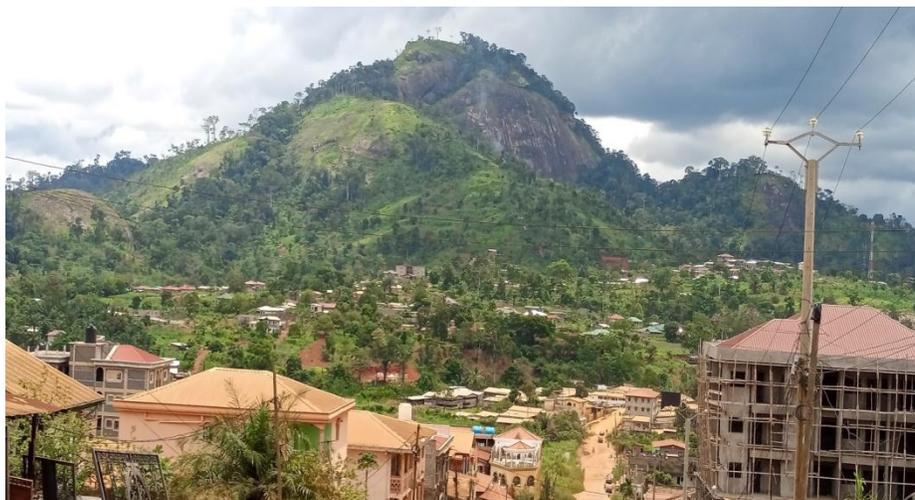
¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 248-249.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁸ T. T. L. Monique, “Saisonnalité des Décompensation du Diabète : Cas de la Ville de Yaoundé”, Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2011, pp. 3-4.

Plate 1: Mount Eloumdem



Source: Authors conception on field work, 1st April, 2022.

Plate 1 above shows Mt. Eloumdem, the third highest peak in the city measuring (1159m) Above Sea Level, the town of seven hills was bounded to the West by Mount Eloumdem and consisted a barrier that closed up the horizon.

The low-lying areas enable agriculture, construction of settlements and communication network linking the city and the rest of the ten regions in Cameroon. This has eased the movement of people from different ethnic communities to the capital city. The low-lying slopes enable agricultural activities and construction of houses. Many people from other ethnic groups especially the Bamileke, Bamum, Bassa, Dualas, Fulanis, grass fielders among others settled in the area. The hilly nature of the city that gave rise to the name, *la Ville au Sept Collins* has attracted many tourists within and without the city. This gave rise to multi-cultural character of the city, a situation that made the government of Cameroon to introduce domestic policy options like national unity and national integration aimed at promoting peaceful cohesion among diverse ethnic groups in the area under research.

The city is found in between two rivers: Nyong and Sanaga.¹⁹ Like other cities in the country, several rivers that flow through the city take their rise from the following rivers: Nyong, Sanaga and Lokundji.²⁰ The Sanaga is the most important in the Centre region as a whole. It has many

¹⁹ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 14-39.

²⁰ Lengha, "Urban agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde", pp. 87-118.

falls that make it an important source of hydro-electric power in the country. It also supports varied agricultural activities because it is prone to flooding during the rainy season. It is navigable from Nachtigal falls to Edea in the Littoral region. Several smaller tributaries that drain into the Centre's Mbam division are from the Sanaga.²¹ The Djerem flows in from Adamawa and through the far North East of the area before entering the East region to join the Lom (the Upper Sanaga). The Djerem, like the Sanaga, is also subject to seasonal flooding.²² The Kim flows in from the Adamawa and through the North-western portion of the Mbam division before merging with the Mbam River at the border with the West Region.²³ The Mbam then empties into the Noun.

The Noun which flows in from the West Region passes through Bafia and receives the flow of the Ndjim River North of Gaoura. The Noun then joins the Sanaga North-west of Monatele. The Nyong is the only major river in the region that does not flow into the Sanaga.²⁴ It rises in the East region, passes through Mbalmayo, continues West, and then forms the border between the Littoral and South regions.²⁵ Nyong flows through equatorial climate, as a result, it has one period of high water tide during the rainy season (March to October), during which it is Navigable from Mbalmayo to Abong-Mbang in the East Region. Other rivers from the Centre region flow through both equatorial and tropical climate zone where rainy season occurs at different times and so they never experience great fluctuation in water level.

These rivers empty into the Atlantic Ocean through the Littoral and South.²⁶ In a nutshell, it can be said that, the city has a dendritic drainage pattern made up of river Nfoundi and other river networks like; Abiergue, Ekozoa, Ewoue, Tongolo, Mingoa, Ntem and Djoungolo.²⁷ Though there are many river courses that flow across the city, the major river course among them is Nfoundi. It receives many other river courses from left and right flowing from the various valleys bordering the hills.²⁸ Most lakes in the Centre are man-made and located in Yaounde. The majority of these were created during the colonial period for the pursuit of water spots. The presence of these navigable water bodies attracted many ethnic groups from diverse cultural backgrounds to settle

²¹ Lengha, "Urban agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde", pp. 87-118.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ ANY, Malfred, AF/13, file N° 128/150, pp. 25-26.

²⁴ Ako, *Elements of Physical and Human Geography in Cameroon*, Kumba House Printers, 2020, Pp. 340-341.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Djiala, "Variabilité Climatiques à Yaoundé", pp. 2-3.

²⁸ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 14-39.

in the Area for fishing, or for transportation of timber especially those involved in timber exploitation. To promote peace among the diverse cultural groups in the city, nation building policies of national unity and integration were put in place.

C. Soil and Agriculture.

The Centre's soil is primarily composed of Precambrian deposits of metamorphic rocks such as: gneiss, mica, migmatites and schists. Granite dominates from about 4°N and to the Adamawa border. Faults along the border with the South Region have deposited metamorphic schists and quartzite, with some granite. Red ferrallitic soil dominates most of the region including the forested zone and much of the savanna area.²⁹ Though as deep as 10 meters, the soils are leached by percolating water making it only marginally productive for agriculture. However, it is usable as a building material for traditional houses in the area especially the red, sun-dried bricks made of mud. Thus, has encouraged people to settle in the city because, building materials are very cheap. Towards the Northern border, this soil becomes lightly evolved with large deposits of minerals, and at the confluence of the Sanaga and Mbam rivers, it has a mixture of several soil types.³⁰

Most farmers in the city were largely concerned with the cultivation of crops such as plantain, cocoyam and yams. Rice and yam cultivation was practiced along the banks of the Sanaga in the Upper Sanaga division. Groundnuts, maize and other cereals were common in the city's less humid North and manioc grows throughout in the area. In the pre-colonial period, most communities especially Yaounde practiced subsistence agriculture, a type agriculture carried out mainly by the family for consumption. The system of agriculture remained rudimentary and was carried out following seasonal changes and involved a series of stages.³¹ Subsistence farmers first clear patches of forest with machetes while trees are removed with traditional tools such as axes or machetes. During the dry season, they clear and burn the resulting bush. Farmers take care to protect trees bearing edible fruits, such as mangoes, plums and pears.³²

²⁹ M. E. Walter, "Les Marches de Nuit dans l'Arrondissement de Yaounde IVème", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2010, p. 43.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 42.

³¹ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced", p. 19.

³² Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced", p. 19.

Farmers then plant seed after the first rains. Spices and vegetables are cultivated near homes. Plantains and tubers were cultivated in larger plots farther into the bush. Villagers traditionally group their farms together as protection against animals and harvest their crops at the beginning of the dry seasons.³³ Such slash and burn agriculture was adequate for the needs of small villages away from large urban Centre. The fast exhaustion of the soil necessitated the change of fields every two or three years. However, when settlements are sparse, little problems are encountered. The region is one of Cameroon's most important cash-crop zones due to its hot humid climate and well-developed infrastructure. Cocoa is the main cash crop grown in all areas except the Mbam division.

Major plantation agriculture in the area is cocoa, found at the Sanaga river valley near Nanga Eboko and the region around the towns of Akonolinga, Obala and Soa. Some of these plantations are owned by peasant population such as; the Bassa and Ewondo and SODECAO which is a major cocoa company. It is thanks to agriculture that certain industries were established in the region like Sugar industry in Mbandjock (SOSUCAM) and Mezoa (CAMSUCO) in the Upper-Sanaga, tobacco industry in Batchenga (Lekie) and in Yaounde (Mfoundi). The Cocoa culture was primordial, especially in the Lekie, the Mefou-South.

Many of the rural areas of the city did not completely escape from progressive urbanization. These included: Mefou: Mfou-Bikok, NGoumou-Soa-Mbankomo, Akono-Awae, Lekie: Monatele, Saa, Obala, Okola, Evodula, Upper Sanaga, Nanga Eboko, Mimta, Mbandjock, Mbazoa.³⁴ Plantation agriculture is one of the factors that attracted people to settle in the area especially the Bamileke and the Bassa. The Bamileke partly cultivated cash crops and carried out business activities in the area. Some English speakers migrated to the city to gain employment in the plantations set up in city. This gave rise to a multi-cultural settlement that obliged the government of Cameroon to put in place internal policies to promote Peaceful Co-existence in the city of Yaounde.

³³ Interview with Ambomo Gisèle Bernadette, 55 years, Farmer, Mendong, 02/04/2022.

³⁴ "Sobotamoh, "Catholic Education in the Development", p. 23.

II. Human Background

The climatic conditions of Yaounde were very conducive for human habitation. The establishment of settlements by migrating peoples was done gradually as time went by just as it was done in other parts of the country and in Africa at large. Migration and settlement in the city was characterized by two main periods; the settlement of a group of early migrants and a second group which only came in about the early years of the 20th century. The former were the indigenes of the area and the latter were other tribal groups like the Bamileke, Hausas, Dualas, the English speakers among others came in with their diverse cultures.³⁵

A. Early History

The pre-colonial History of Cameroon especially that of Yaounde witnessed migration and settlement of ethnic groups. There are different versions concerning the origin of Yaounde. To some researchers, Yaounde came from *Ongola* meaning “fence” in Ewondo.³⁶ According to DeLancey, Mbuh and DeLancey, etymologically, Yaounde is the indigenous word, “Ngolla”³⁷ depicting the hilly topography of the city. It can be said that “*Ongola*” which means fence and “*Ngolla*” which reflects the hilly topography of the city have similar connotation. The parallelism in the versions above correspond to what people commonly refer to the city as, *La ville au sept Collins*, that is a town surrounded by seven hills. On the other hand, oral tradition holds two versions concerning the origin of Yaounde.

According to Nga Zoa, Ewondo call it *Ngola or Ongola* meaning fence round a group of houses. This has no relation with the origin of the name Yaoundé. She testifies that the Bassa were the first to settle in the city of Yaounde, three hundred years after meeting the pygmies in the area from Egypt. Many families in Yaounde have Bassa names for instances, Mbarga Mboa, Simbock, Fouda Mba’a, are Bassa names. The name Yaounde came from Bassa. They cultivated groundnuts here in Yaounde, and it did well due to the soil, a Bassa said, *imbeni nyaunde inguelmunu issini*,

³⁵ Interview with Zanga Onana Louis Longin, 73 years, Patriarch of Nfoundi, Etoug-Ebe, 21/04/2022.

³⁶ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques”, p. 43.

³⁷ M. D. DeLancey, R. N. Mbuh, et al, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*, Plymouth, Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2010, p. 398.

meaning, what type of groundnuts are these that do well on this soil? Thus, *nyaunde* was interpreted as Yaounde.³⁸

Ngomo affirms that Yaounde came from a Bassa word. The capital in which the Germans opted to capture in Africa was to be at “Lembe Yesum”, where a man lived called *Nkolassimekok*, and did not accept any domination from anyone in Upper Sananga. He alone killed eight Germans, the Germans escaped to the area in which they were welcomed at “Ongola” which means, a small house or fence. The Germans said, because they are the first people here, they will be highly honoured. In *Fuñ*, it means, “*Yasumi me wondo.*” “Wondo” means highly honour. The word Yaounde is used by the whites, the city was called “*Ongola.*”³⁹

Some scholars hold the view that, Yaounde originated as a result of an error of the tongue on the side of the Germans.⁴⁰ German colonization of Cameroon enabled her to explore the territory; consequently, explorers like R. Kund and Lt. Tappenberg were dispatched to explore the interior especially the South-Centre area. While on their exploration mission, they noticed a group of people planting groundnuts in an undulating topography. When they asked who the people were, in response, the explorers were informed that they were *Miaowondo*, meaning groundnuts planters. The Germans therefore translated *Miaowondo* to Yaounde.⁴¹ Another research work reveals that, Yaounde originated as a result of resistance against German colonial rule. The main personality in the name of Omgba Bissogo requested Essono Ela who welcomed the first Germans in 1889 to stop giving them their lands and asked him to fence the Village.⁴² Essono who was a Mvog Ada sub-lineage did not want to execute a decision from a Tsinga lineage.

Like other towns in Cameroon, Yaounde gradually enlarged when many Germans arrived in the area on November 30th 1889 in a group made up of Kurt Morgan, George Zinker led by Mebenga Mebono alias Martin Paul Samba.⁴³ Before their arrival, Yaounde was known as *Epsum*, meaning Essomba’s resident or *N’tonum*, meaning Essono Ela’s residence.⁴⁴ From the beginning, Yaoundé was a scientific post. As time went by, in 1895, the city became a German military post

³⁸ Interview with Nga Zoa Monique, 60 years, traditionalist, Simbock, 18 /04/2022.

³⁹ Interview with Abe Ngomo, 65 years, retired lawyer, Ngoa-Ekele, 22/04/2022.

⁴⁰ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques”, p. 43.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Interview with Zanga Onana Louis Longin.

⁴⁴ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques”, p. 43.

found on a hill in Ewondo country.⁴⁵ This is testified by some researchers. According to Bambot, the first German expedition led by Lt. Kund and Tappenberg in this part of the country was in 1888.⁴⁶ Gustav Nachtigal from Batanga saw a group of indigenes sowing groundnuts. When he asked who the people were, he was informed that they were *Mia owondo*, meaning groundnuts planters. Instead of *Mia owondo*, the Germans pronounced it *Yaunde*.⁴⁷

Between 1889 and 1895, the name was used in the texts of German colonial administration. It should be noted that the existence of many cultures in the city at the time was the genesis of multiculturalism, a situation that provoked the quest for Peaceful Co-existence and nation building policies in the area under study. However, others have a contrasting view about the origin of the name Yaounde. Tohnain opines that, Yaounde first emerged as a military station during German colonization and penetration. In 1888, sooner than later, it was changed to administrative town. It was a fortified station.⁴⁸

Tappenberg chose the hill-top which is today the capital of Cameroon. Having realized the importance of the area in 1889, the city was made the imperial government station and its evolution was further promoted by commercial activities.⁴⁹ From 1909 till the defeat and expulsion of the Germans in Cameroon by the allied forces, Yaounde was the administrative headquarter.⁵⁰ The creation of the German station in Yaounde and trading companies; Gessellschaft Sud Kamerun and Gessellschaft Nord West Kamerun attracted many people to migrate and settle in Yaounde to gain employment. This brought many people from diverse cultural background to the area. After independence, Yaounde remained the political capital till date. This further enabled many people from diverse ethnic groups to migrate to the area, a situation that prompted the introduction of policy options like national integration and national unity in the city in order to amalgamate the various cultural backgrounds to form a modern cohesive nation.

⁴⁵ Interview with Zanga Onana Louis Longin.

⁴⁶ M. B. Valentine, "Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space by Street Vendors in Yaounde: A Contribution to Anthropology and Development", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2016, pp. 18-27.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde", pp. 87-118.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

In the historical times in Cameroon and Yaounde in particular, researchers are still to settle on the origin and the first occupants of the city of Yaounde. Numerous sources and versions abound regarding the original settlers of the city. After thorough research and investigation, it was revealed that the first occupants were the Ewondo. Some elders of the community claim the capital city originated from Ewondo.⁵¹ To some researchers, before colonization the city was inhabited by the Ewondo and Bane clans, surrounded by the Beti tribes made up of the Eton and the Etoudi in the North, Etenga in the North-east, Bene in the South-west.⁵² This is further affirmed by Ndi, as he states that Yaounde was occupied by the Ewondos, the Beti group, Bane and other groups. Ewondo are the main occupants of the area given the fact that the nomenclature of the various quarters was done in Ewondo.⁵³

Some scholars advance that the pigmies were the first occupants of the city, and according to oral tradition; they were chased out of the areas by the Beti migrants running away from the Fulbes in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Noa and François Atemengue affirm that: *“A l’origine, le site qui abrite notre capitale était la propriété d’une race d’hommes de petite taille qui habite maintenant l’Est-Cameroun.”* This vivid description epitomizes the Baka (Pygmies) in the Eastern part of the Country.⁵⁵ The migratory phenomena in the Beti-Pahouin community was in successive waves. It is obvious that they did not arrive in the area at the same time. Epale affirms that:

As the Pahouin were returning to the forest from Eastern Adamawa, they did not all move together. They move South in successive waves. The first wave comprised the ancestors of the Bulu and Fang proper. As they were moving South, when they got to around Bengbis in the Ntem Administrative Division of today, this forward group split into three smaller groups which proceeded separately and in different directions. One column consisting of the Fang proper proceeded in a Southward direction following the valley of River Ja. The column then entered Gabon. The second column made up mostly of Bulu proceeded Westward, moving parallel to the River Nyong. The third column made up of the Ntumu, the Fang proper, and probably the Mvae, preceded towards an area around today's Frontier with the Republic of Gabon, settling where this people are found today. The other families of the Pahouin who remained behind also crossed the Sanaga much later and continued the Southward move. The Beti were particularly late in crossing.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Lengha, “Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde”, pp. 87-118.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Ndi, “La Prise en Charge du Corps en Milieu Urban”, pp. 14-39.

⁵⁴ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques dans l’Entité Municipal”, p. 42.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ S. J. Epale, *Republic of Cameroon: A Concise History for Schools, Colleges, and the General reader*, Limbe, E & D publishers, 1986, pp. 29-30.

An Archaeologist, Pierre Maret holds that, Yaounde existed since the Neolithic period made up of successive settlement of groups like; the Pygmies and other tribes like, the Ntúmù, Fāñ, Fón, Bákókò.⁵⁷ Fanso traces the origin of the Pahouin from Central Africa or Upper Congo from where they wandered about and settled on mountainous regions where rivers: Logone, Sangha, and Lom take their rise. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were again displaced by the Gbaya and Vute towards the South. Continuous pressure and invasion from the North pushed them further South where they crossed river Sanaga, and settled on the area extending from the Centre of Cameroon into Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo. In the course of their Southwards migration, they invaded and assimilated other groups they met on their way.⁵⁸ Epale holds a similar view as seen in his words:

People now claim that the origin of the Pahuin is somewhere in the equatorial forest, probably somewhere in the Peoples' Republic of Congo. On leaving their place of origin, the Pahuin are said to have travelled northwards through the forest, following the valley of the River Sangha. Somewhere near the source of the River Kadei (which is the continuation of the River Sangha) at the edge of the forest, they were attacked, probably by the Babute or Mbum, and chased to the Eastern part of Adamawa plateau. As the Babute themselves were soon attacked by the Fulani, the Pahuin turned around and began to penetrate the forest south.⁵⁹

Oral source opines that the Beti came from the banks of river Nile in Egypt. When Moses was liberating the children of God, the Israelites from the hands of the Pharaoh, the Beti that were liberated passed through Sudan, and arrived at the extreme North, however, being unable to accept the islamisation of Uthman Dan Fodio, they clashed with the jihadists, and turned towards the South to the forest region where the jihadists could not reach.⁶⁰ They did not have cavalry, but just the stick Moses had. They turned towards Ngaoundere and to the forest region where they got a poisonous substance called “Igne” in Beti, a poisonous substance that could kill someone in 30 seconds. They used it to kill the Jihadists of Uthman Dan Fodio. While in Ngaoundere, they discover river Sanaga, known in Beti as “Youm.” They cross the Sanaga River on a snake back (python) known in Beti as “Ngamedjab”, and finally arrived at the Centre region of Cameroon.⁶¹

Ngomo holds a similar view though, defers in some aspects. He opines that the Beti were chased out Egypt by the Turks who took advantage of the earth quakes and displaced them. Those

⁵⁷ DeLancey, Mbuh, et al, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 161.

⁵⁸ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 60.

⁵⁹ Epale, *Republic of Cameroon*, p. 29.

⁶⁰ Interview with Zanga Onana Louis Longin.

⁶¹ *Idem*.

that moved to the city of Yaounde were the Bavek, Fang. The Bavek spread to other parts of Africa after being chased by the Turks.⁶² The Baveks are found in other part of Africa especially in Ethiopia. Menelik II of Ethiopia was a Bavek and Barack Obama. The name menelik in Bavek means, “The people’s representative.” However, Menelik is not even his true name. The Ethiopians speak Bavek. “Some of them came here and heard me speak, one of them asked me, is that Cameroonian dialect?” It resembles our dialect”, he added. This is Menelik language and it is normal that they hear and speak, thus the Bavek split in the course of migrating. This explains why it is possible to get an Ethiopian or Kenyan speak and a Beti will understand.⁶³

Many indigenes of Yaounde claim the the Beti crossed River Sanaga on a sneck back, however, Ngomo claims that no one can climb on a snake back and cross the River. “Ngangmedjap”, means the peoples miracle not snake. In other words, “Ngangmedjap”, means the unity of the people for a miracle. The true History is that a woman pulled out a raped rope and threw over to the other side of the River Sanaga, the rope became swollen; those who were not fighters, children, and the sick crossed the River. The Beti are the ones that crossed the miraculous rope to the other side of the River. “The pygmies were the first settlers of the forest, not Cameroon. While they were in the forest, the Bavek were in the savannah.”⁶⁴ The Bavek were accompanied by the Yangono, Tikars (servers to the Bavek). The Babute were slaves to the jihadists of Uthman Dan Fodio and were massacred by Bavek when Dan Fodio escaped.

The Tikars stopped on a big tree. The Bavek were afraid of having been left alone, and could possibly be attacked by the jihadists of Uthman Dan Fodio. Simelingui told them that when fighting with the Jihadists, they should not fight at the savannah region, but, in the forest area. The forest was not yet discovered. They took the right turn and arrived at the River Sanaga, they produced a miraculous rope, “Ngangmedjab” with the aim that if it happens that they are killed, the family will exist on the other side of the Sanaga, and will be a difficult task for jihadists to cross. The Bavek were left behind and they confronted the Jihadists. After confrontation, they were to celebrate their victory for having defeated the Jihadists because, the almighty had permitted

⁶² Interview with Abe Ngomo.

⁶³ *Idem.*

⁶⁴ *Idem.*

them to batter the Jihadists. This was the origin of the word, “*Ati*”, “*Bati*”, “*Liti*”, meaning, warrior or victor. They are now families, and all were the Bavek.⁶⁵

When Germany colonized the territory, migratory movements were stabilized. This resulted in the emergence of a site we call today Yaounde. It can be said that the autochthones (indigenes) of Yaounde belong to a large ethnic group of Beti-Bulu-Fang. The movements and settlement of the Beti-Pahouin were in successive waves. The Fang movement coincided in East Cameroon with those of the Beti. Both people were pushed South by the Northern Wute. The Fang (Pahouin) group includes: Ewondo, Eton and the Bulu. Today, there is over a million of Fang-Beti people distributed from Sanaga to Northern Gabon. They can be divided into two groups namely. The Northern group made up of the Beti including Ewondo, Bane, Eton, Mvele, Manguisa, Yezum, Yebekolo and Evuzok. The Southern group includes: The Bulu, Fang proper, Fong, Ntumu, and Mvae.⁶⁶ It appears that this ethnic group was divided into large families.

Noa asserts that, at the beginning, there were seven families different from what Europeans called clan or ethnic group. These families included: Ebanada Ndzongo (Elders), Essom Ndana, Tsoungui Mballa, Fouda Mballa, Ekoussou Mballa, and Mebar’Kono.⁶⁷ The Pahouins are equally believed to be the part of the Equatorial Bantu inhabiting an extensive area stretching from the South of River Sanaga in Cameroon and half way between Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Congo. Neba further distinguished between the Pahouins proper and the Pahouinised (Assimilated Pahouins) due to their contact with the Pahouins during the Southwards migratory trend across River Sanaga. As a result of their successive waves of migration, the Pahouins did not settle at the same time. This gave rise to three sub-groups⁶⁸ namely: The Fang, Bulu and the Beti.

The Fulani activities in the North orchestrated the involuntary migration of the Bayang and Mbum Southwards who in turn, forced the Fang to migrate to the South of Cameroon through Lom valley into the forested South and other places like: Gabon, Congo, and Equatorial Guinea. Today they are made up of the: The Fang proper in South Cameroon, Ntumu in Ambam area, the Mvae who are subdivided into two, that is the East and West of Ntumu, and a greater percentage are

⁶⁵ Interview with Abe Ngomo.

⁶⁶ T. E. Mbuabaw, R. Brain et al, *A History of the Cameroon*, England, Longman house, 1987, pp. 18-28.

⁶⁷ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques”, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁸ A. Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Third Edition, Bamenda, Neba Publisher, 1999, p. 53.

located at the trans-boundaries of Cameroon, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Beti is the singular of the word *Nti* meaning God, or Lord. Thus, is a noble opposition against slavery. It singularizes all the Beti living at the peripheries of Yaoundé.

Oral tradition analogy holds that the Beti are *Ntomba*, meaning nobles in Beti. They are considered as the off-springs of the descendants of the creator.⁶⁹ They appeared to be the privilege among the Beti-Pahuin group. Tolra opines that, the Beti were the privilege group among the Fang-Beti tribal group. Thus, appellations like: Les seigneur, nobles or freemen who were able to defend themselves, were attributed to the Beti sub group. Thus, this made them to enslave others, “Belo”, or slaves.⁷⁰ The origin of the Beti cannot be single-handedly confirmed due to different versions surrounding their genesis. Some scholars believe that they are a large group of South Cameroon, and are of Bulu and Fang, a group called Pahouins.

Originally, the Beti are descendants of a person called Noé who had three children: Sem, Japhet and Cham. Cham is the ancestors of the blacks as well as the Bantu. Cham had a son called Mebe Koa who married Nana Ngoge. They gave birth to Mot Mebe, Ekotan Ngobyoy and Emilienne Mba.⁷¹ To Neba, etymologically, the nomenclature was attributed to status not an ethnic group. Thus, it refers to those born free and the entire group speaking the language including the Fang and Bulu today. It is believed that they found themselves into the country through North of the dense Equatorial forest and today they include: The Bane of Nyong et Sanaga, Ntem, and Dja et Lobo areas, Ewondo of Nyong et Sanaga, the Fang of Dja et Lobo, and Ntem, the Mbida-Bane and Mvog-Nyenge, East of Yaounde including the Eton tribes of (Eton Beti, Eton Beloua, and Beloua Eton) found at Saa and Obala region.

The Bulu on the other hand are found to the East and South of the Beti, with a population more than one quarter. They include: the Bulu of Sangmelima, Kribi, and Ebolowa, Zaman of Dja valley, Yengono, Yembama and Yelinda of Nyong valley, Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo and Mvele. The Pahouinised who were assimilated into the Pahouin culture include: Manguissa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga, Omvang, Yetudi of Sanaga among others.⁷² With the

⁶⁹ T. C. B. Bene, “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2008, p. 6.

⁷⁰ P. L. Tolra, *Les Seigneur de la Forêt*, Paris, publication de Sorbonne, 1981, pp. 47-59.

⁷¹ Bene, “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë”, p. 6.

⁷² Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, p. 53.

evolution of time, the city witnessed a proliferation of lineages as seen on the table below: The Beti are made up of (Ewondo, Bulu, and Eton). The Beti groups though separated from each other by river courses that have influenced the naming of the various divisions in the capital of Yaounde, yet, they understand each other in terms of language, not like the Bamileke who are close to each other but do not understand each other in terms of language. That is why when one says; Nti, Zambe, Zamba, Zama, means God and is understood by the various Beti groups.⁷³ They are over forty-five indigenous families in the city as see in table 3 below.

Table 3: The indigenous families in the city of Yaounde

1. Angok	10. Eka	19. Mvog Atangana Mballa	28. Mvog Manze	37. Olon
3. Eveng	12. Edzoa	21. Mvog Atemengue	30. Mvog Mbi	39. Tsinga
4. Emombo	13. Eben	22. Mvog Amvouna	31. Mvog Ntigui	40. Yemevel
5. Emfek	14. Essom	23. Mvog Belinga	32. Mvog Nsoe	41. Yelboga
6. Embouboun	15. Enoa	24. Mvog Manga	33. Mvog Zoe	42. Yanda
7. Embam	16. Etoudi	25. Mvog Ebanda	34. Mvog Effa	
8. Ebon	17. Etenga	26. Mvog Ekoussuo	35. Mvog Dzou	
9. Elende	18. Eteba	27. Mvog Awotsogo	36. Mvog Beti	

Source : CUY, *la Ville au sept Collins*, p.7.

With the influx of population into the city especially after independence and reunification, the city today counts about forty big quarters. That notwithstanding, some quarters still cling to their ancestral lands such as: Mvog-Ada, Mvog-Mbi, Nkol-Ndongo, Nlongkak, Mvan, Odza, Nsam, Efoulan, Etoudi, Ahala, Etoa-Meki, while other quarters like: Mokolo, Briqueterie, Madagascar, Carrière, Rue Manguiers, Nfandena, Biyem-Assi, Mendong, Essos, Ngouso among others are highly populated by allochthons.⁷⁴ The Bamileke are settled at Nkomkana, Nordists at Briquetérie, and English speakers at Obili among others. This made the area a cosmopolitan city. It was in this regard that the government of Cameroon put in place domestic policies aimed at uniting and integrating all the ethnic groups in the city to form a nation.

B. Economic Activities.

Economic activities remain the main preoccupation in African society and in the lives of the indigenes in the city of Yaounde in particular. Important economic activities here included: agriculture (farming, fishing, animal husbandry), hunting, trade. These economic activities

⁷³ Interview with Adam Bissohong Hoka, 60 years, Simbock, Farmer, 02/04/2022.

⁷⁴ Messi, "Le Systém de Soins de Santé de Yaoundé: Un", p. 11.

improved on the living standard of the people, created employment, attracted a lot of people from diverse cultural groups into the area under study.

i. Agriculture and Farming

The colonisation of Africa by the European powers paved the way for the introduction of diverse agricultural products of Asia and America origin in African continent. Since then, agricultural activities among the Fang-Beti in the city of Yaounde had experienced a rapid increase. It is worth noting here that this was an essential activity for the growing population of the city. Agriculture provided food for the city dwellers and many other urban areas of the country.⁷⁵ Cameroon, in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era especially the city of Yaounde was involved in many agricultural practices. At the arrival of Europeans, the Ewondo like all Beti groups, were hunters and famers. They practiced shifting cultivation alongside rotational farming. These included: subsistence agriculture which involved the cultivation of food crops mainly for family consumption.⁷⁶

After colonisation, Europeans introduced cash crops. Export crops like cocoa was introduced by a German explorer called Zinker.⁷⁷ This encouraged the indigenous people across the country to embrace commercial agriculture which is the cultivation of cash crops mainly for export. It is worth nothing that in Cameroon, about 75% of Cameroonians are from the rural environment.⁷⁸ Thus, most Ewondo people maintained an agrarian lifestyle.⁷⁹ This commercial agriculture introduced by Europeans encouraged many people from various cultural groups to migrate and settle in the city for employment. The Bamileke, Bassa, among others did not migrate to the area only for trade; also, they needed employment in the German plantations. Most of them settled there for agriculture. This gave a multi-cultural character of the city. It was in this regard that the government introduced internal policies to promote Peaceful Co-existence in the capital city. Subsistent agriculture remains the main agricultural practice in the area under study.

Forest products such as mushroom, green, insects among others were equally part of their food. Agriculture was not only limited to crop cultivation, they domesticated a small quantity of

⁷⁵ Ndzana, "L'Esprit D'Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti", p. 121.

⁷⁶ Ottu, "La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration Colonial", p. 22.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Ndzana, "L'Esprit D'Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti", p. 121.

⁷⁹ Sobotamoh, "Catholic Education in the Development", p. 27.

animals such as: goats, pigs, and chickens kept for particular occasions like funeral or New Year celebration. Bush meat was equally important as it remained a common protein annually in the society and animals such as: Porcupine, pangolin, and monkey were brought by hunters.⁸⁰ Palm nuts were produced by the Fang-Beti as item of trade with the Bassa. The Bassa on the other hand, moved to the area for trade. They bought maize, and bush meat. During the U.P.C revolts, most of them migrated to the city for fear of being killed by the colonial forces. These further made the city of Yaounde a multi-cultural settlement.

At times, different types of crops were cultivated on the same farm (mixed cropping). This was to enable varieties of crops at the disposal of the indigenous population. In addition, crops cultivated were mostly from the Asian and American world especially tuberous crops like: Cassava (*Mbông*), yams, cocoa yams, sweet potato among others. Plantain (*ékon*), and Yam were the main staple of the indigenes. Other food crops included cereals such as: maize (*fon*), and oleaginous crops like; groundnuts (*owôndo*) in which the name Yaounde was derived, palm nuts (*etong*), and cocoanuts were highly consumed. They equally consumed a lot of vegetables. Tree crops had an important place as far as agriculture was concerned and included: banana, plantain, papaw, citrus fruit. Crops like: mango, pear, guava, pineapple, oranges, onion, were grown in their rural areas.⁸¹ Note that cassava and maize came from South America. They equally cultivated millet.⁸²

The Ewondo and Bënë consumed variety of leaves as food such as: *zom*, *kpem*, *okok*, *lege* among others.⁸³ Thus, with the evolution of agricultural practices, the indigenes did not only cultivate for consumption, but also for sale. This encouraged people from other parts of the country to migrate and settle in the city. Cash crops like: cocoa, coffee, banana palm oil among others were exported.⁸⁴ Subsistence agriculture had its methods and stages of cultivation based on slash and burn. In the city of Yaounde among the Fang-Beti, a large piece of land was selected either by the mother or father of the family. Since bush fallowing was the main method of farming, the choice of a place was determined by the soil colour or fertility, presence of certain trees and insects as

⁸⁰ Beti-Pahuin peoples, en.wikipedia.org, 6/12/2021. 9:56pm.

⁸¹ B. Otu, "La Justice Indigene à Yaoundé sous Administration Colonial (1888-1960)", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2008, p. 22.

⁸² Interview with Abe Ngomo.

⁸³ Bene, "Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë", p. 31.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

well as the type of vegetation. Some of the agricultural methods were adopted from the forest as well as from the savannah areas.

Like other societies in Africa, the Fang-Beti practiced primitive system of farming. This was seen as the clearing of farms was done with the use of a machete. Trees and shrubs were cleared and allowed for a moment to get dry before been burnt. The soil was then tilled, followed by planting of crops. As crops were growing, weeding was carried out until the crops were matured, followed harvesting season. Farm sizes hardly reach a hectare of land, and the system of farming was rudimentary. With the introduction of new crops in Africa and in the fang-Beti community in particular, monoculture was practiced on crops like tomato, pineapple among others.⁸⁵

ii. Fishing and Trade

Water bodies were of economic importance to most African societies especially for fishing, transportation, for domestic consumption among others. The city of Yaounde partly experienced an increase in economic activities due to its rich drainage pattern. Most indigenes were found around river sides such as: River Sanaga, Mbam, Nyong and So among others. Fishing was done with the use of Canoes, and fish caught was mostly for domestic consumption. In the Ewondo and Bënë communities, fishing was reserved for women who did it by damming and poisoning the water in order to suffocate the fishes. Fish traps and nets were equally used especially in lesser fishing methods.⁸⁶ Long distance fishing was done by adults while short distant trade was done by children and was seasonal, that is, it was done mostly in the dry season.⁸⁷ During fishing season, many customers (*Assò*) came from different communities to buy fishes. Some settled there and started doing fishing. This brought in different cultures in the area leading to the introduction of nation building policies in the area under study.

Commercial activities were both internal and external, though less due to poor communication and insecurity. However, concerning external trade, the indigenes had trade contacts with the whites at the coast in places like; Batanga, and Douala via trade intermediary. Items of trade included ivory, antelope, animal skin and wild rubber in exchange for European manufactured

⁸⁵ Ndzana, “*L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti*”, pp. 121-122.

⁸⁶ Bene, “*Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles*”, p. 21.

⁸⁷ Interview with Ngomo.

goods such as guns, gun powder, spiritual liquor, dresses and salt. The medium of exchange was money called *akutu bikpwele*.⁸⁸ When the Germans colonised Cameroon, the German Mark replaced *akutu bikpwele*. Local trade involved the exchange of goods and products with neighbouring chiefdoms as pots, palm oil, were traded through the barter system. The long-distance trade was with areas beyond their frontiers. With the arrival Europeans, Beti-Pahouin role in trade became very important as they played role of middlemen in exchange with European goods. They provided items such as kola nuts, ivory, and slaves. After the abolition of the West African slave trade, Beti-Pahouin merchants widened their operations to include such products as: palm kernels and rubber (though slaves continued to be sold secretly).⁸⁹

Following the German defeat in 1916 by a joint Anglo-French force, the territory was partitioned in to two parts. The French took over control of the studied area, a situation that led to the introduction of Franc CFA as a currency that replaced the German Mark.⁹⁰ On the other hand, internal trade was mostly among the indigenous people who sold fish by the river side to regular customers commonly known as “*Asso*.” This was to afford other things such as: savon, kerosene, health care, payment of children’s fees. As earlier mentioned, fishing was practiced by the indigenes and during the dry season, women dammed rivers, (*ndoum*). The Ewondo, Eton and Manguissa women called this *Log* meaning “*écoper, jeter l’eau dehors*”.⁹¹ With the evolution of agriculture, cash crops like: cocoa, banana, coffee, palm oil among others improved on export trade.⁹²

iii. Animal Husbandry and Hunting

Animal rearing was equally practiced though an up-hill task. Livestock farming was practiced in the savannah regions with abundant grassland; however, animal rearing became very difficult in the area under study due to the presence of tse-tse flies. Despite this, a little livestock farming was practiced and animals reared constituted sheep, pigs, goats, and fowls.⁹³ Livestock was limited to small animals that may be left to forage unattended. Goats and pigs were kept but, were used

⁸⁸ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development of the Archdiocese Yaoundé”, p. 28.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Ndzana, “L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti”, pp. 139-140.

⁹² Bene, “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles”, p. 31.

⁹³ Ottu, “La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration”, p. 22.

more for ritual feasts than for consumption.⁹⁴ A man's prestige was measured based on the seize of animals. For instance, a man keeping more than 10 goats or sheep was considered rich and deserved respect from others and could easily be appointed as family head.⁹⁵

Hunting as part of the economic activities among the indigenes in the study area was non-negligible. The activity was further influenced by the predominant tropical rainforest of South, pregnant with mammalian species such as: elephant, leopard, Chimpanzee, gorilla, waterbuck, buffalo, monkeys, among others with varieties of squirrels, moles, pangolin as well as numerous bird species such as turaco, tucan, crow, parrot, cuckoo, weaver, kingfisher among others. In most cases, these animals were hunted for consumption, and some could be sold to purchase household requirements.⁹⁶ Hunting was done by men, in order to feed the family and was seasonal i.e. done mostly in the dry season.⁹⁷

The Fang-Beti settled close to the forest environment, an area endowed with game. This accounted for the establishment of a military station in Yaounde by the Germans with the help of botanist and zoologist, Wissenbon and Braun to have access to the fauna in the forest and the savannah region. Being an exclusive activity carried out by men, hunting involved stages such as: use of traps (*Olam*), spears arrows and dogs. Animals like monkeys (*Koé*), gorilla (*Woa*), tiger (*Zoé*), leopard (*Zë*), bat (*Otan*), pangolin (*Ká*), porcupine (*Ngom*), and a multitude of snails (*Koé*), not forgetting insects such as crickets, termites and caterpillar (*Minköng*), were important food items.⁹⁸ Foraging had an important place in their economic life. As an old economic activity initiated by early man, foraging involves picking up wild fruits from the forest for consumption. This was most carried out by women and children spontaneously in the indigenous communities.⁹⁹

iv. Industry and Art Works

Industrial activities were also carried out in the city of Yaounde. Like any other part of the world, before industrial revolution, the manufacturing of goods was carried out with the use of hand. In

⁹⁴ Sobotamoh, "Catholic Education in the Development", p. 28.

⁹⁵ Ndzana, "L'Esprit D'Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti", p. 143.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 145.

⁹⁷ Interview with Abe Ngomo.

⁹⁸ Bene, "Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles", p. 21.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

the Beti-Pahouin societies, the indigenes practiced embroidery.¹⁰⁰ Given that they were lovers of music, wood carving was carried out especially the carving of drums, and other objects.

Iron work was an important activity in the Fang-Beti society. The Beti in particular produced iron tools which were indispensable especially during war, hunting supremacy and marriage. The importance of iron tools made them to search for mineral especially at river courses.¹⁰¹

Wood was indispensable in the socio-economic wellbeing of man. It was a vital tool for construction, cooking, furniture works among others. The Beti in particular constructed their residents with wood. Not only the houses were constructed with woods, there were furnished using wood. Things like beds, “Raphia” chairs, spoons, plates, and wooden mortar, carved tables, little drums and pipes, comb, broom, and arrow. The significance of wood works was equally visible in the production of musical appliances such as: xylophone, drum, tambourine, as well as game.¹⁰²

C. Sociocultural

The Beti are descendants of the Bantu related people and their origin is very complex to define. Their ancestor called “Nanga”, is believed to have originated from Bantu sub group. His descendants were Kolo Beti, Eton Beti, Mvele Beti, Mvan Beti, Meka Beti Bulu, and the only daughter was *Ntumu*, the last born.¹⁰³ The principal Beti tribes today are the Eton, the Ewondo, and the Bene, who are direct brothers of the Ewondos, the Bulu, the Menguissa and the Mvele. Menguissas, Ntumus and Mvele, are too close to the Bulus than to Etons and Ewondos. All Beti tribes speak almost the same language called *Ati*¹⁰⁴. The *Yaunde*, like the Bulu and other Fang, had only a loose political organization prior to European conquest, and their society remains essentially egalitarian. The Beti-Pahouin practiced social activities that helped to bring people of diverse cultural background together. These included: Marriage, religion, education, class stratification, health, birth, housing among others.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Ottu, “La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration”, p. 22.

¹⁰¹ A. C. J. Fotso, “Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo de Yaounde: Etude Anthropologique”, Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014, p. 90.

¹⁰² Interview with Atangana Marie, 48 years, Agriculturalist, Awae, 18 /04/2022.

¹⁰³ Interview with Amougou Mengue Teclé Elisabeth, 45years, Insurer Mvog-Atanagna Mballa, 09/04/2022.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Adam Bissohong Hoka.

¹⁰⁵ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development” p. 29.

i. Marriage and Accommodation

Marriage was an important institution. Those in charge of negotiating marriage contracts and designers of the quality of the domestic animals for marriage compensation were the elderly persons in the society. These domestic animals were important in the society especially for matrimonial compensation. Some sheep, goats or pigs of high quality were offered to the family of the girl by the family of the husband as compensation.¹⁰⁶ When the family of the boy was not able to provide the required quality of animals mentioned above, they were considered as poor, lazy and unfit to marry a Beti girl.¹⁰⁷

To get married, the parents were the ones to choose a wife for their sons. A good husband or wife was known through hard work. When girl spend more than two years in the husband's house without a child, the parents to the girl take back their daughter. To marry a woman, you do not go to the family with a History of sickness, else you will pass all your time spending money.¹⁰⁸ Thus, marriage contract was done after a close examination of the character of the woman or man. Those who were hard-working with good character were easily contracted for marriage, and a woman was never to quite the husband's house despite whatever conditions.¹⁰⁹

Most people in the city of Yaounde lived in small clustered adjacent homesteads in rural areas (with populations rarely exceeding 300 or 400 people) rather than in compact villages. The Beti-Pahouin peoples organise themselves according to a series of patrilineal kinships, although some of its subgroups seem to have embraced matrilineal in the past. As a consequence of this matrilineal past, we can still see nowadays the strong link among the male, female, uncle and the nephew. The family (a man, his wife or wives, and his children) formed the backbone of this system. Several families of a common lineage live together in a village, and in turn, several related villages form a clan. These clans come under the nominal rule of a chief, who is also traditionally regarded as a religious authority.

The majority of the Beti-Pahouin ethnic groups live in small, roadside villages of no more than a few hundred inhabitants. These villages are mostly linear, with houses paralleling the road

¹⁰⁶ Ndzana, "L'Esprit D'Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti", p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 144.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Abe Ngomo.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Adam Bissohong Hoka.

and backed by forest. The typical dwelling unit is constructed of dried-mud bricks placed onto a bamboo frame and roofed with raffia-palm fronds. In recent times, metal roofing has become increasingly common, and wealthier individuals construct their homes in concrete. The Beti-Pahouin territory also included a number of sizable towns and cities, most of which were begun by the Germans or the French. Here, settlements are more in the European pattern, with a network of streets, various neighbourhoods, and central administrative or commercial districts.¹¹⁰ The huts in which their ancestors slept were very simple as roofs of these cases were made from a sort of mat called “Kie.” The walls were made of tree barks called ‘Ntom’, and the ancestors of this tribe slept on beds made up of fishing rod cover with mat made from raffia called in their native language “Akua” commonly known as *Roseau*.¹¹¹

ii. Class Stratification and Education

Socialisation in the centre region among the Fang-Beti was classified or segmented in to different groups of people or clans, cantons, lineages. A clan is a group of people that acknowledge the same ancestral origin. The clans were further divided into sub-clans. There was a lot of solidarity among the members of the clan displayed in many occasions. For instance, during funeral ceremonies, members of the same clan contribute to carry out the activities successfully. At the head of the clan was *Ntol, ntebe usu, Nkukuma*.¹¹² It appears that in the Fang-Beti society, titles were given according to the influence and status of the individual in the society. For instance, the title *Nkukuma* signified riches and respect among the Fang-Beti. This reveals that a chief in traditional Fang-Beti was a wealthy person. He possessed a big house, many wives and children, enough farmland to differentiate him from others.

Being a rich man in the society, he had to distribute to others who were poor. Ngomo holds that, for administrative convenient, the society was divided into communities, ruled by a strong man, not *Nkukuma* who was just a tax collector. *Nkukuma* came from the word, *Akum*, meaning money. The chief was called, *Tomba*.¹¹³ The chief of canton and village were in charge of the respect for customary principles. Defaulters were sanctioned accordingly. With the arrival of the

¹¹⁰ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development”, pp. 31-32.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Ndzana, “L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti”, pp. 146-147.

¹¹³ Interview with Abe Ngomo.

white in the Fang-Beti community, previous chiefs were nominated with the help of colonial administration due to their collaboration or contribution to the colonial administration.¹¹⁴ With the departure of the white, the indigenes either nominated or elected the leaders by assembling themselves. The choice of a leader was based on his intelligence, ways of speaking, family leadership, eventual consultation, presiding over ceremonies and resolution of endless discussions.¹¹⁵ Like other societies in the post-colonial era, the title of “*Nkukuma*” in the Fang-Beti society was heridity.

Apart of the chief of canton, there were lineage heads. The term lineage refers to a large or extended family, made up of individuals living in the same territory, and were descendants of a line of ancestors with common history and genealogy. In the centre region, and particularly in the Fang-Beti community, the nomenclature of lineage was commonly referred to as, *Mvog*.¹¹⁶ Like in other communities in Cameroon, the indigenes of the city of Yaounde devised educative measures to produce an enlightened society. Education was informal and it played a vital role in the Fang-Beti society in many ways: moulding individuals with religious morals, and respect for customs of every group. The people had as mission to educate themselves as well as their siblings. Those who were considered wise and educated were those who walked before their parents and were willing to learn from their examples. People were educated that theft was a taboo and coverting another person’s wife was a sacrilege.¹¹⁷ There was also communal life in which people believed that the one who fenced his dwelling was the richest. Therefore, the education of the child was not a responsibility of one person but by the entire community.

It was said that, “A child’s father is not the one who has given birth to him, but the one who educates him.”¹¹⁸ In this light, one will not be wrong to say that education and wisdom was acquired from the community and from the parents at home. Through their parents and the community, the people were taught how to respect elders, how to produce medicines with plants or herbs. Therefore, education was more of community and wisdom learned from parents who did that in their homes. With the advent of colonisation, education among the Fang Beti became

¹¹⁴ Ndzana, “L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti”, pp. 146-147.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 147-148.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Awona Marie Bernadette, 52 years, Secretary, Nkoa-bang, 20 /04/2022.

¹¹⁸ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development”, pp. 32-33.

multiform.¹¹⁹ The Germans introduced formal education in the capital city. In 1908, an elementary school was set up in the city of Yaounde. A higher agricultural school was equally established in the area. After two years course, candidates were graduated and the graduates were to work for the German administration for five years. Martin Paul Samba was sent for further studies, and Charles Atangana was sent as a teacher of Ewondo in Germany.¹²⁰ The introduction of formal education especially agricultural schools encouraged many people from different ethnic groups to settle in the capital city for education and employment. This brought about cultural diversity in the area.

iii. Religion and Birth

Before the arrival of the missionaries, African society believed in the existence of God. The Beti in particular, religion occupy important place in the society. The belief in the superior, life provider and invisible being preoccupied the spiritual life of the Ewondo. Concerning rites and beliefs; ancestral worship was a common feature of the people of Yaounde. The deads were considered part and parcel of the living in society. They had in mind that the deads view what took place on earth and could easily be consulted in times of problems, perspectives in order to intercede with the Supreme Being.¹²¹ Fotso, Ebanda, et al add that, “*Quand nos parents voulaient boire, on versait une petite quantité pour les ancêtres qu'ils estimait toujours présent; même lorsqu'ils mangeaient, ils ne ramassaient pas ce qui tombait par ce que c'est comme s'ils arrachaient la nourriture aux ancêtres.*”¹²² To address the Superior Being, different appellations were used by the Beti with the same connotation. *Zambe*, etymologically signifies “he who creates.” It symbolises the creator or the infinite, and three types of forces were used to present the creator.

Ntondo-obe was equally his name, meaning supporter or human force, as well as *Zamba Eloo*, meaning spirit, human wisdom and intelligence.¹²³ “Za’amba”, in Ewondo means he who was and shall be forever, “Ntondo-obe”, the eternal, and *Zambe* in Eton. Before the advent of Christianity, they believed in the Superior Being, thus it was not the whites who made them to believe in God. Listening to the speech made by King Leopold II of Belgium, he told the

¹¹⁹ Ndzana, “L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti, 146-147”, p. 193.

¹²⁰ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, pp. 94-97.

¹²¹ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development of the Archdiocese Yaoundé”, p. 32.

¹²² A. C. J. Fotso, “Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo de Yaounde: Etude Anthropologique”, Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014, p. 94.

¹²³ *Ibid.* p. 95.

imperialists that, “Do not preach God to these people for they know God better than you.”¹²⁴ The worship of skulls of the ancestors among the Beti ethnic group was practiced at the time of the arrival of the first missionaries. Also, the *Ngam*¹²⁵ divination was practiced by the people of South Cameroon.¹²⁶ In addition to the above, there was also, the “*So*” rite which was practised in the Beti ethnic group. Its pattern is Life-Death-Life, that is one must pass through death to overcome death and enter a new life. As such, youths who were the main concern went through this process and if they overcame, they were received back in the village with euphoria whereas those that failed in the rite processes are considered as outcasts and their names are forgotten in the village.¹²⁷

Just like in other parts of the country, to communicate or demand a favour from the Supreme Being in the Beti society, different rites were performed. Four types of rites were differentiated such as propitiation rite, purification rite, sanative rite, and protection rite.¹²⁸ Propitiation rite had as objective to evoke fecundity, abundant agricultural output among others. It was equally aimed at bringing to an end an atmosphere of animosity and malignity in the life of an individual or family. The “*Mbabi*” or “*Mbawi*” rites constituted a good example. The purification rite was equally performed to wash away bloodshed due to accident or criminal act committed on the land or witchcraft practices. An example of purification rite was “*Tso*” or “*Tsoko*.” in the Beti community. Concerning sanative rite, its objective was to deliver someone from ill faith or fault. Like propitiation rite, it equally aimed at evoking fecundity in the society. Sanative rite in the Beti society was known as “*Ndjiba*” or “*Ndiwa*.”¹²⁹

Above all, the protection rite was equally very important in the society. It was aimed at protecting the indigenes from any ill. Also, to protect someone before a long journey or before performing a public ceremony. This was in the form of a talisman or antidote to witchcraft. For instance, they had the “*L’isso nyol*” or “*l’isobnyol*.” Despite the numerous rites performed, Historians, Ethnologists, and this research work hold that the Beti believed in one God, the creator of heaven and earth and to communicate with him, certain rites were performed before the

¹²⁴ Interview with Abe Ngomo.

¹²⁵ *Ngam* is specie of underground spider that lives in holes. The divination consists in placing near the holes marked leaves carrying a coded message. When it comes out it scatters the leaves and the diviner examines the configuration of the leaves and then interprets the message.

¹²⁶ Interview with Atedjoé Sylvie, 58 years, house-help, Ngoa-Ekele, 17/04/2022.

¹²⁷ Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development”, p. 32.

¹²⁸ Ndzana, “L’Esprit D’Intreprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti”, pp. 233-234.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

introduction of Christianity in Africa and in the Beti-Pahouin community in particular. In Fang, he was called *Mebegue*, and *Mebe* in Bulu.¹³⁰ Zinker in 1895 affirmed that Yaounde possessed God representation or, invisible spirit that created all, contrary to misconception of some European explorers.

The concept of one God in the land was affirmed by some Beti witnesses in these words, “*Nos ancêtres connaissent un Dieu qui'ils appelaient Zamba Nkombodo ou Ntondo Obe*”.¹³¹ The Ewondo thus, believed in *Zamba*, the almighty. The Pallotine fathers, upon their arrival, met the *Nyam* race, where the name *Nyambe* was derived, meaning God Almighty. *Zamba nkombodo* means creator of mankind, and *Ntondo-Obe*, controller of the universe. Above all, the people dedicated a day for God whom they believed in. It was a day where the people were not to go to the farm. When a family member passes on to glory, the family had to be purified in order to avoid further deaths or his spirit was separated from the family. Again, the people approached God when they witnessed poor harvest. These are rites found in the old testament of the Bible. The people were also educated to make traditional clothes like the “*Obom*” use for traditional dance.¹³²

Christianity in the city gained grounds after the establishment of the Yaounde Arch diocese in 1955 by the Catholic Mission. The Mission developed Bulu which is the lingua franca of the Beti people of the central African region. Bulu and English were used as languages of instruction. Today, many Words in the Bulu language such as Kitchen and Sunday are used simultaneously. The Mission had a seminary for the training teachers and evangelists. The first people to have come in contact with the missionaries were the Fangs.¹³³ Religious works promoted multiculturalism in the city especially after reunification of West and East Cameroon in 1961. Most Christians from the English-speaking regions, West, Littoral moved to Yaounde especially the Catholics where an Arch diocese was found. Islam gradually gain grounds in the city of Yaounde especially during the reign of Ahmadou Ahidjo. Most people from the North moved to the city and settled at the Briquetérie neighbourhood. Religious diversities in the capital city obliged the government to introduce nation building policies and to promote peaceful co-existence in the area

¹³⁰ M. C. B. Mballa, “Les Rites de Purifications Beti à Mvolye entre 1901 et 1998”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2015, p. 30.

¹³¹ Interview with Mbarga Luke, 60 years, Traditional Chief, Mendong, 15/04/2022.

¹³² Sobotamoh, “Catholic Education in the Development”, p. 33.

¹³³ *Ibid.* pp. 31-32.

under study.

Giving birth to a child was a kind of pride worth celebrating and was only done after pregnancy. This could only take place after sexual intercourse and was very challenging when menstrual flow was fresh. Thus, at this period, sex was avoided. Having sex during menstrual flow was regarded as unholy and malignity to the man. To the Ewondo, conception results from a melange of male sperms (*Meyom*) and menstrual blood (*Metyi me nyon*). Conception was not only through intercourse, but by God's blessings and ancestral spirit. In the family, a man had an upper hand on the children compared to the woman. The man was seen as the exogenous force acting on the woman making it possible for pregnancy to occur as stated by Fosso and Zambo, "In copulation, the woman is expected to be passive receiver, and the man the actor who inject urine of birth from which God makes the child."¹³⁴

When a woman was unable to conceive, rituals were carried out. Fosso and Essomba in an interview add that: "When I got married, my mother-in-law asked us to carryout fertility rite, that is *muvengu*. My husband did not see the importance of this rite, but when I started having problems to conceive, we were told that it is because we neglected the rite."¹³⁵ After pregnancy, gestation period followed. It took shorter period for female that is below nine months, and nine months for male. In the case where the pregnancy consisted of twins, it took more than nine months. When delivery was not forth coming, it was believed that the child was surprised with the new atmosphere it's going to live, or evil men must have attacked the baby or better still other evil spirit has attacked the woman (*evu*). Gestation was a very delicate period and needed to be taken care of. To Ewondo, spiritual protection was necessary, that is certain rites were performed. According to Fosso and Mebenga in the words of an informant: "The mother has to be separated from evil eyes. This is done by performing certain rites. The rites is said to be that of separation where the mother is given some oil to rub on the body each time she is living the house (*Munyanga*)."¹³⁶

From the first months of the pregnancy, the woman was isolated and considered impure, abominable or treated an outcast or sick person. She was limited from certain food items to keep

¹³⁴ R. S. Fosso, "Prenatal and Post-Partum Rites Amongst the Ewondos of Nkol-Bisson Centre Region Cameroon", Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014, pp. 47-48.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 49.

her and foetus in good health. These included snakes which could cause the child be long, or born with serious convulsion, eggs which may cause the child not to have hair, monkeys could cause serious convulsion, antelope could cause blood loss during child birth, and banana could cause skin disease. She could highly consume “Okro” to enable free movements of the foetus in the womb. The husband was to abstain from coming home late. This was to avoid the attraction of evil spirit. He was not to dig graves or participate in funerals to avoid dead of the child. Though women during gestation period attended maternity check-up, this was not a barrier to Ewondo woman from visiting a talisman (ngam) who could say the past, present and forecast the future. This was to protect the mother and the unborn child, avoid adultery, and avoid sex with the woman for two or three months before giving birth.¹³⁷

The last stage of gestation period was birth, a joyful period in every society in the world and the Fang-Beti in particular. The sex of the child was determined in deferent ways. They believed that the movement of the foetus on the right side, signifies male child and on the left the sex reveals it was female. The birth of a male child was considered as a guarantee to the continuity of the family lineage, while a girl child did not, as she was being sent off for marriage in other ethnic groups. Apart of the movements of the foetus which enabled the Ewondo to know the sex of the child, others believed that consuming male onion (*ayan fam*) before intercourse could result to male child.

Delivery was made secret in order to avoid evil spirit. It was most likely in the hands of the woman’s relatives than the man’s own. This was to avoid jealousy. It was done either at home or in the hospital. In the hospital, just the mother or sister was permitted to take care of the mother of the child or a family sister while at home, delivery was done in the kitchen behind the house on bamboo bed or banana leaves which symbolises fertility, and continuity in birth. Those who were not family members were not permitted for fear of killing the child and stopping the mother from putting to birth.¹³⁸ After nine months of gestation period, the child signalled its coming with a sharp pain in the waist, follow by discharge of mucus mixed up with blood. The woman’s behaviour was determined by the level of contraction of the uterus walls.

¹³⁷ Fosso, “Prenatal and Post-Partum Rites amongst the Ewondos”, pp. 50-60.

¹³⁸ Intreview with Mbopa Zama Samuel, 55 years, Teacher, Efulan, 10/04/2022

As the child was struggling to find its way out, the woman was cautioned to put her legs half way up. The legs were opened up in order to facilitate the easy passage of the baby and to avoid friction that may suffocate the child.¹³⁹ The child was received was indicated by a sharp cry which reveals that the baby was in form and strength. In the case where the baby delayed, the woman was asked to confess her sins, or it could be some one's child. Also, this could be the work of the evil spirit. When the woman finally gave birth, the baby was observed for a while in case of any complication.¹⁴⁰

iv. Music and Language

Music occupied an important place in the Beti community. In every society, there is joyful and sad music which commensurate the moments and situation at hand. This was done during ceremonies or important events. Its importance could also be seen in the field of education as it constituted oral literature, songs, games and dance especially in the Ewondo community. Music and dancing valued in the lives of this race and was executed through instruments such as: Xylophones (*Mendzan*), big drums (*Nkul*), small shallow drums (*Ngon*), string musical instrument (*Mved*). Singing was very important and at times, through sounds of birds.

The *mved* helped them in composing the lyrics or epics of their songs. This was illustrated by priests; Théodore Tsala and Léon Messi: *mbol kulu angaduk zoa banngubu* (How the Tortoise deceived the elephant and the hippopotamus), *mbol akpekpa ladzi mis me odu* (How the hummingbird was stealing the eyes of the turtle dove), *mbol kulu angaluk ngon zam meyo mebenga* (How the Tortoise married the daughter of zam meyo Mebenga).¹⁴¹ With time the Beti evolved in music and were distinguished in their *Bekotsi* music and dance. People from different parts of the country were equally attracted to area by music.

The role of language cannot be underestimated. Ewondo people (or Kolo-Beti) speak Ewondo or Kolo language which is Bantu language that belongs to the larger Niger-Congo language family. Ewondo is also a trade language. Dialects include Badjia (Bakjo), Bafeuk, Bamvele (Mvele, Yezum, Yesoum), Bane, Beti, Enoah, Evouzok, Fong, Mbida-Bani, Mvete,

¹³⁹ Interview with Mboudou Mboudou Armand Justin, 50 years, civil servant, Essos, 09/04/2022

¹⁴⁰ Fosso, "Prenatal and Post-Partum Rites amongst the Ewondo" pp. 66-74.

¹⁴¹ Ottu, "La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration", p. 34.

Mvog-Niengue, Ombang. Yabekolo (Yebekolo), Yabeka, and Yabekanga. Ewondo speakers live primarily in Cameroon's Centre Region and the northern part of the Ocean division in the South Region. It is a dialect of the Beti language (Yaounde-Fang), and is intelligible with Bulu, Eton, and Fan.¹⁴² When Germany colonised Cameroon, Theodore Seitz organised an educational conference in Douala which revised German curriculum. It established that German will be the main language to teach in schools. Article II of the educational law stated that, with the exception of German, no other language was accepted to teach in schools.¹⁴³

When France took over the control of her portion of Cameroon after the defeat of the Germans in Cameroon, she used assimilationist policies, and to be assimilated, you must be able to speak French language. As a result, French language was highly promoted in schools. This brought about linguistic diversity.¹⁴⁴ After reunification of British Southern Cameroon with Republic of Cameroon, in 1962, a Federal University was set up in the city of Yaounde. This caused English speaking Cameroonians students to migrate to Yaounde for University education.¹⁴⁵ To contain people who spoke different languages like *Ewondo*, *German*, *French* and English in the city, nation building policies were introduced.

D. Political

Pre-colonial societies in Cameroon constituted two main political set-ups, centralised or state-like societies mostly in the Western grass field and the Northern part of the country and the decentralised, egalitarian or acephalous societies found in the coastal and forest regions. The people of the city of Yaounde lived in stateless societies where law and order were maintained through traditional institutions. The Beti-Pahouin practiced the decentralised system, which lack powerful traditional rulers with centralised political authorities. The egalitarian character of the political set-up of the Beti-Pahouin made many to think that they were one of the 'anarchic' people without a strong political system, segmented into different traditional political institutions (clans) headed by elders (patriarchs) considered by the group as a figure or ceremonial head.¹⁴⁶ The political set up included the following: Succession, administration, judiciary, military among

¹⁴² Ottu, "La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration", p. 34.

¹⁴³ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Pp. 95-96.

¹⁴⁴ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and College*, p. 289.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 352.

¹⁴⁶ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and College*, p. 60.

others.

i. Succession

Succession was not hereditary. Their leaders were acquired through elections under the influence of the “*Zom-lo*” or the council of notables.¹⁴⁷ As earlier mentioned, their leaders were appointed based on wealth and influence in the society. For instance, the title *Nkukuma* signified riches and respect among the Fang-Beti. In the Beti community for instance, the Manguissa group found at the loop of River Sanaga had a traditional set-up based on clan, headed by a clan head called *Nkukuma* who was usually a descendant of the pioneer of the clan, installed by the elite due to his intelligence and boldness. No traditional legacy was left to him by the ancestors. Unlike in the centralised societies, the leaders had limited powers and executed the decisions of the people after reaching a compromise. Those who were in discordant with the *Nkukuma*, broke away, thus leading to the proliferation of clans in the Fang-Beti communities.¹⁴⁸ In the same vein, in the Ewondo and Bënë communities, the leaders had the title of *Nkukuma*. Family or lineage heads were called *Mintol*.

ii. Administration

The *Nkukuma* had extensive powers over the village. However, the disgruntled faction of the population could break away to establish a sub group. The authority of the nobles (*Ndzoe mbot*) had a significant place in the society. The noble was often someone who possessed riches (*Akúma*) and was later called *Nkukuma*. The title remained prestigious in the society, however, with advent of colonisation, the portfolio of African traditional leaders especially that of the Beti-Pahouin dwindled. Bene holds that, “*C’est avec la colonisation que le Ndzoe mbot ou le Nkukuma est devenu chef, représentant l’autorité coloniale*”.¹⁴⁹

The arrival Europeans in the Fang-Beti community led to the creation of palaces especially in the Ewondo and Bënë communities. For instance, in 1914, the German colonial administration created the paramount palace of Bënë and Ewondo in order to bring the people together to better

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Zanga Onana Longin.

¹⁴⁸ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and College*, p. 138.

¹⁴⁹ Bene, “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë”, p. 21.

administer them from their station in Yaounde.¹⁵⁰ When the French took over the administration of Yaounde from the Germans, chiefs that were loyal to the French were appointed. Charles Atangana of the Ewondo tribe was appointed as the Paramount chief. To get more loyal chiefs that were pro-French, an arrêté of 27 December, 1933 was issued. It set up a school for the sons of chiefs known as *Ecole de fils de chefs*.¹⁵¹

iii. Law and order

In every society, there is the need for peace and order to reign. In the area under study, law and order was maintained through different rules and regulations. Laws were made by family heads and included: No one was to beat, disobey, insult or look at his or her father in his eyes. Worst, if you were caught beating on your father, your hand will be cut off. Adultery was forbidden, among others. These laws corresponded to the commandments in the bible. King Leopold II of Belgium was right to tell the colonial powers that, “*n’enseigner pas la Bible au noirs, car ils connaissent Dieu mieux que vous.*”¹⁵² A woman who committed adultery was made to roll on the mud and walk around the village necked. She was then banished from the village.

There were no courts but, if a grievous crime was committed, the criminal was excommunicated. If the crime committed involved murder, the criminal was hanged. The chief judge was the chief himself and his Judges, “*Zom-lo’o*” who equally doubled as the palace notables. The *Zom-lo’o* was above the chief and had the following functions: counselled the chief, it was equally the ears of the chief, they asked the population to vote the chief. The council had “*me-lo’o-me-Nkukuma*” that is those who had knowledge on marriage issues, die, passionate crimes, wickedness, pre-meditated crimes. They were close to the chief.¹⁵³

iv. Military

Human society is subjected to conflicts of all kind ranging from attacks, invasion, aggression, among others. This made many communities to put in place a military force for defence. In the city of Yaounde, every chief had his territory protected by warriors “*bobobita*”, or military club.

¹⁵⁰ Bene, “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë”, p. 21.

¹⁵¹ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁵² Interview with Zanga Onana Longin.

¹⁵³ *Idem*.

The members of the military club were castrated, gigantic looking men. The “*bobobita*”, protected the territory against the aggressor or invaders in the community, maintained peace, law and order among others.¹⁵⁴ These brought peace and order the area under study.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the early history of the capital city of Yaounde. This was done in the economic, social and political domains. Concerning the early settlers, agriculture, trade and hunting were some of their economic activities. Concerning socials, the chapter laid emphases on religion, marriage, birth, education among others. Politically, aspects like, administration, succession, justice, military among others were examined. It equally examines the immigration and settlement of late settlers who brought in cultural diversities in the area under study. The settlements of both early and late settlers were under the influence of both human and physical factors.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Zanga Onana Longin.

CHAPTER TWO

BASIS NATION BUILDING IN THE CITY OF YAOUNDE

Introduction

Chapter two focuses on the factors that triggered peaceful co-existence and nation building in the city of Yaounde. As earlier noted in chapter one, the indigenous population had their ways of life, but as time evolved, and especially with the advent of allochthons (late settlers) in the area, some of the activities witnessed changes due to cultural dichotomies. These conversions were caused by a hand full of factors some of which included: population growth, transport and communication, climate, hospitality of the indigenes, land laws, inter-marriages, strategic location, reunification of former West and East Cameroon, fertile soils, employment, industrial activities, among others. In a nutshell, the factors can be grouped into Economic, social and political factors. This chapter equally acts as a gate way into our penultimate chapter. The examination of these factors will be seen in the subsequent paragraphs.

I. Economic Factors: Employment and Commerce

Employment, and trade opportunities in the city abound. The various ministries in the country were found in the capital city. Recruitment exercises were drawn up in Yaounde, the capital. Many people from different ethnic background moved to Yaounde for employment especially the Bamileke, Hausa, Bassa, the Dualas, the English-speaking Cameroonians of the North-West and South-West Regions. Talla André Marie captured this phenomenon in his lyrics showing that employment opportunities attracted many job seekers to the area from many tribal backgrounds all over the territory especially the Bamileke who started migrating to the area in 1918, settled beside Hippodrome previously occupied by the Hausa.¹ In the the late 1970s, the volume of migration increased due to the fact that in 1972, Cameroon reunified and most social, economic

¹ Fotso, "Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo", Pp. 27-29

and political infrastructures were found in Yaounde, the capital city. Andre Marie Talla in his lyrics published in the 1980s revealed this:

*Où vas-tu paysan
Avec ton boubou neuf
Ton chapeau bariolé
Tes souliers éculés
Où vas-tu paysan
Loin de ton beau village
Où tu vivais en paix
Près de tes caféiers*

*Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale (...)*

*Où vas-tu demoiselle
Tes beaux cheveux tressent
Sous ton fichu doré
Et pas très rassurée
Où vas-tu demoiselle
Sur cette route longue
Qui s'en va vers le sud
Un pays inconnu*

*Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale
Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale*

*Où vas-tu don chauffeur
Dans ton car cabossé
Chargé à tout casser
Les ressorts fatiguent
Où vas-tu don chauffeur
Sous ce soleil brulant
Roulant à toute vitesse
Sur les pistes du Ndé*

*Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale
Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale*

*Par la Mifi et le Ndé
De Badjoun à Bafia,
Je vais chercher là-bas une vie meilleure*

*Paysan, étudiant
Chauffeurs ou demoiselle
Tu peux toujours courir vers un Bonheur rêvé
Cherche donc ton Bonheur
Dans la vie quotidienne
Chaque instant, chaque jour là où dieu t'a placé*

Je vais à Yaoundé

*Yaoundé la capitale
Je vais à Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale (...)²*

The search for employment was one of the main factors that pulled people to the city of Yaounde. In addition, migrants from the English-speaking regions of Cameroon increased significantly after the reunification of West Cameroon (former British Southern Cameroons) and East Cameroon (former French Cameroon). Longin, an Ewondo patriarch testifies that the migration of English speakers to the capital city increased significantly after reunification of the former East and West Cameroon and the creation of the unitary system³.

Trade activities attracted many people into the city. The increasing trading activities influenced the German governor, Jesko Von Putt Kamer to set up a trading company, Gessellschaft Sud Kamerun in 1898 with headquarters in Yaounde which monopolised trade in South-eastern Cameroon.⁴ With the defeat and expulsion of the Germans in Cameroon, the territory was partitioned between Britain and France in 1916.⁵ The German had laid a sound economic foundation for the French. Thus, the trading activities attracted many ethnic groups into the area especially after the reunification of the West and east Cameroon in 1972. Many people from the English-speaking regions migrated to Yaounde for trade.⁶ It was believed that trade was lucrative in the city given that it was the political capital. Owono Antoinette adds that the English speakers were attracted to Yaounde by commercial activities and when they immigrated into the area, land was given to them for free to settle.⁷ Most of them came for business reasons as testified by Aboki:

Business equally brought people in the city. People had the notion that there is a lot of money in Yaounde given that it was where the head of states lived. They believed that money was found everywhere in the capital city and was centered in Yaounde. People believed that when they go to Yaounde they will make it in life. When we left the North-west province to Yaounde for business, and after back home, people will be asking, why didn't you come back home with a lot of money? Didn't you see Paul Biya? Why didn't you go to his house? If you go there you will find money been thrown in the dust bin. They equally had the notion that when the Prime Minister is out, he throws money everywhere in the city." The Ewondo could send their daughters to go after the rich Bamileke business men who invested in the capital city for money because they believed that business was a fruitful economic activity. Many people from the English-speaking regions came to treat their files, but did not come to stay. After treating their files, they will return home.⁸

² <https://kamerlyrics.net/lyric-39-talla-andre-marie-je-vais-a-yaounde>, 09/06/2022.

³ Interview with Zanga Onana Longin.

⁴ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 181.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Interview with Kum Rogers Bache, 50 years, Teaching, Simbock, 20 /04/2022.

⁷ Interview with Owono Antoinette, 60 years, retired forest guard, Emana, 18/04/2022.

⁸ Interview with Francis Aboki.

B. Transport and communication

In terms of transport, Yaounde was linked to other parts of the country by road, railway and air. The city had an International Airport at Nsimalen established in 1991 to supersede the aging international airport of Yaounde which at the time was being gradually absorbed by urbanisation.⁹ Today, the Yaounde airport serves as the air base for air force of Cameroon in the city. The Nsimalen airport remains one of the most important of the three international airports in the country.¹⁰ In 2004, it served 190,487 passengers. It has 14 direct flights to 11 countries. The city is equally the focus point for the most popular airline in Cameroon, Camair-Co that replaced the defunct Cameroon Airlines.¹¹ Airports of regional importance abound. The capital was equally connected by the Trans-Cameroon railway line. The Trans-Cam I railway links Douala and Yaounde, Trans-Cam II railway links Yaounde and Ngaoundere, and a minor railway that links Littoral, West and the South West Regions.¹² There existed a plethora of travelling agencies such as: Guarantee Express, Mondial Express, Finex, Buca Voyage among others that enabled the movements of people from the various regions of the country to the capital city.¹³

In terms of road network, Yaounde was linked by major highways to the various ten regions of the country. For instance, Yaounde-Bamenda through the West Region, Yaounde-Douala, Yaounde-Maroua high-way¹⁴ among others. The transport network linking the city and other ten regions of the country eased the transportation of goods and services. It brought together people from various cultural backgrounds that settled in the city for different reasons such as: search for jobs, trade, education, health, religious reasons, political motives, treatment of file in the various ministries found in the city, transfers, among others. These brought about multiculturalism in the area. To enable peaceful cohabitation in a puri-cultural society like Yaounde, nation building policies were introduced to encourage unity and integration among diverse cultural groupings in the area.

⁹ https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yaound%C3%A9_Nsimalen_International_Airport, 02/26/2023.

¹⁰ Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, p. 203.

¹¹ https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yaound%C3%A9_Nsimalen_International_Airport, 02/26/2023.

¹² Interview with Babila Franklin, 40 years, Teaching, Mbankolo, 25/04/2022.

¹³ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

¹⁴ Interview with Babila Franklin, 40 years, teaching Geography, Mbankolo, 25/04/2022.

In terms of communication, the first television channels that started broadcasting in Yaounde were CTV which later became CRTV, and Canal 2 International. Then, several cable operators settled in the city with the advent of satellite television programs in the country. Other channels later started broadcasting in the city such as: Arianne TV, STV, TV cable, Golden House, Canal, among others. In addition, several radio stations broadcasted from the capital such as FM 94, RTS, the CRTV radios, Magic FM, Sweet FM, and many others. We equally had different written newspapers giving an update on the news from all the ten regions of the country as well as out of the country examples: *Cameroun tribune*, *Le Messenger*, *L'Epervier*, *Mutations*, *Le Jour* among others.¹⁵

As regards mobile telephony, several operators competed in the city in particular for instance, MTN, Orange, CAMTEL, NEXTEL, and many others. These operators were also internet access providers with multitudes of offers and internet connection services. Moreover, they extended their markets to finances and some served as micro-finance establishments, we can cite MTN Mobile Money and Orange Money which offer several services ranging from money transfer to payment of invoices, deposits/withdrawals of money in accounts.¹⁶ This brought many people from diverse cultural backgrounds to settle in Yaounde. To enable peaceful harmony among people of different cultural backgrounds, domestic policies of national unity and national integration were introduced to form one nation.

C. Soil and Agriculture

The Centre's soil is primarily composed of Precambrian deposits of metamorphic rocks such as: gneiss, mica, migmatites and schists. Granite dominates from about 4°N and to the Adamawa border. Faults along the border with the South Region deposited metamorphic schists and quartzite with some granite. Red ferrallitic soil dominated most of the region including the forested zone and much of the savanna area.¹⁷ Though as deep as 10 meters, the soils are leached by percolating water making it only marginally productive for agriculture. However, it is usable as building material for traditional houses in the area especially the red, sun-dried bricks made of mud. Thus,

¹⁵ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ M. E. Walter, "Les Marches de Nuit dans l'Arrondissement de Yaounde IVème", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2010. p. 43.

this encouraged people to settle in the city because, building materials were very cheap. Towards the Northern border, this soil became lightly evolved with large deposits of minerals, especially at the confluence of Sanaga and Mbam Rivers; it had a mixture of several soil types.¹⁸ This influenced agricultural activities in the area that attracted many people especially farmers in to the city. This could explain why the practice of agriculture is concentrated in some areas of the city and not in others.

Most farmers in the city were largely concerned with the cultivation of crops such as plantain, cocoyam and yam. Rice and yam cultivation was practiced along the banks of the Sanaga in the Upper Sanaga division. Groundnuts, maize and other cereals were common in the city's less humid North and manioc was grown throughout in the area. Most communities especially Yaounde practiced subsistence agriculture, a type agriculture carried out mainly by the family for consumption. The system of agriculture remained rudimentary and was carried out following seasonal changes and involved a series of stages.¹⁹ Subsistence farmers first cleared patches of forest with machetes while trees were removed with traditional tools such as axes or machetes. During the dry season, they cleared and burnt the resulting bush. Farmers took care to protect trees bearing edible fruits such as: mangoes, plums and pears.²⁰

Farmers then planted seeds after the first rain. Spices and vegetables were cultivated closer to the house, plantains and tubers in larger plots farther into the bush. Villagers traditionally grouped their farms together for protection against animals and harvest their crops at the beginning of the dry seasons.²¹ Such slash and burn agricultural system was adequate for the needs of small villages away from large urban Centre. The fast exhaustion of the soil necessitated the change of fields every two or three years. However, when settlements are sparse, little problems are encountered. Urban farming contributed in the global income levels of the population. Monthly earnings of urban farmers in the city were recorded as follows: West (55.3%), Centre (45.5%) and Northwest provinces (42.9%).²²

¹⁸ Walter, "Les Marches de Nuit dans l'Arrondissement de Yaounde IVème", p. 42.

¹⁹ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced", p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Interview with Ambomo Gisèle Bernadette.

²² Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced", pp. 111-116.

The city was one of Cameroon's most important cash-crop zones due to its hot humid climate and well-developed infrastructure. Cocoa was the main cash crop grown in all areas of the city except the Mbam division. Major cash crop plantation in the area was cocoa, found at the Sanaga river valley near Nanga Eboko and around the towns of Akonolinga, Obala and Soa. Some of these plantations were owned by peasant population such as; the Bassa, Ewondo and SODECAO, a major cocoa company. It is thanks to agriculture that certain industries were established in the region like Sugar industry in Mbandjock (SOSUCAM) and Mezoa (CAMSUCO) in the Upper-Sanaga, tobacco industry in Batchenga (Lekie) and in Yaounde (Mfoundi). The Cocoa culture was primordial, especially in the Lekie, the Mefou-South. Many of the rural areas of the city did not completely escape from progressive urbanization. These included: Mefou, Mfou-Bikok, NGoumou-Soa-Mbankomo, Akono-Awae, Lekie, Monatele, Saa, Obala, Okola, Evodula, Upper Sanaga, Nanga Eboko, Mimta, Mbandjock, Mbazoa.²³

Plantation agriculture was one of the factors that attracted people to settle in the area especially the Bamileke and the Bassa. Lengha testifies that, among the urban farming groups in the city, 34.7 %, 25.7% and 17.6 % of those who carry out urban farming were from the West, Centre and Northwest provinces respectively.²⁴ The Bamileke partly cultivated cash crops and carried out business activities in the area. Some English speakers even migrated to the city to gain employment in the plantations set up in city. This gave rise to a multi-cultural settlement that obliged the government of Cameroon to put in place internal policies to promote peaceful co-existence in the capital city.

D. Industry.

Industrial activities in the area prompted population increase especially from the Anglophone background. The Centre also has a substantial food processing industry. For example, Cameroon Sugar Company (CAMSUCO) has a large processing plant in Nkoetang that supplies eighty percent of the Cameroon sugar. Société Camerounaise du Cacao (SOCACAO) made cocoa butter in Yaounde. The Brasseries du Cameroun also operated in Yaounde producing beer and soft

²³ "Sobotamoh, "Catholic Education in the Development", p. 23.

²⁴ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced", pp. 111-116.

drinks. Other food processing plants were located in Nanga Eboko and Eseka.²⁵ The city was also the crossroad for logging vehicle travelling from the South to the East region.

There existed sizeable timber processing industry. Major sawmills were located in Eseka, Mbalmayo and Yaounde. The Bastos Cigarette Company located in the city attracted many workers.²⁶ The booming immigration (labour force) in the City was a strong spirit that favoured industrialization. This brought about mult-culturalism, a situation that encouraged the quest for harmony and peaceful cohabitation among diverse ethnic groups in the area. This led to the introduction of nation building policies in the area to promote Peaceful Co-existence among diversified cultural groupings in the area under study.

II. Socio-Cultural Factors: Population Composition and Growth

Population composition and growth was instrumental in the introduction of nation building policies aimed at promoting peaceful cohesion. The city had a population of more than two million inhabitants and was one of the most densely populated areas of the Cameroon. The area had since experienced a great number of immigrants due to the placement of Cameroon's seat of government from colonial times.²⁷ There were over 275 tribal and linguistic groups in Cameroon which all converge in the capital city. These included: the Bantoid speaking inhabitants of the Kingdoms of the Western highlands, the Pygmies of the forest areas, Muslims and non-Muslims from the North, predominantly the Islamic people from the Sahel region and the Central highlands including the Fulani or *peuhl* in French, the Kirdi, grass fielders (Bamileke, Bamum, and other smaller groups from the North-west region). People from the Coastal tropical forest (Douala, Bassa, and other smaller groups in the South West Region of Cameroon). The Southern tropical forest people made up of the Fang-Beti sub group such as: Ewondo, Bulu, Maka among others.²⁸

Ndi adds that the migration and settlement of allochthons in the city of Yaounde came from all the angles of the country. Immigrants from the North arrived in 1911 generally called "Hausas" mostly for commercial reasons. The second largest after the Ewondo in terms of population in the city were the Bamileke. The first Bamileke arrived in 1918, and settled just beside the "Hausa" for

²⁵ Martin, "Géomorphologie et sol", p. 35.

²⁶ Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, p. 168.

²⁷ Martin, "Géomorphologie et sol", p. 17.

²⁸ Valentine, "Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space", pp. 18-27.

commercial motives.²⁹ Mbassi opines that the first Muslims to arrive the area were Hausa traders from West Africa. They sold their goods and bought ivory and slaves. Other Muslims like the Fulbes, Bamum and other Islamic people followed the same pattern.³⁰

The Banen, Bafia, Yambassa equally settled in the area. In quarters like Efoulan, Mvog-Mbi, Mvog-Ada, the Ewondo form the majority. The Eton and the Menguissa are found towards Nlong-Kak quarter, the Bulu at Etoa-Meki, Etam Bafia, the Bamileke at Nkomkana quarter, Mokolo, Ntougou, and the Northerners are mostly concentrated at the Briquet rie neighbourhood and Hausa quarter. The Anglophones are mostly settled at Obili and some in the other quarters of the city.³¹ According to 1976 population record, the following immigrants and population composition were recorded in the city excluding the Grand North,³² See table 4 below.

Table 4: Population Composition and Growth in the City of Yaounde, 1976

Strangers	S. W	WEST	N. W	NORTH	LITTORAL	EAST	CENTRE
9295	3737	43441	3269	9686	27236	5764	88643

Source : Recensement G n rale de la Population et de l'Habitat, 1976.

Table 4 shows that the arrival of late settlers in the city brought about cultural differences. The Beti who were the early settlers constituted the majority followed by the Bamileke who arrived in the area for trade and employment, and other groups. See figure 3 below.

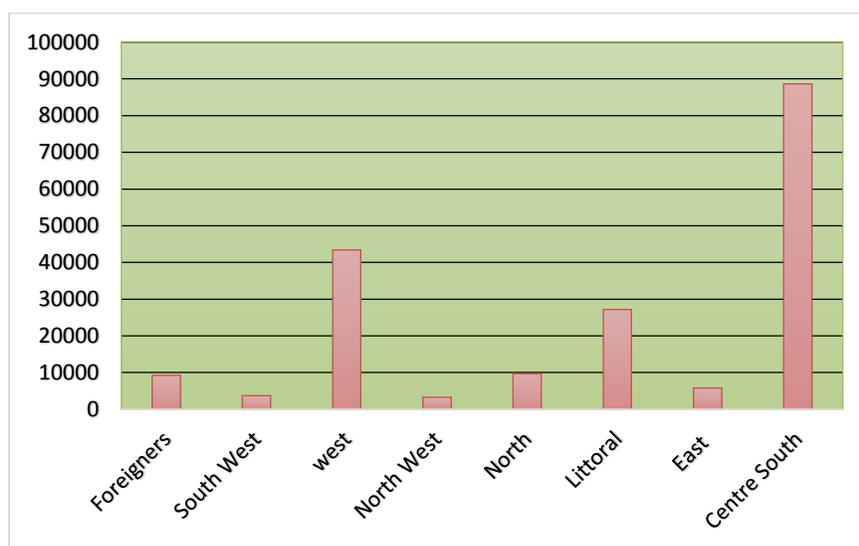
²⁹ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", p. 14-39.

³⁰ N. T. O. Mbassi, «Islam et Implantation de Mosques dans la Ville de Yaound  (1936-1997)», Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaound  I, 2010, p. 9.

³¹ Mbassi, «Islam et Implantation de Mosques dans la Ville de Yaound  (1936-1997)», pp.14-39.

³² Essama, "La Morgue   Yaound ", pp. 42-49.

Figure 3: Population Composition and growth in the City of Yaoundé, 1976.



Source: Author's conception base on table 4.

Figure 3 above shows population composition in the city of Yaounde in 1976. As earlier mentioned, the immigrants from the West constituted the second largest population in the area after the Ewondo. This was due to trading activities and employment. They were business incline and most of the business ventures in the city were owned by the Bamileke. Most of them equally migrated to better their lives in the capital city.³³ After Bamileke were those from the Littoral region because of its proximity to city and trading opportunities, favourable climate as well as the welcoming attitude of the Ewondo. The Ewondo were very welcoming and the treated strangers amicably. They gave lands to strangers for settlement for free. This enabled the Dualas to settle there.³⁴ Those from the North West and South West increased significantly especially after the reunification of West Cameroon (Former British Southern Cameroons) and East Cameroon (former French Cameroon) in 1972.³⁵

The increasing population from the English-speaking regions was influenced by the following: trade opportunities, search for jobs, transfer of civil servants, education, treatment of files, and inter-marriages.³⁶ Those from the North moved to the city due to trade opportunities, and especially during the reign of Ahmadou Ahidjo from 1958-1982. Many from the North migrated

³³ Interview with Awona Marie Bernadette.

³⁴ *Idem.*

³⁵ Ndi, "*La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain*", pp. 14-39.

³⁶ Interview with Francis Aboki.

to the city of Yaounde for employment because Ahidjo favoured his tribe's men.³⁷ The presence of people from diverse cultural backgrounds brought about socio-economic, political and cultural differences in the city. To promote peaceful co-existence among the various ethnic groups, the government of Cameroon introduced nation building policies of National Unity and Integration. Population growth has never been static in the History of mankind due to both natural and human influence. This could be due to high Birth or Death Rate, immigration and emigration.

The city of Yaounde from the previous years of colonisation experienced population growth due to its favourable climate, strategic location, or its administrative function. According to Bambot, since 1921³⁸ that the city was made the political capital during French mandate, it has experienced an increase in population with a constant population growth. The Population Growth Rate (PGR) was remarkable especially in 2002 where the population of the city stood at 1500.000 inhabitants; Natural Growth Rate (NGR) of the city stood at 4% annually far greater than that the entire country which stood 2.3%. Its Annual Growth Rate (AGR) stood at 2.7% between 1987-2005.³⁹ This was because of high rate of immigration from the various angles of the country to the city due to job opportunities, education, inter-marriages, trade, transfer of civil servants and especially after the independence and reunification of the former British Southern Cameroon with the Republic of Cameroon. This led to urbanisation in the city.

The rate of urbanisation moved from 37.8% in 1987 to 48.8% in 2005.⁴⁰ Like other cities in the country, the population kept on skyrocketing and according to 2011 estimate, Yaounde had a population of 2440462 inhabitants with a density of 13558 inhabitants per Km². After independence of the French part of the country, the city had a population of 6000.⁴¹ According to 2004 estimate, the population stood at 1730000 being the second largest city in the country after Douala with a population of 3000000 inhabitants. With the abolition of the Federal system of government in 1972, the city experienced a drastic population increase because it became the centre for political, economic and social activities in the country.

³⁷ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration" p. 119.

³⁸ Valentine, "Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space", pp. 18-27.

³⁹ Valentine, "Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space", pp. 18-27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

The development of Yaounde as the capital city exerted attraction to many ethnic groups due to its political situation and colonial capital status. Migratory movements towards Yaounde made it a “melting pot” of diverse cultural backgrounds. According to Fotso, all ethnic groups merged in the Cameroonian capital. Indeed, foreign population was added to the indigenous population. The Fulani and the Bamileke from North and West-Cameroon respectively, the Eton and Manguissa. There were also the Bassa from the Littoral, people from the East, the English-speaking ethnic populations among others all converged in the city.⁴² There were also nationals of African, European and Asian who settled in the city for various reasons especially socio-economic.

Fotso opines that the Hausa first arrived in Yaounde in 1896 at the request of Hans Dominik who wanted to run business from the Yaounde station. The Hausas were made up of several ethnic groups such as: the Fulbes, the Guiziga, the Toupouri, the Mundang, the Mouzgoum as well as the Mbokou. Bamileke country was the most densely populated region in country. Its rapid population growth made them to seek for other places. The Bamileke arrived in Yaounde in 1918 and settled beside *hippodrome* previously occupied by the Hausa. They were later found in all angles of the city, and were the most represented tribal group in the city. Nationals of the South such as: the Bulu, the Fang, the Fong and the Ntumu were found in the area due to its functions. This made it a cosmopolitan city more than ever.⁴³ The spontaneous mobility of population towards the capital city enabled researcher to come up with its population distribution statistics in 1990. See table 5 below.

⁴² Fotso, “Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo”, pp. 27-29

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Table 5: Population distribution in the city of Yaounde in 1990

Province of Origin	Population in Percentage
North-West	2.2%
South-West	1.4%
West	22.1%
Littoral	13.0%
Centre	42.5%
South	8.7%
East	3.5%
Adamawa	1.9%
North	1.4%
Extreme North	3.3%
Total	100%

Source: Basic data: EMUYD (1990: 2000), in A. Socpa, *Democratization and autochthony in Cameroon*, 2003.

Table 5 shows that population composition of Yaounde by ethnic origin in 1990 was as follows: 42.5% for those called the Beti (Center and South); 22.1% for Bamileke (West); 13% for Bassa and Duala (Littoral). The Beti and the Bamileke were two major ethnic groups most represented in Yaounde.

In 1976, four years after reunification, population census revealed that the population of the city increased twice its size mostly made up of youths for educational reasons from all over the four angles of the national triangle and others from foreign countries.⁴⁴ Despite the rapid increase, dominant ethnic groups in the city include: Beti, Ewondo, Bane, Eton, Bulu, Bassa, Yambassa, followed by the Bamileke from the West. The population has kept on increasing especially for socio-political and economic gains. This brought about the multi-ethnic character of the city that made the government to preach peaceful cohesion in the area under study.

⁴⁴ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé", pp. 97-101.

B. Language and Education

Not only diverse ethnic groups that converged in the city, different languages abound, some of which are: Fulfulde, though a dominant language of the three regions of North Cameroon, it is spoken in Yaounde in confined areas inhabited by the *Nordistes* as well as in the market places of the city. Also, numerous Bamileke languages are spoken in Yaounde for instance: Yemba, Bangante, and Bafou. The Bamileke in Cameroon, particularly in the city of Yaounde who speak Yemba, Bangante, and Bafou did not understand each other though from the same tribal group.⁴⁵ In addition, Pidgin English was practiced by many, for example, the English speakers from the North West and South West, the Bamileke, Duala as well as businessmen and women spoke Pidgin English on daily bases.

A new form of language has equally emerged known as *Camfranglais*, a combination of French, English, and pidgin. It became a common communication tool among youths, workers, job seekers, indigenes, migrants and many others. It is spread in the city through: music, news styles, plagues and many others. Other languages spoken in the city are: Ngumu, Bafia, Yambassa, Banen, Bassa, Duala, though they are geographically closed to each other, but spoke different languages.⁴⁶ The population kept on increasing in the area under study. In 2005, the population was estimated at 1817524 inhabitants, further increased to 2194306 inhabitants in 2010.⁴⁷ These cultural and linguistic dichotomies witnessed in the city necessitated the introduction of unifying policies like national unity and integration to create one nation that will enable peaceful co-existence in the area.

Higher institutes of learning concentrated in Yaounde. The area drew many more highly educated migrants. The majority of Centre's residents live in the city. As earlier mentioned, the city of Yaounde in particular experienced immigration both in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. These immigrants were either from within or from without the country influenced by pull or push factors. During and after colonisation, the area experienced a tremendous population growth. Immigrants from without were orchestrated either by voluntary or involuntary

⁴⁵ Interview with Adam Bissohong Hoka.

⁴⁶ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 14-39.

⁴⁷ T. T. L. Monique, "Saisonnalité des Decompensations du Diabete : Cas de la Ville de Yaounde", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2011, pp. 3-4.

factors mostly from countries like Central Africa Republic and Chad in Central African sub-region.⁴⁸

According to Mbong, after 1961 when most African countries got their independence, and with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Cameroon and other countries, led to immigration from French speaking countries like Mali, Niger, and Senegal were visible in Cameroon and especially in the city Yaounde.⁴⁹ She adds that, push and pull factors were the main forces that induced migration to Cameroon among French speaking countries mentioned above as captured in her words:

“This was because, as French colonies, they also achieved independence in 1960; having the urge to establish relations with other areas and also to seek greener pastures for themselves with their families. This was beside other reasons like wars, civil unrests, trade and evangelism which pushed them to migrate.”⁵⁰

A good number of these immigrants were students who were coming for education especially from Chad, and Central African Republic. It should be noted that at the time, there was just one University in Cameroon created in 1962⁵¹, based in Yaounde, the capital city. Most of these students migrated to the city for educational motives.

As time went by, so the volume of immigrant kept increasing. Though relations between Cameroon and other African states like South Africa, Guinea Conakry, Ghana, and Egypt were unfavourable, it was noted that after 1982 there was a significant increase in immigration due to extension of foreign relations with other countries after the collapse of UPC terrorism in Cameroon in 1971.⁵² After reunification in 1972, immigrants into the city from within cannot be under estimated. One is right to say that after colonial rule, there was an increased in immigration into the city from the four corners of the country. Valentine asserts that before the colonial period, the city was made up of Ewondo, but today, it is a cosmopolitan city due to rural-urban migration in

⁴⁸ Monique, “Saisonnalité des Decompensations du Diabete : Cas de la Ville de Yaounde”, p. 32.

⁴⁹ N. L. I. Mbong, “Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants in Meme Division (1960-2005)”, Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁰ Mbong, “Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants in Meme Division (1960-2005)”, pp. 40-41.

⁵¹ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 352.

⁵² Mbong, “Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants”, pp. 40-41.

the past years. People of diverse ethnic background settled in Yaounde.⁵³ He adds that the cultural disparity of the country especially in Yaounde was a call for concern.

Though education remains one of the main factors in fostering national unity and ethnic tolerance, just few African countries were able to promote this. In Cameroon particularly in the city of Yaounde, nation building moves were rekindled with the creation of many higher institutes of learning in the capital city especially the establishment of the Federal University in 1962.⁵⁴ The University of Yaounde as it was known at the time was the lone University in the country aimed at promoting bilingual education and African traditions. Not only was the promotion of bilingualism as its main goal, national unity equally envisaged through bilingual education.⁵⁵ Many students migrated from other parts of the country to the city. West Cameroon had seven per cent (7%) of the students in the Yaounde University.⁵⁶

Most Youth from the English-speaking regions migrated to Area for Education. Aboki, an English speaker who had been in the city for over forty years recounts that,

“The person who brought me here was my in-law who was a military man and was transferred to Yaounde where he spent his entire life. Education, especially University education, brought many people in city since the University of Yaounde was the lone university in Cameroon after reunification.”⁵⁷

The rest of the students came from other French speaking areas especially the Bamileke, Bassa, Fang-Beti, the Douala among others. Other professional institutes of learning concentrated in the capital city such as: Higher School of Journalism (ASMAC), the Institute of Youths and Sports (INJS), the University Centre for Health Science (CUSS).⁵⁸ The establishment of the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM), adding to the aforementioned higher institutes of learning attracted many students from all ethnic backgrounds in the country to the capital city. Talla André Marie revealed this in the lyrics of his music:

*Où vas-tu étudiant
Tout de neuf habillé
Ton blazer à la mode*

⁵³ Valentine, “Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space”, pp. 18-27.

⁵⁴ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 352.

⁵⁵ D. R. Smock and K. B. Enchill, *The Search for National Integration in Africa*, London, Collier Macmillan Publisher, 1976, pp. 7-10.

⁵⁶ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 352

⁵⁷ Interview with Francis Aboki.

⁵⁸ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, p. 263.

*Ton pantalon plissé
Où vas-tu étudiant
Le regard conquérant
Dé laissant ton pays
Ton beau Bamiléké*

*Je vais Yaoundé
Yaoundé la capitale⁵⁹*

Four years after reunification, the 1976 population census recorded the following immigrants and population composition in the city of Yaounde excluding the Grand North: Centre, 88643 inhabitants, West, 43441 inhabitants, Littoral 27236 inhabitants, North 9686 inhabitants, the English speaking regions of South West and North West 7006 inhabitants, and East 5764 inhabitants.⁶⁰ The 1976 population census revealed that 313706 inhabitants in the city area were mostly Youth who migrated for educational purpose.⁶¹ It was noted that the number of English speaking students in the capital city increased after reunification. Numfor in an interview testified that English speaking Cameroonians actually started coming to the city of Yaounde which equally doubled as the headquarters in 1972.⁶² It is true because West Cameroon and East Cameroon were merged to form the United Republic of Cameroon after a referendum that was conducted on May 20th 1972.

There were three types of education namely basic education, secondary education and higher education, corresponding to three ministries in charge of education all located in the city of Yaounde. The infrastructures relating to basic education were kindergartens and primary, some schools were both nursery and primary, for instance, Lamadone at Ekounou, the Catholic school located in Warda, “*Le Tremplin*” located in Nsimeyong, “Repiquet park” located near the chamber of agriculture, primary school Monti located in Awae, *école publique* located beside gendarmerie opposite the *Lycée Leclerc*, among others.⁶³

The city constituted Secondary Education High Schools and Colleges, both private and public. *Lycée General Leclerc* at Ngoa-Ekelle opposite the National Assembly, Technical, Industrial and Commercial High School located a few meters from E.N.S, CETIC at Ngoa-Ekelle, Government High Schools at Ekounou, Mendong, Biyem-assi among others. Colleges included

⁵⁹ <https://kamerlyrics.net/lyric-39-talla-andre-marie-je-vais-a-yaounde>, 09/06/202.

⁶⁰ Essama, “La Morgue à Yaoundé”, pp. 42-49.

⁶¹ Lengha, “Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé” p. 97-101.

⁶² Interview with Numfor Chrispus, 76 years, Journalism (retired) Biyem-Assi, 21/04/2022

⁶³ Ndi, “La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain”, pp. 20-27.

college Vogt located in Mvolyé, the Victor Hugo college in Nsimeyong, *college Père Monti* in Awae, the Madeleine college in Mvog-Mbi, the Bénigna college in Etoudi, Jean Tabi at Etoudi, *college Saint-Benoît* at Mvolyé, the Alege Messi college located at the Vogt crossroads, the *Fustel de Coulanges* college at the *Hippodrome* district, and many others.⁶⁴

The infrastructures relating to higher education included universities. Yaounde had two state universities which included: Yaounde I University located at Ngoa-Ekelle and Yaounde II University, located at Soa. Other universities included: UCAC, UPAC, Jean-Paul University located in Mbankolo. Other Higher Institutes of Learning included: IRIC located at Obili, University of Siantu located at Mvog-Mbi, the Ndi Samba institute located by the road to Mvan, and many others. The city contained professional schools like ENS located at Ngoa-Ekelle, the ENSP opposite EMIA, ESSTIC, IFORD located inside the University of Yaounde 1 campus, ENAM located not far from the municipal lake among others.

The city had institutes that provided teaching in a specific fields, for example; the IAI located in Awae, specialized in computer education, INJS located in Ngoa-Ekelle, specialized in field of sport and entertainment, the EMIA located in Ngoa-Ekelle, specializing in military education.⁶⁵ The secondary, professional and University institutions located in the city attracted many people with different cultures from the various ten regions of Cameroon especially from the French and English speaking regions. In order to promote peaceful cohabitation or existence and national spirit in the city, nation building policies of National Unity and National Integration were applied.

C. Health and Sport

It is said that, “Health is wealth”, the city of Yaounde was full of public and private hospitals, pharmacies, laboratory analysis, medical centers, health centers, and many more where people from all angles of the country merged for better medical treatment. Hospitals included the General Hospital and the *Gyneco-Obstetrique* Hospital at Ngousso, the Central Hospital and the Chantal Biya foundation at “education”, Military Hospital, close to the Ministry of Defense, the Marie

⁶⁴ Ndi, “La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain”, pp. 20-27.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Wyss Hospital located at Nsimeyong, C.H.U located in Melen opposite the Total service station, the *Hôpital* Jamot at Mballa II among others.⁶⁶

Regarding pharmacies, it was noted that most of them bear the names of neighbourhoods in which they are located for instance, Emana, Etoudi, Acacias, Tongolo, Olézoa, university pharmacy located in Ngoa-Ekelle, lake pharmacy located not far from the municipal lake, the stewardship pharmacy located at "crossroads of stewardship", among others. There were various pharmacies such as: "pharmacy voluntas Dei" at Nsimeyong, "Moliva" at Madagascar, *pharmacie Sept Collins*, located at "mini-firm", pharmacy melen 8, *pharmacie de Soliel* located not far from the central market, Mandela pharmacy located opposite C.H.U, among others. As far as medical laboratory analysis was concerned, there was the *Centre Pasteur* located at "education", the Prima laboratory located towards province, the Center laboratory analysis not far from the municipal road, among others.⁶⁷

These medical infrastructures pulled people from all the angles of the country to the city of Yaounde for better health conditions especially in giant hospitals like: *Gyneco-Obstetrique* Hospital at Ngoussou; H.C.Y, H.G.Y, C.H.U among others. This brought about proliferation of diverse cultures in area. To bring various groups and cultures together in the city, peaceful co-existence and nation building policies of national unity and national integration were introduced.

The capital city was made up of many sport infrastructures. There existed multi-purpose sport complex to stadia. For example: the Ahmadou Ahidjo stadium located in Mfandena, the *Palais du Sports* located in Warda, the Military Stadium located on Atemengue plateau on the right next to *Lycée* Leclerc, there were equally multiple sport halls where the practice of several sport disciplines such as dance, arts, weightlifting, athletics, ball sports (volleyball, football, handball, tennis, baseball, among others). A few sport halls like Mangwa Fitness club in Biyem-assi next to Somatel Hotel, INJS had several rooms for practicing various sports. The government in one of its policies of regional balance in the recruitment of people into INJS brought people from all the ten regions of Cameroon to Institute of Youths and Sports found in the capital city. Many youth from the ten regions of Cameroon and of different cultural backgrounds came to the capital city to gain training in the various sport infrastructures. To promote peaceful cohabitation and national spirit

⁶⁶ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

among peoples in the multi-cultural city, the policies of National Unity and National Integration were introduced.

D. Religion, Hospitality and Tourism

The church equally played a vital role in pulling people together in the city of Yaounde. Being a melting pot for all cultures in the country, its cosmopolitan nature reflected the multiplicity of churches in the area. Christianity appears to be dominant compared to Islamic faith. A plurality of Christian churches existed, dominated especially by the Catholic Church with monasteries in Mvolyé and Mont Fébé. An Archdiocese was found in the city with a good number of dioceses. Apart of the Catholic Church, other churches animated the city among which are: the Baptist, Presbyterian, Jehovah witness, Seven-day Adventist, the Evangelical Church of Cameroon, Protestant Churches, and recently, the spread of Pentecostal Churches dominated by the Full Gospel Mission and Apostolic Church. Apart of the various Christian denominations, Islamic faith cannot be ignored. There was a significant increase in the number of Islamic faithful in the city especially in the Briquetérie neighbourhood where their main Mosque is found.⁶⁸

It was noted that catholic Churches outnumbered others in the area under study. Catholicism, Protestantism or even Islam, adding to other new religious movement set up infrastructures in the city that harboured its believers from all angles of the country with diverse cultures. For instance, the catholic had *Notre Dame de Victoire* Cathedral in the city center, the Basilica of Mary Queen of the Apostles at Mvolyé, the different parishes of the city abound. The religious statues located in Olézoa, equally attracted many. Seven Day Adventists found at Biyem-assi Neighborhood. Protestant Churches included the E.P.C with chapels found at Djoungolo, Messa, Nsam, Biyem-assi, among others.

There existed Kingdom Halls of Jehovah's Witnesses all over the city, for example they had their hall at Nsimeyong, Simbock, Biyem-assi among others. There were various E.E.C chapels in the city, like that of Bata Nlongkak. New religious movements abound, and almost at all street corners of the city and included churches like, “Jesus is here” at Biyem-assi high school, the “celestial vault” located in Shell Nsimeyong, the church “Jesus saves and heals”, located in

⁶⁸ Valentine, “Social Presentations and the Management of Public Space”, p. 26.

Ekoumdoum, the “chapel of the winners” located at the Biyem-assi crossroads,⁶⁹ Mercy Seat Ministry at Tam-Tam, among others. The indigenes equally believed in African religion. The Beti believed in the creator of heaven and earth known in different appellation depending on the sub-group involved. Thus, they believed in Zamba, Zambe, Ntondo-Obe among others which signified the creator of heaven and earth. Though they worshipped idols, it was believed to be a means to communicate with the almighty. Thus, no one was to steal, commit adultery, disrespect the parents among others. This fell in line with the Ten Commandments of the Bible. Thus, King Leopold was right to tell the white that the blacks knew God better than they do.

Before reunification of the former British Southern and the Republic of Cameroon, there existed the protestant and catholic churches in West and East Cameroon. Though there existed Catholic Churches in both territories across the Mungo, they were not inter-connected. East Cameroon was mostly dominated by the Catholic while Protestants dominated West Cameroon. The Northern part of the country was dominated by Islam.⁷⁰ After reunification, most of the churches set up their branches in the capital city. Many churches and Christians from former West Cameroon started moving across boundaries to the city. This religious diversity led to the introduction of nation building policies to promote peaceful co-existence and unity in the area under study.

The Ewondo were welcoming people especially strangers on their land. Several explorers of German origin recognised the welcoming, friendly, good looking, neatness and the organisation of the people. This encouraged the Germans to set up stations and settlements in the area.⁷¹ Ambomo in an interview testify that she gave some of the English-speaking Cameroonians farm to cultivate and feed the family since the start of the Anglophone crisis in 2016. The Mayor of Lobo, an English speaker gave some of the Anglophone IDPs land to establish.⁷² Aboki who is from the North-West Region adds that the Ewondo were very welcoming. They were generous and could give lands to strangers for nothing to set up their settlements.⁷³ Awona Marie an indigene of the capital city opines that strangers especially the Bamileke, and the Bassa, who were one of

⁶⁹ Ndi, “La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain”, pp. 20-27.

⁷⁰ L. M. Kpughe, “Christian Churches and National Integration in Cameroon since reunification: A Historical survey”, *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)* Volume 3, Issue 2, 2017, pp. 29-31.

⁷¹ Lengha, “Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé”, p. 105.

⁷² Interview with Ambomo Gisèle Bernadette

⁷³ Interview with Francis Aboki.

the first groups to settle together with the Ewondo were given lands free given that they were not troublesome, or were able to assist the Ewondo in times of trouble.⁷⁴ This brought about multiculturalism in the capital city, a situation that orchestrated the implementation of nation building policies in order to encourage peaceful cohesion and national integration in the capital city.

Also known as *La Ville au Sept Collins*, the city of Yaounde harboured touristic sites ranging from diverse historical monuments, hotels, zoos, and museums. The Mvog-beti zoo located in the city constituted variety of animal species such as: lions, monkeys, crocodiles, snakes, birds among others. Historical monuments abound and included: the reunification monument that commemorated the reunification of the former West and East Cameroon in 1972, the statue of Charles Atangana who was the paramount chief of the Ewonodos (Yaounde indigenous tribe), the first German military base occupied by the ministry of finance.⁷⁵ On the slopes of Mt. Febe was a beautiful hotel, the Mt. Febe Hotel, and down slope, there existed the Hilton Hotel, Unity palace. The National Museum found at the former Presidency and the local Showroom in Yaounde. There equally existed Municipal Stadium and Municipal Lake in the City.⁷⁶

The cosmopolitan city attracted over two hundred and fifty tribal groups with diverse cultures to the area under study. Not only within the country, tourists from other countries frequently visited the city through Nsimalen airport.⁷⁷ They brought in their own cultures in the city. There was equally the Cameroonian Art Museum at the Monastery of Benedictine beside Mont Febe, the Basilica of Mary Queen of the Apostles on the Mvolyé hill, the Notre Dame de Victoire Cathedral located in the city center, the different mountains namely Mount Eloundem, Mount Mbankolo, Mount Febe,⁷⁸ among others attracted many people both at home and abroad with diverse cultures into the capital city. This accounted for the introduction of Nation Building Policies in the city such as; National Unity and National Integration to promote peaceful cohabitation among people from different cultural backgrounds.

⁷⁴ Interview with Awona Marie.

⁷⁵ SOFITOUL, *Charms and Colours of Cameroon*, 2013 edition, p. 11.

⁷⁶ Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, p. 175.

⁷⁷ SOFITOUL, *Charms and Colours of Cameroon*, 2013 edition, p. 10.

⁷⁸ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

III. Geo-Political Factors: Climate

The city was just 300km from the Atlantic coast with an Equatorial climate of Guinean type characterised by average annual temperature varying between 22.2°C in the month of July and 24.5°C in the month of March. It had an average rainfall of 1600 millimetres made up of 152 days of rain fall. The winds constituted the West winds that amount to 52%, South East as well as calm Equatorial winds made up 36%. The area had a high humidity of 70%.⁷⁹ Before November, the percentages vary between 80% and 85% and between 70% to 80% throughout the year. Lengha adds that the city was made up of four seasons: two rainy and two dry seasons. The climate has an average temperature of 24°C, precipitation, 1600mm, and humidity 77%.⁸⁰ These favourable climatic conditions caused many people from all cultural backgrounds and works of life to settle in the capital city. It is true that the favourable climate brought about pleasant atmospheric conditions in the area. Noa and Pondi testify that:

Vers la fin de l'après-midi du 8 Decembre 1899, je fis encore un denier promenade à pied à travers les magnifiques alentours du poste. Le soleil projetait déjà les ombres allongées, lorsque je mis à descendre la pente (...) il disparaissait à l'horizon comme une boule de feu (...) vu la rapidité du crépuscule tropicale, les étoiles, à leur tour ne tardèrent pas à surgir au firmament.⁸¹

Favourable climatic conditions were a pull factor to human settlement in the city. This is one of the reasons why European imperialists like Germany and France chose Yaounde as the capital of colonial administration which was hitherto maintained. This made the city a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups, a situation that influenced the introduction of nation building policies to promote peaceful cohesion in the area.

B. Land Laws and Government Projects.

Land laws influenced the settlement of immigrants in the area. The most comprehensive legal framework governing land in Cameroon can be found in the 1974 land tenure ordinances and its subsequent amendments. These were a series of ordinances that represented the first endeavour by the newly re-unified post-colonial states to define an institutional system to manage land use. The 1974 land ordinances declared first and foremost that, all land belonged to the state.⁸² This implied

⁷⁹ Noa, "Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques dans l'Entité Municipale", pp. 46-50

⁸⁰ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé" p. 102.

⁸¹ Noa, "Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques", pp. 46-50

⁸² R. C. Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-community Boundary Dynamics in Fungom Subdivision, 1947-2016", Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2019, pp. 70-73.

that private individuals or communities could only claim ownership over land if they comply with the obligations demanded of them by the law. This therefore meant that the right of land ownership by the indigenes was carefully limited because anyone who complied with the obligations be it an indigene or any one from any ethnic group had right over land in the area under study.

Thus, it is clear that the land laws instituted in 1974 precipitated the migration and settlement of people from different socio-cultural backgrounds especially from the littoral, West, Centre, North, North West and South West regions among others to the area under study. In addition, decree No 76/165 of April 27, 1976 made it clear that anyone seeking to register land occupied during 1974 could apply directly for a land certificate.⁸³ This was a polite way to limit the powers of indigenes over land. It is clear that once someone was in possession of a land certificate, nobody could temper to encroach it. Thus, many settlers who desired to own land could simply abide with the terms of the above-mentioned decree and once this was done as was the case in our study area; the autochthons had nothing to do with it since it was no longer their community land. This enabled non-indigenes from different ethnic groups in the city to acquire land for settlements. That is why some quarters in the city are attributed to particular ethnic groups.

In addition to the land ownership, Numfor, an indigene from the North West Region residing in Yaounde for over 50 years narrated that, the government of Ahidjo created a project called “MAITU”, known in West Cameroon as “Government New Lay Out”, controlled by a Bassa man and assisted by an Anglophone. It was a project designed by Ahidjo to promote national unity. He added, “let me be honest, this house we are setting in, was the practicability of Ahidjo’s policy of national unity.”⁸⁴ “MAITU” was created to enable Cameroonians of diverse ethnic groups to live together in their own houses especially in the capital city. Land was issued by the government in the form of lottery.

This housing project enabled many from different cultural backgrounds to own lands in the capital city. They settled there, and brought in other family members into the area. This enabled many people to migrate to Yaounde the capital city. Many believed that having land in Yaounde was a great achievement given that it was the city where the President resided.⁸⁵ Thus, this

⁸³ Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-community Boundary Dynamics in Fungom Subdivision, 1947-2016”, pp. 70-73.

⁸⁴ Interview with Numfor Crispus.

⁸⁵ *Idem.*

encouraged many to migrate to Yaounde which became a cosmopolitan city. Putting in place nation building policies in the area was to enhance peaceful cohesion, unity and integration among people from pluri-cultural ethnic communities in the city.

C. Reunification and Strategic Location

The reunification of the former West and East Cameroon on the 20th May 1972 through a referendum led the creation of the United Republic of Cameroon.⁸⁶ After many years of separation, English and French Cameroons had acquired different socio-economic and political ways of life. For instance, the Anglo-Saxon system of education the English speakers inherited from Britain was different from the French sub-system of education. Judiciarily, the English speakers inherited the common law system while their French counterpart inherited the civil law system from France.

There was equally disparity in dressing. Aboki testified that dressing differed in the capital city as captured in his words, “The Anglophones like buying and sawing their material dress unlike Francophones who like dressing in Jeans trousers. That is why tailors or seamstresses were not common in the city.”⁸⁷ The introduction of nation building policies of National Unity and Integration was to harmonize the differences and promote Peaceful Co-existence in the area under study. Numfor added that, the harmonization of the police force, transfer of workers increased the number English speakers in the city especially after reunification in these words:

The English speakers actually started coming to the city of Yaounde which equally doubled as the headquarters in 1972. I am talking like somebody who had lived in the History not like someone who has studied the History. This is when a referendum was organized merging the two Cameroons. People were automatically moved over here to be at the headquarters in many ministries. I was in the West Cameroon administration working with the taxation department. Some colleagues of the taxation department were moved over to the headquarters here in Yaoundé. This is actually the genesis of mass movement of Anglophones to the city of Yaoundé. The harmonization of defense was equally a factor that promoted migration of Anglophones to the headquarters of Cameroon. West Cameroon had no army but, West Cameroon police training center in Mutengene with a police administration. The West Cameroon Police surrendered Ahidjo’s forces in Buea in Molyko, they came threatening our people there. The West Cameroon’s P. M, Augustine Ngom Jua ordered the senior police superintendent in Mutengene to waylay the troops of Ahidjo in Moliko which was done without firing a shot and with baton sticks. This was a threat to Ahidjo and with the powers bestowed on him by the constitution, Ahidjo decided to harmonize the West Cameroon Police to form national police under the Federal government. Most of the West Cameroon police were now moved over to Yaounde. Not only the police, the customs who were under finance, some of them were been moved over to East Cameroon. The army which came from Nigeria was immediately moved over to Yaounde and among was Gen. Tataw.

⁸⁶ Interview with Mboudou Mboudou Armand Justin.

⁸⁷ Interview with Francis Aboki.

Creating the lone Cameroon University in Yaounde enabled many Anglophones to move over here for education.⁸⁸

Long ago, Yaounde was the only advanced hinterland junction and the main passage for exploration to other areas in the Centre. It was equally a junction between the North and South and a passage between Nyong valley and Sanaga, the East and West. In addition, it was a linking point between the Coast and the interior.⁸⁹ It was for this reason that the area emerged as a multi-cultural city because, many people from different cultural backgrounds did not only use the area as a junction, many people settled there. Lengha adds that Yaounde was located along the South-West of the Cameroon great plateau at latitude 13°52 N and at longitude 11°13 E surrounded by hills and inselbergs in the South West, North East, and to the West, North West, and South East. Also, the area was located between the forest and the Savannah regions. This attracted many people especially for hunting, and agriculture.⁹⁰ It is true that the area was chosen by the Germans to set up their station for protection due to its hilly nature and strategic location.

Curt Morgan and George August while settling in Yaoundé stated that: *“Le post est situé sur un beau plateau sain, à la limit de la forêt vierge et la savane, non loin de arrive (Poste) consistait en une cours superieure d’environ 100 mètres carrés, entourée de baraquements où logeait la troupe.”*⁹¹ The station was found between two rivers: Mingoa and Abierge. The Ewondo called the station *“Ongola”*, meaning fence. The Germans settled there, and some of them learned Ewondo and vice versa. For instance, Hans Dominik, chief of the station was able to express himself in Ewondo. The Ewondo equally learned German culture. Some of the indigenous people were given Germans names during Baptism. A case in point is Atagana Ntsama who was baptized Otto Karl.⁹² The German culture and the indigenous cultures in the city brought about cultural diversities. To cohabit with the various cultures, nation building policies were introduced.

D. Administration and Politics.

The city of Yaounde experienced a remarkable evolution. It became the seat of national institutions (government, army, Parliament among others), diplomatic representations (embassies and

⁸⁸ Interview with Numfor Chrispus

⁸⁹ Ottu, “La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration Colonial”, pp. 17-19.

⁹⁰ Lengha, “Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé” pp. 97-102.

⁹¹ Noa, “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques”, pp. 46-50

⁹² *Ibid.*

consulates), national and international organizations, the seat for academic institutions, professional education and many political parties. These enabled the establishment of administrative institutions and immigration of civil servants to the city.⁹³ The administrative set up in the city was headed by mayors, D. Os, S.D.Os. We also have the ministries that are grouped together in certain places in the city. These include the Ministry of Basic Education, MINSEC, MINESUP, MINSANTE, MINFOPRA, MINPOSTEL, Ministry of Public Works located in the administrative center of the city, the MINFI, the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Trade, MINEPAT, among others. Other ministries spread across the city. The Unity Palais located in the Etoudi neighbourhood where the head of state resided. The various ministries had their branches all over the country.⁹⁴ Many people from different ethnic backgrounds migrated to Yaounde to follow up their files in the various ministries.

Not only treatment of files, many migrated to the area follow up transfer programs, payment of salaries, recruitments among others. Aboki testified that after reunification; most ethnic groups from the English-speaking regions migrated to the city to treat their files at the various ministries.⁹⁵ This brought in many ethnic groups in the capital city with diverse cultures. The need to bring together the various cultures to form one nation and promote peaceful co-existence influenced the introduction of nation building policies of National Integration and National Unity in the area under study.

The city was equally the headquarters for most political parties in the country. These included: CPDM, SDF, MRC, UPC among others. The founder of SDF, Ni John Fru Ndi was from the North West Region, the Presidential candidate for 2018 presidential election was Joshua Oshi from Ndian in the South-West Region, and its members were drawn from the various ethnic groups that made up the country. These parties in general constituted members from different cultural backgrounds in Cameroon who all converged in Yaounde. This pulled together people from various angles of the country to the capital city leading to multi-culturality in the area under research. To create a harmonious society, nation building policies were introduced.

⁹³ Fotso, "Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo", pp. 27-29.

⁹⁴ Ndi, "La prese en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

⁹⁵ Interview with Francis Aboki.

Conclusion

The chapter examined the various factors that precipitated the introduction of nation building policies in the capital city. This was due to the presence of the diverse cultural groupings in the area from different ethnic backgrounds. These factors were independently indispensable in provoking differences in the city with ambiguous results. In some cases, cultural mutations brought development in the community in all domains of life. There is no need to over emphasize that multi-culturalism in the area under review was orchestrated by many factors. It is for this reason that we took the pains to examine the manifestations of peaceful cohesion and nation building in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

MANIFESTATIONS OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND NATION BUILDING

Introduction

Like any other policy practiced in most African states at the dawn of independence, peaceful existence and nation building in the area of study manifested itself in many ways. Also known as Africa in miniature, Cameroon especially the area under study manifested peaceful co-existence and nation building through: democratic practices, religion, education, employment, transport, urbanisation and social movability, diet, inter-marriages, music, sport, national day celebration, international events among others. This can be conveniently grouped into economic social and political manifestations.

I. Economic Manifestations: Commerce

Commerce refers to the buying and selling of goods and services. Commercial activities attracted many people from different parts of the country to the city. Before 1972, *Poste Centrale* was a less congested business center. The creation of a Unitary State in 1972 led to an increase in population in the capital city. The Muslims who were involved in cattle rearing migrated to the city of Yaounde and pick up different business activities. See plate 2.

Plate 2: Post Central in the city of Yaoundé



Source: Field Work, 05/06/2022.

Plate 2 shows *Poste Centrale*, one of the busiest business centers in the city. Many from other parts of the country irrespective of ethnic the background migrated and settled in the area for commercial motives. The Northerners were mostly engaged in selling meat prepared in a special way commonly known as “soyer” or, “Kilishi.” Some sold shoes, carried out money exchange, and the Bamileke owned building material shops, telephone stores, the English speakers sold belts, bed sheets and many others.¹ Many other commercial activities were carried as earlier mentioned; one could not determine which tribe was specialized on what trade item because demand determined what good to sell. This was a clear indication of peaceful cohesion in the area.

B. Transfer of Workers

Many workers were transferred to the city especially with the creation of unitary state in 1972. This increased the transfer of workers across the country irrespective of the ethnic or cultural background. The city of Yaounde constitutes workers from different parts of country. They all interacted in the area despite their cultural diversity. Formin from Lebialem in an interview revealed that he has lived in Yaounde for over 20 years since he was transferred in 2002. He is the Vice Principal No. II at *Lycée de Mendong*.² In addition, Ashu Nkongho, was transferred to *Lycée de Etoug-ebe* since 2014 and the wife Lucy to *Lycée de Mimboman*. It is important to note that all

¹ Interview with Foffe Christian, 36 years, Electrician, Chateau, 24/04/2022.

² Interview with Formin.

these schools were bilingual schools where they taught students from various ethnic backgrounds.³ Not only did they teach in English, they equally learnt and spoke French, and interacted with other colleagues from different cultural groupings. Most workers from the West, North, Littoral, South among others, were transferred to the city. This was a clear indication of nation building in the area under study.

C. Agriculture

The cosmopolitan city consisted of people from diverse cultural groupings that migrated and settled in the area. This could explain why the practice of agriculture was concentrated in some areas of the city and not in others. Identified types are livestock rearing, horticulture, food crop cultivation and small-scale fish farming. Although most urban farmers did not own the land but they use public space. This was mostly carried out by women. At the beginning of rainy season, farmers in the city manifested by the planting of maize around the garbage heaps in the surrounding environments.⁴

At early mornings, men or women involved are seen around the garbage heaps either gathering food for their livestock or planting maize on stable heaps especially during the planting season. In this group 34.7 %, 25.7% and 17.6 % of those who carry out urban farming around the garbage heaps were from the West, Centre and Northwest provinces respectively.⁵ Those from West and North-West were noted for the rearing of pigs in an enclosed fence and other agricultural practices in the city. This was done especially by vulnerable population who could not sustain themselves while in the city and who could not have access to farmland. Urban farmers made up of women and men came from all income groups but the majority of them are low-medium income earners, who grow food for self-consumption or as an income generating activity.

In the case of our study, urban agriculture and methods carried out by different ethnic groups was done by urban peasants who were affected by economic crisis⁶ as well as their failure to meet adequate integrative factors while in the city. Therefore, urban farming in the city of Yaounde was an income generating activity. This testifies that urban farming in Yaounde made many to adopt

³ Interview with Ashu Nkongho, 42years, Mendong, Teaching, 04/05/2022.

⁴ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé" pp. 111-116.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

new agricultural methods used by others who did not practice at first. The figures below show the monthly earnings of urban farmers in the city. City dwellers who come from the west (55.3%), Centre (45.5%) and northwest (42.9%) provinces benefited much from urban farming in Yaounde annually.⁷ As earlier mentioned, urban agriculture introduced new farming techniques in the city that was copied and practiced by others ethnic groups in the area either for commercial purpose or for consumption. This was a clear indication of nation building in the capital city.

D. Finance

The city of Yaounde constituted many financial institutions that attracted many through their publicity to serve their monthly income or borrow for other transactions. These financial institutions were not only owned by indigenes, other ethnic groups especially from the North-West, West, Littoral among others set up micro-financial institutions in the city. This included: NTACCUL, RIC Mendong, Unics bank Biyem-assi, NOFIA Accacia, SOFINA *Rond point expresse*, among others. There were equally international financial institutions like: Express Union, Western Union, where many people in the city sent, withdrew or saved their money. These were areas of interaction among people from different ethnic groupings. RIC Mendong for instance was engaged in the payment of workers' salaries from different schools irrespective of cultural background. Teachers of Mario Academic Complex made up of workers from the North, West, North-West, South-West among others received their salaries from this financial institution.⁸ This was a clear indication of nation building in the city.

II. Social Manifestations: Education and Gastronomy

The infrastructures relating to higher education included universities. Yaounde had two state universities such as: The University of Yaounde I, located at Ngoa-Ekelle and the University of Yaounde II, located at Soa. We also have other universities such as UCAC, UPAC, Jean-Paul University located in Mbankolo. Other Higher Institutes of Learning included: IRIC located at Obili, University of Siantu located in Mvog-Mbi, Ndi Samba institute located by the road to Mvan, and many others. The city contained professional schools like ENS located at Ngoa-Ekelle, the ENSP opposite EMIA, ESSTIC and IFORD located in the University of Yaounde 1 campus,

⁷ Lengha, "Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaoundé" pp. 111-116.

⁸ Interview with Ayikeshi Sammy Tasse, 30years, Principal MAC, Mendong, 04/17/2022.

ENAM located not far from the municipal lake among others. The city had institutes that provided teaching in a specific field, example the I.A.I located at Awaé, specialized in computer education, INJS located in Ngoa-Ekelle, specialized in field of sport and entertainment, the EMIA located in Ngoa-Ekelle, specialized in military education.⁹ These educational institutions constituted students from the various regions cultures of the country who studied either in French or English.

Fanso reveals that 7% of the students in the University of Yaounde in 1962 were from the English speakers.¹⁰ Lecturers delivered lessons both in French and English and the main goal was to promote bilingualism. The University of Yaounde II created in Soa gave lessons in French and English irrespective of cultural or ethnic affiliation. Students were equally recruited into (ASMAC), the Institute of Youths and Sports (INJS), the University Centre for Health Science (CUSS) from different cultural backgrounds.¹¹ This was done regardless of tribe of origin. The National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) and ENS located in the capital city recruited all successful candidates from various ethnic groupings that made up the country. This was through the policy of regional balance initiated by government to give equal opportunities to all ethnic groups in the country and the city in particular.

The University of Yaounde in particular harboured thousands of students from all the ten regions of the country in the various departments that made up the institution. Lessons were done in English and French irrespective of cultural background. This enforced unity in the University milieu and especially in the city. Plate 6 shows the University of Yaounde, now known as Yaounde I University, a melting pot for all cultures in the city Yaounde. See plate 3.

⁹ Ndi, "La prise en charge du corps en milieu Urbain", pp. 20-27.

¹⁰ Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 352

¹¹ Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, p. 263.

Plate 3: The University of Yaounde I



Source: University of Yaoundé I. en.m.Wikipedia.org. 06/07/2022.

Plate 3 depicts interaction of students in the University of Yaounde. This proves that cultural boundaries were bridged since students from diverse cultural groups were now able to interact in the same as educational milieu as well as the same departments, studying ether in French or English.

In addition, secondary schools and colleges abound and included: G.B.H.S at Etoug-Ebe, Mendong, Biyem-assi, Essos, among others and private schools such as: MNPS-Mendong , Marie-Albert Prestige-Mfou, Père Monti-Mfou, among other located in Yaounde pulled students from all cultural backgrounds. It is important to highlight that, most of these Secondary and High Schools contained students of diverse cultural and linguistic background. In Mario Academic Complex (MAC), a good number of students are Bamileke, Bassa, *Nordists*, Duala, Fang-Beti and especially from the English-speaking regions of the North-West and South-West. See plate 4.

Plate 4: Mario Academic Complex Mendong



Source: Field Work, 05/06/2022.

Plate 4 shows MAC in Mendong harbouring over a thousand students from different cultural backgrounds. This is an example of the manifestation of peaceful co-existence and nation building in the capital city.

It is important to note that before 1972, there were fewer secondary schools. Most Anglo-Saxon schools were set up in the Yaounde after 1972. *Lycée Bilingue de Yaoundé* was the lone Bilingual Secondary School in the city.¹² After the creation of Unitary State, most secondary schools; private, public and missionary were set up in the city with bilingual programs. While some practiced pure Anglo-Saxon sub system of education, some practiced the French sub-system. However, many parents of French speaking background sent their children to study in the English sub-system of education. As earlier mentioned Mario Academic Complex-Mendong operated pure Anglo-Saxon system and contained over a thousand of students. About 40% of the students are of the French speaking background¹³ especially tribes like: Bassa, Bamileke, Duala, Muslim community, Fang-Beti among others. They were taught in the same class rooms. This was a clear indication of peaceful cohesion and nation building.

The existence of multiple food crops reflected different dishes that characterised a multicultural state like Cameroon, especially the city of Yaounde. The different dishes included: *Eru, Achu, Kpem, Okok, Sanga, Kati-kati, Mbiang*, among others were hitherto preserved and they

¹² Interview with Adam Bissohong Hoka.

¹³ Interview with Ayikeshi Sammy Tasse.

were all interwoven to promote cohesion and unity of the city.¹⁴ “Achu” is highly consumed in the city by many especially the Bamileke and the Ewondo. Plate 5 shows “Achu” dish.

Plate 5: “Achu”, widely consumed in the city of Yaoundé



Source: SOFITOUL, Charms and Colours of Cameroon, 2013 edition.

Plate 5 shows traditional meal of the Bamenda grass field popularly known as “*Achu*” which is consumed in the capital city by other tribal groups like the Bamileke, the Beti, and Douala among others. Being one of the most important traditional meals consumed in the English-speaking North-west region of Cameroon, *Achu* soup was not a common meal in the city before 1972. With the introduction of a unitary system in Cameroon, “*Achu*” was introduced in the city especially by those migrants from the North-west region.¹⁵ Today, it has become a favourite meal to many and is widely consumed in the capital city among various ethnic groups that made up the city. In addition, “water fufu” and “eru”, in plate two below, a favourite dish in the Bayangi community in the South-West Region was introduced in the area by migrants from this community to the area under study. Many in the capital city irrespective of tribal origin now consumed this dish. See plate 6.

¹⁴ Ngwoh, “Realities of National Integration in Cameroon”, pp. 288-293.

¹⁵ Interview with Atedjoé Sylvie.

Plate 6: Water Fufu and Eru prepared in the capital city



Source: Author's conception on field work, 04/02/2022.

Plate 6 shows *water fufu* and *eru* prepared and consumed in Yaounde by and Ewondo woman, Atangana Marie. Diet is no longer an affair of a particular tribe in the area under study. Before reunification, Achu soup was a traditional meal of the Bamenda grass field, *water fufu* was a traditional meal in Bayangi society, “Pkwem”, “Biang” by the Bamileke, “Mbongo-chobi”, by the Bassa among others. With the migration and settlement of different of diverse cultural groupings in the city, the aforementioned diet was no longer limited to a particular tribe. It was being consumed by many in the city from different cultural background. Atangana Marie lived closer to neighbours who are from Mamfe. This enabled her to know how to prepare and consume *water fufu* and *eru*.¹⁶ Akomoneh Relindis, an indigene from Bafut residing in Yaounde recounted that when she came to Yaounde, she did not know “Okock”, a dish widely consumed in the Beti community. As time went by, she started consuming “Okock” which later became her favourite.¹⁷

B. Multiculturalism and Music

There is no gainsaying that Cameroon, especially the area under study display a multicultural character. Being a country with over 250 ethnic groups, and over 268 local languages that all converged in the city of Yaounde, the desire to amalgamate the diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds in the view of creating one and indivisible Cameroon led to the introduction of domestic policy of National Integration and National Unity to enhance peaceful co-existence and nation building in the capital city of Cameroon. After independence and reunification of

¹⁶ Interview with Atangana Marie.

¹⁷ Interview with Akomoneh Relinis, 40 years, Mendong, Teaching, 03/06/2022.

Cameroon, multi-culturism was hitherto preserved, and it cut across tribal frontiers, bringing together different cultures to promote national integration and unity of the country and especially in the city of Yaounde. In the area under study, multiculturalism manifested itself through eating habits, culture, dance, music, dressing, customs and tradition.¹⁸ This was one of reasons that influenced the introduction of nation building policies of national unity and national integration in the area under study.

In the domain of music and dance, the diverse ethnic groups and cultures reflect the different dances and music display in the country especially the capital city. In terms of music, the following animated the city. These included: *Njang, Bekutsi, Benskin, Mangabu, Chacha, Mbaya, Bottle dance, Folklore, Asiko, Makossa* among others transcended tribal frontiers. In each community, there was a particular style of dance, and it was being practiced among the various ethnic groups of the country especially in Yaounde. Many in the city of Yaounde from different cultural groups mastered the various dances and danced well. Tchakountio Nguenia, an indigene from Dschang married to an Ewondo was able to dance *Bikutsi, Makossa, Asiko*,¹⁹ in the area under study which at first, she could not.

C. Sport and Dressing

Man, by nature is gregarious, thus association of one group to the other bind by common feelings. In Cameroon particularly in the city of Yaounde, the national character is expressed through sport, culture, History among others. Though many sportive activities exist, football in particular is one of the most important nation building factors. For instance, despite the economic and social havoc that plagued the 1990's in Cameroon, the brilliant performance of the indomitable lions in the World Cup galvanised national sentiments all over the country especially in the capital city, a clear indication of national cohesion.²⁰ Sport like in other parts of Africa, remains one of the unifying factors in the country.

There exist a good number of sportive events in Cameroon like the Elite I and II, University games, among others brought people of diverse ethnic backgrounds especially in the city. The

¹⁸ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", pp. 288-293.

¹⁹ Tchakountio Nguenia Iness, 33 years, Hair dressing, Mokolo, 22/04/2022.

²⁰ "Cameroon's National Integration Strategy", MINJEC, CAB, 2015, pp. 34-35.

indomitable lions of the national team of Cameroon play with the same spirit and pride. Not only the indomitable lions whose members are recruited from the various regions of the country play with the same spirit, Cameroonians as a whole and the capital city in particular gave their total support to the national team during international football encounter.²¹ In the University of Yaounde I, there was an office for football fans. Thus, the social barriers are eliminated among the students of the various ethnic groups irrespective of age, sex or political affiliation.

In a nutshell, it rekindled the effort of the various leaders of the country especially in the capital city to look for means to encourage the spirit of integration and unity. Celebrating victory recorded by the indomitable lions and lioness was usually a tradition particularly in the area under study. For instance, in February, 2017, the indomitable lions arranged a tour of the country beginning from Yaounde, the main multi-cultural city in the country to present the trophy won in Gabon during the AFCON tournament hoisted by the country. Thus, the various ethnic groups that made up the city supported and celebrated victories during and after football matches. This was a display of national unity and peaceful cohesion in the area under study.

According Ngwoh, any pluralistic community like in Cameroon and especially the city of Yaounde, dressing customs abound, reflecting the various cultural backgrounds, and included the following: Gandourra and Boubou of the Sudano-Sahelian, Atoghu of the grassfields, the Sanja and Kabba of the Sawa and Fang-Beti respectively, have cut across tribal limit to national character as well as international boundaries. For instance, in the international Olympic game of 2012 in London, saw Cameroonian athletes in Bamenda attire as well as in Rio de Janeiro in 2016.²² Dressing in the city is no longer an affair of a particular tribe, it cut across ethnic boundaries. Akomoneh Relindis and the son from Bafut, North West-Region residing in Yaounde love dressing in Bamileke traditional regalia. In an interview, she testifies that, “Despite the fact that I am from Bafut, I like Bamileke culture that is why I dress in their traditional regalia. To me there is no cultural frontier because all Cameroonians are one.”²³ See plate 7 below.

²¹ Ngwoh, “Realities of National Integration in Cameroon”, pp. 288-293.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Interview with Akomoneh Relindis.

Plate 7: Indigenes of Bafut living in Yaoundé dressed in Bamileke traditional regalia



Source: Field work 03/05/2022

Plate 7 above shows indigenes from Bafut residing in Yaounde, dressed in Bamileke traditional regalia. It was noted that many inhabitants in the city put national feelings above ethnic feelings. It shows that cultural barriers were gradually erased in the area under study. In the city, it was easy to see women dressed in “Kabba”, men in “Gandourra”, and both men and women dressed in “Atoghu” irrespective of the cultural background. Most government officials in Cameroon manifested nation building spirit through dressing. The former P. M, Philemon Yang (2009-2019) who hailed from Oku in the North West Region, during his reign as P. M of Cameroon residing and working in the city of Yaounde, love appearing in “Gandoura”, a traditional regalia of the Muslim community especially in official occasions. This was an example from the hierarchy to the various groupings in the city with diverse cultures. Putting national feelings above tribal sentiments was manifested in dressing habits among various ethnic groups in the area under study. The former P. M of Cameroon Yang Philemon dressed in Muslim traditional regalia. See plate 8.

Plate 8: Philemon Yang dressed in Muslim traditional Regalia



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philomon_Yang, 04/07/2022.

Plate 8 above show the manifestation of national unity and peaceful co-existence in the area under study. The former Prime Minister of Cameroon, Philemon Yang during his reign (2009-2019), residing in the capital city greatly encouraged multi-culturalism. Though from Oku in the North West Region of Cameroon, he was often seen dressed in Muslim traditional regalia. As earlier mentioned, dressing was no longer a barrier to peaceful cohesion and nation building. The Muslims noted for dressing in *Nganoura*, now produce and sell *Atoghu*, a traditional dress of the North-West region of Cameroon. See plate 9.

Plate 9: Oumarou, from the North producing and selling “Atoghu”



Source: Field work, 05/06/2022.

Plate 9 depicts a Muslim who owns **DOUCINA TRADITIONAL DESIGN**, situated at Jouvance-Yaounde, beside *salle de fête Diplomat*. At first, Muslim were not involved in such business ventures, as they migrated and settled in the city, cultural boundaries were gradual bridged in the area under study.

D. Marriage and religion

Being the base of a unified organic component (family), inter-marriages ushered in intimate interactions across ethnic or tribal boundaries, reducing socio-cultural frontiers, above all, accelerating peaceful cohesion and unity in a manifold cultural state like Cameroon and especially in the area under study. Wedding between couples from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds especially in the capital city kept on increasing. Statistics show that between 2008-2018, most marriages signed in the civil status registration centres particularly in the city of Yaounde were couples from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, a rear situation 50 years back.²⁴ Inter-marriages were visible between the following ethnic groups: Fang-Beti and grass fielders, Duala-Bassa, Bakweri-Bayangi, Bakweri-Ewondo, Ewondo-Duala, Isu-Nso among others. It is obvious

²⁴ Ngwoh, “Realities of National Integration in Cameroon”, pp. 288-293.

that, marriage has no boundaries, be it national or international. This situation has further beef up peaceful co-existence and unity in a multicultural society like the area under study.

As early mentioned, before reunification, it was difficult to find an English speaker from former British Southern Cameroons married to a French speaker, (former French Cameroon) in the city. After reunification and subsequently, the creation of the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972, the movements of English speakers to the Capital made inter-marriages with French speakers possible. Ben Francis from Wum in Menchum division of the North-West of the English-speaking region moved to Yaounde immediately after the creation of the United Republic of Cameroon. He got married to a Beti woman by name, Bodo Cecile with whom they bore four children.²⁵ Dong Mignol a lecturer in the Department of History, University of Yaounde I got married to an Anglophone woman from Bali in the North-West region of Cameroon. Inter-marriages erased cultural frontiers in the area under research. Not only among Christians, some Muslims in the city got married to Christians.

During an interview with Mr. Awa Mundi, the Vice Principal of LIWMAIC, Etokos Yaounde revealed that he got married to a Muslim lady with whom they bore three children.²⁶ This promoted peaceful co-habitation and nation building in the capital city. Mah Gilbert from Kumfutu, in the North West Region, a catholic Christian was married to Ansatu Dauda, a Muslim in the capital city and the husband was re-baptised OUMAROU. The Manager of *Vision 4*, Jean-Pierre Amougou Belinga got married to a second wife from the South-west of the English-speaking region by name, Sarah Limunga Itambi, a magistrate of the 4th category and the vice president of the Appeal Court in Yaounde.²⁷ See plate 10.

²⁵ Interview with Ben Francis.

²⁶ Interview with Awa Mundi, 40 years, Etokos, Teaching, 06/06/2022.

²⁷ www.cameroon-info.net, 17/05/2022.

Plate 10: Inter-tribal marriage in the city of Yaounde



Source : www.cameroon-info.net, 17/05/2022.

Plate 10 above portrays a French speaker from the Beti community (indigene of the city of Yaounde), Jean-Pierre Amougou Belinga got married to a second wife from the South-West of the English-speaking regions by name, Sarah Limunga Itambi, a magistrate of the 4th category and the vice president of the appeal Court in Yaounde from Bakweri land. Inter-marriage thus, remained a vital tool for national unity and peaceful cohesion as well as a tool for the elimination of cultural frontiers in the city.

Peaceful cohesion and nation building practices were equally manifested after reunification of the former West and East Cameroon and the creation of the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972. The spirit of national integration and unity was promoted among Christian churches in both the English and French speaking regions of Cameroon especially in the capital city. They adopted names that reflected unity and integration in the country and its territorial frontiers, for instance, the PCWC was re-baptised the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon (PCC) in June 6th 1973 and most of branches were created in the capital city. Kpughe examine this transformation, integration and unity put forward by the Protestant Church across the Mungo after reunification in the following words:

Following the unification creating the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972, the General Synod of PCWC decided on 6 June 1973 to rename the Church as Presbyterian Church in Cameroon (PCC). This was not only caused by the dismantling of the federal system which resulted in the disappearance of the state of West Cameroon, but by the church's desire to be part and parcel of the process of national integration in Cameroon. The significance of this change of name with regard to national integration was

that the appellation of the church now reflected the name and boundaries of Cameroon. In the course of time following the church's expansion into Francophone Cameroon, her structures were made to coincide with the boundaries of the national state, transcending the division between Anglophones and Francophones. Thus, the national character of PCC's structures helped in fading away disparities emanating from the country's dual colonial heritages. Similarly, the names and structures of churches in Francophone Cameroon were made to reflect the boundaries and national character of Cameroon. At the end of its missionary mission in Cameroon, the American Presbyterian Mission (APM) granted autonomy to the indigenous Christians in 1957. In 1961 following the reunification of Cameroon, the Presbyterians of the English and French-speaking regions of Cameroon united to form Presbyterian Church of Cameroon. The national character of this church was reflected in its name and structures. Also, the local Baptist Christians of the French-speaking part of Cameroon got independence as Union of Baptist Churches in Cameroun (UBCC). In the English-speaking part of Cameroon, the local Baptist Christians gained independence from the Cameroon Baptist Mission on 15 December 1954 as Cameroon Baptist Convention (CBC). All the above churches possessed names and structures that cut across the ethnic and colonial cleavages of the country. Of particular note was the structure and reorganization of the CBC. When the indigenous Baptist churches in English-speaking Cameroon gained independence in 1954 as CBC, all the local churches, associations and fields were attached to the latter's highest governing body (the Convention). The way local congregations, associations and fields were attached to the Convention transcended the ethnic disparities among Baptist Christians.²⁸

Apart of the contributions of the protestant churches in promoting national spirit in Cameroon and the area under study, the role played by the Catholic Church cannot be underestimated. Via ecumenical network, the Roman Catholic Church on its part transcended territorial ethnic and colonial boundaries to national cohesion. The creation and interaction of various seminaries and lay private establishments, parishes, Diocese, both in the English and French provinces of Cameroon especially in the city of Yaounde, cut across cultural boundaries to national cohesion and integration. The preaching and teachings of the Holy Bible equally had been a unifying factor among Christians in Cameroon especially in the capital city. Christ said in John 17:20-23 that: *"I do not pray for these only, but also for those who believe in me through their word, that they may all be one..."*²⁹ Believing and following the words of God by the Christian community, was an indispensable tool of unity, love and integration.

Yaounde, the capital city, in most cases was a hosting ground for ecumenical workshops aim at integrating and uniting Christians from all the four corners of the national triangle. For instance, in 2007, Yaounde hosted an important intercultural workshop in the presence of the ecumenical facilitators, coordinated by Jean Emile Ngue, resulted in PCC's annual "Protestant Week" with its theme, "United together in mission." The feeling of togetherness that characterised Christian denominations was a catalyst to nation building objective in the area under study.

²⁸ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", pp. 288-293.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The spirit of national cohesion between the Catholics of West and East Cameroon manifested itself when the Catholic Church in West Cameroon attached itself to the Yaounde metropolitan See in East Cameroon due to arrangements that included: Bishop Jules Peeters of Buea Diocese (the lone diocese in English-speaking Cameroon at the time) and Mgr. Jean Zoa, Archbishop of Yaounde. The bringing together of the Catholics in the English and French speaking provinces was a giant step to national integration and unity in the city of Yaounde. The creation of Bamenda Diocese from that of Buea in 1970, saw the ordination of two Bishops, Paul Verdzekov and Pius Awa to control the Bamenda and Buea Diocese was done under the auspices of the Archbishop of Yaounde, Mgr. Jean Zoa. The short-term effect of this intra-Catholic ecumenical networking was the creation of the National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon (NECC) in the early 1970s.³⁰ Most of its conferences were organised in Yaounde and Christians from various cultural background converged in the city.

The preamble of the Cameroon constitution indicates that the country is a circular state, which enables the existence of many religious practices in the country. Islamism and Christianity in the area under study remained the main religious practices. Christianity and Islam have led to the proliferation of many churches and mosques across the country especially in the city of Yaounde, and their influence in nation building cannot be under estimated.³¹ In the same vein, mission schools particularly most Anglo-Saxon mission colleges were established in the city and was almost dominated by Francophone students in the city, unlike in the 1960's.

This further explains the role of the church in nation building both in physical and spiritual realm. Ndi and Ngwoh in their words further confirm that acculturation and ecumenical movement remained a prerequisite to both spiritual and physical unity as stipulated:

Ecclesiastical and liturgical celebrations such as the consecration of Bishops, ordination of priests, profession of religious, and celebration of jubilees have become rallying occasions for the manifestations of catholicity of the Catholics and national jamborees for progressive ecumenism frequently bring together civil, protestants, and even Muslim faithful in joyous festivity.³²

³⁰ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", pp. 288-293.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

This is evidenced by the construction of mosques especially the city of Yaounde where non-Muslim indigenous leaders are coordinators. The interaction among religious bodies has significantly contributed to nation building in the area under study.

E. Urbanisation and Bilingualism

The rapid increase in the size of towns is referred to as urbanization. The capital city like any other urban area in the country has experienced urbanization especially after independence. The outcome was a conglomeration of diverse tribal groupings particularly in Yaounde urban area. Thus, the emergence of quarter names inhabited by people from diverse tribal backgrounds in the city like: Obili, made up of mostly English speakers, Nkomkana, Bamileke quarter, *Briquet rie*, Moslem quarter among others is linked to urbanisation. In addition, the administrative service in the capital city manifested an aspect on peaceful co-existence and unity in the area. Civil servants were transferred to any part of the country especially in the capital city irrespective of the ethnic background. For instance, by February, 28th 2019, about 90% of the regional governors were not indigenes of their various areas of jurisdiction.³³ That is, they were from different tribes but were appointed to control other regions. For instance, the governor of the Centre region residing in Yaounde the capital is Narceri Paul Bea, is an indigine from the Ndian division, but governs the Centre region in which Yaounde is part.

Being part of the Cameroons national policies in promoting living togetherness, bilingualism was enshrined in the Federal constitution of 1961 that formalised the union between the former British Southern Cameroon (West Cameroon) and the Republic of Cameroon (East Cameroon). According to Article 59 of the Federal constitution, "...constitution shall be published in French and in English, the French text being authentic."³⁴ Many researchers have sort to know why only the French version was to be authentic, however, given the importance of bilingualism to the newly reunified country, many in the capital city were able to express themselves in French and English. According to the 1972, 1984 and 1996 revision of the constitution at the National Assembly in Yaounde, English and French introduced as official languages were to be equal in status.

³³ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", pp. 288-293.

³⁴ Dze-ngwa, "Rethinking Cameroon's National Anthem", pp. 99-100.

Encouraging bilingualism was significant step to nation building because it was through effective communication that people were able to interact and share things in common. Bilingual weeks and programs are designed in the city of Yaounde for all in the country. In 2017, the Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multi-culturalism was established and its headquarters based in Yaounde. Thus, the city of Yaounde remained the centre for the promotion of bilingualism and multi-culturalism, a situation that encouraged peaceful cohabitation and nation building in the area.

Ngwoh stipulates that the defeat and expulsion of the Germans in Cameroon by a joint Anglo-French force led to the partition and occupation of the territory by Britain and France. The administering authorities rule their various portions under the League of Nations as mandated territories from 1922-1945 when the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O) was created replacing the League. From 1946 the two portions were administered as Trust territories of the U.N.O until 1960 and 1961 when they got their independence respectively and later reunified as the Federal republic of Cameroon.³⁵ It was in this light that the need to preserve colonial heritages culminated in the introduction of English and French as official languages in the country as a whole and particularly in the capital city. The abrogation of the federal system of government led to the introduction of a United Republic of Cameroon, and to harmonise the colonial heritages, bilingualism was inevitable to promote unity among Cameroonians.

To re-enforce bilingualism, laws, or arêtes as well as bilingual institutions were set up. For instance, in circular № 001/CAP/PM of August 16, 1991, the P.M re-echoed the provisions of bilingual services to those occupying government or parastatals communication tools. After glancing through Cameroon laws, it was stipulated that the state guarantees, protects, and promotes bilingualism in the country. This was carefully spelt out in Article 13 (2) of January 18, 1996 constitution that “The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages have the same status”. In the same vein, in June 4, 1998, during Presidential address to the member of government, he re-iterated to the Prime Minister, members of governments, public officials at all levels in the country especially in the city of Yaounde to work towards promoting bilingualism.³⁶ This resulted in cultural exchange between the English speakers and

³⁵ Ngwoh, “Realities of National Integration in Cameroon”, pp. 288-293.

³⁶ Ngwoh, “Realities of National Integration in Cameroon”, pp. 288-293.

French speakers especially in the city of Yaounde. There is no gainsaying that it was very easy to find an ethnic Francophone but culturally Anglophone and vice versa.

In addition to the rules and regulations put forward by the government to promote bilingualism, Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters, (ASTI) was opened in Yaounde. Bilingual Training Centres (BTC) was opened in all the regional headquarters of the country especially in the city of Yaounde. To ensure effective implementation of bilingualism in the country and Yaounde especially, the President of the Republic of Cameroon issued decree № 2017/013 of 23 January, 2017 creating the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism (NCPBM)³⁷, aimed at fostering national peace, unity and peaceful cohesion in a country with ethnic pluralism like Cameroon, especially the capital city.

III. Political: Constitutional framework

The constitution of every society remains the supreme law of the land, and no one in any society is above the constitution. Cameroon has one constitution made up of laws produced by the national assembly and the Senate located in the city of Yaounde. Realising the importance of peaceful cohesion, national integration and national unity in constructing the Cameroon nation, the government based in the city of Yaounde included some aspects both in the preamble and Articles in the Cameroon constitution aim at building a Cameroon nation. The preamble of the Cameroon constitution highlights the need for promoting national unity; enhance the spirit of oneness, destination, determination in promoting bilingualism, all in a bid to construct a nation without bias, racial or linguistic apartheid, sex or religious discord, just one Cameroon for all. This idea goes same with Article 1(2) of the Constitution which re-iterates the need to promote bilingualism, fairness in justice, progress among others. According to Article 1(2) of the Constitution:

The Republic of Cameroon is a decentralised unitary state. It shall be one and indivisible, secular, democratic and dedicated to social service... It shall recognize and protect traditional values that conform to democratic principles, human rights and the law...It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law.” Paragraph 3, meanwhile, states that: The official languages of the, Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status... The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall work for the protection and promotion of national languages.³⁸

³⁷ Decree № 2017/013 of 23 January, 2017 creating (NCPBM).

³⁸ “Cameroon’s National Integration Strategy”, p. 29

It is true that for national feeling to cut across a society, cultural pluralism and multilingualism, fair justice, rule of law and order, equal opportunities for all, racial and gender equality and above all, promotion of a common language for all must be taken into consideration. The preamble of the 1996 constitution stated that everybody shall have the right to settle in any part of the country and to move about freely. In the city of Yaounde, many tribal groupings were settled there and moved about with their business activities from one part of the city to the other. The adoption of a single constitution for Cameroonians especially in the capital city is a manifestation of nation building.

B. Party Politics.

The creation of one-party system influenced the introduction of nation building policies. The emergence of Ahmadou Ahidjo as the P. M and later as the President of the Republic of Cameroon based in Yaounde led to the introduction of mono-partism in Cameroon aimed at promoting national unity in a multi-ethnic country like Cameroon. After taking over from his predecessor Andre Marie Mbida, Ahmadou Ahidjo engaged into negotiations with J. N Foncha about reunification of British and French Cameroon. After reunification, in 1962 he began the call for a single national party which was achieved in 1966.³⁹

This move helped to bring the various ethnic groups together especially the English-speaking Cameroonians (former British Southern Cameroons) after the creation of the United Republic of Cameroon to communion with each other as seen in his words, “The project of the nation is to assemble the fatherlands in order to transcend them, and thus build a new fatherland founded on their realities, their virtues, their values, and their emotional impact in order to universalise them.”⁴⁰ Multi-partism was seen as a threat to regional balance given that the existence of many parties may result in ethnic cleavages, tribalism and/or asymmetrical regional development. Ahidjo believed that, with the single party system, the state will be in control of the national resources, promote equal development and amalgamate the various cultures in the capital city in view of creating one nation void of regional and culture differences. It was for this reason that he introduced the policy of national unity from 1958 to 1982 when he resigned as President of the

³⁹ C. D. Pefok, “The Influence of One-Party System on the Democratisation Process in Cameroon 1966-2004”, Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2006. pp. 28-48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

United Republic of Cameroon.⁴¹ The single party (CNU) he created with headquarters in Yaounde brought together peoples of diverse ethnic backgrounds who all interacted among themselves in the capital city.

C. National days Celebration

National day celebrations are all those events which were controlled, inspired, sponsored, and accepted by the state. These celebrations usually take place in public spaces and streets. Most often they may be considered as tools of the state's quest for power, legitimization, and for the mobilization of its people. The cardinal motive of national celebrations is to promote peaceful co-existence and nation building by revisiting the past. Collective memory helps social groups to recognize themselves in different stages and to preserve this knowledge from one generation to another.⁴² At independence, many African countries adopted important days that marked significant events in their various countries. In the case of Cameroon especially the area under study, national days like 11th February, 20th May among others were designed in Yaounde and were often celebrated in Cameroon especially in the capital city to promote unity in diversity. When British Southern Cameroons got independence by reunification with the Republic of Cameroon, one of the most memorable celebrations was 11 February, celebrated as National Youth Day which became importance historic date.

The celebration of 20 May in the city and Cameroon as a whole remained the most important national day commemoration because it was remembered in the country's History as the Referendum day.⁴³ Cameroonian all over the four corners of the country displayed legendary pictures showcasing their traditional dishes, dances, a situation that portrays unity in diversity especially in the city of Yaounde.⁴⁴ These historic days were marked by match pass of various schools at all levels, political parties, cultural associations among others found in the capital city. These activities displayed nation building and peaceful co-existence in the area under study.

⁴¹ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 96.

⁴² N. K. Takor, "Commemorative national days in post-independence Cameroon: Checkered Social Responses in Collective Memory Construction", University of Bamenda, 2022, pp. 6-12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", Pp. 288-293.

D. Legislation and Judiciary

Law making institutions, the National Assembly and the Senate were located in the city of Yaounde. The National Assembly constituted one hundred and eighty members drawn from all the ten regions of the country representing the various ethnic groupings from the various constituencies. The National Assembly met in three ordinary sessions that is March, June, and November. Extra-ordinary sessions are organised at the request of the President of the Republic.⁴⁵ Laws are debated and passed on behalf of the country especially in the city of Yaounde at the National Assembly. The Senate on the other hand made up the upper house of assembly. The Senate met three times a year, not more than thirty days each. The Senate is made up of one hundred members, representing regional and local authorities⁴⁶ The Senate is based in the city of Yaounde. Bills passed in the Senate were for all irrespective of tribal or cultural background in the country especially in the city.

Section 37-42 of the Cameroon constitution is based on the judiciary. “*Justice shall be administered in the name of the people by the competent courts.*”⁴⁷ The Senate is made up of one hundred members representing both the regional and local authorities of the country particularly in the area under study. This portrayed national unity and peaceful cohabitation in the area.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some case studies of peaceful co-existence and nation building in the city of Yaounde due to cultural diversities brought in by the late settlers. This was done by classifying into economic, social and political interaction among various ethnic groups in the city. The chapter equally intimates that the late settlers came and met the indigenes with their already established ways of life. The government later decided to bridge the cultural boundaries by embracing nation building policies in the area under research.

⁴⁵ N. F. Anu, F. Anu et al, *Civics and Society*, Second Edition, ANUCAM, 2001, p. 75.

⁴⁶ Anu, et al, *Civics and Society*, p. 75

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

Most African states at independence faced socio-economic and political crisis. This necessitated the introduction of domestic policies as a panacea to minimise the malaise plaguing the continent. It was for these reasons that various domestic policies were coined such as: Ujamaa, National Authenticity, among others while in Cameroon, particularly the city of Yaounde, there was the need to promote peaceful cohesion and nation building policies, especially after the reunification of the former British Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon (Former French Cameroon) and creation of a United Republic of Cameroon in 1972. Despite the necessity, it appears to be an uphill task. Uncertainty engulfed Cameroon especially the capital city due to squabbles that emanated between political mantra and actions in the introduction of nation building policies of National Unity and National Integration as domestic policy options to ensure peaceful cohesion in the area under study. These uncertainties were drawn from happenings in History due to the growth of micro-nationalisms and inter-ethnic feuds, regional disequilibrium, formation of ethnically-based political parties, inter-alia. This chapter seeks to examine the obstacles to peaceful co-existence and nation building in the capital city given its ethnic pluralism and equally the way out of these challenges.

I. Challenges

The cosmopolitan city of Yaounde attracted and harboured people from different cultural backgrounds. Cultural pluralism in the area enabled the introduction national building policies to promote peaceful co-existence and nation building in the area under study. The effort put in place by the state and other stake-holders to promote nation building in the capital city faced a lot of challenges such as: assymetrical cultural groupings, lack of zeal to promote bilingualism, micro-nationalism, poor transport network among others. These challenges were grouped into economic, political, and social domains.

A. Economic challenges: Overcrowding and inaccessibility

Regional balance is one of the economic policies put in place by the Cameroon government to promote unity and integration in Cameroon especially in the city of Yaounde. Regional disequilibrium brought about conflicts between or among ethnic groups or the various regions of the country. Though some of the regions that constitute Cameroon are blessed with natural resources or wealth, just a few like the Littoral; Centre and South-west regions have some industrial concentration unlike others. This attracted many ethnic migrations from less privileged to more favoured regions especially the capital city, a situation that brought about overcrowding and its negative effects in city of Yaounde. This brought about high rents, crime wave, prostitution among others. Some vital areas in the city remain inaccessible both in transport and communication network. Some peripheries of the city remain muted and isolated from others. Unemployment rate since the mid 1980 keeps on skyrocketing, forcing most youths in the area to look for greener pastures abroad. This remains an impediment to nation building spirit.¹

i. Poverty and inflation

Poverty and inflation have resulted into deep-rooted disparities among youth in the city. Unemployment, besides creating economic imbalance has given rise to frustration among the members of the society, particularly youth in the capital city. Deteriorating economic conditions of the country tend to create uncertainty among the youth that appeared to be losing their feeling of patriotism and adherence to the nation and state.² In the city of Yaounde, cost of living kept on increasing with decreasing standard of living due to inflation and poverty. This had a negative effect on nation building in the area.

ii. Unemployment

The University of Yaounde I and II graduated thousands of students each year from various departments of the institutions. Most of these graduates did not have jobs. This made some of them to indulge into scamming, hocking, taxi drivers, “call box” operators, farmers among others. In an interview with Takow Anita, a graduate from the University of Yaounde I revealed that since 2012,

¹ “Cameroon’s National Integration Strategy”, pp. 48-51

² Fauzia , Ahmed et al, “Strengthening National Integration”, pp. 36-38.

she had attempted all concurs launched in Cameroon especially in the capital city to no avail. She added that “it appears as if you must have a Godfather in this city, before you succeed.”³ A hungry man is an angry man and an angry man is ready for any situation. This explains why in 2008, crisis broke out in Cameroon due to increase in the prices patrol especially in the city of Yaounde. This was a serious hindrance to nation building in the area under study.

iii. Town planning

Town planning was a goal for any society to look good, but the methods to carryout town planning maybe dangerous to the society. The city of Yaounde like any other in Cameroon was experiencing rapid urbanisation especially with the advent of Anglophone crisis in 2016. This caused many to migrate to the city and most of the youths that migrated were engaged into bike riding for their livelihood. The increase in population equally caused pressure and high rent on the few available houses. Most often, the government town planning system left some houses demolished, and the occupants stranded. In addition, there are some areas in the capital city of Yaounde where bike riders could not trespass.

In most cases, these were area where most of their clients were gotten. In an interview with Beng Gregory, he testified that, when he came to the city of Yaounde, he was opportune to have a bike which was his only source of income, while riding through poste central, his bike was seized by council policy. He had to spend about three months at home since he had no body to follow up the matter. This made him to set up a small business table beside the road where he sold biscuits, cigarettes, chewing gum Mobile Money Transfer among others. Unfortunately for him, the same council police seized all his business items including the table.⁴ It was noted these activities were mostly carried by by he youth in the city for their livelihood since most of them were not opportuned to gain employment into the public sector. This worked against nation building in the area.

³ Interview with Takow Anita, 37years, trading, Cradat, 03/12/2021.

⁴ Interview with Beng Gregory, 40years, farming, Mbankomo, 03/11/2021.

B. Socio-cultural challenges: Ethnocentrism

Some researchers believe that the way public issues are managed that is, positioning is based on ethno-tribal and religious influence. Though much effort is offered to promote national awareness, fundamentalism appears stronger and was referred to the original people, manifested in three forms according to Cameroon's National Integration Strategy:

In this respect and despite the offer of national integration so far experienced by Cameroon, the persistence of fundamentalism is remarkable. Fundamentalism here refers to the primary community. It generally appears in three forms: the blood-based community (relation), home-based community (based on geographical proximity) and community spirit (based on friendship, brotherhood and persuasions).⁵

The aforementioned remained a cankerworm to integration and unity in the area under study, a situation that has ushered in vices such as; marginalisation, stigmatisation, exclusion, and slangs like; Cameroon for "Us", Cameroon for "Them", is evident. Ethnic consciousness impaired national consciousness in the city given that those representing larger ethnic groups show interest only to their community or some political barons exploit the gullibility of their local people to achieve local support and strengthen power or authority. This epitomises Cameroon especially the area under study. Ngwoh and Awasom affirmed that:

National integration is jeopardized by ethno-regional jingoism, fanned and sustained by the state. Small wonder then that the notion of national unity is ridiculed. People are overtly encouraged to demonstrate stronger loyalties to their ethno-regional or sub-national groups than to the Cameroon nation. Priority is given to belonging to a group first and the nation second, and this state of affairs engenders the crisis of citizenship as full acceptability in one's fatherland suffers from a delimitation of a geo-ethnic order.⁶

Ethno-centricism, better-still, ethnic chauvinism, "tribalism" and regionalism are impediments to peaceful co-existence and nation building in the area under research. Ethnic group refers to a group of people who share similar culture and tradition. Ethno-centricism or ethnic chauvinism can be defined as belonging to an ethnic group and the belief in the superiority of that ethnic group over the others. In the same light, a "tribe" refers to a large group of related families, living in the same area and having the same language, religion and customs. "Tribalism" on the other hand refers to the way of thinking or behaving in a way to show more loyalty to the "tribe" than any other in the country, or any other social group.

⁵ "Cameroon's National Integration Strategy", pp. 40-43.

⁶ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration", pp. 288-293.

Regionalism is the strong attachment of loyalty to one's region of origin. It is a good thing to belonging to an ethnic group, "tribe" or region and being loyal to its aspirations. However, it becomes problematic if such attachment or loyalty override that of the fatherland or propagate hatred against other groups within the country especially in the area under study. Vices like ethnic chauvinism, tribalism and regionalism were commonly manifested in both public and private institutions in the capital city. This act crippled the effort towards national integration and unity. Favouritism, tribalism, nepotism in the city bred slangs like: *les ennemies dans la maison*, "*allogènes*", "*Autochthones*"⁷, especially in the capital city. This acted as a stumbling block to peaceful co-existence and nation building in the area under study. After realizing these difficulties, Biya opined that: "*...it is absolutely necessary that each Cameroonian citizen be aware of the fact that the 122 ouches122a122s of this dream (national integration) still encounters a major obstacle, that is the absence of a real nation due to persisting ethnic, religious and linguistic particularisms.*"⁸

In most government offices in the city of Yaounde, the hierarchies spoke French, thus, guests and customers in government offices are expected to speak in French not in English. Moreover, supervisory bodies, missions, and even seminar animators dispatched from ministries in Yaounde are made up of mostly Francophones and in most cases delivered their speeches in French in the area under study. Ethnic affiliation seems to outweigh national spirit. This manifested itself in the early 90's when Mgr. Andre Wouking from Bamileke land was appointed by the Pope in 1999 to replace Mgr. Jean Zoa from Beti land as Archbishop of Yaounde; some Beti elite took upon themselves to oppose the Vatican's choice. This was to avoid the Bamileke invasion in their land.⁹ This was hindrance to nation building in the city.

ii. Injustice and Sectarianism

Some Villages are regarded as "territories" and others as "invaders." The Bamileke in the city were regarded as invaders by the indigenes. This fanned ethnic discord and disintegration in the area under study.¹⁰ The belief in one religion or particular party had been a disintegrating factor. In the area under study, the society is fragmented into different religious believes with contradictory

⁷ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", pp. 105-117.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 123-126.

⁹ Ngwoh, "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", Pp. 288-293.

¹⁰ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", p. 123.

visions. Islamic extremism is a threat to Christianity. Islamism tends to differ with Christianity in their biblical or Koranic interpretation. The latter belief the former constitutes unbelievers due to their faith. This was the reason why in the city, Islamic community tend to locate together at Briquet rie neighbourhood than mingling with the Christians. In the same vein, among Christian faiths, there exist disharmonies in their worships. The Catholic church, Presbyterian, Apostolic, Jehovah Witness, among others had little if not much dichotomies in their interpretation of the bible and worship. This to an extent, hindered nation building spirit of unity and integration.¹¹

National integration in an ethnic pluralistic society like the city of Yaounde remained an illusion, though National Unity has been achieved, given the ethnic frontiers, but to an extent. One will affirm without any fear of contradiction that national integration remains theoretical than being pragmatic. For instance, the Bantu, semi-bantu, Shuwa Arab, Kidir, and Tikar cultures among others as well as Christianity and Islam cannot be integrated in the city. In which way should the English and French languages, cultures be integrated in the area? What will be the outcomes? Will these diverse geo-ethnic frontiers be dissolved to create one Cameroon? Thus, National Integration in the capital city remained utopian, given that no culture will be willing to be sacrificed for another.¹²

The advent of multiparty democracy in the 1990s saw the multiplicity of political parties in Cameroon and the city of Yaounde. With a population of about 25.000.000 inhabitants, and about 250 political parties, became bedrock for ethnic tussle for power in Cameroon especially the area under study where ethnic loyalties differentiated political parties. Ngwa and T. S. Ngenge affirm that:

In Cameroon... the ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) of Mr Biya became the Beti party; the Social Democratic Front (SDF) led by Ni John Fru Ndi was personified as the Anglo-Bami Party; the Union des Populations (du Cameroun) (Sic) (UPC) Bassa; Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU) led by Dr Adamou Ndam Njoya, Bamoun; National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) led by Maigari Bello Bouba Hausa/Fulani party of the Grand North.¹³

The putting in domestic policies of National Unity and National Integration was aimed at fostering peaceful co-existence and nation building in the city of Yaounde. Ethnicisation of party politics in Cameroon fuelled disunity and disintegration in the area under research.

¹¹ Alvi, Usman et al, "Strengthening National Integration", pp. 36-38.

¹² Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration in Cameroon 1961-2000", p. 244.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 256.

iii. Linguistic and Naming of Quarters

With all the effort, laws, decrees, arêtes, it appeared like throwing water on a duck's back, given the asymmetric usage of English and French as official languages in the city. For decades since independence, French language has gained hegemony in the area over English language, a linguistic minority in the city.

As earlier mentioned, English language was relegated at the background not only by the majority French speakers in the city but, in the public life of the nation for instance, public documents and notices were produced in French void of English translations in the city, and English speakers from the two regions of Cameroon living in the area were compelled to read and understand. Couple with this, national entrance examinations into some professional schools are set in French only. The official language in EMIA is French and Anglophone candidates are expected to answer them.

Ngwa testifies that the Federal constitution made English and French language equal, however, the two languages are not given equality as official languages especially in the capital city that suppose to be the centre for the promotion and propapagation of equality in the two official languages. Some government officials especially in the city consider English as the secondary language and the English speakers as second-class citizens. Omossolo jean Claude, a Beti (an indigene of Yaounde) testifies that, "Anglophones are often considered as second-class people. There are slangs often used on them such as "va chez vous",¹⁴ and at times, they are considered as "foreigners". The constitution of the new Federal Republic of Cameroon, that began on October 1, 1961, and as partly stipulated in Article 59 of the Constitution, "*the revised constitution shall be published in French and in English, the French text being authentic.*"¹⁵ There is no gainsaying that French language in the city outweighs English language. In the domain of the press, after patrolling the city, it was discovered that most news papers are published in French except for The Guardian Post published in English.

¹⁴ Interview with Omossolo.

¹⁵ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", pp. 106-107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 108-110.

The emphasis laid by this part of the constitution on the authenticity of French language was a clear indication that English language was undermined in the city. According to Omosolo, most French speakers in the city lacked the zeal to speak English language.¹⁶ This was a disuniting factor to nation building in the area. Most Cameroonians especially the Francophone community in the city remained lukewarm to promoting bilingualism in the city of Yaounde, thus, slangs like; “*C’est le Cameroun qui est bilingue, pas les Camerounais*”¹⁷ which means Cameroon is a bilingual Country but the Cameroonians are not, are common slangs in the city.

In the same light, in the police, army, national gendarmerie managed by the ministry of defense based in Yaounde, French remained the language of instruction and even at *Ecole Nationale d’Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) there was only a semblance of bilingualism. In some higher institutions of education, French was the main language of instructions. Looking at the University of Yaounde before 1993, most of its courses were offered in French even though it was the lone university at the time found in the capital city. Other department offered their courses solely in French language except the departments of English Private Law and English Modern Letters which offered their courses in the English language. There was and still remain a serious problem to Anglophone students in some faculties like sciences. They were either obliged to abandoned university studies or go out of the country. Though obliged to study in French, on the other hand, the Francophone students were not obliged to study in English. According to Ngwa and Chumbow:

Since French has a de facto popularity and superiority...Francophones have a less natural urge or stimulus towards acquiring English. This was reinforced by the fact that politically, more French-styled governmental institutions...were preferred for the...government...over their British-styled equivalent with the result that Francophones had no need to effect major adjustments.¹⁸

For instance, in 2005, a research conducted shows that in the University of Yaounde I, out of a total of 980 courses, 90% of the courses were taught in French and only 10% in English. Statistics show that, these students were taught by 696 permanent lecturers of whom a proportion of about 70% were French-speaking and the rest were English-speakers. This was seen as marginalization of English-speaking students in the higher educational level in the city.

¹⁶ Interview with Omosolo.

¹⁷ Jean, and Laure, “The Challenge of Saving Two Languages”, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸ Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, pp. 108-110.

In addition, French language was the domineering language in all the university campuses among students and university staff. Moreover, in the University of Yaounde II, especially in the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences, the language policy of bilingualism was completely suppressed. In a nutshell, all the courses from Level 1 to Level 3 were taught in French language (100%). In the same light, in the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, from Level 1 to level 2, only 33.33% of courses are taught in English. The lukewarm attitude in promoting bilingualism remained a bulwark to Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building in the Capital city. Research equally shows that when English-speaking students spoke in English, their French-speaking classmates at times obliged them to speak in French, “I don’t understand English, say it in French.”¹⁹ This attitude disunited instead of uniting and promoting social cohesion and nation building policies in the capital city.

Nation building policies of national integration and national unity remain unrealistic given the ethnic nomenclature of most quarters in the city. Ethnic character of quarters has been a hindrance to nation building. Ngwa opines that:

In the nation’s capital, Yaoundé, for example, the quarters had glaring ethnic or regional characters. The Anglophones and the Bamileke inhabited the Obili, Biyem-Assi, Etoug-Ebe and Mendong neighbourhoods predominantly. It is no wonder that these quarters of Yaounde were fondly referred to by the English-speaking Cameroonians as “West Cameroon”. Meanwhile, the Nkolndongo, Etoudi, Mvan, Messassi, Effoulan, Mvog-Mbi and Nsam neighbourhoods were inhabited mostly by the native Beti-Fang ethnic cleavages. In the same vein, the Madagascar, Mbangkolo, and Mokolo areas were inhabited mostly by the Bamilekes, while the Muslims remained the predominant inhabitants of the Briquetérie neighbourhood.²⁰

Lack of effective bilingualism and indigenization of quarters was a serious obstacle to nation building in the city of Yaounde.

iv. Marginalisation.

The marginalisation of groups in Cameroon especially in the city of Yaounde remain a bulwark to social cohesion. Minority groups like the pygmy, Mbororo, Anglophones among others do not have equal opportunities in the city compared to the indigenes. The Fang-Beti, a majority appears to be a dominant group in the city of Yaounde. This left the less privilege with mixed feelings. Some believe that, it is a kind of social exclusion by the privilege. Some even describe the city and

¹⁹ Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, pp. 108-110.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 115-116.

the country at large as a “Beti state”, a situation that has fanned the flames of blazing discord.²¹ This is one of the reasons Foncha who brought Anglophones into a union with the Francophones lamented when resigning as Vice President of the C.P.D.M. in the city of Yaounde remarked that, the Anglophone community he fought in bringing into a union with the Francophones are despise, relegated at the background and some were even sarcastic, referred to Anglophones as, “*les Biafraïses*”, “*les enemies dans la maison*”, “*les traîtres*.”²² All these worked against nation building in the city of Yaounde.

v. Mediocracy.

The Cameroon as a whole especially in the area under study gave green light to mediocracy than meritocracy. Privilege is given to regime apologists especially in the area though not qualify and not by excellent or merit. In the academic field especially at the university level like in the various Universities in Yaounde, it was possible to promote a class intelligentsia for collaboration and less critical against the regime. He who could provide justifications for its whims and caprices as well as its excesses was more likely to be promoted to the rank of a Dean, Chancellor, Rector, than the more qualify and critical counterpart. A situation that culminated in “*misère intellectuelle*” in the city.²³ It can be said that, the state served those who could serve it. In the words of late Achidi Achu, the one-time Prime Minister of the Republic of Cameroon in the city of Yaounde said, “*You crash my back I crash your back*”, epitomised the character of the regime in place and a serious setback to nation building in the area under study. For government to appoint an important official in the city, one has to be dis-appointed.

C. Political Challenges: Governance

Masses in the area had no faith in the policies of the government and they relate the bad governance with the failure of the state to protect and privilege its inhabitants. The political leadership has often ignored its youth. Resultantly, the youths feel isolated, ideologically confused, disintegrated, and frustrated. Considering the education system, there existed a massive difference among private and public education sector in the city. This tends to produce the youth with varying degree of

²¹ “Cameroon’s National Integration Strategy”, pp. 48-51.

²² *Ibid.* pp. 213-215.

²³ F. B. Nyamnjoh, “Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Difference”, Article in African Affairs, January 1999, pp. 7-11.

capabilities and potential to excel. Most of these graduates remained unemployed. This was a stumbling block to peaceful cohesion.²⁴

ii. Administration

One of the disheartening factors in political administration in the city was ethnicity. This has been an impediment to social cohesion in the area under study. The administrative organisation of Cameroon especially in the city seems to belong to a particular ethnic group.²⁵ The rise of Biya to the helm of power saw another era of ethnic chauvinism and regional cleavages. This saw a shift of power from the Northern Provinces of Adamawa and North to the Centre province with political domination in the hands of the Fang-Beti-Bulu, indigenes of the capital city of Yaounde.²⁶ It is worth mentioning here that, the coup plotters were constituted mostly the Northern Muslims, which showed ethnic, or religious and regional affiliation to the detriment of national cohesion in the city.

Though the Beti-Fang-Bulu, indigenes of the capital city constituted less than 20% of the entire population of Cameroon, especially in the capital city, they occupied about 43% of the civil service, dominated all the commanding positions of the state, the ministries, corporations, parastatals, the armed forces²⁷, among others. After the 1997 Presidential election in Cameroon, government composition of President Paul Biya based in the city was a clear fact of this domination by the Fang-Beti who are the indigenes of the city of Yaounde. Ngwa posits that:

The Beti-Fang ethnic cleavages established hegemony in Cameroon in the Biya era. The government set-up after the 1997 presidential election was a clear example of this hegemony. At the Presidency, the Secretaries General and the Director of Civil Cabinet were generally from the President's Beti-Fang ethnic group. In the government of 1997, 14 out of 32 ministers with portfolios were Beti, while the three Northern provinces had 7 ministers, the Bassas 3, the Bamouns 1, the Francophone SAWAS 2, and the two Anglophone Provinces with over 4 million people only 2 ministers. In the field of administration and Higher Education, 15 out of 25 Generals in the army; 24 out of 58 Senior Divisional Officers (SDOs) and 3 of the 6 rectors in state universities were Betis.²⁸

Most of these ministers heading some ministerial departments in the city were mostly people of the Beti tribe. Nyamnjoh and Takougang testify that:

Other factors fuelled frustration with the francophone-dominated state in the late 1980s, notably the increasing monopolisation of key posts by members of the President's ethnic group who appeared to be much bolder in staking out claims on the state's resources than had Ahidjo's barons. As of August 1991,

²⁴ Alvi, Usman et al, "Strengthening National Integration", pp. 36-38.

²⁵ Nyamnjoh, "Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Difference", pp. 7-11.

²⁶ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", pp. 120-121.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 122.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

according to Joseph Takougang, 37 of the 47 senior préfets were Beti, as were three-quarters of the directors and general managers of the parastatals, and 22 of the 38 high-ranking bureaucrats who had been appointed in the newly created office of the Prime Minister.²⁹

iii. Micro-nationalism

Like in other African country, nation building policies in Cameroon and the city of Yaounde was being challenged in many aspects. Politically, the existence of micro nationalisms, unpatriotic practices such as: bribery, corruption and embezzlement strangled economic and social equality. Cultural xenophobia and religious dichotomies make it difficult for the establishment of a homogenous community in the country especially in the city of Yaounde. Building national consciousness or nationalism to sustain a nation state was complicated since ethnic nationalism remained a bulwark to national cohesion in the area under study. Cultural and linguistic apartheid remained an obstacle to peaceful co-existence. In the case of Cameroon particularly in the city of Yaounde, such difficulty has been expressed thus:

National integration is jeopardized by ethno-regional jingoism, fanned and sustained by the state. Small wonder then that the notion of national unity is ridiculed. People are overtly encouraged to demonstrate stronger loyalties to their ethno-regional or sub-national groups than to the Cameroon nation. Priority is given to belonging to a group first and the nation second, and this state of affairs engenders the crisis of citizenship as full acceptability in one's fatherland suffers from a delimitation of a geo-ethnic order.³⁰

Electoral processes in Cameroon particularly in the capital city were marred by ethnic affiliations. That is, urbanized people voted along ethnic lines. This indicates that the village, the lineage, the clan and the ethnic group still constituted vital variables in the political system. This has often stimulated debates on the concept of "electoral village." For example, when Mgr Andre Wouking (a Bamileke) was appointed by the Pope in 1999 to replace Mgr Jean Zoa (a Beti) as Archbishop of Yaounde, some Beti elite took upon themselves to *casser le choix du Vatican* in order to "stop the invading strangers."³¹ Micro-nationalism remained an impediment to nation building especially in the city of Yaounde.

iv. Inter-tribal relation

Disagreements had always been part of human life-style and one of the dis-integrating factors if not disunity. Inter-ethnic antagonism in the city was beyond linguistic quagmires. It was a

²⁹ Nyamnjoh, "The Anglophone problem in Cameroon", pp. 207-208.

³⁰ Ngwoh, "An evaluation of nation building policies", pp. 17-20.

³¹ Ngwoh, "An evaluation of nation building policies", p. 244.

conglomeration of political, social, and economic dichotomies, and a nightmare to social cohesion. Conflict between the Beti and Bamileke arose due to provocative slangs used by the Bamileke against the Beti.³² Most often the government preferred cosmetic political solutions to the predicaments plaguing the country especially the city of Yaounde. In the same vein, some political barons resort to tribal, ethnic and political affiliation rather than promoting national interest. This made some researchers to believe that talking about national integration and national unity in Cameroon especially in the capital city, is Utopia, that is, the willingness of an imagined community to live together without discrimination. Engola and Nyamnjoh underlined that:

The system produces trouble-makers, and this includes promoting interprovincial or inter-ethnic conflicts, which the central government regulates and crushes from time to time when things get a little out of hand. The system is interested in nation-deconstruction, not nation-building, national disunity, not national unity, disintegration, not integration.³³

Conclusion

Challenges to nation building in the area under research came in economic, social and political forms. With regards to economic, regional balance, poverty and inflation, unemployment, among others were examined. Concerning the social sphere, marginalization, linguistic and naming of quarters, and so on were our point of focus. In the political domain, micro-nationalism, inter-tribal relations, administration were discussed. All these were repelling factors to nation building in the capital city.

II. PERSPECTIVES

The dreams of internal cohesion and national unity in Cameroon especially in the area under study can only be realized through the promotion of internal unity and harmonious living together unlike forceful National integration. To achieve the dreams of peaceful co-existence and harmonious living together, the following factors are preponderant if not significant especially in the area under research. These include: inclusive and genuine dialogue, egalitarianism in Anglo-Saxon and French legacies, effective unity in diversity, adoption of African democratic realities, and effective decentralization or deconcentration of powers, promotion of democratic values base on African realities.

³² Interview with Ben Francis.

³³ Engola, "Translation and National Integration", pp. 89-104.

A. Effective Unity in Diversity

Given the ethnic pluralism in the area of research, it will be important to promote mutual recognition and respect for cultural value, introduction of common national languages in school curriculum for young people to be able to speak with one voice. Encouraging the respect for natural cultural heritage. Social interaction should be encouraged and practices likely to undermine social cohesion should be discouraged, social inclusion and eradication of vices that may impair living togetherness.³⁴

For national integration to reach its peak in view of promoting national unity in the area under study; tribal, ethnic and cultural dichotomies must be vanished. This can either be achieved through melting pot assimilation or minority assimilation. Its reality can only be achieved via a pragmatic approach, which englobes: mutual understanding, tolerance, living together, inter-communication and unity. Putting asunder ethnocentrism, respecting and accepting good aspects of other cultures, can exterminate inter-cultural or ethnic cleavages in view of putting in place a common culture, a prerequisite to nation building.³⁵

Linguistic diversity in African societies remains an impediment to nation building spirit if not peaceful co-existence. In Nigeria, there are over 200 languages, in Cameroon especially in the capital city of Yaounde; over 250 languages are spoken coupled with the two official languages. Thus, linguistic harmonisation or creation of one language will promote national connection, better still national unity.³⁶ Conducting dialogue between the students belonging to different provinces and cultures in the city to strengthen inter-cultural integration and harmony. Arrange seminars and workshops stressing the importance of nationalism and national unity for a nation along and highlighting the need for tolerance among divergent religious, sectarian and cultural views.³⁷

B. Literature and Language

According to Engola, Literature gives a common image of situations or things in human society. This rekindles the sense of belonging. Engola and Anderson argues that, language and Literature

³⁴ “Cameroon’s National Integration Strategy”, pp. 48-51

³⁵ Engola, “Translation and National Integration”, pp. 89-104.

³⁶ Smock and Enchill, *The Search for National Integration in Africa*, pp. 10-13.

³⁷ Alvi, Usman et al, “Strengthening National Integration”, p. 41.

from time immemorial precisely in the Medieval period has played a preponderant role in nation building:

Speakers of the huge variety of Frenches, Englishes, or Spanishes, who might find it difficult or even impossible to understand one another in conversation, became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper. In the process, they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that only those hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.³⁸

Many authors on research in the domain of literature and language lay emphasis on language and literal translation as one of the vital tools to nation building. To Engola and Desbois: *“La Deffence de Du Bellay illustre le 1320uc de la langue dans la construction du sentiment national, E. Babilair ayant à ce propos insisté sur l’idée que les peuples, pour former une nation, ont besoin de partager une 1320uc langue.”*³⁹ One will not deny the fact that, Cameroon especially the area under study can be seen as a “Tower of Babel” given its pluricultural and multilingualism. As earlier mention, literally translation languages enables cultural exchange and eliminating the tendency of one language trying to dominate the other, and a significant tool in promoting national sentiment and a sense of belonging. The French community found it linguistic identity through literal translation from other languages like, Greek and Latin. Thus, an emerged nation in Europe with a linguistic identity. In the context of the area under study, the melting of all the languages can be giant step in creating a nation with universal values to all.

Being an important tool of communication, language integrate and unit people. Thus, it was for this reason that the preamble of the constitution of the Republic of Cameroon re-echoed its value in nation building as it stated:

Proud of our linguistic and cultural diversity, an enriching feature of our national integration, but profoundly aware of the imperative need to further consolidate our unity, we solemnly declare that we constitute one and the same Nation, bound by the same destiny, and assert our firm, determination to build the Cameroonian Fatherland on the basis of the ideals of fraternity, justice and progress.⁴⁰

Bilingualism remains one of the driving forces to peaceful co-existence and nation building. Seeing the importance of language as a stimulus to social cohesion and nation building, the government instituted the law N°005 of 16th April 2001 which defines the general orientations of

³⁸ Engola, “Translation and National Integration”, pp. 89-104.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

the higher educational system in Cameroon. It highlights in its section five (5) the value that the State attributes to bilingualism as a factor of national unity and integration. Since the adoption of bilingualism in Cameroon, several policies have been elaborated in the capital city to promote these languages. Several decisions were adopted in the form of ordinances, decrees, and circulars, service notes by the State to ensure the spread of official bilingualism in the city and throughout the country.⁴¹ Free lessons on English and French should be offered to all Cameroonians upon registration. Also, admission into any high institution in Cameroon should highly take two official languages into consideration and all the languages be given equal treatment in all sectors be it economic, political and social sectors of the country especially in the city.⁴²

C. Inclusive and sincere dialogue

Inclusive and sincere dialogue remains one of the main factors to harmonious living in the capital city. This should be void of sentiments, it should be inclusive, and including the general will of the people particularly in the capital city and the country at large, the cultural and religious aspects, and ethnic, political, linguistic and educational aspects. The dialogue should be void of bias, trust worthy and respect of personalities from different religious, political, economic and social backgrounds. There is no practical human conflict that cannot be resolved peacefully through dialogue. Ngwa, Nkwi *et al* opine that, “the future of Cameroon as a united political entity seems bleak and uncertain but it will depend on the level and quality of dialogue between the different forces at play conducted in an atmosphere of openness to all in [an] effort to produce an acceptable political construct.”⁴³

Genuine dialogue remains a yard stick in promoting national harmony, peaceful co-existence nation building in the area under study. Failure to institute frank and sincere discussion to resolve internal squabbles emanating from ethnic dichotomies may lead the country to disintegration and disunity. Ngwa and Nsamenang intimates that, “solutions to problems of integrating several assertive identities in culturally plural societies are best found by the people themselves within supportive frameworks of liberal democracy, political fair play and participative governance.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Jean and Laure, “The Challenge of Saving Two Languages”, Pp. 40-41.

⁴² Interview with Nga Zoa Monique.

⁴³ Dze-ngwa, “National Unity and National Integration”, pp. 257-260.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Concerning genuine dialogue as means to resolve conflicts and promote greater understanding and peaceful cohesion among Cameroonians, Ngwa and Nsamenang intimate that:

Any discussion on ... national integration in Cameroon must acknowledge its full diversity; a unique blend of the constituent ethnic heritage cultures and the acquired British and French legacies as super-imposed on an earlier German imprint. This rich cultural diversity must be regarded as a potential national resource that could be harnessed for positive purposes, not a curse or a destructive force. The diversity is a mark of national vitality and an integral component of the national patrimony.⁴⁵

For living together to thrive in the area under research there is the need for people to understand the values and cultures of those they live alongside with. Cameroon is a country with diverse cultures due to the presence of different ethnic groups. Thus, for its people to live in harmony, there must be certain societal ethics that people should adhere to in order to ensure respect for one another's culture and values. Until when individuals understand the values and cultures of others and the manner in which they uphold theirs is taken seriously, living together will remain futile.⁴⁶

Besides, national unity should be envisioned by the government as a way forward for harmonious living among Cameroonians in the capital city. Integration should be encouraged by both parties. French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroonians should both be opened to dialogue and negotiations especially in the capital city. The issue of lavishing blames on people should give way to constructive proposals and these proposals are not limited within the parameters of politicians, as they have proven severally that their agenda can be quite different from those of the people they are supposed to be serving on the ground.⁴⁷ Unity in diversity should be encouraged not only by the government, but also by individuals. Individuals should develop the habit of mutual respect.

As regards the present state of affairs in the country, constructive national dialogue should take precedence. With regard to judicial governance, everyone should be equal before the law. The lawmakers should take into account the people's interest before adopting bills into laws in the parliament. The executive arm of government should act within the ambit of its constitutional prerogatives and should avoid the tendency to dominate the other arms of government. Social cohesion should be among the top policy priorities of the government and other stakeholders in

⁴⁵ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", pp. 257-260.

⁴⁶ Aziz, "The concept and practice of living together", p. 67.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the society. If we all assume the social responsibility of ensuring social cohesion across different segments in the society, the concept and practice of living together will be a reality under research.⁴⁸

One of the predicaments to national cohesion was language. According Dze-Ngwa, the national Anthem of Cameroon both in English and French language have two different versions sang in two separate territories under different conditions, does not reflect national spirit. Thus, re-writing the national Anthem of Cameroon can instil the spirit of nationalism, patriotism social cohesion to all Cameroonians as members one and the same country particular in the capital, a melting pot of all cultures from different angles of the city. Ngwa stated that:

With the above conclusions in mind, it becomes evident that to move the country forward towards greater progress, concord, harmony and sustainable internal cohesion, the country's National Anthem should truly be a "rallying song" which ignites patriotism in Cameroonians no matter where they find themselves: in schools, stadia, in the military, in the various ministerial departments among other places. Each and every Cameroonian should be able to proudly sing and identify with the country's national anthem without any polemics and controversies. In this light, Cameroon's National Anthem should be re-written completely to accommodate the local realities of the country. This will be in line with Prime Ministerial Order No. 005/CAB/PM of 10th January 2007, putting in place of an Inter-Ministerial Committee charged with the normalization and Harmonization of Official State Symbols.⁴⁹

Composing new single anthem for Cameroon that reflects the realities of the English and French speaking Cameroonians can foster national unity and peaceful cohesion especially the capital city of Yaounde. According to Ngwa, "It is in this light that we recommend that both the English and French versions of the national anthem should be the exact translation of one version. Failure to do that, a new anthem should be coined for Cameroon, which will take into consideration the various "inseparable" diversities in the country."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Aziz, "The concept and practice of living together", p. 67.

⁴⁹ Dze-ngwa, "Rethinking Cameroon's National Anthem", pp. 99-100.

⁵⁰ Dze-ngwa, "National Unity and National Integration", pp. 263-265.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study on the Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building in the city of Yaounde from 1972-2018 clearly brings out how people co-existed peacefully in the area, a prerequisite to nation building given that the capital city is a conglomeration of people from various ethnic groups with diverse cultures that inter-mingle among themselves and the efforts that have been made in the area to bring together people of diverse ethnic backgrounds to live in peace in view of building a nation. Considering the fact that the city of Yaounde is situated at the Centre of country in which for decades have been faced with immigration of people from all the four angles of the country with dissimilar cultures. This brought about cultural pluralism in the area orchestrated by the quest for better educational facilities, good health facilities, touristic sites, adventure, the reunification of former British Southern Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon, good transport network, search for job opportunities among others. This necessitated a great need for the formulation of domestic policies of Peaceful Co-existence and nation building in the capital city aimed at amalgamating the diverse cultures in the area to form a nation.

The effort was promoted by the government especially by the Ministries of Basic, Secondary, and Higher Education, the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Public Service, among others based in Yaounde, the political capital of Cameroon as well as many Non-Governmental Organizations.

This work is composed of four chapters. Chapter one entitled “Geo-human Background”, presents the geographical and human settings of the capital city of Yaounde in terms of its geographical location, climate, population structure, linguistic, vegetation, Religion and settlement pattern. It also showed some reasons for the emergence of Yaounde as the capital city of Cameroon. Chapter two is entitled “Bases of Nation Building in the City of Yaounde.” It portrays both human and natural factors that influenced the immigration of diverse tribal groups into the capital city of Yaounde making it a cosmopolitan city, a situation that rekindled the promotion of

peaceful co-existence and nation building policies of national integration and national unity in the area under study. These natural and human factors are broken down into, economic, socio-cultural and geo-political factors. Chapter three entitled “Manifestations of Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building” examined the various initiatives adopted by the state, Ministerial departments, Non-Governmental Organizations among others aimed at promoting Peaceful-Co-existence and Nation building in the capital city of Yaounde.

Chapter four “Challenges and perspectives to Peaceful-Co-existence and Nation Building in the capital city of Yaounde. It presents the various challenges faced by the by the various cultural groupings in co-existing peacefully and the move in building a nation in the city. It ends with some perspectives that can be applied if peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building Strategies are adopted to mitigate some of the predicaments induced by multi-culturalism in the area under study have to be addressed. It has also permitted us to understand the factors that motivated the migration and settlement of various tribal groups in Yaounde, the capital city of Cameroon. Again, how the indigenous people welcomed them and how the people who migrated and settled in the area under study managed to integrate given their cultural dichotomies. All these unifying and integrationist methods implanted by the government however, were not without some Challenges. Challenges here included; the growth of micro-nationalisms and inter-ethnic feuds, regional disequilibrium, formation of ethnically-based political parties, cultural disparities, linguistic barriers, inter-alia.

Despite the Difficulties faced in implanting Peaceful Co-existence and nation building in the capital city of Yaounde, some proposals were put forward to remedy some of the tangles to Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building in the area under study. These include; promotion of effective bilingualism, inclusive and genuine dialogue, egalitarianism in Anglo-Saxon and French legacies, effective unity in diversity, adoption of African democratic realities, and effective decentralization or deconcentration of powers, among others.

The work proposed here was realized through the use of qualitative, quantitative data and field work campaigns carried out among the indigenes of Yaounde and the late settlers (immigrants) in the area. Interviews, Surveys and participatory observations were also applied. After collecting data, it was important for us to do an evaluation through a data analysis and the information was later on presented in a table and graphical forms. From there, it was concluded

that Peaceful Co-existence and Nation Building policies are not being properly managed by the government, the various cutultural groups and partners in the capital city of Yaounde.

SOURCES CONSULTED

Published Works: Books

- Andrew, A., *Political Philosophies & Nation-Building in Cameroon: Grounds for Remaking the Post colony*, Mankon, Langaa Research & Printing CIG, 2016.
- Albert, A. A. S., *Introducing Nation Building and Human Rights In Colleges and Institutions of Higher Learning In Cameroon*, Yaoundé, Mama Press, 2010.
- Ako, *Elements of Physical and Human Geography in Cameroon*, Kumba House Printers, 2020.
- Arrey, P. M., *Essentials of Regional Geography Based Cameroon*, Revised Edition, Buea, Grassroots publisher, 2013.
- DeLancey, M. D., Mbuh, R. N. et al, *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*, Plymouth, Scarecrow press, 2010.
- Eyongetah, T. and Brain, R., *A History of the Cameroon, Second Edition*, London Longman, 1989.
- Epale, S. J., *A Concise History for Schools, Colleges, and the General reader*, Limbe, E & D Publishers, 1986.
- Fanso, V.G., *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, Revised and Updated Combined Edition, Bamkika'ay-Kumbo, Team Work Press, 2017.
- _____, *Cameroon History for secondary Schools and College*, Vol. 2: The Colonial and Post-Colonial period, London period, London, Macmillan, 1989.
- Gilpin, A., *Dictionary of Economic Terms*, London, Butterworths, 1977.
- Johnson, W. R., *The Cameroon Federation: Political Integration in a Fragmentary Society*, New Jersey, Princeton University press, 1970.
- Mbaku, J. M., *Cultures and Customs of Cameroon*, London, Greenwood press, 2005.
- Ngho, V. J. *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Pressbook, Limbe, 1996.
- Neba, A., *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Bamenda, Neba Publisher, 1999.

- Nguasong, F. A., Fualefeh, A., et al, *Cvics and Society*, Second Edition, ANUCAM, 2001.
- Nkwi, P. N., and Nyamnjoh, F. B., *Regional Balance and National Integration in Cameroon: Lessons learned and uncertain future*, Mankon, Langaa research & publishing CIG, 2011.
- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6th Edition.
- Papp, D. S., *Contemporary International Relations*, New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988.
- Smock, D. R. and Enchill, K. B., *The Search for National Integration in Africa*, London, Collier Macmillan Publisher, 1976.
- SOFITOU, *Charms and Colours of Cameroon*, 2013 edition.

Articles

- Bobouin J. G., "Public Discourse, Governance and Prospects for the nation-state project in Cameroon", University of Buea, 2008.
- "Cameroon's National Integration Strategy", MINJEC, CAB, 2015.
- Chang L. W., Azizan B., et al. "National Unity at the University Level: Importance of civilizational dialogue and way forward", University of Malaysia, 2013.
- Engoh, M. A., "The concept and practice of living together in Cameroon: Historical perspectives and common-sense solution", Denis and Lenora, Foretia Foundation, 2019.
- Fauzia S. A., Ahmed, U., et al, "Strengthening National Integration among educated Youth", University of Punjab, 2015.
- GONONDO J., and DJIRARO M. C. L., "The Challenge of Saving Two Languages in Cameroonian Higher Education: The Case of the Public Universities", *Asian Journal of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2016.
- Ien., "Beyond Unity in Diversity: Cosmopolitanizing Identities in a Globaling World", Western Sydney University, 2014, Vol. 60 (1) 1-11.

- John, M. M., "Constitutions, Citizenship and the Challenge of National Integration and Nation-Building in Africa", 2018, Vol. 18, No. 1.
- Lang, M. K., "Christian Churches and National Integration in Cameroon since reunification: A Historical survey", *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS) Volume 3, Issue 2, 2017.
- Megan, M., "Multilingualism in Cameroon: A Sociolinguist's Dream (or Nightmare)." DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.3494.1529, November 2013.
- Piet K., and Francis B. N., "Construction and deconstruction: Anglophones or autochthones?" Vol. 7 No. 1, 2000.
- _____, "The Anglophone problem in Cameroon", *article in the journal of modern African studies*, University of Cape Town, 1997.
- _____, "Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Difference." Article in *African Affairs*, January 1999.
- Stephanie E., "Translation and National Integration", University of Yaoundé I, 2019.
- Venantius, K. N., "Realities of National Integration in Cameroon", *international journal of humanities & social studies*, Vol. 7, 2019.
- _____, "An evaluation of Nation Building Policies in Cameroon since Colonial Times", Vol: VIII, No. II, University of Buea, 2017.
- Willibroad D. N., "Rethinking Cameroon's National Anthem and the Challenges to internal Cohesion: A Historical Review, Fifty Years after Independence and Reunification", *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 7, 2014.
- V. G. Fanso, "Anglophone and Francophone nationalism in Cameroon", University of Yaoundé I, 1999.
- Yvette, M., "Au village!": Space, Culture, and Politics in Cameroon, *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 160, XL-4, 2000, pp. 723-749.

Unpublished Sources: Theses and Dissertations

- Aurrelle, C. J. F., “Urbanisation et Dynamique Culturelle Chez les Ewondo de Yaounde: Etude Anthropologique”, Masters of Art dissertation, department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014.
- Brain A. A., “The Integration of Internationally Displaced Persons within the East Region of Cameroon: Case of Central African Refugees”, 2003-2018, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2021.
- Boniface, H. E. O., “La morgue à Yaounde. Contribution à une analyse Anthropologique du Rituel Funéraire en Milieu Urban”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2014.
- Bissomo, O., “La Justice Indigene à Yaounde sous Administration Colonial (1888-1960)”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.
- Collins, D. P., “The influence of one-party system on the democratisation process in Cameroon 1966-2004 Masters of Art Dissertation, the Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2006.
- Elvis, M. N. D., “Variabilité Climatiques à Yaounde entre 1999-2008”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2010.
- Eloge, F. P. O., “Les Fan-Clubs sportifs dans la Ville de Yaoundé”, Masters of Arts Dissertation, department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.
- François F., “Activités des production et de subsistence d’un espace rural 142ouches par l’urbanisation: L’exemple d’Afanoyoa (Yaounde 3^e)”, Master of Art dissertation, department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2013.
- Grace, M. E., “Schooling and National Integration in Cameroon”, (PhD) Thesis, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London, 1982.

- Ignace, B. N., “L’Esprit d’ Enterprise chez les Bamileke et les Beti au Cameroun: Un Etude Anthropologique Comparée”, Ph. D Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2007.
- Julien, S. N., “Multiculturalité et Enjeux Politiques dans l’Entité Municipale de Yaoundé (1941-2011)”, Ph. D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2015.
- Joël, C. N. A., “Piraterie ou Contrefaçon des œuvres Musicales : Facteurs explicatifs, modes opératoires et impact sur les artistes interprètes à Yaoundé”, Master of Arts dissertation, department of Sociology, University of Yaounde I, 2010.
- Kenedy, Z. Y. S., “Catholic Education in the Development of the Archdiocese Yaoundé, 1955-1990”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2019.
- Lea, E. N. B., “Mode de Consommation Alimentaire et Socialité en Milieu Urbain : Contribution à une Etude de la Restauration de Rue à Yaoundé”, Masters dissertation, department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2010.
- Lydia, E. E., “The policy of Regional Balance in Cameroon-case of Ministerial appointments, 1961-2000: A Historical Appraisal”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2012.
- Michèle, C. B. M., “Les Rites de Purifications Beti à Mvolye entre 1901 and 1998”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2015.
- Mbanam, B. V., “Social Presentation and Management of Public Space by Street Vendors in Yaounde: A Contribution to Anthropology of Development”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2016.
- Mbeck, E. W., “Les Marches de Nuit dans l’Arrondissement de Yaounde Ivème”, Master of Arts dissertation, department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2010.
- Ntsama, O. S. S., “Le Statut et les Activités Informelles des Migrants Tchadiens et Centrafricains dans la Ville de Yaounde”, (1964-2005), Masters of Art Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2015.

- Nicolas, T. O. M., “Islam et Implantation de Mosques dans la Ville de Yaoundé (1936-1997)”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2010.
- Ngoe, E. B., “Multi-sex Partners among the Youth in the Context of HIV/AIDS Pandemic: The case of Yaoundé Municipality”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Yaoundé I, 2006.
- Ngole, I. L. M., “Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants in Meme Division (1960-2005)”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2011.
- Paul, B. E. M., “La Système de Soins de Santé de Yaounde: Un Approach Geographique”, PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2013.
- Pierre, M., “Habitat et Dynamiques Urbaines à Yaoundé”, PhD Thesis, department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.
- Reine, S. F., “Prenatal and post-partum rites amonst the Ewondos of Nkol-Bisson Centre Region Cameroon”, Masters of Art dissertation, department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014.
- Takou, S. R., “Amenagement des Bas-Fonds de la Commune de Yaounde VI: Cas du Bas-Fond d’Etoug-Ebe I, Vallee de Mingsosso”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yoaunde I, 2018.
- Thadée, C. B. B., “Les Relations Entre les Ewondo les Bënë aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2008.
- Timothée, M. N., “La Prise en Charge du Corps en Milieu Urban: Le Case de Tatouages et des Teuwa, T. L. M., “Saisonnalité des Decompensationsdu Diabete: Cas de la Ville de Yaounde”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaoundé I, 2011.
- Tohnain N. L., “Urban Agriculture: An Induced Activity in Yaounde”, Ph. D Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Yaoundé I, 2006.

Willibroad, D. N., “National Unity and National Integration in Cameroon 1961-2000: Dreams and realities” Ph. D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaoundé I, 2006.

Archival sources

ANY, Malfred, AF/13, file N° 128/150, pp. 25-26.

ANY, AF/35, file N° 128/150, 1928, A. F. Malfred, “Organisation of Yaounde Area”, 1930.

Decree № 2017/013 of 23 January, 2017 creating (NCPBM).

Internet sources

Beti-Pahuin peoples, en.wikipedia.org, 6/12/2021

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philomon_Yang, 03/06/2022.

<https://kamerlyrics.net/lyric-39-talla-andre-marie-je-vais-a-yaounde>, 09/06/2022.

Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation, 06/12/2021.

University of Yaoundé I, [en.m.Wikipedia.Org](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/). 06/07/2022.

WWW.infoclimat.fr

www.cameroon-info.net, 17/05/2022.

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yaound%C3%A9_Nsimalen_International_Airport, 02/26/2023.

Oral source

Name	Age	Place	Date
Abe Ngomo	65	Ngoa-Ekele	22/04/2022
Abeng Ebanda Marie Claire Sandrine	34 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	06/04/2022
Adam Bissohong Hoka	60 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	02/04/2022
Akomoneh Relindis	40 years	Mendong	03/06/2022

Ambomo Gisèle Bernadette	55 years	Mendong-Yaounde	02/04/2022
Amougou Mengue Teclé Elisabeth	45years	Mvog-Atanagna Mballa	09/04/2022
Any Agnès Ambani Ze	35 years	Simbock	18/04/2022
Ayikeshi Sammy Tasse	33years	Mendong	04/06/22
Atangana Marie	48 years	Awae	18 /04/2022
Atedjoé Sylvie	58 years	Ngoa-Ekele-Yaoundé	17/04/2022
Awa Mundi	43yrs	Etokos	06/06/2022
Awona Marie Bernadette	52years	Nkoa-bang	20 /04/2022
Babila Franklin,	40 years,	Mbangkolo,	25/04/2022.
Bella Onana Jeanne	32 years	TKC-Yaoundé	20/04/2022
Belongo Laurence	30 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Beng Gregory	40 years	Bankomo	03/11/2021
Benn Ngoh Thomas	72 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	15 /04/2022
Bia Christine	35 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Chia Ephraim	37 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	19/04/2022
Defang Clement	64 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	20/04/2022

Neba Numfor Margaret	55 years	Biyem-Assi-Yaoundé	21 /04/2022
Ebene Dieubeni	73 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Edzoukena Anicet	55 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	20/04/2022
Elandi Felix Dieudonné	48years	Mendong-Yaoundé	15/04/2022
Etede Assala Juliette	35years	TKC –Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Fromin	57yres	Mendong	04/06/2022
Foffe Christian	32 years	Chateau Ngoa-Ekele-Yaoundé	17 /04/2022
Francis Aboki	50 years	Jouvance-Yaoundé	15 /04/2022
Kum Rogers Bache	49 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Mbarga Luke	60years	Mendong-Yaoundé	15/04/2022
Mbono Minkoulou Georges Raphaele	46 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	09 /04/2022
Mbopa Zama Samuel	55 years	Jouvence-Yaounde	10/04/2022
Mboudou Mboudou Armand Justin	50 Years	Eloumdem	09/04/2022
Mekolle Joe	65years	Simbock-Yaoundé	20/04/2022
Mengue Onana	67years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	19 /04/2022
Ndjengue Mireille	45 years	Mendong-Yaoundé	21 /04/2022

Ndzie Marie Laure	32years	Biyem-assi -Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Nga Zoa Monique	60 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	18 /04/2022
Ngo Bama Eveline	49years	Simbock-Yaoundé	18 /04/2022
Nsi Diane Gisele	46 years	Carrefour Bouba-Yaoundé	06/04/2022
Numfor Chrispus	76 years	Biyema-Assi-Yaoundé	21/04/2022
Omosolo Jean Claude	47 years	Messassi	21 /03/2022
Onana Omgba Hermann	63 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	20 /04/2022
Ondigui Owona Vincent Bernard	72 years	Mendong -Yaoundé	18/04/2022
Ondoa Ngo Tang Cecile	30years	Jouvance-Yaoundé	19/04/2022
Owono Antoinette	60 years	Simbock-Yaoundé	18/04/2022
Willibroard Dzee-Ngwa	49	Biyem-assi	12/01/2022
Tchakountio Nguenia Iness	33years	Mokolo	20 /04/2022

Thomas Mbila	57 years	Ekoumdoum- Yaounde	11/04/2022
Zanga Onana Louis Longin	73 years	Etoug-Ebe-Yaoundé	21/04/2022