Local Government Strides in Social Cohesion: Integrating the Fulani into the Fabrics of Community Life in Bamenda Province, British Southern Cameroons

by

Protus Mbeum Tem, Ph.D.
temprotus@yahoo.com
Bamenda University of Science and Technology

Abstract

This study scrutinizes efforts made by local governments in integrating the Fulani into communities where they settled in the Bamenda Province of British Southern Cameroons. Using primary and secondary sources and the historical methods of analyses in presenting data, it argues that the establishment of these institutions by the colonial authorities greatly enhanced cohesion between indigenes and Fulani. Thus, the study concludes that local governments successfully cohered local communities and it is hoped that if this same approach is adopted fervently by governments in diverse ethnic and cultural societies, incessant outburst that are common will be eradicated or curtailed.

Keywords: Local Government, Social Cohesion, Fulani, Bamenda Province and Southern Cameroons

Introduction

British Southern Cameroons[i] like other colonies in Africa was made up of heterogeneous societies and people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds were lumped up into political units. Dominant groups did everything possible to dominate minority factions in these setups. This process was facilitated by the empowerment of paramount rulers or traditional authorities of majority groups as they became native or governing authorities. The native administration system or organisation ignored the rights and privileges of the minority as their fate depended on the whims and caprices of the dominant political groups. This thus laid the foundations of agitations and the politics of disintegration crept in (Tem, 2012 and Ukiwo, 2016).

This was because; minority groups feared cultural assimilation or domination as the British administrative policy was based on the cultural values of the colonial people and that of dominant groups often took precedence. Though it was clear that the customs and traditions of the colonial peoples differ, as indicated in intelligence and assessment reports, and that it would be difficult to rule the people under the same customary authority, the British colonial authorities ignored these differences and went ahead to institute the policy and this resulted to the dilemma of disunity among conglomerated groups. Though recurrent in almost all British colonial territories in Africa, the situation was deplorable in British Southern Cameroons especially in the Bamenda Province, where the Fulani were in the minority and looked upon as strangers by indigenes.[ii]

It was because of this scenario that the British colonial authorities, through local governments, encouraged the integration of all groups in general the Fulani in particular in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Such scenarios of disintegration were not ideal for development and local governments had to work hard to stamp out differences among indigenes and the Fulani. Besides, the Fulani cattle were a welcome relief to the financial burden of the British colonial authorities in territory as they provided a bulk or half of local government revenue in the Bamenda Province (National Archives Buea, NAB, Ja (1950)3, Vol. II). It therefore means that, they contributed so much to the development of the territory (through the payment of jangali tax) and it was not correct to leave them out in the decision making especially on matters that concerned them. Hence, the British colonial authorities thus favoured a policy where all groups/individuals that contributed to the development of their local government areas through taxation were not to be ignored in the decision making process. This goal would best be achieved not only through the integration of the Fulani in local government legislatures, but also in conflict management structures of their communities. As a result of these aspirations of the colonial authorities, moves were made by local governments in enhancing relations between the Fulani and indigenes. This was through the granting of membership to the Fulani in local government legislatures or native authorities and customary courts and co-opting them into the conflict management mechanism structures of local governments. In this way, the Fulani were embraced into the social fabrics of the various societies were they found themselves and cohesion achieved.

However, such successes recorded by the colonial authorities in bringing the two groups together were short-lived as indicated in the surge of conflicts and breakdown of solidarity between the them after independence. This has become so recurrent that conflicts and violence between these two groups have been common place since independence and incessant outbursts have become a characteristic feature of the region. This has led to distrust, disunity and peaceful coexistence is difficult to come-by in some communities. It is because of this scenario in the region and redundancy of the role of local governments played in binding these groups that the study traces the efforts made by these institutions during the colonial period.

It is hoped that central and local governments and protagonists can learn from the past and designed an excellent way for the resurgence of representation and cooperation between the Fulani and indigenes. Before delving into the role these institutions played in social cohesion between the Fulani and Indigenes, it is necessary to highlight the conception of social cohesion and local government's role in its attainment. This framework is necessary for a better understanding of developments in Bamenda Province.

Conceptual Clarification and the Link between Social Cohesion and Local Government

It has been difficult to come out with an acceptable concept of social cohesion though the term has been recurrent in policy discourse and scholarship. The term first caught international focus during the United Nations World Summit for Social Development that held in Copenhagen in 1995. In this conference, the governments of the World all agreed to foster development as they pledged that they had to put their peoples at the centre of development, eradicate poverty, engrained social integration and employment without prejudice (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 1995). That notwithstanding, according to Barolsky (2016), it is the factors that binds society together or better still it signifies the bonding of people and groups into a positive relationship, as Cloete and Kotze (2009) puts it. They go further to argue that it is synonymous to solidarity and cannot be disassociated from community life, social capital and nation building. Hence, it encourages inclusion, participation and is opposed to social exclusion and discrimination especially in heterogeneous societies marked by different races. It may also refer to social connections between the various facets of human societies (Toye, 2007). Furthermore, it may be the process of bringing together various influences of diversity, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of members within a community. It may also be referred to as a set of factors which cohere people together (Duncan, 2007). To sum it all, the European Committee for Social Cohesion (2004) and the Council of Europe (2011) sees it as the ability of a society to ensure the welfare of its inhabitants or citizens through the minimisation of disparities and polarisation.

This therefore means that a cohesive society is one that pursues not only these goals but also creates a sense of common belonging, promotes trust, avoids marginalisation and exclusion of its members. In this vein, the principles or dimensions of social cohesion will take care of human rights and equality, non racialism and tribalism, unity in diversity, inclusivity, social justice, intergroup and community cooperation, social solidarity, active and participative citizenship, participation, recognition, legitimacy, shared values, recognize and tolerate differences among others (Cloete and Kotze, 2009; Duncan, 2007; OECD, 2011; Jenson, 1998; Beauvais and Jenson 2002; European Committee for Social Cohesion, 2014 and Villacorta & Sanez, www.urb-al3.cu). This does not mean that there is an ideal cohesive society but these remains goals that societies can strive to achieve (OECD, 2011). Most of these goals can best be achieved by local governments which are decentralised government structures or units.

Various schools of thought on the impact of decentralization on social cohesion have been advanced by some scholars. For example, Scot (2009) is of the opinion that decentralised structures mitigates conflicts and is a booster to social cohesion and diffuses social conflicts. This is because when groups are brought together into political units and participates in the political processes, their needs may be well articulated based on a stronger sense of affinity. Miller (2002) does not deny this and argues that the link between local government and social cohesion is attributed to the important role played by these institutions in integrating communities. This is because through its participatory style of governance it fosters social cohesion and stability, encourages reconciliation between local groups with the essence of promoting common interests and in this way, all groups within the polity can contribute to nation building. Besides, it lays a perfect foundation or ideal environment for the merging of civic cultures through intergroup cooperation. It also creates an environment of tolerance, trust and confidence among groups within a particular society and mitigates conflicts.

This therefore means that group cooperation through participation in governance will brings the various stakeholders closer together and through this process, understanding will be fostered and divergence, suspicion and mistrust will be minimised. Again, where suspicion or conflicts are bound over interests, local governments may provide frameworks through which this is mitigated and reconciliation may be fostered. Besides, it may also facilitate the identification of group interests, self and common interests; that is; ambitions, ethics and aspirations which may be common and shared by these different groups (Scot, 2009; Miller, 2002 and Vollacorta & Sanez, www.urb-al3.cu).

Background and Problem

The Fulani had migrated into the area in the 20th Century and their presence only came to exacerbate the already aggrieved conflicting situations that existed among the various ethnic groups (indigenes) which were already settled and struggling for dominance in the various native authority units that were created by the British (Tem, 2012; Tem, 2015). The presence of the Fulani with their cattle in 1919 and their acquisition of land from chiefs for grazing laid the foundations for conflicting relations between them and their host communities (Njeuma and Awasum, 1989). The struggle or competition over fertile lands and the incessant destruction of crops by cattle led to the fragmentation of relations between indigenes who were mostly farmers and Fulani that were grazers (Fisy, 1992). Rightly or wrongly, it is believed that, since the chiefs benefited financially from the Fulani with regards to tributes or rents paid for grazing they were not judicious in handling problems of crop destructions reported to them by farmers. As such farmers resorted to violence against the Fulani and at the same time resisting the government and regulations put that were put in place to regulate farmer grazer problems.

This can be justified by the first major outbreaks in 1951 where farmers complained to the Provincial authorities in Bamenda. However, their worries did not a positive response from government. Believing that the government was supporting the Fulani against them, protests against the government and measures to protect their farmlands and crops were orchestrated. This can be exemplified by the birth of the *Anlu* society in Kom. Women came together to denounce Fulani hegemony over their land and the support they were receiving from the administrators among other grievances. This culminated in the 1958-1959 uprising (National Archives Buea, (1951) File No. Qg 1951/2; Nkwi, 2002). This became one of the most serious outbursts in the territory and this ushered Southern Cameroons into independence. The consequence of these outbursts was the deterioration of relations between the Fulani and the indigenes and fragmentation of society. It was within this backdrop that local governments were encouraged to institute policies of cohesion that were to reduce tensions and maintain cosy relations between the Fulani and indigenes.

The Fulani were not interested in the political affairs of their local communities. This is because they were regarded as strangers and an inferior race. While indigenous groups within the native authorities were canvassing for dominance, their principal preoccupation was the quest grazing land. However, their right to land ownership was questioned as they relied only on the benevolence of traditional rulers who were the custodians of this most cherished resource. Their absence in native authorities' legislatures and customary court benches that animated local developments was not a welcome venture. In this direction, their interests laid at the mercies of indigenes that represented their communities in these organisations, legislated for their local government areas and managed local affairs.

The interest of the Fulani was therefore not adequately taken care of. This explains why, allegations to cattle trespass and destruction of crops by Fulani cattle and perpetuated by farmers met with exorbitant fines. Most often than not, these fines were not commensurate to the damage done. The native courts that were managed by local governments and controlled by indigenous judges as well as native authority managers discriminated against the Fulani and levied fines without convincing justifications. Even when farmers did not respect regulations governing farming and grazing, farming on grazing lands or demarcated cattle passages, they were hardly punished. Instead the Fulani were often looked upon as defaulters. Hence, the absence of Fulani representation in local government legislatures, law courts and local government staff made impossible for them to actively participate in decision making especially that issues that affected them. This laid the foundations of discord and cohesion between them and indigenes became a course for concern and efforts were made by the colonial government at instituting policies through local authorities in not only co-opt them into the governing structures of local government but also in mending love-hate relations that existed between these two groups.

Integrating the Fulani as Native Court Members and Local Government Legislators

Before 1948, the Fulani had not been embraced into the social and political lives of their communities. As discussed earlier, they looked upon as an inferior race by indigenes. This argument can be supported by the view of Harcourt, Assistant District Officer for the Bamenda Division in 1948, when he describes them as a people "without any history, no interest in politics or war and were only interested in tending their cattle" (National Archives Buea, Cb(1938) 1). They viewed themselves as strangers and found it difficult in participating in the political and social lives of their communities. Though they contributed so much to the finances of Southern Cameroon, especially in the Bamenda Province, where they had settled, their principal occupation was cattle rearing and these animals became the highest source of revenue to the Local government units of the areas where they operated. In fact, Jangali tax[iii] provided about one-third of the total direct revenue collected in the entire Western Grasslands (Bamenda Division). In spite of this great asset to the development of British Southern Cameroons, the Fulani were neither represented in the Native Courts nor Local government legislatures (National Archives Buea, Cb(1940)1, 1084).

They were needed in the local government legislatures not only to ensure that they actively participated in decision making but also to educate their people on the laws and regulations in force especially those related to farmer grazer problems that constantly cropped up between them and farmers. This was equally true with their presence in native courts. Their presence in these organisations was therefore for harmonious wellbeing between them and indigenes in communities that harboured them in the territory. For instance, due to their absence, it was difficult for farming rules and regulations to be respected by both farmers and Fulani. The farmers constantly farmed along cattle tracts and water traces deliberately in order to attract destruction of crops by cattle and claim damages. Since they knew too well that there was no Fulani in the court or the General Assembly of local governments, the fines or rates charged for damages became so exorbitant but Fulani had no choice than to pay. It therefore means that there was none in these institutions especially in the native courts to protect their interest in the award of fines and fees (Ibid.).

It was because of these problems that moves were made to arrest the situation and make sure that all groups were represented in local government structures and differences minimised thereby initiating a spirit of unity that would enhance development. This was in line with the Resolution of the British Colonial Conference of Governors that held in 1949. The Governors recommended that all local governments had to make sure that all groups with local government areas or jurisdictions were fully represented in the political and social structures of local administration.

This was to make sure that local governments become mediums where all voices would be heard (National Archives Buea, NAB, Jb/g(1948)1, No. 192). It was based on this prescription that the Fulani and other minority groups were granted membership into local government assemblies and native courts after 1949 (National Archives Buea, Ja/g(1949)1). As aforementioned their presence in these structures was greatly encouraged by the colonial authorities because they stood a better chance of convincing their fellow brothers and sisters into accepting legislation passed by these institutions wholeheartedly.

These moves became a veritable catalyst to the development of British Southern Cameroons as policies were taken back to the Fulani by their representatives. One time looked upon as an oppressed group, their interest could now be defended by their own kinsmen and a feeling of belonging became more and more embedded in them. In politics where all elements feel represented in society, policies are easily enforced as ignorance can no longer be claimed as reasons for disrespecting laid down rules and regulations. Though Fulani representation in local government were minimal when compared to the indigenes, like in the case of Wum Divisional Council where they were given two seats, this move was a sign of recognition of diversity and the spirit of oneness forged for the rapid development of the territory.

Furthermore, they were made members of native courts and this worked well in resolving matters concerning farmers and grazers that was a major concern in the Province. To bring more trust and confidence to the Fulani and promote the spirit of corporation, they were also appointed cattle Control Assistants to manage farmer grazer differences (National Archives, Buea (Ci(950)1, No. 106, Annual Reports (Report of 1952) enclosed. Also 1950, 1951, 1953, and 1954)

Fulani in Procurements and Preservation of Grazing Lands and Conflict Management

In order to enhance unity among the indigenes and Fulani, traditional authorities, Ardoen for the Fulani and chiefs for the indigenes were constantly brought together under the auspices of local government before any planting season and grazing and farming areas were designated (National Archives Buea, Cb(1945)1, No. B.635/35/6). This practice became known as the Cattle Control Policy. This worked well in bringing peace and harmony between indigenes and Fulani especially in areas where farmer grazer conflicts were common. For instance, in Mme, the Quarter of Mu and local Fulani Ardo worked out a scheme or plan whereby land was separated into grazing and farming areas. A designated plot of land was farmed for three years and handed over to grazers for the same period of time and the reverse was true. This brought the Fulani and indigenes closer and enhanced understanding between the two groups.

In local governments where such arrangements worked well, the Fulani were encouraged to move their cattle to these those locations. Again, the case of Wum Division stands out distinct. This area was noted for constant outbursts between farmers and grazers but the introduction of this practice encouraged the movement of about three thousand one hundred and five (3105) cattle into the Division from other areas in the territory in 1950, thanks to improve social relations (National Archives Buea, E(1950)2).

To enhance relations between the Fulani and indigenes and bring understanding between the two groups, farming and grazing rules were passed by local governments. In this direction, all citizens were expected to respect such laws and for once, confidence and equality was ignited among the Fulani. To make sure that these rules were respected, Agricultural and Livestock Committees were created and guided farmers and Fulani in the carrying out their activities amicably without fear or favour. They also made sure that the Fulani were given access to adequate land needed for grazing. Where indigenes refused giving them land unjustly, local governments moved in to procure land for them (National Archives, Buea, Gc/h(1955)1, No. LG1845).

Local governments also had to intervene in cases where shepherds, who were mostly indigenes, felt refused taking care of Fulani cattle when they felt exploited leading t tensions. A case in point was in 1950 when Fulani employees refused shepherding the cattle of their masters in 1950 in the Wum divisional Council. Their Fulani employees had turned down demands for increase pay. Fearing that the absence of these employees would lead to widespread destruction of crops by stray cattle, thus endangering peaceful coexistence between the Fulani and indigenes, the Wum local government intervened and called on one of its legislators, Sarkin Samari (a Fulani) to negotiate between the two groups and bring lasting solutions to the conflict. This move was successful and peace between the conflicting parties was restored (National Archives Buea, Ci(950)1, No. 106).

Problems that Militated Against Local Government Endeavours in Social Cohesion

With much effort in intensifying unity and cohesion between the Fulani and indigenes, problems still lingered and peaceful coexistence and corporation was farfetched. This could be explained in the word of Griffith, a colonial administrator in the Bamenda Province, when he noted;

... there has been behind the rift scene between farmers and grazers. It does not appear on the surface, mainly because both sides know how much the administration craves for the peaceful wellbeing of all. But it is there and is being encouraged by a few misguided anti-social beings. Plain fact, that cattle brings in half of the revenue of the Native Authority, that cattle gives meat which is producing a healthy and vigorous population as well as flexible internal economy are being ignored .... Public opinion is being turned around on the belief that the cattle owner is depriving the indigene of his land. Nothing of course is further from the truth. The Fulani ask for the right to graze and nothing more. His only failing is that he prefers his grazing near centres of population (National Archives Buea, NAB, Ja(1950)3, Vol. II).

This gives a vivid summary of the problems that existed between the two groups in spite of the efforts made by the local governments to integrate the two groups.

Such problems were fanned by local officials appointed by local government to arrest the situation and accentuate peaceful co-coexistence. Some Cattle Control Assistants, Local Governments' Agricultural and Livestock Committees and court members, mostly indigenes, were all involved in corruption. They collected bribes from the Fulani/grazers and never handled issues judiciously. At times, they never reported damages caused by cattle because they had been bribes by the Fulani. Conversely, some of them in certain cases, exaggerated the fines and fees charged on crop damages and in this way fanned conflicts and distrust between the Fulani and indigenes. Again, the lack cooperation between Local Government officials was not rosy for cohesion and in favour of conflict resolutions. The poor relations between Cattle Control Assistants and Court Clerks have been singled out as one of the factors that ignited these problems.

However, the inability of local governments to successfully cohere these groups as a result of corruption and the lack of goodwill led to the intervention of the premier for Southern Cameroons. On a visit to the Province on 8th April 1959, he called on all involved in this malpractice to shun them and judiciously manage such crises properly (National Archives Buea, Ja(1959)1). Farmers and grazers also intensified disintegration as they disrespected local governments' advice on the 'fencing in' of their farming and grazing areas respectively to avoid conflicts. The refusal by both farmers and grazers to 'fence in' did not help matters and the resultant effect was conflict and solidity between the Fulani and indigenes dwindled. The Fulani were at times rude and arrogant. They were well noted for rendering insults on farmers when accused of trespassing and with these problems, it was difficult to bring cohesion between these groups in the Bamenda Province.

Conclusion

The examined the role local governments played in the enhancing cohesion between the Fulani and indigenes. The migration of the Fulani into the Bamenda Province in 1919 and acquisition of land for the grazing led to constant outbursts with indigenes. They were constantly accused crops destruction and trespass by farmers and this initiated poor relations between these groups. This state of affairs was not welcome by the colonial authorities who favoured the cohering of the two groups and solidify relations in order to enhance development.

In this direction, they encouraged the integration of the Fulani into local government legislatures where they could actively participate in making decisions that affected their communities. They were not only made members of the Agriculture and Livestock Committee of their local governments but also became native court judges and in this way, they actively participated in taking decisions that had to do with interethnic/intercultural conflicts in general and farmer grazer conflicts in particular. Their presence in the court benches and local government legislatures was not sufficient in realising a cohesive society and the authorities went further to embrace them into other conflict management mechanisms of the Province. Some of them were appointed Cattle Control Assistants and specifically charged with the responsibility of resolving farmer grazer matters. It was therefore hoped that through these mediums, the implementation of government policies that was hitherto absent among the Fulani would be boosted.

In spite of these measures in enhancing social cohesion in the Province, problems still militated against the endeavours of local governments. This was because some officials that had to ensure cohesion between these groups instead accentuated disunity through their activities. Some of them administered justice based on the ability to pay and were not judicious in executing judgements. This only came in to entrenched abate the rift and distrust between the Fulani and indigenes. Besides, cooperation between officials appointed to solve conflicts was not the best as they failed in collaborating adequately when outbursts between the groups occurred. The study concludes that though local government contributed greatly in bringing cooperation between the Fulani and indigenes, some setbacks made these moves abortive and it was difficult to effectively bond them together. This explains why the situation has remained wanting in the area of study since independence and has become more deadly when compared to the colonial period. It is because of the incessant outbreak of these conflicts over the years that the study believes that, the role local governments played in this direction should be reignited. This is because, local governments can best minimise conflict and cohere society together as they understand local realities better than central authority agents who have taken over the management of conflicts between the Fulani and indigenes in Cameroon.

Endnotes

[i] The territory is part of German Kamerun that was annexed by the Germans in 1884. With the outbreak of the First World War and defeat of the Germans in Cameroon by the English and the French, the territory was divided into two by these powers. France named her portion as French Cameroon and the British, British Cameroon. The area of study fell under the British sphere. Unable to administer her territory as a single unit, the British divided it into two and the Northern Part (Northern Cameroons) and Southern part (Southern Cameroons) was attached to and administered as integral parts of British colonial Northern Nigeria and Eastern Regions of Nigeria respectively.

[ii] The area is present day North West Region of Cameroon. Formerly it was a division under the British colonial authorities between 1916 and 1949 and was raised to a Province in 1949. Upon independence, it maintained this same appellation but in 1968, it was re-baptized, North West Province by the federal government of Cameroon. As per the 1996 constitution of Cameroon, the ten Provinces of Cameroon were made regions by a presidential decree in 2008 paving the way for the implementation of this provision in the constitution.

[iii] Tax paid on cattle.

References

Barolsky, Vanessa. (March 2016). Is Social Cohesion Relevant to a City in the Global South? A case Study of Khayelitsha Township. *SA Crime Quarterly No. 55, 17 – 30.*

Beauvais, C. and Jenson, J. (2002). *Social Cohesion: Updating the State of Research,* Canadian Policy Research Networks, Canadian Heritage: Ottawa.

Cloete, Pieter & Kotze, Frans. (2009). *Concept paper on social cohesion/inclusion in local integrated development plans.* Department of Social Development, Republic of South Africa. Available at: www.presidentaward.imprividev.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Social-Cohesion-Final-Draftcorrect-IDP-DSD.pdf

Duncan, Howard. (2007). Social Cohesion. *Metropolis World Bulletin*, Vol.7, September.

European Committee for Social Cohesion (CDCS). (March 2014). A new strategy for Social Cohesion: Revised strategy for Social Cohesion. Council of Europe.

Fisiy, C. F. (1992). *Power and privilege in the administration of law: Land law reforms and social differentiation in Cameroon*. Leiden: Africa Studies Centre.

Jenson, J. (1998). *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research,* CPRN Study F03, Ottawa.

Miller, Keith L .(2002). Advantages & disadvantages Of Local Government Decentralization: A Presentation to the Caribbean Conference on Local Government & Decentralization, at the Ocean View International Hotel, Georgetown, Guyana, June 25 to 28, 2002.

National Archives Buea, Cb(1938) 1. Annual Report. Part II, Native Administration Affairs, 1938.

National Archives Buea, Cb(1940)1, 1084, Bamenda Division: Annual League of Nations Report, 1940.

National Archives Buea, Cb(1945)1, No. B.635/35/6, Annual Report, 1945, Bamenda Division.

National Archives Buea, Jb/g(1948)1, No. 192, Conference of Governors, 1949.

National Archives Buea, Ja/g(1949)1, Bamenda North Western Federation of Bikom, Aghem, Bum, Fungom, Esimbi and Beba-Befang Native Authority, 1949.

National Archives Buea, Ci(950)1, No. 106, Annual Reports (Report of 1952) enclosed. Also 1950, 1951, 1953, and 1954.

National Archives Buea, E(1950)2, Bamenda Province Annual Report, 1950-1951.

National Archives Buea, Ja(1950)3, Vol. II, Wum Divisional Native Authority, Bamenda, 1950.

National Archives Buea, (June 1951), File No. Qg 1951/2. Stating the Report on the Bambuluwe Farmer-Grazier Dispute and Settlement Thereof.

National Archives Buea, Gc/h(1955)1, No. LG1845, Handing Over Notes.

National Archives Buea, Ja(1959)1, Minutes of the Wum Divisional Native Authority Council Meeting with the Premier.

Njeuma, Martin Z. and Nicodemus F. Awasom (1990). The Fulani and the political economy of the Bamenda grasslands: Opportunity and Conflict, 1940–1960. *Paideuma*, 36, pp. 217–233.

Nkwi Walter Gam. (March 2003). The Anlu Factor and the 1959 Elections in the British Southern Cameroons: The Case OF Kom Fondom, 1958-1961. *Epasa Moto: A bilingual Journal of Arts, Letters and Humanities,* Vol 1, No. 06: 155-175.

OECD. (2011). *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World: Executive Summary*. Available at: www.oecd.org/site/devpgd2012/49067839.pdf

Scott, Zoë. (May 2009). Decentralisation, Local Development and Social Cohesion: An Analytical Review. GSDRC Research Paper.

Tem, Protus Mbeum (2012) Political Dissent and Autonomy in Wum Local Government, Southern (West) Cameroons, 1957 – 1968, *Lagos Historical Review,* Volume 12, 2012, pp. 83 – 102.

Tem, Protus Mbeum (2015) Proliferation of Native Courts in Wum District, Southern Cameroons, 1921-1939, *Lagos Historical Review,* Vol. 15, 2015, pp.59 – 76.

Tem, Protus Mbeum (2016) Conflicting Pre-colonial Relations as Foundations of Frosty Associations between the Aghem and Her Neighbours in Colonial Administrative Units, 1921 – 1937, *Saber and Scroll Journal of History*, Volume VI Issue I, Autumn 2017.

Toye, Michael (2007) Social Cohesion: International Initiative for Cities. Parliamentary Information and Research Service.

Ukiwo, Ukoha (2016) Creation of Local Governments Area and Conflicts in Nigeria: the Case of Warri, Delta State. Paper Presented at the CRISE West Africa Workshop, March.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. (1995). *Social Cohesion in East Africa*. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.

Villacorta, Alberto Enriquez & Sanez, Carlos M. City Strategies and Local Social Cohesion. Barcelona: Deputacio de Barcellona, www.urb-al3.cu.