

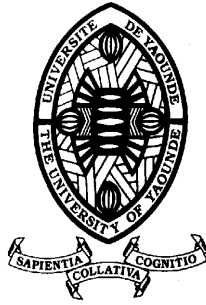
UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I
THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

**FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES ET
SCIENCES HUMAINES**

**CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN
SCIENCES SOCIALE ET EDUCATIVE**

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

DÉPARTEMENT D'ANTHROPOLOGIE



**FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS
AND SOCIALS SCIENCES**

**POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL
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**DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR
HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

**MBORORO WOMEN AND INFORMAL ACTIVITIES
IN YAOUNDE CAMEROON: AN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
award of a Masters Degree in Anthropology**

Specialization: Anthropology of Development

By:
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ACADEMIC YEAR 2021-2022

To

My late mother, Ntsang Eveline.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND INITIALS

A. ACRONYMS

ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council

ILO : International Labor Organisation

MBOSCUDA : Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association

MINPROFF : Ministre de la Promotion de la Femme et de la Famille

NIC: National Institute of Cartography

REFLECT: Re-generated Frierean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques

WID: Women in Development

B. INITIALS

FFAC : FORUM DES Femmes Autochtones du Cameroun

MW: Mbororo Women

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD: Organization of economic cooperation and development

UN: United Nations

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ABSTRACT

This research entitled, *Mbororo Women and informal activities in Yaounde Cameroon: An Anthropological perspective* analyses the perceptions of women in her socioculture in a contemporary labor market

In effects, the Mbororo are a group of nomads that practiced transhumance with their cattle in search of pastures. The women displaced themselves with their husbands and these men were the ones taking care of their families through the sales of these cattle. The women were considered for reproduction purposes, seeing to the wellbeing of their husbands and families. This in consequence made the mbororo woman entirely dependent on their husbands to meet their needs. She did not have the right to carry out an activity outside the confine of her home order than milking the cows. Even when she had to go out for one eran, there was a male relative to accompany her; this act is called mahram.

Nowadays, there has been a change in the way of living due to many factors such as sociocultural, which are internal and external, farmer grazer conflicts, climatic conditions that no longer favors cattle herding. The social and political factors, civil societies.

Again, the emancipation of the mbororo woman created more awareness on women's independence. The men who in the past were responsible in taking care and sustaining their families could no longer fully do it. The major objective of this study is to know; what are the fundamental cultural background of the mbororo woman's activities in the town of Yaounde? Our principal hypothesis is that the activities practiced by the Mbororo women are linked to their cultural habits but with modernity, they are interested in the types of activities that would be secondary.

To collect and treat our field data, our research was based mostly on a qualitative research method with the use of appropriate techniques to collect data. At the end of our collections, thirty (30) informants were interviewed through in-depth interviews. To further interpret our field data, we used the theory of *Cultural Dynamics* and *making a future* a construction of the future by Bourdieu and Jennifer.

Our research results show the changes in the power relationship between the male and the female given another social configuration in the homes of the mbororo couple. The mbororo woman now avocates for her independence and the wellbeing of her family. Majority of these women do not depend on their husbands to contribute in the advancements of their homes. Notwithstanding, certain men through this women's independence think their power is gradually disappearing because amongst many others, globalization and the awareness of women by certain civil society.

Keywords: Informal activity, Mbororo women, Local perception, Yaounde.

RESUMÉ

Cette recherche intitulée *Femmes Mbororos et activités informelles à Yaoundé Cameroun : une perception Anthropologique* analyse les perceptions des femmes de cette socioculture dans le monde du travail contemporain.

En effet, les mbororos en général et les femmes mbororos en particulier sont un groupe nomade qui est de temps en temps en transhumance avec leur bétail à la recherche du pâturage. Les femmes se déplacent aux côtés de leurs époux et les hommes étaient les responsables de la famille à travers la vente du bétail. Les femmes ont le rôle de reproduction de la famille, s'assurer du bien-être du mari. Par conséquent, la femme mbororos dépend entièrement de son mari car il subvient entièrement à ses besoins. Elle n'avait pas le droit d'exercer une activité que d'accompagner son mari à gérer le bétail. Par ailleurs, sa mobilité hors de la maison familiale est accompagnée par un *mahram*, un proche parent.

Aujourd'hui, il y a renversement de tendance à cause de plusieurs facteurs à la fois interne et externe à la socioculture : la crise économique, les conflits entre agriculteurs et éleveurs, les conditions climatiques défavorables au pâturage, les facteurs sociaux et politiques, les arguments de certaines sociétés civiles,

L'émancipation de la femme mbororo a créé une prise de conscience sur l'autonomisation de la genre féminine. Les hommes qui étaient par le passé, les responsables de la famille n'arrivent plus subvenir aux sollicitations de la famille. La question principale de cette recherche est celle de savoir : quels sont les fondements culturels du travail de femme mbororo dans la ville de Yaoundé ? L'hypothèse principale est que l'autonomisation de la femme mbororo à travers la pratique des activités génératrices de revenu influencerait la relation de pouvoir entre l'homme et la femme dans une société autrefois caractérisée par la prééminence du pouvoir de l'homme sur la femme.

Pour collecter et traiter les données de terrain, la recherche est basée essentiellement sur la méthode qualitative avec l'usage des techniques et les outils appropriés. A la fin, trente (30) informateurs privilégiés ont été interviewés à travers les entretiens individuels approfondis. Pour interpréter les données de terrain, on a pris appui sur la théorie dite « *making a future* », la construction de l'avenir de Bourdieu et Jennifer.

Les résultats de la recherche montrent que le changement de relation de pouvoir entre l'homme et la femme a donné une autre configuration sociale dans le foyer du couple mbororo. La femme mbororo lutte aujourd'hui pour son autonomie et le bien-être familial. La plupart de ne dépend plus le soutien du mari pour contribuer à l'avancement du foyer. Cependant, certains hommes, à travers cette autonomisation de la femme, pensent leur pouvoir d'antan est en train de disparaître à cause entre autres de la mondialisation ou la conscientisation de la femme par certaines sociétés civiles.

Mots clés: Activité informelle, Femmes Mbororo, Perception locale, Yaounde.



INTRODUCTION

This introduction on this work, mbororo women is carried out to show the different activities carried out by the Mbororo women in Yaounde. In this chapter we are going to explain the context of our study, our justifications, our questions of research, hypothesis, objectives and methodology.

1. CONTEXT OF STUDY

This work is entitled “*Mbororo Women and Informal Activities in Yaounde: An Anthropological perspective*”. It is an Anthropological study that tries to examine the different activities carried out by the Mbororo Woman in a contemporary globalized world. The Mbororos are the largest nomads in the world found in countries such as East Africa (example; Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia), West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana) North and Central Africa that moved from place to place in search of pastures. The Mbororos are a subset of the Fulbe who are dispersed over the Sahel and the Savanna Belt from West to East Africa (Boutrais 1994)

The Mbororos are also known as the “Wodaabe” which in the Fula language, “Woda” means “taboo” and “Wodaabe” mean “people of the taboo” that is, they respect tradition (1983:483-504). The Mbororo to an extent are always seen as descendants of the Fulanis but have some little divergence. According to De St. Croix (1986:2), the Mbororo are those Fulani who are people who respect their culture and are nomads because of their cattle while the Fulbe Hausa are also known as the Peul that have as descendants the Egyptian who have given up the traditional mode of life for luxuries in towns and cities. The reason why we do not really see major differences between the Mbororo and the Fulanis Hausa is the fact that they have similar cultures. The little divergence perceived is the Fulani Hausa who are predominantly economist owning small scale shops and selling food to the Hausa and the Mbororo especially during village market days while the Fulani Mbororo are more of transhumance (Pelican Michaela, 2006). As cattle herders, movements were predominantly done at the peak of the dry season and return during the raining season or translocate to other new areas. They practiced transhumance movement down the valleys in search of water and greener pastures for their cattle that was their sole means of living. They practiced virtually three types of transhumances; transhumance of over more than 1000Km, transhumance up to 700Km and transhumance of 100Km (Hindou Oumarou; 3)

As main activity, the Mbororo man lives solely on cattle rearing which is an important aspect of their cultural heritage (Majou Issa, 2017). This characteristic of cattle rearing gave

the Mbororo man an inheritance that he cannot leave without since the cattle have become part of his identity and personality. The cattle in the Mbororo man's culture are regarded as authority, power and influence over the others. Their women in general do not have a say in the cattle rearing since they are considered as subordinate and as property to their husbands meant for reproduction and the wellbeing of her household (Aeisatou Bouba; 2012). Their women generally squeezed the milk out of the cows which is taken for their breakfast. According to Aeisatou Bouba, 2012 *"the women were normads alongside their husbands"* their role of livelihood within the compounds were allocated according to gender. The women had milking rights, which they squeezed the milk every day where some was used as food and some used to make butter, but they did not have the power to sell the cattle. They had the responsibility in taking care of the household tasks, such as fetching firewood, water carrying, cooking and child bearing (Jabiru Mohammadou 2018; 2). The women remained in the domestic sphere of the house, having no access to capital and were considered as subordinate to their husbands (Njeuma M and Awasom N 1989). They had the right to stay only indoors and even when they had to go out, they had to cover or veil their faces (Maharab) and was accompanied by one of the relative (Pelican M. 2008). They were confined by the Muslim religion to be for reproduction purposes and expected everything from their husbands who they considered as their gods. She was considered by Islam to be a babe as stated by an historian, she is *"a babe, a minor, a ward, a person incapable of doing or acting anything according to her own individual taste, a person continually under the tutelage and guardianship of her husband"* (Jamal Badawi 2007:5). They adhere to the basic requirement of the Qur'an as thought by Mohammed. In all their simplicity they are also known to be modest, patient loyal and uphold the Palaaku which prevent them from expressing needs or discomfort or showing emotions.

With the coming of globalization, a clearer view of the Quranic, the Surahs and the Hadith, throws in more light on the status of the Muslim woman. The Qu'ran gives a picture on the equality between the male and the female as it states in S. 9: 71 *"...that men and woman are "protecting friends" to each other, to enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil. He created for you mates from among yourself, that you might find rest and joy in them"* (Christel G. 2015). Also, with the emancipation of the Mbororo woman with the creation of MBOSCUDA (Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association) in 1992, and other recent associations that advocated for social change in the Mbororo community especially for women and girl children through their various programs; of sending the girl child to school

and others into professional training programs. Migrating to major cities in Cameroon and seeing a different life style and its way of doing things caused them to adapt in their new environment with diversities. Thus, we could say, the Mbororo women in a contemporary world of globalization do perceive life different from the past. The gradual change from a typical nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary lifestyle has in recent years brought modification of interaction between the Mbororo and the different cultures.

2. JUSTIFICATION ON CHOICE OF STUDY

There are two fundamental justifications for the choice of our research study: “Mbororo women and Informal activities in Yaounde. They include personal and scientific justifications.

2.1. Personal Justification

Having originated from the North-West Region of Cameroon, and travelled often for holidays during my childhood, the Mbororo who are part of our community were most regarded as nomads and people who had as main activity cattle herding. They lived in the hill tops far from the village community. The men were the ones seen in most cases during village market days to buy some food items such as salts, maggi, oil and any other item that would be enough to carry them on still the next market day. The men or the matured boys carried out the buying for their ladies for the household. These Mbororo people concentrated on their cattle to the extent that they gave out some of their lands to the villagers, selling them cow dung to carry out gardening. The villagers grew vegetables such as carrots, cabbage, leeks, green spices, cocoyams, potatoes and many other agricultural products. The proceeds from the farm when harvested had some given to the people in gratitude for the land given.

In recent times, there has been a change in the mentality of the Mbororo people especially the women who now go to the market in various market days to get the necessary food items and much more. They no longer to an extent give out their farms, but do pay villagers to cultivate the farms for them. In some extreme cases, some of these women own gardens that they take care of in their free time as they grow food crops such as vegetables, cocoyams and maize. They harvest the different farm produce and do sell excesses in those village market days. Being in Yaounde, the rate of these Mbororo women into petit businesses has been on an increase as most of them do their best to get something doing. This marveled me on how the Mbororo communities, especially their women could get more and more involved in their autonomy by involving themselves in informal activities. These activities

have witnessed some influence in the Mbororo woman and this drift has made them adaptable to the society. Coming to town we see a multitude of these women going about activities both informal and formal.

2.2. Scientific Justification

Anthropology as a science helps and permits us to understand the different cultures, its drift, in an in-depth manner. It furthers contributes to the knowledge, its comprehension in the society and how it is estimated and valorized in that socio culture. Thus, studying Mbororo women and their informal activities in Yaounde, will modestly contributes to the perception of who the Mbororo Women were and their drift from a solely nomad and dependent life style to a more sedentary and independent lifestyle. This has gone a long way to improve their standards of living thereby bringing a significant development in their own life and community.

3. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Mbororo people in Cameroon predominately had as culture cattle rearing in the 19th century (Frantz 1970). This was an important part of their lives as they moved from one place to another in search of pastures. This is because the cattle were regarded as power and fame, and was practiced mostly alongside their families. The Mbororo woman before the early 20th century was seen by her culture to be respectful and submissive to her husband (Asisatou Bouba, 2012). They assisted their husbands in the cattle rearing with the sole work of squeezing the milk out of the cattle every morning and was used as food and/or exchanged. These women who were considered as subordinate to their husbands, (Njeuma M and Awasom N 1989) had to stay indoors and even when they had to go out, they had to cover or veil their faces (Maharab) accompanied by one of the relatives (Pelican M. 2008). They were confined by the Muslim custom to be for reproduction purposes and expected everything from their husbands who are considered as their gods. They were sent into early marriages at the ages of twelve (at puberty) and did not have a say or the right to do what she pleased. To this effect, they were seen as personal properties by their husbands (Aeisatou Bouba 2012). This factor led to an increase in the illiteracy level of the Mbororo woman to 98% in 2011, making them less educated. Also, due to distance (since they mostly lived on hilltops and mountains) it was quiet far from the community school.

In recent times, the Mbororo community has become more sedentarized, as more settled in the different regions of Cameroon. This settlement is due to diverse factors that they

faced; such as environmental, political and socioeconomic factors. The rapid change in climatic conditions (lack of pastures for their cattle, drop in the waterbeds, famer grazer problems) made them to settle in other places. Some of this migration into the cities saw a different turn in their lives, as they were not able to pasture cattle due to the lack of grazing land, unfavourable climatic conditions. The economic reality of the city became more real as it presented bills to be paid. The diversity they found in town made it possible for them to be able to seek for different means of survival. They practiced agriculture in which they grew more of diverse food crops for their household and sell excesses in local market days.

The rising associations brought awareness and curb the level of poverty making women to express themselves as helpmate to their household than before. The different programs brought up educated and trained the women in one or two activities. Thus, from a sole dependent lifestyle in the past decades, the mbororo women who are in town do now involve themselves into diverse informal activities enlightenment and created more of awareness on the side of the advocate who brought it to the level of their community (Pelican M 2012). Furthermore, there was more awareness of the Quranic scriptures regarding the Mbororo woman that enabled and promoted women to be more influential in assisting their husbands to the welfare of their household. According to the Quran in 4:1 and 7:189, *“He created man and woman from a single soul (person) and made his mate of like nature in order that He might dwell with her (in love). And further, S 9:71 continues “that men and women are “protecting friends” to each other, to enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil. He created for you mate among yourself that you might find rest and joy in them. (Christel Gschwandtner 2007).*

4. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Culture defined by Edward B. Tylor is *“that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, custom and any other capacity and habits acquired by man as a member of a society”*. As seen in the above problem, and contextualizing it, the Mbororo were solely cattle herders alongside their wives (who were a great support to them mainly in the milking of the cattle and the production of local maid butter and other associated dairy products) as they practiced pastoral nomadism and/ or transhumance. Despite the respect and submission of the Mbororo woman to their customs and tradition of her community, she was subjected to the role of a house wife meant for reproduction, to cater solely for her family; to see to the wellbeing of their needs and was limited just to the confine of their imidiata habitation which did not give her the access to do some basic needs like going

to the markets. Considering the changes in the economy; getting into small scale businesses, social; the more and more emancipations of the mbororo woman and their young girls, cultural and environmental differences, they have gone beyond their tradition and customs for survival.

To this effect, we researched on the importance, the perceptions of informal activities in the life of Mbororo women and to their communities. As an economy sector, informal activities can also bring development which goes to improve the living standard from a point 'A' to the point 'B' with a necessary change. Development according to Mbonji E. (1998 :17), *“le developement n'est pas une chose qu'on l'importe dans nos societes mais un processus qui a pour principe et pour finalite l'homme et sa personalite culturel »*. From this definition, we will see how Mbororo women use their personality and cultural activities to improve their living standards. How has the different NGOs (MBOSCUDA,) and other different associations given them a context to choose and follow in the mist of their culture trying to incorporate globalization and emancipation. Thus, how has the question of globalization, association such as MBOSCUDA and other factors have an impact in the culture of the MBORORO women?

5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To be able to attain our objectives in this study, some questions must be posed to help us understand the different activities done by these women and to an extent see how profitable it is to them or not. So, we posed a central research question and secondary questions.

5.1. Central Research Question:

Why are there changes in the activities of mbororo women?

5.2. Secondary Research Questions:

We have three secondary questions. They are as follows;

5.2.1. Secondary question n1

What are the types of activities practiced by Mbororo women?

5.2.2. Secondary question n2

How do these activities have as impact on gender relationship in the community?

5.2.3 Secondary question n3

Under what circumstances do these activities contribute on the welfare of the household?

6. RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

Hypothesis can be defined to as a temporary answer brought by the researcher on the research questions. Hypothesis are either confirmed or rejected in a research study. In this research work, we proceeded with a central or principal hypothesis and secondary hypothesis.

6.1. Central research hypothesis

Mbororo women have moves from being just house wives to nation builders due to climatic changes, modernity, etc.

6.2. Secondary research hypothesis

We have three hypotheses for our work. They are as follows;

6.2.1. Secondary research hypothesis n1

The activities practiced by the Mbororo Women among others are tailoring, selling of Kossam, loin fabrics, restuarant and many others.

6.2.2. Secondary research hypothesis n2

Men in the past were the sole income earners and the women depended on them but with modernity, the gender relationship has been affected.

6.2.3. Secondary research hypothesis n3

The activities practiced by the mbororo woman enable her to provide for her basic needs and to assist her husband in the running of her home.

7. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

It brings out the goals the study wants to attain through our question of research and hypothesis; we have goals to attain at the end of this study.

7.1 Central research objective:

To understand the different cultural dynamics amongst the Mbororo community.

7.2. Secondary research objectives

This includes three objectives;

7.2.1. Secondary research objectives n1

To demonstrate how cultural change influence Mbororo woman

7.2.2. Secondary research objective n 2

To describe how the different activities affects gender relationship

7.2.3. Secondary research objective n 3

To show the contributions that these activities bring to the Mbororo woman in their household.

8. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

From the Greek word “Methodos”. It means a pathway a researcher will use to attain his objectives. Methodology can be defined as a systematic way or path a researcher will use to solve a problem by logically adopting various steps. Our research work, have as objectives to understand the different perceptions of the women working, to know the different activities carried, its effects and its relationship to gender in the capital city. Our research flows on a descriptive and explanatory design of our results. Descriptive since we have described the different kinds of activities carried out by these women and explained their effects on them. It is important for us to emphasis that our research methodology is a Qualitative one. We used this to have an in-depth of the activities done and its reasons.

8.1. Target and Sample population

Our target samples in this study are Mbororo women and other people related to them, their surroundings in general. These Mbororo Women are those women involved in the different businesses in the city of Yaounde. Moreso, any other person involved in these businesses are doing such for their husbands and family in general.

8.2. Sampling Method

Sampling can be defined as a process wherein a researcher selects informants from a given population based on a given variable. Informants who are a representative of the entire population. Purposive sampling was used as our method in sampling informants. In this light, we were interested on the Mbororo women, educated and more of the none educated who could provide answers to our research questions. Mbororo Women involved in business gave us answers on the type of activities they do and its different effects. We had responses on the

perceptions of gender relationships from people related to these women such as their husbands, and the Muslim community at large.

8.3. Sampling Technique

According to Russell (2006), *Snowball is that technique in research that use key informants and/or documents to locate one or two people in a population and then you ask them to locate other people whom you might interview.* In our studies from the Mboscuda women's meeting, we had a lot of different other business women owning small businesses. We interviewed who were kind enough to direct us and give us contact of different Mbororo Women.

8.4. Sampling Procedures

Our sampling procedures, viewing that we got our major contacts during the women's meeting at the MBOSCUDA headquarters; we proceeded in calling these key women. They gave scheduled time with us at their various respective residences and upon finishing with our interview, we asked if they had anyone else in mind for us to interview and some responded by giving us the contacts of the others and another accompanied us to another woman.

8.5. Sample Size

Using the Snowball technique, we were able to interview 30 mbororo women carrying out businesses. We also interviewed husbands to these women, 5 uneducated Mbororo men and 5 educated men. Our informants varied in ages, sexes, marital status, religious background and level of education.

8.6. Data collection Methods

Given that our research methodology was principally Qualitative, which seek to understands the perception of work of the Mbororo woman in the Mbororo community in town; our techniques for data collections were solely qualitative. This permitted us to have a wider range of their perceptions of them working in town. The qualitative techniques we used included: in depth interviews, focus group discussions, direct observation and participant observation. Furthermore, we collected data through documentary research to complete our data from the informants.

8.7. Secondary data technics

Nothing is new in scienc, with this notion we consulted documents from the library of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences (FALSH) at the University of Yaounde I, at MBOSCUDA, the rural council of Etoudi and the online Genesis Library. In addition, we had documents downloaded on Google, Wekipedia.

8.8. Primary data collection technics

In regard to our study, the following technics below were used to collect data

8.8.1. Participant observation

This is a technic of research where the researcher is present and takes active part in the phenomenon under study. Here, we involed in the activities these women were carrying out. We participate in seeing them making folere, mbaoba and seeling food at their restaurant.

8.8.2. Direct observation

Direct observation is that technique in data collection whereby the research watches people and records their behaviors on the spot (Russell 2006). Observation is important because it gives the opportunity to the researcher to complete her necessary information.

In this technique, we watched some of the women carrying out their businesses such as the selling of croket, selling of already prepared pap. This helped us to see the different ingredients used to do business.

8.8.3. In depth Interviews

This is the process of data collection by where the researchers ask questions to the informant or respondent to obtain the information required. This technique gave the informants a wider range to express themselves on the given topic. We had interview guides for the mbororo women on their various activities, we had questions on the impact it had on the gender relationship and how it affected their welfare as a family. We also had guides for other informants such as the men. At the end of our interview, we had 30 interviewed.

8.8.4. Focus group discussion (FGD)

It is a qualitative technique of data collection that involve the discussion or exchange of informations by the researcher and the informants. We conducted two FGD with the Mbororo women doing business. This FGD will help us to obtain the different points of view of the participants on the topic. We carried out our different focus group discussion on

different days suitable for the women. We had 4 main focus group discussions with the women on different meeting days.

8.8.5. Life story

We used this technique to enable people to describe to us their life experience from the nomad life style to a sedentary lifestyle of activities in Yaounde. In addition, the various experiences they have as they involved themselves in an activity.

8.9. Data collection tools

There are different ways we collected data from the field. We had three major types of data; they include written data, oral and iconographic data. To have our written data, we used pens, notebook and a sound recorder. Our iconographic data such as pictures and maps, we used camera.

8.9.1. Camera

We used a phone camera during our field research. This phone camera enabled us to capture images that we used in demonstrating our data. In this study, we took pictures of the different activities of the women and this permits our reader to have a general view of our field realities.

8.9.2. Note book and pen

These research tools were used to write down all the important information from the informant in the field during our research. Our notebook and pen helped us during our literature review in study centers that was important for our study. We used these tools during our in-depth interviews and focus group discussions in pertinent information.

8.9.3. Interview guide

An interview guide is a sheet of paper where the researcher writes down a series of questions to be asked to his potential informants. To this light, we had our different interview guide for the women doing business, their husbands and for the community around. These interview guides helped us.

8.9.4. Sound recorder

We used a sound recorder to record interviews sessions in the field. A sound recorder is an electronic device used to record oral sounds. This device was mainly used during in-depth interview.

9. ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Our data management was done typically using the manual way. From our sound recorder, we classified our data into different category upon transcriptions and we later followed in the categorization into different themes, followed with the analyses of our data. This analysis will proceed from the data collected on the field to be analyzed using classification. We did a codification of these data after doing our transcriptions into the laptop.

10. INTEREST OF STUDY

The already exist many literatures on the Mbororos of Cameroon done by many different researchers which have gone a long way to create awareness on the Mbororo people in general. From the different literature reviews done, many researchers have worked on different issues such as; Mbororo as a minority people (UNESCO 2004; 10), farmers-herder's conflicts (Awason N. 1992) and many others. This *work Mbororo women and informal activities in Yaounde*, do have both theoretical and practical importance. Looking at the theoretical importance, this work has used a contemporary and a classic theory as it brought some diversity and discovery of another theory in the field of Anthropology. As a practical importance, our contribution in this paper is to present a new phenomenon of the Mbororo woman actively involved in different informal activities in the town of Yaounde and presenting that no society can be developed living in isolation to others. In addition, it shows to what extent they have been able to change the perceptions of how they are looked upon. It portrays how these Mbororo women have managed to establish a peaceful relation with the local population and create a sustainable life for themselves while being the women they are.

11. ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Ethics can be referred to the moral principles of right and wrong which is not absolute. It varies from place to place, from time to time and from persons to persons. Research considerations are those moral principles guiding a researcher from the inception through the completion and the publication of results and beyond with its basic ethical principles of respect of person, Beneficence, justice and mal-maleficence.

With these principles, we did not have any form of bias since we selected women of different age groups, financial levels, and marital status. In our research, we asked to each informant his or her consent before an interview or a focus group was held. People who refused being interviewed or to asked part in the focus group discussion were not forced.

Furthermore, synonyms were used in some places where the informant did not want to make public his or her identity

We also respected every informant no her matter the age, sex or marital status and was grateful to them especially for their time they sacrificed to attend to us.

The inform consent was drafted but upon arrival on the field we had to explain to them the reason of our research to our informants and with their understanding, yet some still skeptical about our studies and its benefits to them we had to explain better and they adhere to give us the necessary information that we needed.

12. LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH AREA

Our research was in the Center Region. The increase of this group of people in the urban centers has made this community settle in different quarters in the city in the past years made it challenging for us. The mbororo women in yaounde live in quarters like, Tongolo, Etoudi, Mvan, Entrée sixieme, etc.

13. DIFFICULTIES

It was not easy to go through or to conduct field research without facing some challenges thus, our research was not different from all others that faced difficulties. During our field research, we face diversed challenges such as scheduling interviews with different individuals who sometimes did not honor and/or pushed to different dates. Some had children, family to attend and the fact they had to celebrate the Barka de salah at the time of our fieldwork made it difficult to consistent collect our data. So, as a result we could only program it when they were willing. We also had to wait for general meeting days for the focus group discussion held on their monthly meeting days. This delay made us sometimes push our interviews forward to monthly spacings. In addition, we faced the challenge of language especially with the older women who could barely express themselves in French, so we had need of a translator in fulfube. That notwithstanding, we were able to carry out our field research successfully.

14. CHAPTER OUTLINE

Our dissertation is divided into five chapters. This work is presented as follows;

Firstly, we have chapter one which is on the presentation of the study area. This describes the general cultural and environmental characteristics of Yaoundé. In this, we

describe the climate, soil type hydrology, and the brief history of Yaoundé and a brief background of the Mbororo community in Yaoundé.

Secondly, we have chapter two. Chapter two includes the literature review, theoretical framework and the definition of concepts. Our literature review consisted of the background knowledge of informal economy, who the Mbororo women are, history of the mbororo people in Cameroon and the customs and tradition of these people. We further outlined the theories used; The theory of “*making a future*” and *cultural dynamics*. This gave us guidance in the analysis of our research. We ended this chapter with the definition of some concepts for this research.

Thirdly, in chapter three, we present an ethnography of the different Informal activities practiced by the Mbororo women in the town of Yaounde. In this chapter, we explore the different activities practiced by these women. These activities include; tailoring, businesses such as the sales of materials, kossam, folere and baoba and the sales of food in a restaurant. We began by describing these activities, giving reasons why these women chose such activities.

Fourthly, chapter four focuses on the effects of these Activities and the relationship between gender in homes and the mbororo community. Here, we presented both positive and negative effects of these activities. In this chapter, we identified the Mbororo women, their surrounding and the different consequences of the practiced activities. Some positive effects include; independence, unity and some consequence drawn are those of lack of enough capital and the stigma on women still having to work. Also in this chapter, we brought out the different factors that might see the mbororo woman whether she is being influenced by the activity she does by herself, her household and in her community in general.

Fifthly, we have chapter five. It is consecrated on an Anthropological analysis of the Mbororo woman and the contemporary labor market. In this chapter, we talked about the different perceptions the Mbororo community has on their women working.

Lastly, we have a conclusion which consist of the summary of our findings in this research work.



**CHAPTER 1: PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH
AREA**

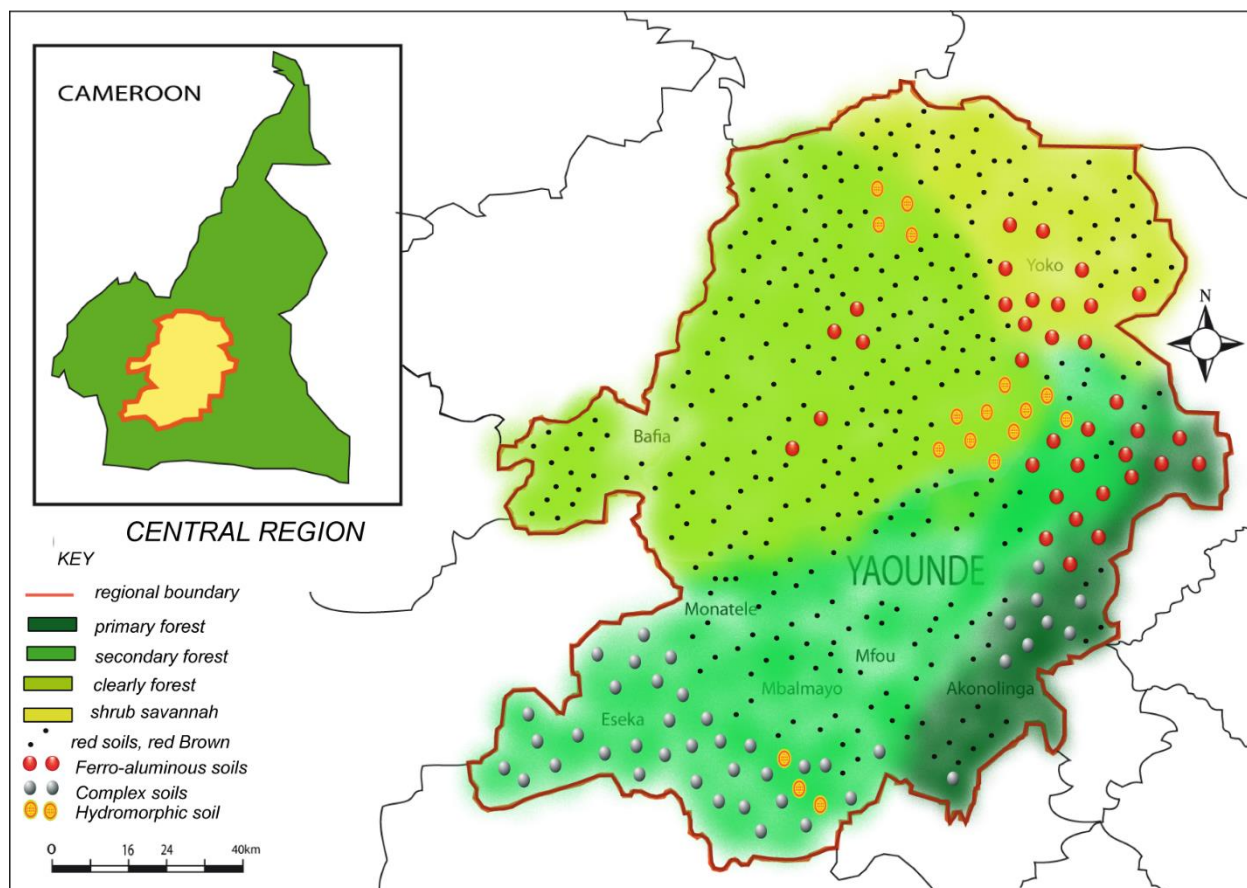
This chapter describes in detail the population of Yaounde and the area under study. It looks at the geographical, historical and socioeconomic of the people of the land. It further explains the settlement pattern of the Mbororo community in Yaounde, Mbororo women and the associations in Yaounde.

1.1. Ethnographic Background of Yaounde.

Yaounde was founded in 1888 by the German Colonial Administration. It became the capital of the French territory under the League of Nations in 1922. During the II World War, it temporarily was shifted as the capital of the former East Cameroon Province. With the independence of the Country in 1960, the city has remained the political capital. Yaounde metropolis plays double administrative roles (Clement Anguh and al, 2017; 7). Yaounde is the political capital of both the Centre region and has a population of over 1,800,000 (BUCREP, 2010; Clement A and al, 2017).

The center region is one of the ten regions of Cameroon; it has a superficial area of 69,000 km². It is the second largest region in terms of land area after the South region. It is bordered to the North by the Adamawa region, to the South by the South region, to the East by the Eastern region and to the West by Littoral and the West regions. The center region is made up of ethnic groups such as the Beti, Ewondo and the Basa. It has 7 departments namely: Haute-Sanaga, Mbam-et-Inoubou, Lekié, Mefou-et-Akono, Mfoundi, Nyoong-et-kelle, Nyong-et-Mfoumou, Nyong-et-Sou'o. Yaounde, is an equatorial greenforest where it supposed to be filled with lost of forestation or vegetation which in recent times, due to the rapid take of globalization there has been a transformation. The city of Yaounde extends over 304 km² including an urbanized area of 183 km² and has an estimated population, in 2020 of 4,100,000 inhabitants, that is an average density of 13,486 inhabitants per km². The population is growing by almost 100,000 every year.

In 1960, at the time of the country's independence, Yaounde had only 100,000 inhabitants. Immigrants constituting two third of the urban population.

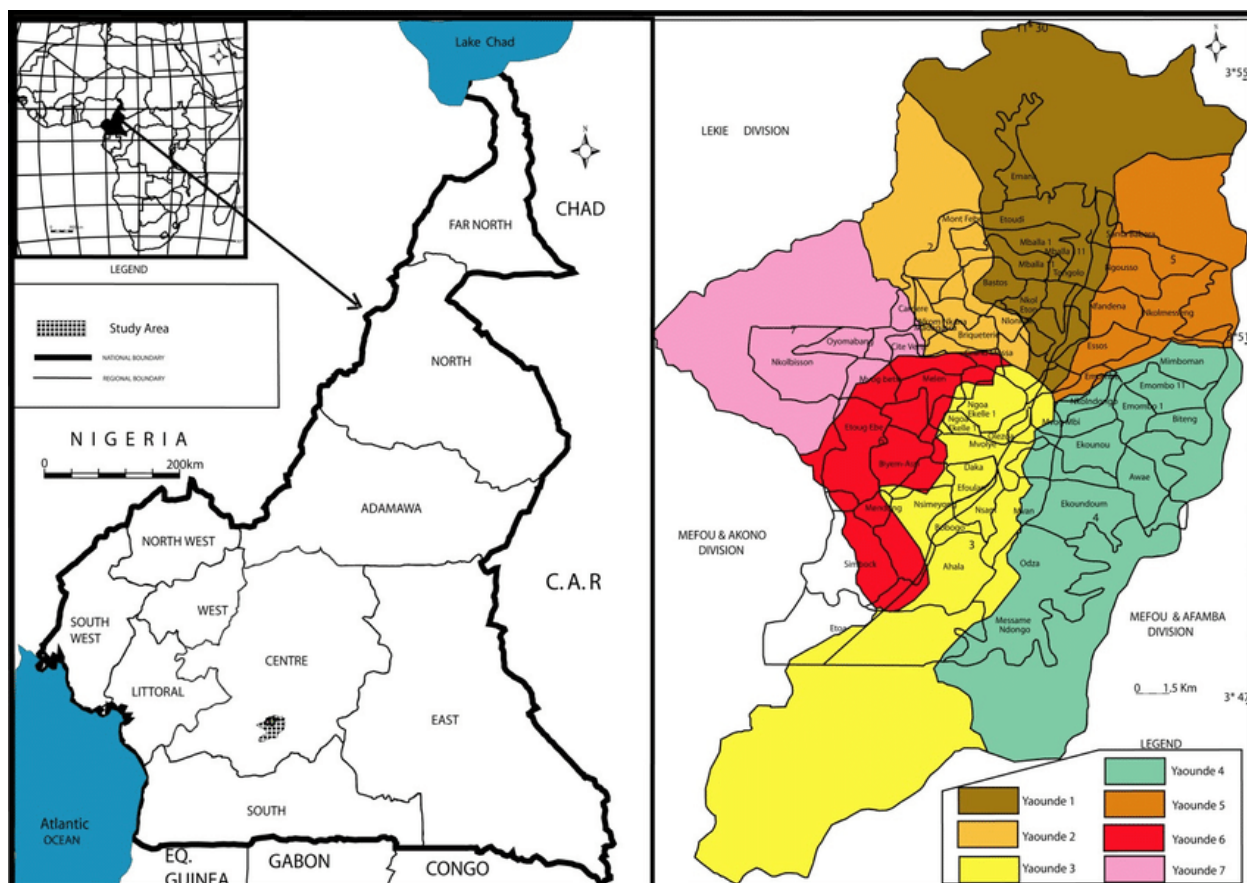


Map 1: illustrating the center Region of Cameroon

1.2. Physical Setting

Yaoundé is one of the cities in the center region of Cameroon also known as the city of seven hills. It is located at about 250km east of the Atlantic Ocean and within latitude $3^{\circ}50'$ and $3^{\circ}55'$ north and $11^{\circ}27'$ and $11^{\circ}35'$ east. It is one of the regions that make part of the 10 regions in Cameroon and has a population of approximately 2.5 million inhabitants, the second largest city after that of the economical capital, Douala. Yaounde is built in a forest zone of 760m of altitude and 200m, which is continuously degraded for subsistence farming and habitation. It is prolonged in the South West with plateau of between $3^{\circ}53'$ of latitude north to $11^{\circ}31'$ of longitude east. At an elevation of about 726 meters above sea level, Yaoundé lies between latitude 3.87 and longitude 11.52 and it covers an area about 310m. Yaoundé is boarded in the north by the Adamawa region, in the south by the south region, by the east, by the East region making it the biggest city in the Cameroon. Partitioned with hilly areas, Yaounde is built in separated land movement by relatively large vallies, charactrised by slumps areas such as the Mfoundi. The Mbororo people here in Yaounde

mostly settled in the different quarters of this city. These quarters tend to harbor many of the Mbororo people. This was because they had people who first came to settle there in the early years and also because it favors their activities of cattle herding (Etoudi). They sold cows to the community and other quarter did sprout because of people living and consequently the integration of the Mbororo people in the different areas in Yaounde.



Map 2: illustrating the quarter

Source: (Clement Anguh and als; 2017)

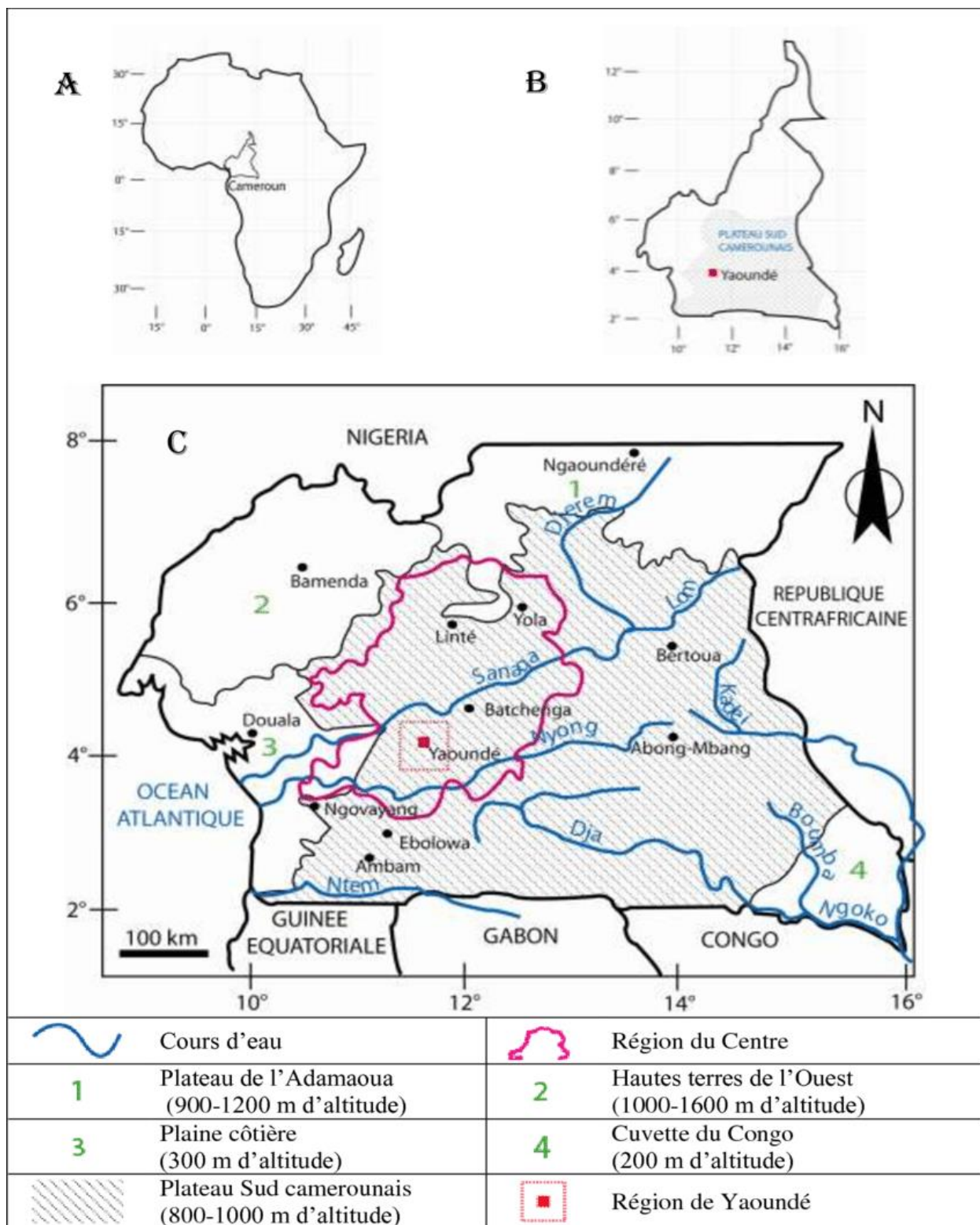
1.2.1 Climate and Relief

Yaounde has an altitude of 760m, an $11^{\circ}31'$ of the East longitude and a $3^{\circ}51'$ of the North latitude. Yaoundé enjoys a warm and more humid climate. Yaoundé is a tropical wet and dry climate with different and varied temperatures within a year. Yaoundé has an equatorial classic climate with four seasons (Andre Franqueville 1968:117p). It is never static but notwithstanding, it has a lengthy wet season from March to November, with a decrease with the period of July to August with an average rainfall of 1550mm annually. Thus, persons

do say Yaoundé do have two rainy seasons because of these factors. Its temperature varies between 20-degree C and 24C.

The relief of Yaoundé is undulating with seven undulating hills that rise to maximum of 1,060, above sea level. has great relief features in terms of its morphology which determines in a large measure the development of the city. It is made up of plateaus, hills and gullies which cut across the hills which majority cuts across the Mfoundi water basin. These reliefs such as plateau, is cut across the south and is drained by sub-tributary of the Nyong. Mfoundi which crosses to a long urban periphery receives not less than five Roseaux its right and four on its left that flows in the deep valleys which are border with hills which dominant from 50- 100 metres. According to the Yaoundé city council (YCC), we have four major relief: low-sloped ridges whose land is easily urbanizable very difficult hills to be prepared with slopes varying from 5 to 15, hills that are very difficult to develop with a slop greater than 15 and the bottoms of flood-prone valleys generally with a slop less than 5.

Cameroon in the past years has witness climate change and such includes: there is an increase in temperature, deforestation, the variations of rainfall that really do fluctuates in recent times, the rise of on the sea level and really imparted the pattern on how it was known in the past. And from the literature review gotten, there is a probability for a continuous change of these temperatures and variations the future.



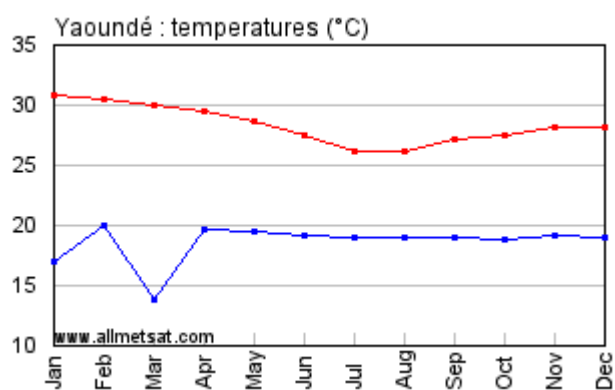
Map: 3 illustrating the plateau relief and climate of Yaoundé.

Source: clement and als

Table 1: Projected Temperature Increase and Sea Level in Cameroon

Year	Temperature increases from 1990 level			Sea level rise from 1990		
	Low	mid	High	Low	Mid	High
2025	0.3	0.5	0.6	3.3	9.3	19.4
2050	0.6	0.9	1.3	7.4	19.8	38.6
2075	1.0	1.4	2.1	13.0	33.5	61.0
2100	1.4	2.0	2.0	19.8	48.9	85.9

Source: Koren 2000; Boma Cliford 2017:66)

Diagram 1: diagram illustrating the temperature variation in Yaounde

Yaounde. Cameroon average annual temperatures (USEUCAN)

1.3. Vegetation and soil

Yaoundé, capital of Cameroon is an equatorial area consisting of hills and forest and highlands which stresses on a large scale of land. Located in an area of rainforest in bi-modal rainfall and favorable conditions of morpho-climatic rapid erosion, Yaoundé during the past 1990s have witness an urban growth and a rural exodus in the occupation of non-constructible areas formally hillsides and wetlands (NIC, 2013). Its soils are principally made up of lithosol soils and red and brown feralitic soils.

This soil texture makes it difficult for the rearing of cattle for the mbororo community in yaounde who settled there. Nonetheless, this community came out with different ways to adapt themselves with their cattle by getting grass to feed their cattles in different areas in and out of town to the big site of cattle gathering at the Etoudi cattle market. These heaps of weeds are what the cattle consume during their time in the market during the sales.

Picture 1: heaps of grass for the feeding of cattle



Source: field work, Gillian 18/09/18

1.4. Human Environment

The term human environment means the physical, social and economic components, conditions and factors which interactively determine the state, condition and equality of living condition, employment and health of those affected directly or indirectly by activities occurring on the outer place of an area.

1.4.1. Historical/origin/migration

Yaoundé as an origin was founded on post military foundations from the penetration of the German colonial masters (Andre Franqueville 1968: 113). Yaoundé is known as the political capital of Cameroon due to its numerous administrative structures in which we do find civil services, diplomatic services and many others. It is the second largest city after Douala the economic city of Cameroon. From its origin, the name Yaoundé was “Ewondo”, later understood and written down by the Germans as “Jaunde”. The recent spelling Yaounde were later adopted in the past centuries as this ‘Jaounde’ in Ewondo means “groundnuts”. This name was later substituted recently by Ewondo which was designated as a group of Pahouin beti people (Andre Franqueville 1968: 122). It is one of the towns in Cameroon that enjoys most of security due to its high-profile centralized standards. Due to the successive colonialization of this city by the Germans, French Yaoundé evolved to be the capital of Cameroon. Her major cash crop productions include; tobacco, cocoa, cassava, dairy products, beer. It is a city built on seven hills and located in the southern part of the country. This city became the urban settlement of many as development came in such as transport and commercial center areas. Today, the fast-growing population is estimated at 4,100,000 inhabitants in 2020. The spoken language is predominantly French; lingua franca in the capital is Ewondo. (Cameroon- Nations online project)

Picture 2: City of Yaounde



Source; Gillian 07/07/22

1.4.2. Settlement Patterns

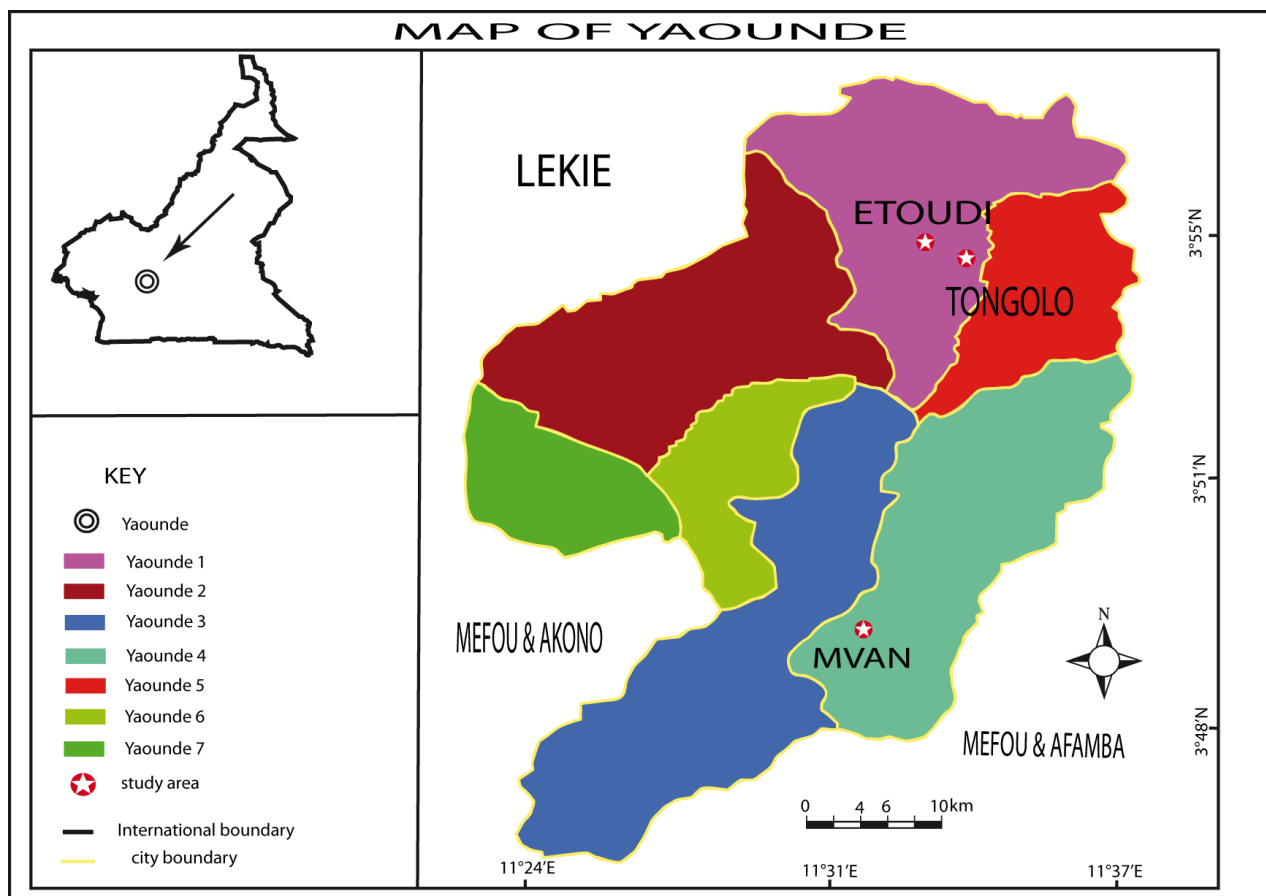
Unlike the western regions, the North and the East favourably inhabited the Mbororo people with their cattle due to the presence of good vegetation. Yaounde as the capital city also called the city of seven hills has an urbanized area of 183km² and has an estimated population, in 2020 of 4,100,000 inhabitants, with an average density of 13,486 inhabitants per km². The population is growing by almost 100,000 every. The rapid migration from the rural zones into the city of Yaounde made urbanization very rapid. This influx of different people made settlement denser which further caused the disappearance of the trees, grasses as people-built houses, the industries, schools and projects implementation to meet up with the demanding needs of the people.

The lack of vegetation for the cattle caused by the above-mentioned reasons in Yaounde, caused the Mbororo people to search for different original settlement patterns as in the other regions in Cameroon. This was because the hills were being developed with different infrastructures or has passed through that process of being occupied. Their settlement patterns and activities have been influenced as cattle are now brought to Yaounde mostly for business reasons where they have adapted themselves to the cutting down of grass, taking them to the cattle range where the cattle are found. Thus, we find most of them settling at the area where we have cows this is because they are the ones sluttering these cattles

1.5 MBORORO COMMUNITY IN YAOUNDE

The standard of living of the mbororo people in Yaounde is not different from what they have in the other part of the regions where they come from. In Yaounde, they mingle with different group of people, cultures, traditions and ways of life that is far from what they lived in the past. Nonetheless, one commonality is that, despite the fact they do live in these places, they have in the same neighborhood their brothers and sisters of the same locality which they meet and talk together. They have little clusters where they live together such as Etoudi, Mvogbeti, Ecole de police, Tongolo etc. These ways of living in the city in some quarters in Yaounde are mainly known to harbor a different set of people from different ethnic group. They do go to the same market as the community. In some cases, we have mbororo people who have built houses in this area and other who are still on rent. The collaboration with her neighbors is very cordial since they are known to be very good people and people who do not look for trouble. They do have their mosque where they pray every Friday at the different communities with their Muslim brothers. They observe every religious practice as stated in Islam such as ramandan, fete de mouton with the different sessions of prayers and fasting.

As they settled in the neighborhood of Yaounde especially as they agglomerated in the major quarters such as Etoudi, Briketerie, Tsinga, Tongolo, Ecole de police and many others, they settled with their major business of transporting and herding cow in some limited environmet which is more sedentarised than in the rural areas. Their major business sites for cattle include the market of cattle also called “entrée 6eme” where people can buy cattle and slaughter.



Map 4: showing the settlement pattern of the Mbororo in Yaounde.

In the city of Yaounde, the Mbororo people are largely know for the cattle business they do. They are predominantly in the Etoudi market with their cattle transported from different Regions of Cameroon such the Northern part of the country, the North-West, the East and the Western Region.

Picture 3 and 4: The Etoudi cattle market



Source: Field work, Gillian

Picture 5: The slaughter house for cattle at the Etoudi.



Source: field work, Gillian 18/09/18.

1.5.1. The Myth of a Muslim woman

In the past years the Muslim women were seen as an object and a slave that was not worthy of life. She was relegated to the home and was an embarrassment to have a girl child at birth. She was either buried alive or if decided to be kept was kept in a hidden place not to be seen. This is because she was considered unworthy and a disgrace in a family. Their religion donot permit them to be seen or exposed by the public. They do mostly carry out their trade with the permission from their husbands. They depend on their husbands for feeding and clothing. Most of them live in polygamous setups. They are discriminated against and put in subordinate positions to men. (Kemdjei Petronilla K. 2014:3) A majority of them do superficial learning through their children. They are highly respected in their communities when they give birth to a boy child than a girl child. According to a report on building civil society in Cameroon Shei (2009:2: Kemdjei P. 2014), the diiferent challenges of these women faced. They include: their lack of access to basic services; the fact that they do not take active part in decision making in the family and in the community; the fact that they have little knowledge on income generating activities; their own poor mentality towards the education of the girl child; and their lack of knowledge on how to read and write. These factors all

corroborate the fact that Mbororo women have problems that need to be looked upon and in this recent time are getting better compared to the latter.

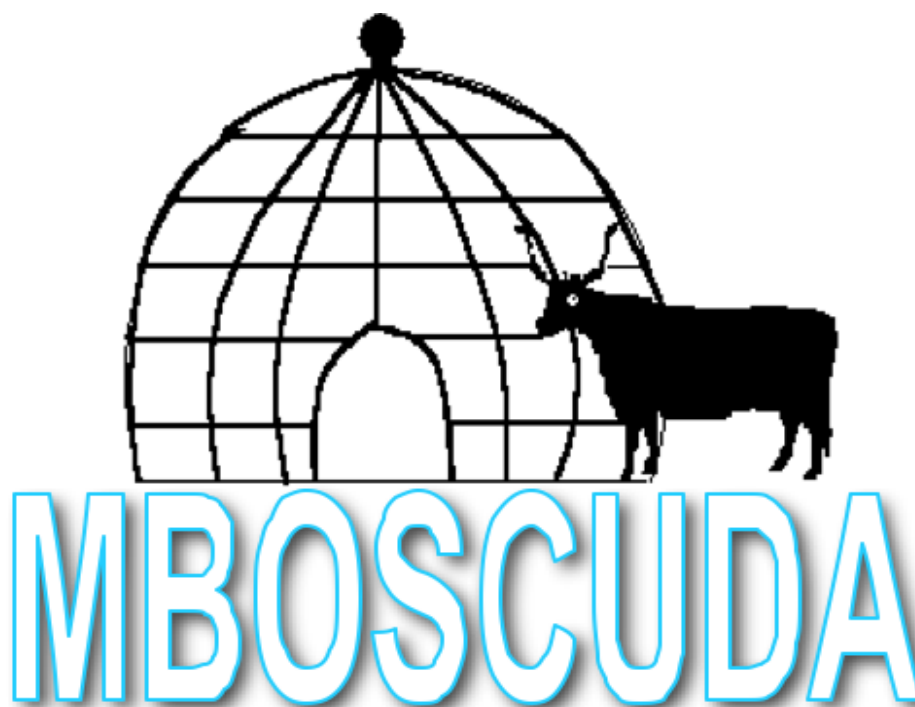
1.5.2. Mbororo women and Associations

The Mbororo community have different associations who are present to advocate for her people with different reasons and objectives. MBOSCUDA is one of the main known associations in Cameroon and the world at large who advocate for the welfare of the Mbororo community. MBOSCUDA was officially created in 1992 with her founders coming out with basic texts to favour the growth of the Mbororo community. This association had as objectives

- To provide an opportunity for mbororo who were not privileged to acquire formal education and obtain a certain degree of literacy.
- Systematize their existing knowledge and promote the detail analysis of local issues affecting their lives.
- To cause the mbororo to take control of their own development agenda in their own terms and effectively bring positive change to their lives.
- Develop self confidence in mbororo through empowerment acquired from learning.

To achieve these objectives, MBOSCUDA started with the adult literacy. In this, they used the REFLECT approach which is an acronym drawn from the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. This REFLECT literally means (Re-generated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques). These approaches were used in Donga Mantung division of the north-west province of Cameroon in 1998-2002 (MBOSCUDA 2017). MBOSCUDA is mostly known for her work since its creation in the North-West region then Province in Cameroon.

Picture 6: The logo of the Mbororo Socio-Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUDA)



Source: MBOSCUDA, 07/07/22.

Other association apart from MBOSCUDA is the FFAC; Forum des Femmes Autochtones Du Cameroun. FFAC is a Cameroon based association that has as objectives to fight violence against indigenous women, early and forced marriages, to promote education especially for young girls, to advocate for women peace and security. This is focused on the mbororo woman because they are worse victims since they believe they had their land snatched and resources robbed of them, their culture destroyed etc (FFAC 2020)

This chapter had as objective to bring us the background of the study area. We looked at the history and her general population. We also looked into the physical factors that is unique to this town. This physical setting helped us to understand the challenge the Mbororo encounter as they settled. We discussed on the background of the mbororo people in this town, their brief history and their settlement patterns as a community.

1.6. Socio-Cultural Scenario of the Mbororo Woman

This is an aspect that strives to know about a people around in a given culture. It goes further to look on the family background, cultural traits and heritage. Thus, it is the

understanding of sociocultural difference between cultures. The mbororo women do have distinct traits from other women in different socio-cultural background.

1.6.1 Mbororo Women and Family

In the sphere of the family, macro-level statistics indicate a shift to a nuclear family from a pattern of extended family and multi-generational households. Statistics also indicate that Muslims are delaying marriage and increasing their rate of non-marriage. Such shifts spell erosion of the traditional kinship-based patriarchal family, which persists as an ideal among conservatives. Caught between the traditional patriarchal family model and an egalitarian nuclear model, today's Muslim families have been called "neopatriarchal." They continue to feature intra-familial gender-based inequality (Priscilla O. 2005). Scholarship within the last decade has begun to address the darkest aspects of such familial gender-based inequality, including the hitherto taboo topics of domestic violence, honor killings, and female circumcision. Such charged issues have figured prominently on the agendas of women's rights advocates in Muslim communities since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

1.6.2. Role of the Mbororo Woman

In the past decades, the role of the Mbororo woman was that she was seen just for reproduction purposes. A woman who had as sole activities to take care of her husband and children. She was confine by the Muslin tradition to be at home, handling family and home chores. In recent years, the role of these women has changed as they now do one activitiy to another for survival and to assist their spouses especially in the cities. There has been a great role in empowering minority women and improving their insecuritites.

Chapter one had as objective to describe in sdetail the area under study. We looked at the population living there, their settlement partten, historical, geographical and socioeconomic livestyle of the people. We further talked on the socio-cultural scenario iof the mboeoe woman.



**CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL
FRAMEWORK AND DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS**

2.1 Literature review

This section of our dissertation consists of different thematic review studies related to our research topic. Literature review can be defined as a search and evaluation of the available literature in a given subject or chosen topic area. It is the synthesizing of information from a bulk of written literature text into a summary that is of interest for a given work. We had review on informal activities by different authors, both general basis and specific. The purpose of carrying out these reviews was to gain understanding of the existing knowledge so as not to be repeating what others have already done.

2.1.1 Informal Activities

The informal sector economy is not recorded, and it is not usually included in the indicators that measures the level of development and welfare of the population. Informal economy long existed before the formal economy (Henry Mayhew 1850: 24-25). It is that “traditional” economy that existed outside the frame work of trade arguments, labor laws, copy right protection, product safety regulation, anti-polluted legislation, and a host of other political social and environmental policies (Robert N 2011: 26). The informal sector is omnipresent occurring in the market of planned economy system both in developed and developing world because its budget affects the budget revenues and reduces government capacity to provide social services. Informality cannot be measured without a thorough knowledge of it from its origins and identification of the causes of it emergence continuity

Keith Hart is known as the father of the informal sector. He is the one who first used this word in an article entitled “*Urban informal employment and Income Opportunities in Ghana*” 1973. He describes the informal sector as consisting of economic activities undertaken by segment of low-income work force in Accra, which formed the sub-urban proletariat mostly represented by illiterate and unskilled migrants. Keith Hart describes the informal economy as a *hyper kinetic open air economy*. He found in Accra, Ghana peddlers, hawkers, vendors and other with no fixed location and without registering with or being regulated by government formalities, did a massive amount of business along roadside. This author aligned the roadside vendors (informal) to “criminal underground”.

Robert Neuwirth. He describes the informal sector as system “D” in where he states that the informal is a pirated word from the French speaking and the Caribbeans. The French man calls its debrouillards. “*To say a man or a woman is a debrouillarde is to tell people how resourceful and ingenious he or she is*” (Robert 2011: 6). He further explains in his text how

the French colonies within the past years sculpted this word *debruillard* on their own social and economic studies. Self-starting entrepreneurial merchants are those doing business on their own, without registering or being regulated by the bureaucracy and for the most part, without paying taxes are part of “l’*économie de la debruillardise*” or “system D” (2011:7)

He describes the informal sector as an economy of improvising of self-reliance, “*the do it yourself*” (DIY) (2011:7). As a system the author describes how those unregistered business in the market, along the roadside in the world is not a haphazard thing but a product of intelligence resilience, self-organization and group solidarity which follows well-worn thing though not as written rules thus the term of that system.

He characterizes system D as a small handful of market women selling a handful of shriveled carrots to earn a handful of pennies. It was an economy of desperation. Notwithstanding, system D has scaled up due to the expansion of globalization of trade. Thus, system D is an economy of aspiration “rather is where the jobs are” (2007: 8).

In 2009, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) concluded that half of the workers of the world- close to 1.8 billion people – were walking in system D: which was neither registered nor regulated, getting paid in cash and most often avoiding income taxes. He argues that system D like never before grew faster than any other economy and thus increased the world force trade. Especially after the crisis of 2008-2009, system D was revealed to be an important financial coping mechanism and those persons who work in the planned economy of firm had become “*endangered species*” because it gave a less job guaranteed job security (2007: 19). He argues that it will make no sense to talk of development, growth, sustainability or globalization without associating with system D.

Ken saro-Wiwa, a late Nigerian writer and a social activist relates this as a political discourse change during the buildup to war in his novel “*SOZA Boy*” where he states that “Before the use of gross language were recurrent and many were happy but in recent time, this it no longer the case. “*As grammar plenty na so trouble plenty*”. This goes to the extent to explain how the informal section or activities were smoother and more enjoyable in the past years which have caused happiness to the people compared to the generation of modern economy who now causes and brings conflicts which he terms as unhappiness.

Antonio Gramsci is an Italian Marxist who argues that the free market was a political creation. “*Laissez-faire*” is a form of a state regulation that is introduced and maintained by legislative and coercive means”. In his book “*the modern Prince*”, he states that selling the

masses on desirability and inevitability of the free market enables the ruling class to maintain and extend its hegemony.

According to results in a study of economic geography and urban Cameroonians (1991) Kengne Doudouop, says “*les activites informelle sont plus denses dans les quartiers populaire*”. It is in this optic that he affirms that :

“Dans les quartiers populaires anciens et dans le centre commercial, le petits metire trouvent leur main-d’oeuvre, leurs clients souvent leurs fournisseurs et pour certains métiers, leur collegues et concurrents” (1991b :17)

Portes and Centeno (2003), says the informal concept was institutionalized by the international labor office which link informality to low level of productivity and storage capacity as well as to poverty.

In the 2000, reappeared in the agenda of international organizations for instance, thhe International Labor Organization (ILO), the world bank, ECOSOC (United Nations Economic and Social Council), recently emphasized that to achieve the MDGs, (Milliniem Development Goals) and to provide a fair globalization, it is necessary to build a comprehensive and integrated strategy cutting across a range of policy areas with a view to eliminate the negative aspects of informality. (Diego 2010:16). Thus, in 2002, the ILO proposed a more comprehensive development approach aimed at achieving ‘different work’ along the entire continent from the informal to the formal end of the economy despite the improvement on the past. He further says, the informal economy which continues to be a social and economic phenomenon is widely known but little understood.

Denis Cogneau, Francois Roubaud and Mireille Razafindrakoto, in their article entitled “*Le Secteur informel Urbain et L’ajustement au Cameroun*, (1996) argue that the rate of urbanization from 1973-1993 went from a percentage of 24.3% to 43% with an increasing growing population of 5.8%, the rate of urbanization and the rate of women being active was high. With the rapid increase in population of people in the major cities, there was an inadequacy in the job seeker and the employment rate or recruitment done by the government. This in return favoured the proliferation of informal activities which was a great source of employment in town (Denis Cogneau and al 1996: 28). With the economy crisis of 1986, with the drop-in petrol prices and it principal agricultural exportation product such as: cocoa and coffee and the devaluation of currency and the non-recruitment of people in the public service in 1995 opened a diversified way to the informal sector (Denis and al 1996: 28).

Anthropology and development is a major contribution to development studies, rural sociology and ethnography. Olivier de Sardan condenses several decades of research into accessible and well references that provided insights into anthropology of development and the relationship between social scientist and developers. The author pursues an explicitly programmatic goal as he seeks to reintegrate development into the mainstream of anthropology, he explores how and under what circumstances anthropological enquiry can contribute to improving development ventures. In doing so he adopts a particular theoretical perspective that he designated as an entangled social logic approach.

This book covers a broad range of issues at the interface of development professionalism of peasant communities and those who study development do have three points that stands out

- First, the author deconstructs several of the aid industry long standing myth. These industries do not give privileges to the rural challenges and their needs.
- Secondly, a careful prevention of decision or condemnation in which the author here exposes the major discreacies inherent in development interventions, which for example is language. The author here emphasises on the language of the people to be understood to better develop them by getting their own point of views.
- Thirdly, he provides a number of valuable theoritical contributions in this book. This is by reviewing some literature about the people that is '*endemic social science attitude*' (:110) thus to define traits of the development experts and the rural communities. According to Kemdjei Petronilla, in her text "*Literacy Development and impact of the Mbororo Women in Cameroon*", argue that, the mbororo people are the Fulani ethnic group that have their origin in Northern Senegal. They speak the Fulfulbe langauge and are generally light in skin complexion. The author in his text focuses on the illiterate part of the mbororo woman who has not been able to accomplish a lot due to the prohibition of their customs and traditions. Their religion does not permit the exhibition of women because according to them, their women do not need to be exposed and are only permitted to trade with the permission of their husbands. They solely depend on their husbands for food and clothings. They are ranked and/or more regarded when they give birth to many children especially male children.

In Cameroon, “the Cameroonian informal sector, which officially occupies 90% of the active population in the country, is as productive as that of countries with a much higher economic level in Africa” (Brice R. Mbdiam 2017: 23).

2.1.2. History of the Mbororo people in Cameroon

The Mbororo people are nomadic and semi-nomadic livestock herders living between Niger, Nigeria, Cameroun, Central African Republic and Chad in the arid and semi-arid area. (Hindou Oumarou I). The Mbororo, who are known as the largest nomadic group in the world, got its origin from Kano State, present day Nigeria, arrived Cameroon in the 19th century. They migrated from the southern peripheries of the African savanna. (Pelican Micheala 2012:113). Coming from the Northern part of the country, the Mbororo later spread themselves unevenly in the different regions of Cameroon. They are predominantly in the North West, Adamawa and the East region of Cameroon. According to Pelican Micheala, the term <Mbororo> refers specifically to (agro-) pastoral Fulbe. The first Mbororo group to enter the Grass fields was known as the “Jaafun” in the years 1910, which leaved and occupied the highlands of the grassland and were followed by the “Aku”, who occupied the lowlands of this region. (Pelican M 2006). In the North-West region of Cameroon, the Mbororo communities are highly concentrated and found in seven divisions of this region: Donga-Mantung, Menchum, Ngokunjia, Santa, Bamenda (old town) and other division where livestock farming was practiced (Njeuma M and Awasom N; 1989).

The Mbororo as said above are those group of nomads who move from place to place in search of pastures for their cattle. Before the 20th century, they were mostly cattle herders in which their cattle were the sole means of income and livelihood to them. This caused them to settle in the highlands of the north-west region and other regions in search of favorable ecological and political conditions (Boutrais 1995:15-20, Dognin 1981: Pelican m and J Maruyama 2012; 59). They were headed by their leaders known as the “Ardos”. They are characterized by the Palaaku which in Fulflbe means “the way of behaving”. This behavior promoted individuality among the Mbororo and favored only the kin or lineage group. It further causes limitations between the Mbororo since they concentrated more on pursuing individual interest via individual strategies. Davis 1995: Pelican 2008, 192). They are modest, patience, care, got loyal behavior and more inclines to their beauty (tattoos on their bodies and, arts as signs of beauty). Customized with their dressing, habits that permits them to adaptable to their environment that has a lot of sunshine (Sahel) which pelican states as

different with that of the Hausas (2006;279) who are more like local economic imitators and practice small scale farming.

In recent years the Mbororo people in their numbers gradually have migrated from those areas of sole cattle herding to the different regions of Cameroon. This migration to cities not glued to their sole means of income or their culture tend was due to different reasons.

2.1.3. Mbororo and Migration

Migration is defined as the movement of people between regions or countries. According to Demko G.J, Ross H.M and Schvell G.A (1970:286-287), migration is the most complex component of population and population change. It can be referred to as the movement of individuals to different environment (space) at a given period. According to UN Statistical Commission and the UN Economic Commission for Europe (EUROSTAT) 2001, Migration involves both space and time. Migration brings to an extend diffusion and dynamism since it involves different cultures. These diversities affect social, political, economic and in the receiving state/country. As stipulated by Zelinsky W. (1966: 43-44), migration is a cultural phenomenon and a dynamic element probable more than fertility and mortality in population.

The Mbororo-Fulani people migrated a lot in the past years and this movement has greatly reduced due to different reasons. These Mbororo-Fulani do have a well-established history on their migration into Cameroon as from the early 19th century. In the serach of more pastures and more of a favourable climatic and physical place to settle, they spread more and more in the different Regions of Cameroon. These Regions had common charcterictics such as; pasture for their cattle, space, condusive climatic conditions. In recent years we see these groups of people into the towns that have little or no characteristic of what they search in the past centuries. They are now in major towns such as Yaoundé as well as in its major cities. Yaounde harbours generally Mbororo from all the different Regions of Cameroon: it is an agglomeration of different Mbororo from the East, South, West and North. Thus, they have had both push and pull factors on why they migrated from their places of origin. These can be due to economic, social, political, cultural, environmental, health and education factors.

2.1.3.1 Push factors of Migration

It can be defined as those factors that compel a person to leave a place of origin to another place. In Cameroon, the different push factors that affected the mbororo include the following.

- Climatic condition: Migration from the hilly zones by the Mbororo became more perceptible between 1996 to 2011. Climatic conditions have increasingly imposed the rate of mobility of these group of people as compared to the past that gave them the opportunity to graze on different land while living it to regenerate after use. Due to this change, they change their way of life and became semi-nomadic or sedentary (Hindou Oumarou 2011:3). This by moving from one community and town to another.
- Conflicts: Having as principal activity pastoral nomadism, the mboror usually had to move from one place to another in search of pastures. The free and large lands and the high rate of accessibility made it possible for them to graze freely. In recent times more and more conflicts have been coming up due to the destruction of farm products by the cattles tht created some hintches between the farmers and the herders. This caused the Mbororo people to sedent in particular places while adopting other methods of feeding their cattles.
- Unemployment. Due to the economic decrease in the year 1990 in Cameroon, most people were left on the streets. An increase in the cattle tax increased due to different political reason that affected them in their profit. The men migrated in town in search for job, due to poor economic conditions, poor educational facilities, political instability, and family conflicts such as succession ship and visits.

2.1.3.2. Pull factors of Migration

These are the factors that attract people (migrants) to a given place. This mostly includes greater opportunities compared to where they came from, employment facilities, higher wages, better working conditions and amenities, health facilities and more in recent years the emancipation of the Mbororo people.

2.1.4. Signification of Mbororo Fulbe:

The Fula Fulani or Fulbe people are one of the largest ethnic groups in the Sahel and West Africa widely spread across these regions. Inhabiting in many countries, they live mainly in West Africa and the Northen part of Central Africa but also in South Sudan. In Cameroon, the Mbororo are a group of minorities that migrated into the Northern region of the country and later moved down to the West in search of greener pastures for their cattle. The Mbororo belong to the ethnicity of the fulbe who spread over the Sahel and the savannah belt from west to east Africa (Pelican Michaela 2005). The ethnonym of Mbororo refers to agro-pastoral Fulbe speaking the Fulfude language (Pelican Michaela 2012:114). Mbororo

classify themselves into lineages (Fulfulde: lenyol sing) which serve as primary categories of identification and sociality. Their Lineage identification is mostly transmitted patrilineally and is based on the idea of distant relation rather than descent from common ancestors known by name. Large lineages are generally subdivided into ‘houses’ (Pelican 2006:150). Mbororo understand that lineages as socio-cultural units on the basis of shared moral norms and social practices produce certain qualities common to their members (mobility, courage, or belligerence). Lineages are ranked according to a variety of criteria, including historical depth, anteriority, numerical importance, and wealth in cattle. As Boutrais (1995/96: 546-547, 557-629) and Pelican (2006) argue, lineage hierarchy is particularly pronounced in North-West Cameroon and is mirrored in their altitudinal dispersal.

The Mbororo community gradually around the Middle Ages of the century began their influence in that area, headed by ‘Ardo Sabga’ who settled with the first group at Banyo present day SABGA. He moved to Sabga through Fouban and Jakiri with 30 Jafun herdsmen of the Gosi clan (Jabiru Muhammadou 2017:2). The Mbororo in the North-West region distinguish themselves into two categories that is, the ‘Jaafun’ and the ‘Aku’. These different categories of the Mbororo later migrated to the Southern part of Cameroon such as Yaoundé, Douala and other major cities of Cameroon for different reasons. The Mbororo people are distinguished from the Hausa Muslim in general by their physiology and their economic activity which was solely cattle herders (Pelican Michaela 2005:77). As Virtanen (2003: 77) and Pelican (2006:150) points out, pastoral Fulbe in Adamaoua do not refer to themselves as Jaafun or Aku, but by their lineage names. Moreover, the emphasis on their ‘otherness’ from nomadic Wodaabe and sedentary town Fulbe or Huya are two Fulbe categories largely absent in the Western Grassfields. As these differences in self-ascription between Mbororo in the Grassfields and the Adamaoua illustrate, respective categories of identification depend on the presence or absence of specific ‘Fulbe others’ (Pelican M. 2006: 151).

2.1.5. Hausa

Most often, the Mbororo are always been referred to as the Hausa, this is because they share quiet some similarities among their cultural traits and origin. It should be noted that in as much as the Mbororo and the Hausa share some similitudes in some cultural element, the Mbororo community are different from the Hausas. The Hausas are those Muslim groups of people who got their origin from Nigeria (Huya or toen Fulbe). Mostly found in Northern Cameroon, their distinction can easily be seen from their physiology which are unlike the

Mbororo (Pelican 2006:4). They are a widely dispersed and constitute the main population of the Hausa homeland in Northern Nigeria and Southern Niger and are found in communities through out Western and Central Africa (Pelica M 2006: 250). The Hausa people do involve themselves in businesses and more of education. The ethnonym Hausa is popularly employed as a generic term for Muslim village dwellers and is also used by the latter in their ethnic self-identification. They are people mostly involved themselves in merchandise with neighboring villages and their close communities.

2.1.6 Mbororo Women and Life Style

2.1.6.1 Mbororo Women and Marriage

Marriage is considered as the union between a man and a woman. In the Mbororo community and Muslim in general, marriages are usually arranged by the parents of the ideal girl. It is an important cultural element which is highly uphold and passed from one generation to the next. They have more preference in getting married to partners from their own ethnic group or neighbouring grassfields groups with whom they share friendly relations (Pelican 2012: 311). Most marriages portray a contract between two families and most often it's not of a love relationship done by the couples (Christel G. 2007; 7). Usually, these contracts are to keep the relationship between the both families together. Marriage according to Islam is of utmost importance, this is because they believe Allah act in the world through it. It is believed that the husband has many duties towards his wife; to care, provide and protect her as stated in Qur'an S 4:34. According to Islam, the husband has to work and represent the family outside the home while the wife represents inside the home. *"The woman in marriage is considered as the ruler of the house of her husband or she is answerable for the conduct of all the affairs"* (Christel G 2007; 8p). In Arabic she is known as *"Rabbaitul Bait"* or the *"Queen of the house"*. She gets her honor from having raised her children, especially in having sons (Christel 2007). Married Muslim women usually covered their head with wrappers as prescribed by the Qu'ran. They also wore traditional bangles, chains and ear rings. The Mbororo people are mostly if not all Muslim are people who has as religion Islam. They are followers of the Qur'an and do follow its teachings.

2.1.6.2 Dress Code and Veiling of the Mbororo Woman

The dress code and habits of an Mbororo woman is not just a matter of custom or for modesty. It has much to do with their religious practices. Their religion does not permit women exposing themselves. That is, women who expose their sensitive parts or their faces

which their beauty can be seen by other ‘men’. This is because as stated above, their religion and tradition do not permit. They are only permitted to trade with the permission of their husbands with the right dressing. She can’t perform the ritual of prayers or visit the Mosque out of such context. Outside the family, girls and women have to be veiled so as not to be a temptation to men and Islam claims that the veil gives honour and dignity to Muslim women. By doing this, it protects them and help them guard their chastity. The Hijab is there to guard the beauty of the woman from the gaze of men and to protect her body from those who want to harm her. Allah himself created the hijab to give women freedom and dignity and to create a healthy society. They wear fendam and Ndinga caps made of fibre. The women dress in wraps and blouses. The noble women and those in secret societies like the Kefap put on decorative beads of different colours round their wrist and neck. (Aloysius N. 2015). The youths wear Western dressed like shirts, jean and T-shirts. The Fulani men were and are often seen wearing a solid colour of shirt and pants, a long cloth wrapped around their faces, carrying their walking sticks across their shoulders with their arms resting on top of it. They also put on the ‘sahro’ (loin cloth), the gaoundoura (a big gown worn with a jumper inside by men). They put on caps with different colours which corresponded to their dressing. This dressing style is still intact especially with the elderly and aged people (Aloysius N 2015). The women were very contented with their wrapper. The women enjoy wearing many bracelets on their wrists. Married Muslim women wear veils when they leave their household. It is for them a great importance to have and see their young girls and women dressed well. As stated in the Quran;

Oh Prophet! Tell your wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their bodies (when abroad): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested (S.33.59).

Believing women should guard their modesty and should not display their beauty and their ornaments except what must appear. They should draw their veils over their bosom and not display their beauty, except to their husbands, their fathers (S.24.31) (Christine Gschwandtener 2007:2)

The necessity to cover the whole body in a way that only the face and hands are exposed, are often drawn from these verses. How strictly communities apply this, depends on the traditions and the determination of the Islamic culture of each country. While in the western world already the head covering is seen as an instrument to oppress and restrict women in their personal freedom, in the Islamic world it is rather seen as a sign of an upright

moral life style and as protection of lustrous eyes and forbidden body contact. It declares the woman as honourable and committed to her religion and tradition (Christen Gschwandtner 2007:5).

2.1.7 Mbororo as Indigenous People

After due studies and field work carried out, the ILO denoted two major groups of indigenes people in Cameroon; the forest peoples commonly known as the “pygmies” and the “Mbororo” (ILO 2015). The UN (United Nations) attributes the characteristics of indigenous as a group of people with distinctiveness resources, dispossession of land, territories and natural resources, historical and pre-colonial presence in certain territories, cultural and linguistic characteristics and political and legal marginalization (ILO 2015). The Mbororo group were declared indigenes in 2005 (Pelican Micheala and J. Maruyama 2012; 50).

UNESCO in its article “*UNESCO and Indigenous People; Partnership to promote cultural diversity*” (2004) is a piece that lay emphasis on the indigenes people in the world and particularly in Cameroon. Concieved as a tool for all parties, it has as objectives to contribute in different organisation and in the implementations of human rights of indigenous people. In Cameroon, there are two mian indigenous groups; we have the pygmis of the Eastern region and the Mbororo of the Northern part of Cameroon who have in past years migrated from different parts of Cameroon.

The Mbororo community due to the help of MBOSCUDA (Mbororo Socio Cultural Development Association) gained recognition at the international level as one of the indigenes group in Cameroon around 1974. This recognition earned the Mbororo and the pygmis communities previledges. Due to this recognition, the indigenous people are protected by the indigenes laws that governs the international standards and this have some advantages and certain percentages allocated to them

2.1.8 Cameroon Government and the Mbororo

The Mbororo to promote them started in different small groups as they united to fight for their rights. In those past years, they did not per say need the government and in return the government did not formally acknowledge them. The contact that brought these two was the fact that they had with the Cameroonian administration to pay tax on livestock (Davis 2005; Ibrahim 2011: 72). With the consequences of multi-partism of 1990, the Mbororo gradually saw this as an opportunity to mobilise themselves into one main umbrella, thus the creation of MBOSCUDA in 1992 for their ethnic interests (Ibrahim Mouiche 2011:72). The Mbororo are

considered as one of the indigenous groups in Cameroon by the government with a population of about one million (MBORORO and als 2013:2). These groups of people are being recognised by the Cameroon government as marginalized people. The Cameroon government did ratify all key international treaties for the protection and promotion of human right including the minority right and further incorporated these treaties in her own laws. In 2007, the state of Cameroon voted in favour of the UN declaration on the right of indigenous people (Mbororo an als 2013:2). And this further influenced some Mbororo representatives involved in some governmental developemnt strategies for policies on indigenous people. Despite these recognitions, they still believed that they are still being discriminated by the government, who to them have as claims not to have members in parliament.

2.1.9. Mbororos and Modernity

In the most general sense, the term “modern” connotes a sense of belonging to the present and an awareness of a past to which people can link and at the same time distantiate themselves (Alberto A and Norman L.1989:4). Habermas (1983) suggested the linguistic term “modern” from a Latin word “modernus” which Europeans saw as a “new epoch”. It was seeing in the light of Roman to Christians to distinguis themselves from barbarism or barbarians. Further in the 17th-18th century, it was reinvented to characterize science, rationalism and the pursuit of progress and will easily dislodge modernity from its position in the lexicon of social change and political ideology (1989:4). Indeed, the more closely one considers this matter, the more evident it is that we must continue to grapple with the problem of how best to describe and analyse the plethora of modernities that now characterize change in the global era (1989:6)

Latour (1993) argues that “*we have never been modern*”. He further argues that modernity depends upon the dichotomization of “nature” and “culture” and “people” and “thing”. Politics, economic, technology, the environment, religion and many others acquire their own operating principles and explanatory “laws” with the consequence that we are prevented from comprehending.

The concept of mordenity in the Mbororo expression is the aspect in which women do see themselves as independent. That they can purchase some individual needs without the aid of their husbands. The fact that they are able to support their household financially and their families such as their own parents without the help of their husbands and not being a nuisance to them are of importance.

2.1.10. Mbororo and the Notion of Pulaaku

The Pulaaku is a set of norms and values that govern the daily attitudes of the mbororo community and the entire pastoralist Fulani (Dupire 1962). In the Mbororo tradition, Pulaaku is all about how to behave correctly regarding the society. This implies having to know pastoral activities, living permanently with shame to preserve your dignity and pride. (Flavie Chiwo 2014). The Mbororo Fulani to be specific to their pastoral group provides a moral framework and code of conduct in their culture which is this Pulaaku. Mbororo base their identity on certain typological moral rules that are perceived as unique to themselves. Thus, another key area for evaluating and distinguishing them from other cultures is by examining Pulaaku as core of Mbororo ethical value. Their culture is highly influenced and masterminded by it. Pulaaku literally (“Mbororoneess” or “Fulaniness”) is a concept based on Mbororo vision of the world and the vision of themselves as a people. This is accompanied by a philosophy of stoicism, indifference to pleasure or pain (impassiveness) braveness and non-complaining in difficulties which makes them endure hardship in their daily lives (Aloysius N 2015). Because of their ability to master the challenges and hardships they encounter and their resilience in suffering, they turn to be less creative in looking for liberating alternatives to comfort (Ngalim: 2015:704). Pulaaku creates and maintains an ethnic boundary around the Mbororo and such defines an ideology of racial and cultural distinctiveness and superiority (Burnham, 1996:106, Aloygsius 2015). It involves superior otherness and cultural resistance to the world of the indigenes (Davis, 1995:219). The Mbororo Fulani to be specific to their pastoral group provides a moral framework and code of conduct in their culture which is this Pulaaku. It is based on their history of nomadic pastoralism, animal husbandry and it includes duties to elders, wives and the arrangement of marriages. There are four main points of the Pulaaku

- **Munyal/Tolerance.**

This can be interpreted to mean patience, tolerance or perseverance. This aspect of pulaaku teaches the Mbororo that whatever difficulty they may face, there will be relief in the end if only they persevere. It is expected of this group of people to display a high degree of perseverance (Rudolf L and Abubakar M 2000:303). It can also be seen as the ability to remain strong in adversity and the ability to accept misfortune.

- **Hakkiilo/Attention.**

It is also known as EnAam. This aspect of pulaaku is being kind and affectionate especially to one's own relations or kindred (Rudol L and Abubakar M 2000:304). This can be well explained in the proverbs of the Gombe dialect "Ko meemi fuu meemii gite" which literally can be translated as "whatever affects the nose, affects the eyes also". This teaches that whatever affects one's family member or close friends also affects one.

- **Semteende/Shame.**

It is regarded as the most important component of pulaaku. Semteende is easily noticed; but not as easy to define. Semteende literally means 'shamefulness' (Rudolf L. and Abubakar B. 2000: 302). However, such terms as 'being reserved' or 'shy' will be less pejorative and is normal for this group of people to display this characteristic. According to these authors, Rudolf and Abubakar, Semteende has proverbs in which you can know that it is being expressed. It is being reserve and modest in personal relations

- **Nedd'aku or NeAAaaku/ Honor or Respect.**

This means dignity or self respect. This aspect of pulaaku admonishes her people against doing something that are beneath one's dignity. They see begging far more honorable than to steal

These codes are factors that unify the Mbororo Fulani. It is the code of conduct for all true Fulce. Pulaaku is their guiding principle in their dealing with their fellows as well as with other people. Though this is a universal way of characterizing the Mbororo wherever they may be, it varies from one area depending on where these individuals find themselves that sometimes it causes reservations with other groups or society.

2.1.11. Spiritual Aspects

Religious beliefs and practices were also key identity markers which distinguished Mbororo Fulani from indigenes of the area. The Mbororo Fulani were Muslims which implies that they believed in Allah and Islamic doctrines. Like other Muslims, they pray in the mosque. Women do not go to the mosque on ordinary days except Friday and while in the mosque, they do not mix with the men. The two do not see each other for fear of seduction. Before sedentarisation, the Mbororo Fulani faith in Islam was nominal and secondary to their cultural attachment to Pulaaku¹⁹ and its resonance with pastoral lifestyle (Steening 1959:398). There was much to conform that the Mbororo Fulani in general were not very

austere in the performance of their daily prayers. The concern for the well-being of their cattle was the principal factor that prevented many of them from performing their quotidian prayers. This in turn allowed partial or exploitative reading of the Qur'an and its subsequent interpretation.

However, today most if not all of the Mbororo Fulani practice Islam and fully or partially respect its five pillars: confession of basic faith, daily prayers, compulsory contribution in support of Islam and fellow Muslims, the Ramadan fast and pilgrimage to Mecca (Aliou 2004:34). Islam is inseparably associated with the Fulani. While some welcome the structure provided by the five daily prayers (subli.20 juhuri.21 ashri.22 mangrib23 and ishahi24), others experience their performance as disrupting their usual working and sleeping routine. Most exigent, is the fasting that lasts for 28 days during which Muslims are allowed to eat and drink only before sunrise or after sunset. Generally, learning to adhere to the religious requirements takes time and dedication. This religious identity has made and kept the Mbororo woman. The Koran is a book studied by the Muslim community. Islam is the faith shared by the Muslim people. Women in the sight of God have rights and responsibilities as stated by the Koran.

2.1.12. Mbororo and Gender

Gender is a social and cultural construct. It refers to a way in which a society constructs or makes differences between men and women, masculinities and femininities. According to Moses (1993:2), "gender is a set of roles which, like costumes or mask in the theatre, communicate to other people that we are feminine or masculine". These masks include: dress, attitudes, personalities, work both within and outside the house, family commitment etc. In the Mbororo community, they practice a patriarchal authoritarianism as a mode of social organization that gives primacy to men in decision-making. Its society is dichotomized into domestic and public spheres. (Aloysius N 2015:705). This excludes girls and women from the public spheres. Forms of social segregation, including religion are enacted ostensibly to check immorality and promiscuity. Some reviews revealed that Mbororo girls were treated as social minors by their fathers and confined to subordinate roles on the assumption that they were better protected and more useful in the consigned second-class position (Ngalim A. N: 2006). The myth of women's intellectual inferiority was propagated to buttress this fact and, to worsen a bad situation they were forced into early marriages at the age of twelve. Young girls were forced into early marriages or confessional endogamy (Ngalim A. 2006; Aloysius N 2015). The perception of the young girl and women as

custodians of the social values of family and the marriage creates stereotypes in which women were supposed to specialize in domestic chores. The Fulani gerontophallic structure and the generationally asymmetric control over access to resources greatly reduce youth and women spaces of possibilities. The youth and women are frustrated by their inability to achieve autonomy and to ensure a future for themselves because of the greed of their elders. The elders are revered as wise and continue to perform leadership roles in the community. However, it is important to point out that though the Fulani society has been run by gerontocracy and patriarchy for a long time, one cannot overlook its importance. All the same, the situation has not been static. Young Mbororo especially the boys are disrespectful to elders and sexually loose as compared to the previous generations. These actions have provoked moral and civic panic among adults.

One can also observe that this situation is more acute for young girls for whom issues of control of their lives (sexually and choice of life partners) is a central issue. However, the hierarchical structure of the Mbororo society is very strong. Their patriarchal culture requires the women to be submissive to the dominant father and dominant male. They effectively create this subordinated group and control productive and reproductive resources. Youth access to control over production resources (land, labour, capital) as well as their ability to decide whether to engage in other alternative trades is affected by power relations within the household. Power centres are generally sewed in favour of the dominant father and dominant male, leaving the young and the women in an underprivileged and weaker position. The enforcement of this culture means that their participation in decision making is remarkably reduced (Aloysius 2015).

2.2 Theoretical framework.

To attain the objectives and to be able to verify our hypothesis, it is primordial for us to use theories to support our findings. A theoretical framework is that concept that a researcher gets from a theory which he uses to analyze his work to bring out meaning. According to MBONJI 2005, a theoretical framework is that domain of specialization that cuts across boundaries that direct research. It is what we take from one or many theories to interpret data in a study. It is an exclusive construct of the researcher. Science becomes more evident because of this principle whose function is to regroup facts and to give an explanation. Our theoretical framework used in this work is the theory of "Making a future". Ideas and concepts from these theories helped us to give meaning to our work.

2.2.1 Making a future

Making a future is a new anthropological theory that try to explain how people perceive the future and how they act to have a better life.

According to Pelican and Heris (2014), they are five factors that explain the future of the individual:

- Social and environmental conditions
- Economic and social capital
- Social dimension of Activity
- Cultural practices of confronting risk
- Cognitive processes

“...people all around the world have a past live in a present and head to a future. In the contrast to their relationship with the past, however, have to confront their future and take actions to shape it” (Michaela Pelican and J. Patrick Hesis 2014: 7). Getting its rise from the sub-fields of Anthropology; Anthropology of risk or Anthropology of religion, the theory of “Making a future” is a new theory that was developed by both Michaela Pelican and Patrick Hesis. They derived their work from the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and of Jennifer Johnson Hanks (2005).

Pierre Bourdieu the French Sociologist in his works in 1960s with the Algerian, analyzed the effects of capitalism on social practice where he differentiated two ways of relating to the future. A well-organized and calculative approach latter hooked up with two preconditions; regular employment and secured income and a poverty of uncertain undermined style of thinning and acting (mainly the sub-proletarians) (Michaela Pelican and John Hesis 2000: 8). In his study of the Algerian society of the 1960s Pierre Bourdieu (1977) analyses the effects of capitalism on social practice. He differentiates between two ways of relating to the future. On the one hand, he identifies a well organised and calculative approach. That is, people consciously subordinate all aspects of their life to a specific aim; they figure out how best to achieve their goals and act correspondingly. Bourdieu suggests, however, that this mode of planning hinges on two pre-conditions: regular employment and a secure income. Conversely, poverty and uncertainty undermine this style of thinking and acting. Bourdieu outlines a rational versus an incoherent way of planning, as a strategy of decision making and planning.

From her work on family planning among the young educated Beti women in Cameroon, Jennifer Hanks in her writings in 2005 was comparing her interlocutor's approach on marriage and procreation regarding their future. At the analysis of her study, Jennifer came out with the differences on how people do envisage their own future: poverty was not an insured but a more structured condition of uncertainty that undermine the possibility of planning. Johnson-Hanks (2005) in her study of family planning among young, educated Beti women in Cameroon, adopts another perspective. She comes to understand that her interlocutors, rather than executing a well-planned future, adopt a strategy of seizing promising chances, which she terms "judicious opportunism". As she argues, this strategy is prevalent in the absence of social structures that enable rational choice. Johnson-Hanks relate her actors' strategy not so much to poverty, but more generally to structural conditions of uncertainty that undermine the possibilities of planning and affect Cameroonian society in general.

With the short comings of Bourdieu (1997) and Jennifer (2005) who focused more on the relevance of planning process of making a future and their differences neither described it in detailed. The theory of Making a Future seat on major points; the social and environmental conditions of a place, the economic and social capital, cultural practices (types of businesses) of confronting risk and the cognitive processes. These authors Michaela Pelican and Patrick Hesis, draw their works from Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Jennifer Johnson-Hanks (2005) on the topic of 'making a future' to advance their argument. According to the authors, making a future result is a string of actions that has processes comprising of many steps and components yet, there is much scope for these variations. Consequently, one might expect people in different societies to go about it in different ways. Their analysis advances the field of making a future in three respects. First, it illustrates that while the task of making a future is universal, the way people think and go about it i specific; - to an environment, a society, a culture, a historical moment. Secondly, it develops an analytical grid that serves to describe these ways of making a future. Thirdly, it shows how deeply the diverse ways of making a future in Africa are shaped by a volatile environment, the widespread scarcity of means, and uncertain circumstances of action. Thus, for many people in Africa, instability is a pervasive factor that influences their ways of making a life and a future.

Applying the theory of "Making a future" in our study helped us analyze the different activities of the Mbororo women. These activities were characterized by different factors and functions that played important roles in their lives and families. In this theory, we are going to

exploit 3 aspects which include: the social and environment conditions. The social differentiation in this theory went a long way to help us understand that the environment where the Mbororo found themselves played an important role in them getting into the different informal activities. To the Mbororo making a future is also as a result of high unstable or even deteriorating social and natural environments. Secondly, we looked at the Economic and social capital. This aspect of the theory helped us to see the means they need to make a future where they find themselves. They need an economy means to confront their future. Those without access to the necessary economic or social capital lack the ability to confront their future. This applies, for instance, to the unemployed youths as presented by Roth as well as to the lower strata of Agro-pastoral society in Niger. This made us understand that to make a future for themselves, finances are important, and it influence their various activities. Lastly the social dimensions of acting as part of a community. This part of the theory on making a future helped us explained that the Mbororo women certainly gave this impression that making a future is not largely a process in the hands of individuals but is also a process involving the community.

In conclusion, the authors took their point of departure from Bourdieu's and JohnsonHanks' fruitful studies. They present an analytical grid that serves to describe modes of making a future in Africa, identified commonalities that seem generally relevant for making a future in Africa and in all five case studies they came to understand that instability and scarcity are prevailing factors that shape actors' strategies of making a future in Africa. Based on the five case studies in this special issue, the authors cautiously propose to consider the following findings: The environment often seems to be volatile, the means scarce and the course of the intended action uncertain. Risks are thus high and cultural practices may be used to tackle them. Planning for the future often refers to the immediate future, and a minimum of economic and social means is necessary for acting. Social relations are marked by the interpenetration of the social and the economic and by permanent negotiation.

2.2.2 Cultural dynamics

Having as founders who developed this theory, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber, the theory of cultural dynamics was primarily for typology of social forms that aligned with the classification schemes developed by the upper class. The theory Cultural dynamics is one of the most important subdivisions of cultural Anthropology that studies the process and condition of cultural stability and change. Cultural dynamics could be referring to the fundamental alteration, transformation or modification that occurs in patterns of culture. It

could also be the process by which society or cultures becomes different while remaining in some aspect the same. It evokes at the same time historical transformation of culture and the psychological that makes culture not to be the same in time and space.

In the theory of cultural dynamics, evolutionism and diffusionism are seen. These theories show the change and movement of these diversity in cultural change. Evolutionism brings out the three characteristics of culture which is sauvagery, barbarism and civilization. This explains cultural dynamics in three times. Thus, we can say culture is meant to change with time. Diffusionism on the other way explains this dynamic change in “space”; the capacity to invent. Change could be slow or rapid, total or partial, voluntary or involuntary. The search of explanation as to why things change is if human history and imbedded in ideas that are religion, philosophical and scientific.

3. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Researchers generate concepts by generalizing from fact. It is a generally an accepted collection of meanings or characteristics associated with certain events, objects, condition, situations and behaviours. These concepts are often based on our experiences. Concepts can be based on real phenomena and are a generalized idea of something.

3.1 Informal Activity

In the 70s and the 80s, Latin America and other developing countries did lots of attempt to define the term informal economy which was essentially based on dichotomy. The word “*Informal Economy*” conotes to them something “negative” or a default. That is, informal is what is “*not formal*” (Diego Colletto (2010:15). He says an informal economy must be defined according to a socioeconomic context say the Bamilekes. He argues that the informal economy becomes a “transitory” economic phenomenon since it defers from socioeconomic cultures and context. He compares that to the more industrial advanced countries which regard the informal economy as parallel, underground or illegal economy. To conclude, though there is not any global or universal accepted definition on informal economy, the informal economy keeps growing and emerging in new forms and in unexpected places. This definition by Diego has gone a long way giving us an understanding that we can contextualize the informal activity in the Mbororo economy that is commonly parralle to other activity that they do.

3.2. Mbororo Women

These are a group of women who are part of the Fulani ethnic group. They are women who are considered the subordinate gender by the husband. They have no decision-making powers in the family and society, they are denigrated by their customs, and they have little potential for political participation and are bereft of economy society (Kendjei Petronilla K. 2014:1).

3.3. Perception

According to the Cambridge English dictionary 2020, perception is a belief or opinion, often held by many people and based on how things seem. It can also be referred as someone's ability to notice and understand things that are not obvious to other people. It's the process by which individuals organize and interpret their sensory impression in order to give meaning to their environment.

According to Joseph Reitz, "*perception includes all those processes by which an individual receives information about his environment; seeing, hearing, and feeling, tasting and smelling*". He further explains that these processes show that their functioning is affected by three classes of variables that includes; the object or event being perceived, the environment in which perception occurs and the individual doing the perceiving. Thus, in simple terms we can say that perception is the act of seeing what is there to be seen. But what is seen is influenced by the perceiver, the object and the environments.

In conclusion, in this chapter comprised of literature review on what informal activity is. In it, we had an expose of different authors who wrote on informal activities with their different approaches in definition. We further brought the peculiarities the the Mbororo community in general, their lifestyle, the migration movements, their identity and its peculiarities. In this same chapter we explain the theory we are going to use to analyse our work with her different aspect



**CHAPTER 3: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF MBORORO
WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN YAOUNDE**

Chapter three explores in detail the different informal activities carried out by the Mbororo woman in the town of Yaounde. It further brings out the appromate gotten from these women and explains the reason of their choice of acitivity.

3.1 Typology of Mbororo Women's Activities

In Yaoundé the political capital of Cameroon, we find the Mbororo people who leave here coming predominantly from different regions such as the North, the West, East and the North West. These Mbororo women in Yaoundé are mainly involved in the following activities: tailoring, selling of ndakere, the making of kossam, folere and mbaoba, corn mill business, the sales of material, and food selling.

3.1.1 Tailoring

Tailoring is an art of designing, cutting, fitting and finishing of clothes. It is an activity that comprises the sewing of dresses with different types of materials. Here, the tailor buys different kinds of materials that is cut into desired design and length after its measurement. Mbororo women have as culture putting on material clothes. “Goudel” is the native word in Fulfulde also known as “rappa” or loin cloth in English. This tailoring has as items: a sewing mechaine, thread of different colors, chalk or a pen for marking, a scissors for the cutting of materials, pins and a tap used in measuring the client and used in measuring on the material before cutting.

Picture 7. A Mbororo woman sewing



Source: Gillian, 17/12/18.

In Yaoundé, under the leadership of Madam Mbouba who is the leader of the women's wing in MBOSCUDA, had as objective to have women get both economic and social independence. With this, they opened two tailoring workshops in Yaoundé and some of these women were interested to go learn the art of sewing. The loin cloth in the Muslim tradition symbolizes decency beauty and respect. From one of our informants who narrates to us her activity as a tailor says;

"I started my tailoring training where I did it for the past two months consecutively and could not continue because I was pregnant. So, I was obliged to stop. After I went to continue and though, I still got pregnant [laughing] I had to stop and now I decided to learn and kept myself practicing in the house... so when they all go to school, I will sit back and cut my materials and sew as I was thought in my workshop. That is how I got better... someone can come and give me her dress like that and I can sew it for 5000frs a set of a skirt and blouses for example. I can sew children things too for 1500frs, 2000frs depending if it's a skirt, gown or a trouser (Aminatou 17/12/18)

She principally sews for her household and for others close neighbours who bring their different materials to be sewn. As she explains to us, she began her training in a tailoring workshop and due to her pregnancies she had to leave it to take care of her children. With this, she later continued with her tailoring practice at home on an individual basis. Presently she earns an income of approximately 35.000FCFA to 50.000FCFA a month. With this handwork, she is able to take care of her children and assisting her husband.

Picture 8. Already sown dresses on couch



Source: Gillian, 17/12/18

Looking above, we see two pictures. Picture “A” shows us an already sown dress by our informant belonging to a client. She made us understand that this blouse costed this client 2500FCFA and if including the skirt is 4000FCFA. Picture “B” shows an already finished children’s dresses folded at the extreme right with the reddish color.

The rehabilitation and reinsertion of the Mbororo woman into income generating activities was in a way to promote the women, to end the gender-based violence and improve the independency rate from their spouses. With the help of (Forum des Femmes Autochtones du Cameroun) FFAC headed by their president Aeisatou Bouba in collaboaration with the Ministry of women Empowerment and the Family (MINPROFF) delegate rendered more women economically realiable by handing over tailoring equipments.

Picture 9. Mbororo women sewing on machines by FFAC



Source: FFAC, 24/06/20

Sitting above on sewing machines are mbororo women who are on an apprenticeship to sewing dressing. These machines were gift offered to these workshops by the MINPROFF in collaboration with FFAC to assist and equip the women in their quest to learn a trade.

3.1.2. “Ndakere” Business

Ndakere is a light dessert taken by the Mbororo community and sometimes taken as food. It is done with corn flour or with rice flour that has been earlier cooked, it is also called Kouskous Algerienne in English and it's eaten with Kossam. It is soaked in milk then eaten like garri. This is a traditional meal eaten by the Mbororo people or the Muslim in general. The women in Yaounde do hawk it and sell from place to place especially where the Muslim people are found. Some of them do have stationed spot where they sell from morning to evenings. The main typical ingredients of ndakere includes; corn or rice flour, milk and water. It is either served in two separate dishes of jointly

Picture 10: Ndakere

Source: Gillian, 17/08/18

The picture above shows an already prepared Ndakere served on a table for a customer in the town of Yaounde. It is sold at varied cost depending on the consumer's demand. Its prices vary from a 500FCFA to 2000CFA. This type of Ndakere is done with what they commonly call "couscous Algerienne" which is boiled and accompanied with kossam that is different from the others because of its thickness in nature.

"since we eat likely the same thing with the Algerians, but with the difference in that they call it couscous Algerien, it is fabricated and put in sachets bags and soled in super markets and I even have the packet of it here... so to us, we call it Ndakere and we eat it with rice and with Kossam. We eat it the way you [Anglophones] eat garri nor... so the way we prepare is very simple but very delicate when our parent (Dada 27/08/18)

Ndakere is one of the famous Mbororo cultural dishes which are eaten with milk. In the past years it was prepared with fresh milk squeezed from cows and accompanied with ground corn normally called fufu or millet. It is also prepared using rice flour or corn flour depending on the person. They associate milk, sugar which was replaced with bananas in the past decades especially in the rural areas. Ndakere is either hawked or sole on a particular spot for people who can afford to pay the rent of the area chosen. It is being appreciated by the

buyers who believe that they still have their food meeting them in towns or in their place of duties since some of the women do move from place to place.

3.1.3 The Making of “Kossam”

Kossam is a milk based beverage from Northern Cameroon that present great symbolic and social values for the local population. Unlike in the past years, the artisanal fabrication process of kossam is limited due to the constant availability of fresh milk like in rural areas. In town, it is prepared mostly from reconstituted condensed powder milk. This innovation has as different elements for its production: milk, sugar, commercial yogurt, water and variant flavours.

Picture 11: Kossam processing



Source: Gillian, 10/12/18.

In the metropolis towns, kossam is done differently. From the above picture, we can briefly describe the kossam process. Figure “A” show an already fermented milk pre-mixed on the previous day. Milk is the main ingredient poured into a plastic bowl or bucket where a small quantity of water is added in it. This is mixed until it has a smooth and uniform texture. To this mixture, luke warm water is added and mixed to have a more liquid texture. Into this mixture we add some sugar, fermented yurgot or a quantity of an already made and conserved kossam that is put on the top of the already mixed milk. When this is done, the container is then closed with a lid and stored in a warm environment. It is kept in an area far from light and from the reach of children or anyone who will have access to touch or open it. This mixture is kept until a period of 8-24 hours for fermentation to take place. The fermentation takes place rapidly because of the already fermented kossam or yourgourt previously put in. After this period of 8- 24 hours, it is then brought out to be mixed.

In figure B, we see our informant mixing brown sugar into the fermented Kossam. The quantity of the sugar varies from different individuals. The preference of the kind of sugar used was answered by our informant that brown sugar is sweeter as compared to the white type.

Figure C shows the different flavours used for an aroma in the kossam. These flavours include: pineapple and sawberry. These flavours too vary from one person to another.

Figure D shows us the mixture of the chosen flavours and how she further mixes it to have a homogenous mixture.

Picture 12: Kossam processing



Source: Gillian, 10/12/18.

Figure A on the above continues to show the mixture procedure. This mixture has as objective to have all that was put after fermentation have a homogenous mixture. Looking at our mixture we can noticed that it becomes lighter than the first. This is due to the sugar added in the already fermented mixture.

In figure B, we see a sieve on an empty bucket and beside the bucket, the mixed kossam. The sieve is meant to sieve every particle from the mixture which might have entered the mixture through the sugar. Thus, after the sieving phase, the kossam is set for bottling and consumption. It is this result that is put into different bottles and sachet. The sachets are sold as from 50FCFA and 100FCFA. It is also bottled in different bottle sizes. Three and a half milliliters cost 350FCFA, a half liter cost 500FCFA and one and a half litre cost 1500FCFA.

Many of these Mbororo women in town do practice this business. One of our informants share with us her experience.

“I came to Yaoundé this has been long now ehh with my husband and by then I was not really doing anything and with the difficulty here in town it was not easy. Yaoundé is strong ehh. [Laughing] So, I decided to make Kossam and be selling in my house. I will sell like that in different things like in the plastic papers. I will sell it for 50FCFA or in bottles for 300FCFA, 500CFA depending on the type of bottle. Seeing that milk is very expensive, I started with half kilo, then I was increasing it bit by bit. When I bought like that in the market, I come back home and depending on the quantity I bought for the day, I will put some quantity of luke-warm water. Then I will proceed in mixing my milk inside and add an already fermented milk. I mostly put an already fermented kossam inside the mixed one and cover it for it to ferment for 24 hours. When it sleeps like that, I mix it again and add water. I do that because the fermented milk gets so thick that I must add water to dilute, so I dilute it to the texture I want but this time, with normal water. I will add sugar and some flavour I get for kossam (Fatimatou /02/19)

With the recent migration into the town, getting natural milk from the cows was difficult thus, the need for commercial and imported milk to be used to do Kossam. This condensed milk has been what is used to produce local made yourgout also known as kossam. Milk for the kossam is bought in the market in powder form. It is being mixed with cold water while after luke warm water is added into the already mixed milk and stirred. Thereafter, already fermented milk such as yourgot or a previous mixed kossam is put into the mixture, which is later stirred and covered for fermentation to take place. In the next 24hours, the kossam already fermented is then thick and water is added according to your choice, sugar and any flavor of their choices which is then put in the fridge and sold for consumption.

3.1.4 The making of “Folere” and “Mbaoba”

Folere is a plant mostly cultivated in the Northern part of Cameroon. It is locally called in different places as “Zobo”, “Bissap” or “Zangual”. It is cultivated in large pieces of land. The soil is tilled and the seeds of folere are thrown on the soil which later germinates, grows and produces its fruit. This is different from the leaves which are used to prepare soup. These fruits are now harvested, dried and sold in the market as folere.

Picture 13: Folere or “Bissap”



Source: Gillian, (31/12/18).

Many Mbororo women are involved in this business of folere. They buy and fabricate the juice in different quantities depending on their capitals and the rate of sales in their different quarters. Folere is derived from its dried fruits. These dried fruits are bought in different quantities according to the choice of the person. Before being boiled, the folere is soaked in water for some period. After some time, it is then boiled with some quantity of water for 20 to 25 minutes. This is because if it's over boiled, it will cause the folere to have a soar taste. While it boiles most people add pinapple peels to give it a natural flavour. When it is ready it is then allowed to cool for some time. Sugar, aroma is later added into the cooled folere that has been sieved. It is further put especially in half liter in bottles that cost 100FCFA and other are being tied into plastic pappers that are sold as from 25FCFA each.

Picture 14: The filling of folere in bottles



Source: Gillian, (09/12/18).

This picture shows one of our informants filling already prepared folere. She made us understand the different steps she took to have what we see. She principally uses half-litre bottles that are bought by children from her neighborhood. She washes and dries them to make sure they are clean before putting in the folere juice.

Picture 15: Folere and Mbaoba in a deep freezer



Source: Gillian, (25/08/18).

The picture above shows both Mbaoba and folere in a deep freezer. The folere and the mbaoba juice are in three milliliters bottles that cost a 100FCFA each and the others in sachet plastics which cost 25FCFA each. These end products are mostly put in this deep freezer to have them frozen. This is because at a frozen states, it last longer.

Another informant called Hajidja explains to us how she does her folere and Mbaoba which she says is so different from any other folere. She believes her folere is one of the best in the Tongolo neighborhood.

“...I decided that it is best for me to married and have a home of my own where I will be able to be free. So that’s how I dropped out of school and married my husband. So, in marriage with limited education and the living condition not that easy in Yaoundé, I had to start doing business. Before I came to Yaoundé, I was doing kossam business but in Yaoundé now, I do sell Folere... what I use to make my folere is sugar, pineapple flavor, vanille and folere flavor (the liquid one) I started with folere for like 500FCFA. I will soak and boil that quantity in a 6 to 7littres of water for instance in the evening, then in 4littres of water I will boil my sugar and all the different aromes or flavors and mix into the already drained folere drink. After that I will sieve the drink and allow it to settle so that the sand inside should go under like for the next 30mins, then a di go do some different thin them. I come back and put it now inside the bottles and sachets. I sell for 100FCFA a bottle and 25FCFA in sachets...per day, I can sell about from three to five thousand”

“...And the same hing too with Mbaoba since I do both and sell but with the difference that, with mbaoba we soak durinh the day for it to do an over night. This method for me helps the Baoba to dissolve from its seed. After some hours I will always have to use my hands which I washed to help dissolve it from the seeds then I allow it for the next morning where ill have to drained and start its own mixture which is not different from how I do my folore. I will have to put in bottles and sachets for 25FCFA and 100FCFA”
(Hadjija, 09/12/18)

This informant Hadjija is a Hausa who got married to an Mbororo man and to that effect becomes an Mbororo woman by virtue of marriage. She chose to get into marriage at a tender age according to her because she thought having her family on her own was the best option since her mother did not want to send her to school. Before she got married, she was already into kossam. And as she migrated with her husband into Yaounde life wasn’t evident as things became more thougher and they had bills to pay and children to take care of. She explains to us how she started with a capital business of buying folere for 500FCFA.

Picture 16: The Sieving and the bottling of Folere.



Source: Gillian, (09/12/18).

Figure A shows madam Hadjija sieving her folere to remove the particles that has settled under the bucket.

Figure B shows the process in her bottling this foler into bottles and some into plastic papers

Picture 17: Mixture of mbaoba.



Source: Gillian, (09/12/2018).

From the illustration above, label A shows an already soaked mbaoba of a day before our interview. She explains, that she had to stir at some given point to help it melt easily. Most often it is done with the hands to ease the melting. After this, it is then drains with the help of a sieve and is allowed in the bucket. This is to permit sand to settle at the bottom of the bucket.

The mixture labelled B is a different mixture that constitutes water, sugar, and different Mbaoba flavours. When the settled mixture is sieved, the liquid mixture is added into the mbaoba extracts where it is sold in bottles of 100FCFA, in plastics of 25FCFA and of 50FCFA.

3.1.5 Corn Business (Pap Business)

Corn is a well-known cereal grown in the different regions of Cameroon. This cereal grows in two seasons of the year in Cameroon and has three months before its maturity. After this period, it is harvested, dried, sold and/or eaten. It can also be eaten fresh depending on the different cultures in Cameroon.

Corn meal is one of the staple meals of the Mbororo community. It is prepared in different forms and for different occasions. Corn in the Mbororo community can be prepared as fufu-corn also called as “butaali”. Here, the corn is dried and later ground into very tiny particles making as fine flour. It can also be prepared as pap. Pap is a liquid drink derived from soaked corn that is later ground in a machine after some days. It is then drained and kept in buckets or in cases for business, it is squeezed and later rolled in bundles. It is also a meal well consumed during the feast of the Ramadan.

Picture 18: Cleaned maize prepared to be soaked.



Source: Gillian, (09/12/18).

The above picture shows us an already peeled corn that was bought in the market. It was further cracked into smaller grains to ease the process of the corn as it will be soaked in water for some few days. For the already cracked grains to become pap, it is washed and soaked for the next two or three days. After this time frame, it is then taken to the grinding mill. Before this already soaked corn is taken to the grinding mill, the water that was used in the soaked process is drained and rinsed with clean water. This is to remove the fermented water in the corn and to rinse out the odour in the corn.

Picture 19: Ground and washed pap



Source: Gillian (09/12/18)

The above picture shows us the result of an already soaked and ground maize. To arrive at these folded balls, after the soaked corn was ground in the grinding mill, it was kept settling for a while. Unlike other with different culture that wash it after grinding because they just merely soak the corn with its peels, this Mbororo lady do not do it the same way since she had ease the process by peeling, cracking and washing the corn before she soaked it. When she gets from the grinding mill, she allows the paste to rest for a while. In this waiting, the paste settles to the bottom of the bucket while the water remains above. This water is drained then the paste is squeezed with a clean cotton tissue to remove the remaining water. When this is done, little round shapes are formed and sold at the cost of 100FCFA each. She further tells us her experiences and processes. She says:

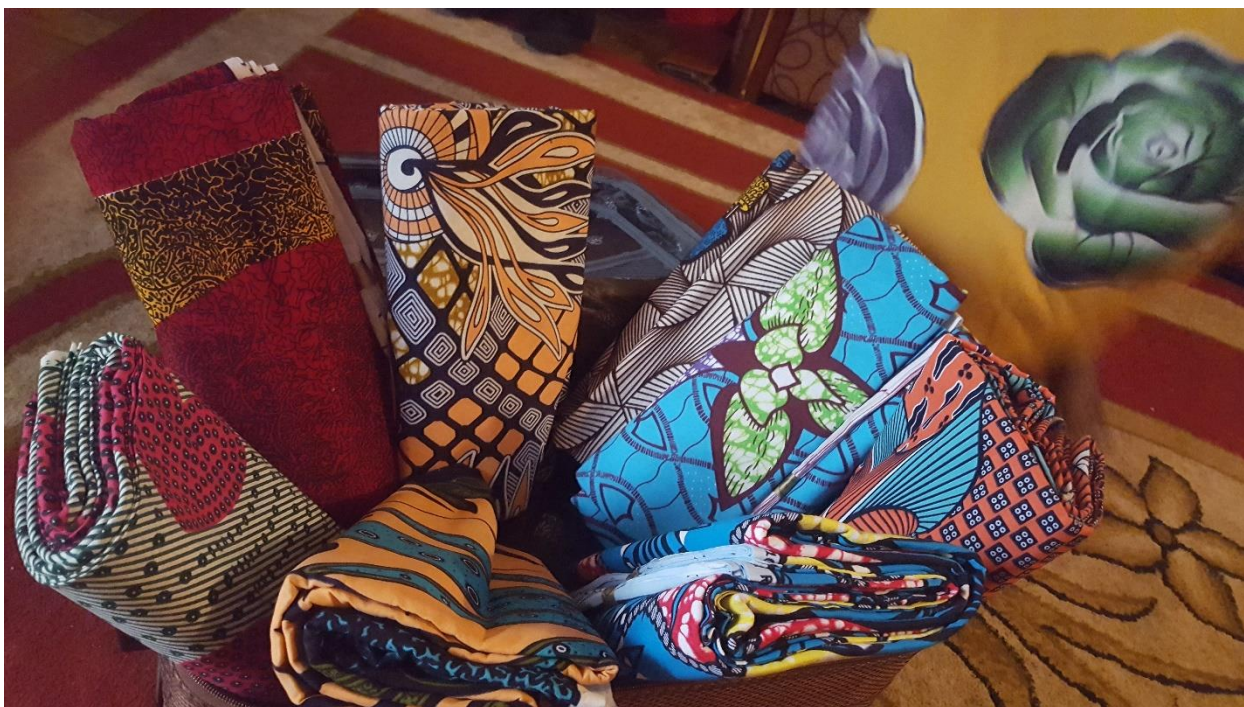
“I am doing this business it’s been 5 years now. I buy corn in the market; I give to the grinning machine where they will peel the back. I return home, I wash, and I shock it in water and after some few days I will grind it. [...break...]. When I return home after grinding the already shocked corn, I allow the corn to set, after a while, I will take a piece of cloth where I will put the already grown paste in it and squeeze it well. Thereafter, I start forming little balls where I sell for 50 50FCFA” (Rakayatou 9th December 2018)

According to this informant, raw pap business is her source of little income she does to assist her family. She buys the corn she uses from the market. When she buys the corn, she takes it to the grinding machine to remove the peels and then get the corn cracked. The reason for this as she explains is to ease the maize to get soft in some few days. When she brings it back home, she shocks it into a bucket, which she covers for two days and after these days, she removes and grinds in the machine. Thereafter, she allows it to drain for some while making the paste to separate from water. She then uses a tissue to squeeze out the remaining water inside of the paste where she now forms round balls that she later sells for 100FCFA.

3.1.6. Sales of African Fabric

African print fabric, also known as ‘kitenge’ and ‘Ankara’ is a mass produce of colorful cotton cloth commonly worn and used to make clothing designs. The method principally used in producing this fabric is called “batik” which is a wax resistant dyeing technique and ancient art forms that originated from Indonesia. It has a commonality in that the print design and colours look the same on both the front and backsides of the fabric. The quality of every fabric depends on the type of cotton cloth used as well as the manufacturing processes used. It is usually measured in yards (Kitenge 2020). The Mbororo woman commonly calls it “Goudel”. They regard this fabric to a high esteem because of their culture. They put it on to cover themselves and to look beautiful. These fabrics are more comfortable to get by these women as to when worn, it does not expose their bodies. Many Mbororo women do involve themselves in the sales of such African fabric too as they buy from their main suppliers and further sell in different places of their choice.

Picture 20: Wax Fabric



Source: Gillian, (25/08/18).

The picture above shows different African fabric in a box sold by one of our informants. Some informants buy these African fabrics from whole scale vendors in major markets, which they further sell to different individuals who are interested in purchasing it. Different Mbororo women who go in for different quantity according to their capital do this business. We asked our informant about her fabrics business and here is what she told us:

“Before I started selling African fabrics, I was first of all selling little things such as savon and some other things... now I sell rappa [queit] I sell my fabric clothes in the house since I don’t go out. Since I do not go out, my daughter takes it sometimes and move in nearby places and sometimes too she takes pictures of it in her phone and show it to people and I take them to my meeting place. It is helping me to help my family though it’s a little slow” (Dada Mami 25/08/18)

Dada mami is an aged woman in her early seventies who followed her husband to Yaounde and started a business in 1998. She told us, she has been doing other businesses for the past 20 years now. In which she started selling little things such as savon, maggi cubes and little basic household needs. She sold those products in her house before getting into the fabric business. She sells her fabrics for 8000FCFA a piece as she gets it from suppliers in the main market and does retail it to different people. She tells us that she sells her own materials mostly in the house where she shows it to neighbors or in meeting places. In addition, her

daughter assists her in selling these fabrics using online platforms as she uses her phone to put it up on status.

Apart from selling in little quantity as Dada above, many other women do sell in bulk. This factor depends solely on the availability of capital at hand. They go beyond their immediate environment to get maximum customers as possible and to have a wider range of sales. One of our informants narrates her story...

“I chose tailoring [coughs] I chose tailoring at Oror and later got into the fabric cloth business the moment I was leaving at Essos. Yes, we made about two years there and I was gaining little profit with the women there, women at the ministries, in schools... for example, in Essos, at the public school lycee d’elig-esono. I contact people at FEICOM, I go and propose them my fabric clothes. When I put on my own fabric like that, people will tell me madam you look good with that African fabric, where do you buy it? I will tell them that there is no problem I have a brother who buys them in containers and sells in Yaounde and Douala. He has this magazine where I choose some pieces and I present. So, when they make their choices from the samples, they will ask me to bring 50 or 60 pieces and I have my profit from it. I will go and deliver, I will take my money, return home and it helps me a lot. This is how we live in town. You can do some little commerce and some big commerce. With the big business for example, you can gain markets in ministries when you get in contact with them. Me, I had one minister called Suzan Bomba, she is off late... when she lived, I went there, and everybody were buying fabrics cloth even her from me. She always sends me her command for her group meetings. So that is what I was doing” (Dada Bebe at soa 28/08/18)

Funly referred to as Dada Bebe by many, is a married woman who deals in the business of African fabric cloth. She mostly does her sales as she moves from one place to the other. Her fellow women are regarding her due to her business strength as a national woman. She sells mostly in targeted areas where she goes, proposes and then delivers. If any orders are placed, she then does the delivery and gets her pay. She started this business, as she will move to different location around her environs. With limited capital at that moment, she got help from her brother who offered her these fabrics before she could sell and return the money. She makes profit each day from the sales and most when she had greater orders from her different presentation.

3.1.7. Restauration Business

A restaurant business can be referred to as an eatery site where people come to eat food and have some drinks. It is a business that prepares and serves food and drinks to cusumers. Generally, these meals are always eaten in the premises provided by the spots in

town. In some extend, some of these restaurants also offers services where food can be packaged home, that is carry to their destinations. It is often own by single or a group of individuals. Restauration business has become a business carried out by some Mbororo women in the town of Yaoundé. The meals prepared there are from their culture such as fufu corn and vegetable soup, okror, rice and millet. In a restaurant spot we visited, we noticed that most people that came eating were the Muslim community. This is because they share a common meal, as the food sold there are food from their cultural setting.

Picture 21: Mbororo woman's restaurant



Source: Gillian, (11/08/2018).

The above picture shows us a restaurant owned by an Mbororo woman around carrefour Etoundi one of the quarters in Yaounde. We see some plates on the table already used by some clients who finished eating upon our arrival. This restaurant opens her services in the morning as clients will come and have some breakfast. Breakfast foods sold here are pap and beignet, tea or what is commonly called “chii”. During the afternoon periods, other foods are later cooked. In this restaurant, she cooks food such as corn fufu, okra soup, soup made with folere leaves, rice and soup. The foods here are sold at different prices such 300FCFA, 500FCFA. This restaurant employs other young Mbororo and Hausa girls. We

asked our informant about her restauration business and here is what she made us to understand; she expressed herself in the pigin language, she says:

“thin them no be easy for town here... you go shidong one place with ya massa and na yi di do all thin but yet ei d like say thin them no di change. So, a decide for start for sell ma chop for here small small and now so ei don big and plenty pipo them know me na and the business now di helep plenty people them and me sef. A di sell di wa Hausa chop them all wa contri chop them weh ma customer them go di likam. We go wokop very early like 4-5 o'clock for morning time so then start for di put some of the chop them for fire then as afternoon di came so we start for clean place make the can chop. We di cook different chop like fufu and okro, fufu and 'kenekene' or folere and we d also cook rice... the money for the chop go depend for the chop nor... sometimes you go get 300FCFA, 500FCFA so ei depend ehh (HADJA at Etoudi, 11/08/2018)

Literally translated in English;

“thing in town here are not easy... you will be in the same place with your husband and he is the one doing everything yet its still like things were not changing. So, I decided to sell food here bit by bit and now we have this big place and many people now know me and my business now helps many people and me inclusive. I sell this our Hausa food and all our traditional foods that customers will love them. We get up at 4-5am in the morning to start preparing the food. Then as from the afternoon, we start keeping places clean for people to come eat... we cook different food such as corn fufu and okra soup, corn fufu and 'kenekene' or folere leaves and we also cook rice... the money paid will depend on food the cutomer will demand. Sometimes, you will have 300FCFA, 500FCFA so it will depend. (Hadjia 11/08/2018)

This Mbororo woman (anonymous) is a businessperson dealing in cooked food in the Etoudi neighborhood. She sells all the common Muslim traditional meals. She sells fufu corn with vegetable soup, okra, millet, rice. She starts preparing her things in the early hours of the day at 4-5am daily and is assisted by two girls. They do cook food around that vicinity to earn income for themselves. This woman varies her prices depending on the type and quantity of the food ordered. She sells as from 300FCFA to 500FCFA or more. She says she gains in her restaurant business as that has gone a long way to support her family and her husband as she supports in the welfare of the house.

3.1.8. Croket Business (doughnut made with flour)

“Crocket” funly called in the French language is doughnut. The flour is mixed with different ingridents and cut into desired shapes and sizes, fried and sold for consumption. The ingridients needed for ‘croket’ includes flour, sugar, milk, water, oil and flavours. A desired quantity of flour is bought, in that flour, what is added are the dried ingrideints that include

sugar, nut-milk, baking powder, vanile. This is further mixed and there after egg is added in the precedent mixture. It is mixed again until it becomes smooth. This mixture will turn hard having a desired texture of dough which is now cut is desired shapes and sizes.t

Picture 22, Crocket business.



Source: Gillian, (08/08/18).

The picture above shows an Mbororo womans business done beside her house. We see a bucket containing some crocket. This crocket is sold for 25FCFA each. Next to it, we have a flask containing folere and mboaba that she sells for 25FCFA in a sachet and 100FCFA for that in a three millitres bottle. We asked our informant about this croket business and she shared with us her experience:

“...I do croket as my own business which I associate with folere. When it is mostly holidays as this, where there are many children in the quarters, I do it and sell for 25, 25 FRS each. Moreover, they are buying it. I can have a benefit of a 1000 FRS from it. In addition, to that I do not have any problem. Just that I am at home; in one place that’s all” because apart from the folere

that I do I accompany it with crocket because I ave many children in the quarter. I can spend o my flour and other things that I willneedandi will still have an extra gagin of 1000frsand that is money if you keep gathering it is going to help you (Ayi Maussa ecole de police (08/08/2018).

Mrs Ayi Moussa is a woman who does business both into croket and folere. According to her, croket might be in small quantity because of the environment she finds herself. Despite that she still makes some gains because it is mostly bought by children in the quarter reason being that it cost 25FCFA. This to her turns her business fatser since she is able to sell in a limited period.

In this chapter, we bring out the enthography of activities of the Mbororo women in Yaounde. On the field we noticed that the Mbororo women do carry out several informal activities. These activities included; tailoring, the sales material, folere and mbaoba, Ndakere with rice, kossam and crocket. These activities were more common to them as they will not go out of the confinement of what they know how to do best. The advantage there is with these businesses is that, it causes them to a greater percentage to be carry out at the confine of their homes or just a little distance away from their houses. These businesses carried out by these women goes a long way to assit their family as they earn income from the different mentioned businesses.



**CHAPTER 4: ACTIVITIES PRACTICED BY MBORORO
WOMEN AND ITS WELFARE IN THE HOUSHOLD**

This chapter explores the different effects women have due to fact they carry out their different informal activities and the welfare it brings to her household. We will further see the positive impact on both the women and the different stakeholders. Also, we will see the inconveniences of these activities on both these women, and the gender relationship it has in her society. It is important to note that, these activities practiced by the Mbororo women in the city of Yaoundé are derived from their way of life: what they believe and practice. This explains the reason why their activities are centered more on their cultural settings.

4.1 Effects of the Activities Practiced by the Mbororo Women

Most activities carried out by these women in the town of Yaoundé are due to the challenges faced in this city such as low income or limited resources from their husbands. Coupled with the high standard of living in the city as they migrated with their husbands saw the need to assist and by so doing, they improved the wellbeing of their homes. With these experiences, these women both face some positive and negative effects from the activities practiced.

4.1.1. Benefit of the Mbororo woman in business

Many Mbororo women do carry out informal activities to support themselves and their families. Carrying out an activity has been a long cultural habit though with its limitations in the past decades. Nonetheless, in recent times, they do admit that these activities have played a more significant role due to the context in which they find themselves, Yaoundé. It has gone a long way to give them an autonomy as they are able not to fully depend on their spouses or family for help. It has created a sense of unity among themselves, more gained educational skills and many others. Practicing or carrying out one or two activities has helped them in the following ways:

4.1.1.1. Autonomy or Independent

The Merriam-webster dictionary defines the word independent as follows; it is an adjective that refers to something which is not subject to control by others, not requiring or relying on something else, not looking to others. Carrying out one or two activities by these women has curb the rate of dependency on their spouses and family. It has assisted them to carry out or get involved in some aspect which they weren't involed in due to limited funds and with the subjection to customs and traditions. This view point on being dependent is shared by majority of these women during our in-depth interview:

“Me, I forced myself to build the house you see like this [pointing at the house]. I struggled for it to be built, I am telling you. I said I am not longer going to be a tenant... with the money I got from my business of selling fabrics, I have built independent rooms though it is not in the best of design that I wanted it to be, but they pay me well. 25000FCFA per month and the other 18000FCFA per month and I am the one taking the money... if I was not doing business, I would not have had that money so, it helped. I have a daughter who is a journalist and there is my son who is a gendarme major. All this is me not really him, my spouse with the help of my fabric business. The selling of African fabrics from place to place has helped me to sponsor those my children and now they are very big people in the society and that is making me proud you see what I am saying, so the business has given me many advantages” (Dada Bebe, 27/08/18)

According to the above informant, the business of selling African fabric yielded a lot of income to the extent she was able to build a house at the Soa neighborhood with financial aide from her husband. Though all not completed, she has been able to put the house out on rent where she collects a monthly pay. With this money, she was able to sponsor her eldest children and is still sponsoring the younger ones in schools. This to her has made her independent as she no longer solely depends on her husband for the children’s fees and in carrying out some home responsibilities. In doing this, she believes this has given her the ability to support her husband with the children and other things and she sees it as a great achievement and impact.

Another informant does believe that the income she earns generally assists her husband and family as she doesn’t solely have to depend on him for any little thing that may concern her. This is the least she can afford which “*by the help of Allah*” as she says has created an impact in her life as an individual and the lives of her immediate family. This has created a sense of independency as she is able to purchase her needs from the income derieved from the sales does. She says:

“...I am saying that, I do not want my body lotion to get finish and I start begging that please my oil is finished. Then he will tell me that I should wait for tomorrow of which my body lotion is finished. I will go get my bath, then come and shake the bottle and there is nothing inside. Its better I had to struggle so that I would not ask again. Now, once my body lotion is finished, I will go and get it at once with my money...the money I sell and save bit by bit. I will not have to ask him or have to wait for his own time. The little profit I have helped me. I have children that I have to help too and when you do it like that it helps. It helps your husband when he does not have I can. I can also help the children...yes! Its helps... we can’t deny that” (Ibrahim Hapsatou 24/08/18)

According to this informant, doing business has helped her a lot as she is able to get most of her basic needs without having to wait each time on her husband. With her basic needs such as her toiletries she says it is not something so comfortable asking your spouse each time you will be in need. Doing her business has given her the autonomy to take care of her basic needs as a woman and she no longer must demand. Apart from her little needs, some basic needs of the home and children's daily needs are being taken care of. She affirms that no matter how little the income she gets from her business is, facts can not be denied that she is not assisting in the house. She also believes that, this little effort she does relief the husband from stress and other burden.

Added to this assistance we had another informant who equally does believes that the business she does has helped her household. This was one of the cases in our in-depth interview with her. She tells us that selling Ndakere helped her solve her problems in the city.

“I leave alone, and I am from Sabga. I am here to do business since 2016. With it I can pay my house rent, my childrens’ school fees, take care of their feeding and health etc. I manage it like that because I am not educated. It is not enough for my future, but I need to work hard for my children, so I sell like this everyday and save the money so at the end my children will have something to eat and I will manage and pay their school fees in one public government school. You see how it helps me right? I will not need to depend too much on people... mbororo women are very strong women ehh!”
[Laughs] (Hawa 11/08/2018)

Hawa Abdu is a widow who lost her husband years back and came to fend for herself in Yaoundé due to the up rising crisis. She prepares ndakere alongside rice as she hawks it daily for a living. The profit she gets from the sales has helped her to pay for her children fees, provide food in her home and pay for the house rents. Though not easy due to the challenges she faces every day, she believes that she is independent and does not rely on anyone for her survival. Whatever she does, she believes that as she struggles each daily and saves, she sees a brighter future in her children. The business she does, has made her not to rely on people for help.

4.1.1.2. Welfare of the Family

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines welfare as a state of being healthy or doing well especially in relation to happiness, well-being or success. It can also be referred to as an aid in the form of money or necessities for people in need. Mbororo women have greatly impacted their household in these aspects by their businesses. In the past years, the Muslim

community regarded welfare as seeing their women giving birth to many children, taking care of them and being respectful to their husbands. But with these children, coupled with the limited resources, they turn to have a different perspective. Carrying out a business has indeed had a positive impact to them in their homes.

One of the informants says starting her business has really assisted her home. Moussa Ayi says that with the business of folere, she has successively saved some money which has played an important role in assisting her family:

“I could not see my twins not go to school last year...so I had to pay solely for their fees from the income I got from the sales of folere. This that year relieved my husband since the council destroyed his business place... the money I use to sell folere and baoba was of great importance to us and I see my future in my children since I did not go to school especially this my first daughter here. She has to go to school well before she gets married... I can say yes, if I sell, I can do folere for 15000FCFA like that, when I sell I remove money to get the other items and the rest, I keep it in the caisse [hmm] per year, when I open it, I can have one hundred thousand in it. I then help the father of my children to even buy some books, bags, children’s dresses ... so I don’t more ask. If they ask me 2000FCFA in school, I will not wait for my husband to tell him what has been asked in school, I struggle to help. Even my refrigerator that you see [pointing to her kitchen], I am the one who bought it with my daily contribution of one one hundred or two two hundred... I do even help my family, my brother and my sister, my mother so I don’t really ask him that I need money, no! He knows that I will struggle for it... I struggle like this, even savon for my mother I don’t need to ask to my husband that give it to me, [silence] so I take, and I give to my mother. So, I don’t have problems, I don’t ask again, and it helps my mother too” (28/08/18, Ayi Moussa)

From our informant Ayi, we came to realize that her husband was a business man. Unfortunately for them, this business was destroyed by the yaounde city council. This had an impact in her household as it influenced the family’s welfare to the extent that he had challenges in paying the children’s school fees. It was due to the income from the sales of folere and Mbaoba that helped in paying the children’s fees of last academic year. Due to these activities that she carries out, she was able to assist her husbands in sponsoring the children to school. She believes that in selling her folere she also helps her parents and siblings. This business provides some basic needs without necessarily having to wait on her husband and this her brought happiness in her home.

Getting involved in a business has greatly assisted her as she does not solely depend on her husband for some basic needs. She tells us that due to her business, she saves money for future purposes where in some cases she assists her husband to get some children’s need

such as bags, books dresses and many others. Also, she does not depend on her husband for the least thing demanded in school, she pays at once. She also explains to us how her business has helped her to take care of her family back home without necessarily asking for help all the time from her husband. This, in her own thought has made her to be independent which was not something she had when she wasn't doing anything.

Talking to Dada bebe she says doing a business has made her contribute to the family's comfort.

"...as a woman in the house, there is this tendency that your husband will have to give you some money to cook for the house. There are times in my case where my husband wouldn't have much and I will have to complete the money to buy food that will be sufficient in my home. And you know if I wasn't selling it wouldn't have been possible. Now when I have money I will assist in getting some basic food items in the house that will benefit us all when there is less money. And this money is gotten from the business I do and it makes it less burdensome to my husband. We help each other to meet those needs" (Dada Bebe, 28/08/18)

As a helpmate, this informant sees it as something important to support her husband in getting some basic needs for her home. With the little that he can provide everyday, and considering that it might not be enough, her business gives her the opportunity to compliment what was giving to make the home comfortable.

4.1.1.3. Education

Education is a learning process that brings a permanent change in a person's thinking and capacity of doing other things. Education in this context with the Mbororo women is not undertaking a course or obtaining a formal qualification. However, it's seen as the process of imparting or acquiring specific knowledge or skills as a profession. The various finances gotten from the different businesses carried out by these Mbororo Women do help them acquire more knowledge and skills and to sponsor their children to school. Some women see the importance of their peti trade as an indirect way to learn and meet up with life's basic know how. We can see this from one informant who says;

"I did not go to school for a long time. I dropped when I had to write my First School Living Certificate (FSLC). This made me not to really know how to read and write. Then I got married and here I am. When I get my money from my peti business, I am happy assisting my husband in sponsoring our children to school... see ehh, when I dress them up from school like that, I remain home, I sew the dresses I have to sew and upon their return when everything is ready they eat, and we study together. I am happy when they

teach me small small things. Now I can understand and read small things in the book. You see that it is important narr... so it's a good thing that I am doing with my husband for our children because I am also learning from them (Djenabou 04/12/19)

She explains that even though she did not go to school, she sees her education in her children. This reason has given her more strength to carry out the business and not to give up. In as much as she did not complete her education, she believes her children going to school has helped her learn how to read more. This is because she is thought at home when her children return from school. She sees it as a positive impact in her life since she did not complete her primary education. The rate of illiteracy as seen in many reviews and articles about the Mbororo woman not knowing how to read and write is in a decline as they have different methods of learning. Like Djenabou who did not know how to read well now has improved with the help of her children compared to when she left school some years back.

Some associations see educating women as empowering them with knowledge to be bold and successful as they go to face life. It is equipping them with the right material with the objective to have them empowered. With their different agendas of teachings, talks, illustration in seminars about them and their surrounding, this has created a huge benefit to these women. The president of a meeting group we met tells us how this is helping;

"I am the president of this small women group, and our objective is to teach every mbororo woman her right as we meet and with a lot of different teachings that will help them face the world better. I attend different seminars and when I go sometimes, I make sure I carry one or two of the women in the group for them to go and see how other women are thought on different things and on their rights too as indigenous women. Like the last meeting I went organized by the UN Women at Province at the cultural hall, I went along with two women and they were happy to see that women and being thought on different things" (ADJIDJA PRESIDENT 23/03/19).

Adjidja is an elected president of an Mbororo women association found in Yaounde. Miss Adjidja does not only believe they are meant to meet at their small gathering to enjoy themselves, but she equips the women with different knowledge. Apart from the various meetings, she goes the extra mile to lobby for different meetings out of their comfort zone. In most cases, she takes along with her one or two women at different occasions to witness what is going on around them and in the world. She believes that involving them into seminars will expose them to the happenings in society thus giving them a broader mind and not limiting themselves.

Another informant adds that the different meeting she attends with these people from different sphere of influence has caused her to improve on herself as she can face different people;

“Going to the meeting each time I have the opportunity has thought me on some particular topics. These great leader women there have greatly improved us and added knowledge to what we had. It has made me confident to face people even my neighbors who are mostly from different tribes and regions. Now and in most times, I am always eager to wait for our monthly meeting as women in the office” (Asana 04/12/18)

This informant believes that her being in the meeting has helped her to better cohabit with her neighbors. The different teachings received from the various seminars and monthly meeting does help her. Being able to go past her timid nature to be able to be comfortable to communicate with her various surrounding makes it profitable.

4.1.1.4. Togetherness or Unity

Togetherness refers to a union, proximity and close contact of two or more people. It is the quality or state of being one, in a close relationship, association, agreement of two or more people. Being together is one of the watch words of the Mbororo community. This sometimes explains the reason why they eat in the same plates or trays. It's seen as a symbol of unity and togetherness. Being in Yaounde has limited this act due to distances, the restriction of some husbands to their wives in going out. With the coming of MBOSCUDA and their different gathering, meeting days has helped in bringing together women as they have as objectives to emancipate each on business and savings. These objectives permitted these women to meet with one another on weekly and/or monthly basis. This also varied with different women associations we found on the field. Their businesses provided them with money to meet and commune with each other. Women's right movement began in the 19th century with the demand by some women reformers for the right to vote and for some legal right as men. MBOSCUDA has played a very important role in the emancipation of the mbororo girl child and her women. This has gone a long way to boast every woman in her gathering. This to them have brought a positive impact as they get to know each other. One of informant tells us how positive meeting together has been to them.

“When we are in MBOSCUDA for our meeting, it helps us a lot. We have money to safe you see na, when our sisters have problems, even like in their marriages, we give a some of two thousand each. When someone is sick like that, we give one one thousand and that depends on the number of persons so that you can do your first treatment. You see that this money does not really

come from our husbands. It is from the businesses that we all do. So, it also important” (Dada Bebe, 27/08/18)

Dada explains to us how getting into a business has made her to associate with her fellow women. As a member of the women’s group in MBOSCUDA, she says meeting every twice a month to contribute is doing a lot of good because they don’t only contribute for themselves or do their savings but also contributes to assist other sisters in need. In the meeting, they also hold debates that allow women to express themselves. This is so helpful to them in that due to some aspects of their culture (pulaaku) they have this difficulty to do with the public. This moral conduct called Pulaaku makes the Mbororo woman to be reserve to herself.

Another respondent from our FGD, says that it was since she got into business that she was able to pay her transport to meet with her fellow sisters.

“At first when they talked of meeting with the women in MBOSCUDA, it was difficult to go because my husband won’t give me the money each time I ask. Even if he gives sometimes it’s like it’s a burden to him and you will feel uncomfortable to ask him next time. This made I started seeing myself abstaining from my fellow sisters. But since I got to sell my kossam at least I will have to keep some money to safe for my meeting and paying my transport for the meeting. For in this meeting one can have freedom to express oneself and meet people who are from the same place with you... (December 2018)

From our focus group discussion with the mbororo women in one meeting, this lady talked of how important her peti business has been of help to her as she has become consistent in her monthly meeting. Without solely depending on her husband, it has brought a certain level of independency as she is able to meet with her sisters from the same culture. Now she can meet up with the monthly contributions and has the opportunity to fellowship with each other monthly. She counts it a privilege.

Order than MBOSCUDA, other women’s meetings have stem up to help promote the Mbororo woman in general and especially in Yaounde. This has helped them to promote their identity and confidence among each other. One of our informants says:

“...you remember when you saw us at mvan; it was one of our meetings being hosted by the woman there. It was her turn to host us... so every third Sartuday of the month we meet in different houses to talk as women, to make fun and relax from the busy schedule we have here in town. Moreover, you saw it we relaxed, we ate and made fun with each other and it made us know that we are one. Though we have monthly contribution, the important thing is

that we meet commune with other. It's not always that free with other women here..." (Dawai 12/12/19)

Mrs Dawai lives in the mvan neighborhood of Yaounde. She was one of the women in our focus group during their monthly women's meeting. We were present at the meeting as they shared some discussion on strategies on how to increase their profit in their businesses amongst themselves and had fun. She explains how they enjoy their meeting with the other women and how far this meeting has helped her be close to other women. They do meet once in a month and in their meetings, they also carry out contributions and savings. At the end of every meeting, they share a common meal together.

During this focus group discussions, we had many comments on what this association has done and is doing for the Mbororo women.

"...being here this far has not been easy. We have gone through a lot but each time we come together, we are being thought on how to be independent and not to just seat at home. We encourage ourselves to also try and do something like other women to assist our husbands and our homes as whole too" (Aminatou 15/12/19)

This informant tells us how profitable carrying out an activity has been to her and how far is has thought her to be independent. She assists her husband and her houldhold in the business she does due to the teachings and encouragement given to them as they meet monthly. As we continue with our focused group, we have other individuals getting more indebth in her opinions concerning the meeting they hold last every Saturday of the month.

"In this our small meeting ehh where we meet every three Saturdays of the month we don't only come to see each other. We also come to encourage and share different ideas, and this has helped. It has really helped some other women amongst us who were afraid to try and do something because of one thing or the other. We teach ourselves in our own way as women. The objective is that we should not just be seating and just waiting things from our husbands... you even see that my small business that I do, they are these women that contributed for its startup. Now I am happy, and I can help other young girls too in this meeting (Hadjija 04/12/18)

This mbororo woman explains how the women's group in which they find themselves has gone a long way to boast them up and to assit them in their business. The encouragements from the group and from every woman that belonged contributes with those struggling of inferiority complex to becaome better persons. Various individuals are very proud for their

different achievements so far in life. The willingness to assist each other as mbororo women in their quest for a better life has prompted them to meet every month.

4.1.2. Mbororo women's activities Perceived by the men

Mbororo men have different ways they regarded their women. As culture required, they were as glued to their traditions and followed suit. Unlike in the past century and with the evolutions of things, these men have different perceptions on how they see their women carrying out an activity. There are two different ways the mbororo man perceive their women; positive and negative.

4.1.2.1. Mbororo Men's positive perceptions of business regarding their women

Some Mbororo men we interviewed are happy that their women are carrying out an activity. They do believe this assist their household in general. These men greatly believe that nowadays women really do need to have something doing to support their spouses. Some of these men have encouraged their wives to get into such ventures especially seeing how far it assist their household. An informant narrates to us:

"...yes, we can leave a mbororo woman to work... as for my wife, I got married to her before coming to town. She started selling in a bakery while I was ridding a byc. She stopped the bakery business and started selling fufu in a small spot meanwhile I had taken a car on hire purchase. Do you know that the money she saved from the sales of fufu and my savings from the byc helped me...? you see, she sells and saves 3000FCFA per week and this had helped me and now I drive a car that I have paid in full the money already (Anonymous ancienne 6eme Etoudi, 11/08/18)

This man believes that a Mbororo woman contrary to what many Muslim men think is capable to assist her husband and family. This to him reduces the stress men have to go through to totally meet the needs of their homes. This informant narrates how he got married to his wife and they latter moved to Yaounde. His wife got into selling in a bakery shop. After a while, she later became independent as she got into selling fufu in a small spot around. The income gotten from this business assisted them to buy his car that he took on a high purchase. He is now happy of being a proud owner of his own taxi due to his wife's assistance. He believes this is done with the understanding of both the husbands and his wife.

Again, from another interviewee an aged man, husband to Dada mami does affirms that he does not have any problem with his wife doing business. He says:

“...all these things of business do not disturb me. When there is a case of sickness and even to help the family, she my wife helps my family...this business she does has really help in our family because sometimes things are difficult on my side and with the little income she has, she will help and even cook for us. Sometimes she will have to add to the money that I give her for other things to be done. Presently, I am on retirement and having a health challenge. She has been the one helping all these while with profits from her peti business. So as for me, mbororo women need to work at the condition that she doesn't do bad things” (dada's husband 25/08/18)

Dada's husband is an aged man who sees his wife doing an activity as a positive thing in his family. He admits that her business has helped their entire family as it always goes a long way to provide for them when he is in difficulty. Even with his health challenge and the fact that he is on retirement makes him see the importance of this business. To him, a woman working does not need to involve herself into negative practices that can be a factor for other men to deny their wives or women from working.

Mr Moussa, the husband to Ayi Moussa says:

“I am happy that my wife is doing her own little business. The day she came back to the house with refrigerator to keep here in the house, I told her « well done my Cherie » [while clapping] that it is very good: you merit a medal » that is very good. You see I did not have plans on my mind to get a fridge for the moment, but she just surprised me with that. When I asked she said it was from the savings she has been doing. In addition, you see it was a good act, now we have a fridge in the house and her business can continue in greater quantity [laughing]. (Mr Moussa 25/08/18)

Mr Moussa is one of the husbands of a mbororo woman who does not have a challenge with his wife selling folere. On the contrary he does sometimes assist her because he sees the positive impact of her business in the house. He tells us how he appreciated his wife for buying a new fridge and says how it is going to increase her folere business while helping in some home things.

4.1.2.2. Mbororo Men's inconveniences of business regarding their women

In the previous years, the Mbororo women were seen to be taking care of their household and family. This made the men to keep seeing them as such. To have their place relegated to house chores, bearing of children. In recent years, these mentalities about women by some men remain. This man believes that those who work are termed as devils. Unlike the advantages that some Mbororo men see from their women carrying out different activities, some do find it challenging. This in most cases as explained by others is due to their customs

and traditions (society). This has caused the women to shrink to themselves in fear to confront their future. Despite the evolution, some people do believe they don't have the right to get involved into and business.

“... a woman? I don't know... she is just like a fruit, well ripe that when someone sees it, he just wants to eat it [laughs] you understand all right? In addition, she is weak, and she will accept because they are people who will propose much money to them. You know the outcome of such, so when she goes out like that they are many people looking at her and it might be that she is a married woman, or her husband is dead. If it me [hitting the chair] ah mauf I will go there [laughing] ...that is why they don't have to be going out in the name of working. Let them stay back home and us the men will keep providing for them (Jaji 16/08/18)

Jaji is a business man who believes that a woman or his wife has no right to do business. He believes he is the man and will provide in the house. This is for fear that his wife or different women might be looked upon by other men. This is a sense of jealousy that most Muslim men have concerning their wives, and this has created a level of insecurities at the level of the men. Moreover, this is not a risk he will desire to want to get himself into. Contrary to the theory of making a future of Pelican and Heiss drawn from Heitz illustration of the societal risk, we can understand that some of these men are not willing to take that risk (Pelican and Heiss 2014:13)

Others do consider their women as far as witches as they carry out a business

“...But what do you want me to tell you again? Its not part of our culture so, if she wants to do a business then she is a witch. It is her owm way to want to go and sell her body. Those are prostitutes in disgise. My wife can never do anything she will not go out to sell. Why am I out? To work to take care of her noh? Any woman working or involved in business is a devil”. Yes, what is she going to look for outside if not to sell body? They do not have the right to do anything. It is not me that is saying it, it is the holy Qu'ran. However, because they want to be like other women outside there, they decide that they want to work. They have other plans. My wife will not do anything, let her seat and take care of what the Qu'ran says” (Sali 17/08/18)

This informant is vehemently against the Mbororo woman working and cannot permit his own wife to get involved into business. He argues that it is rather an opportunity for them to sell their bodies and become unfaithful to their spouses. As their mothers stayed at home and took care of their household, so should their women do the same. This informant regards a woman working as a “devil”. This is because according to him, she is going out of the teachings written in the Qu'ran. Again, doing the right thing as far as these scriptures are

concerned is for them to be at home and take care of their homes. He believes that when they go out, they are going to involve themselves into sexual activities and others will go to the extent of cheating on their husbands. Therefore, the best way to avoid this is to stay home.

During our interview with another informant, he gave us his opinion to why he would not allow his wife work:

“No no my dear my wife will not work. That is why I am doing everything to provide for her and the family. I will not allow her because I am very jealous. I cannot allow my wife to do that... other men will be looking and admiring her and very soon, it will be something else. She will be in the house and take care of the children while I do the work and bring the money in the house” (Ousmanou 18/01/20)

This informant made us know that he is not allowing his wife to do any business for the simple reason that he is a jealous man and will not have other men looking or being attracted to her. For he believes that it does not end only with looks, it will definitely continue to something else. So, for him to be prudent, he chooses to solely fend for his family even if he sees it as challenging as it is. He will prefer his wife being at home and taking care of the house and the children than having men admiring her.

With the fear he has of their brothers and the nature in which the town is (Yaounde), this informant prefers his wife at home;

“Hummm! Girls of nowadays we need to be afraid of them ehh [laughs]. You will go and marry your wife in the village; you will suffer like that and bring her alone in town here where some men with big big eyes will be looking at her? Hum my dear, people are wicked in this outside ehh, you will just see your own brother like that liking your wife just like that and you will want me to activate it by allowing her going to sell or doing a business? Non non non! She will be in the house and take care of the house I will not allow it [laughs]...” (Baba 2019)

This informant literally is against the fact that his wife will do any business. After considering everything, he went through in marrying her and getting her in town to have other men look at her is a no validation of his wife doing any business. He fears the fact that people he considers, as brothers are ready to take advantage of her. He has no aim of letting this happen. He would rather prefer his wife take care of the house and children.

4.2.2. Mbororo Women's inconveniences of their business

The Mbororo women as they carry out their activities have different challenges. Some do believe that their husbands, their in-laws and community in general still do see them carrying out activities in town as a taboo.

One of the interviewees says that her husband disturbs her each time she returns from her business place

“You see, when you return home from your business place he will ask you, “since that you left...?” some of our husbands see us as slaves’ ehh! I’m not lying... we don’t have liberty...my husbands love when he returns home and likes that you prepare his tea... [le ‘chai’], you bring it to him, his food and when he finishes to eat you will have to clear up the table. Then you will go have your bath and you come towards him...always like that with children that do not have limits... we do not have liberty with our husbands. Even now presently, the problem with my husband is that when I say I wish to go out, he will ask me what I want to go and do. He answers always like that... it is not easy” (Aisatou 24/09/18)

Even though she does her business, she admits that it is not easy as her husband sees that she needs to be at home every time especially when he returns to take care of his needs. To her, her husband does treat her as a slave as it is difficult for him to understand her sometimes. In as much as she does her business, she has to make sure too be home to attain to her husband even when she is tired.

Another informant says that her husband regards her activity as suffering

“My husband and his family relatives always see me doing my business as suffering. He tells me “why do you have to suffer for nothing”? So with this kind of mentality from your closest partner and relatives are sometimes difficult but I will always make them understand that I like doing it and that it also helps...”

This woman explains that it has always been a difficulty experience with her husband and inlaws as they always relegate her activity as nothing and seeing it as suffering. This has played on her psychology since they are not giving her the moral support. She believes she needs this support to carry on her business. Notwithstanding, this informant does her best to keep going through because she believes that the business helps a lot. Despite the challenges she still tries to carry out her business in small quantities.

One of the inconveniences this major informant shares with us in regarding her business is the fact that people do not pay their debts after collecting their loin clothes.

“...there are times that when I go to deliver my loins, some people refuse to refund their debts. They do not pay my money, they give me rendezvous that I should come: say today and you know a piece of loin is 7000FCFA. He will give me rendezvous 3 or 4 times, I will reach there and the person will not even give the money. You see that with the taxi money like it is not easy because I stay far from town, you will see that am the one loosing with this I will abandoned it, but not the activity you leave the person” (Dada Bebe, 28/08/18)

One of the difficulties as explained by this informant is the fact that some customers when they collect her loin clothes, do not pay. These people take it on credit and most at times, they find it difficult to redeem their debts. When they program her for an appointment, they hardly honor it and this can be done like 2, 3 to 4 times which to her makes her spends a lot of money on taxi. She explains it is expensive considering the fact that she lives in the Soa neighbourhood. This none respect of appointment and considering her distance causes her finally to abandone money to the people.

4.3. Mbororo and gender relationship

It was only around the year 1980 in the United States and 1990 in Europe that we came across the term “gender studies” which in the past was refered mostly as “women’s studies” (Laure and al 2008;9). Gender which is a social and cultural construct, referes to a way some societies construct or make between men and women, masculinities and feminities. According to Mosse (1993:2), “*Gender is a set of roles which like in theatre communicates to other people that we are feminine or masculine*”. These masks can include dresses, attitudes, personalities work both within and outside the house, family and commitment. Gender roles in centuries differ by social class, age and ethnic backgrounds. According to Laure BERENI and al, (2008:7), Gender can be defined too as a bicategorisation of hirachical system between sexes (male/female) and between values and representations that associates them (masculine/feminine). Gender constructs takes place as from birth.

In the light of current global revival and resurgence of Islamic values amongst Muslim communities all over the world, it is inevitable that the move of gender equity and the correct Islamic perspective on this issue will features prominently on the agenda (Ebrahim Dada 2015). In current times, the plateforms and debates on gender equity has reached the heights and most especially the consciousness of people all over the world and the Mbororo inclusive. This continues, as it has become one of the critical point of discussions in international platforms. Moreso, the minorities all over the world hopefully eliminanted the scourge discrimination and dominantion of one gender by the other.

We could go to the extend to say the Mbororo women from the second criteria of feminism by Richard Evans says that “the idea this injustice is more important than other forms of injustice that women suffer in a systematic manner of a social and political oppression because of their sex.

According to Simone de Beauvoir (quoted in Laure B and als, “we are not born women: we become” (2008; 5). She goes further to let us understand that becoming a ‘woman’ greatly is a social construct thing (Mbonji. E). There have been lots of saying that when women are emancipated, there is the tendency of them loosing respect to their husbands. But looking at the Mbororo women, it is a rare thing to come by. Most Mbororo women despite their earnings give maximum respects to their husbands and are very much still submissive to them despite all.

Women in the Muslim culture do have the habits to be submissive to their religion no matter what. This is because they do believe that they are subjected to words and teaching given to them by the Holy Scriptures. S. 2: 228 says, “*And women shall have rights similar to the rights against them... but Men have a degree over them*” : - this commentators explain, that men are physically and intellectually stronger and above women.

Some do believe that this has subjected them to respect these teaching from generation to generations as they are being thought. The Mbororo woman is not different from this viewing. Despite their different activities they still play the role; of a wife to their husband and a mother to her children. Majority of the informants say it is not about the Muslim women but believes that women as a whole have the right to be respectful to their spouses.

“When a woman wants to disrespect her husband, it doesn’t matter if she is a mbororowoman or not. They will still disrespect their husband but for us we can not refuse that some do but as for me so far eh I have not yet seen that with the mbororo women that we do business together their husband this is because despite the challenges that we might face we still owe our husband respect. Instead I see them support their husbands a lot...” (25/08/18 Hadjidja, Tongolo)

When a woman chooses to disrespect her husband no matter the kind of income she earns, she will do says an informant. They do believe that carrying out an activity does not in any way cause them to be disrespectful to their husbands. She believes it is a choice from the various individuals. This choice does not because of business purposes and they do believe on

the contrary that they play an important role to assist their husband in the running of the family.

Others do believe that respect is completely different thing and say that if you naturally respect your spouse there will be nothing to fight about in your home.

“You have to respect him... Respect is apart. No, to us it is not like that... mbororo women do respect their husbands. I do respect my husband, everything he wants you to do, you have to do it. If he does not hinder you to sell your things and do not say anything, you will have to respect him... I even sell boiled eggs, sometimes I sell Kossam, soucette all in my house. I don't have any problem with him... I go to the market and all that, he doesn't have a problem with that, for 9 years now that I do folere, kossam, he has never had a problem... for me, my husband has never refused me from selling anything I sell anything I want in my house (Ibrahim Hapsatou ecole de police /08/18)

This informant believes that there is no need to take a man's position in the house rather she says once you give him the respect he deserves; he is going to permit you to accomplish what you want. This is because in doing the business, you are not disrespecting him, and he still sees himself as the man of the house. She tells us that being in her business for the past nine years she has not made her husband change his mind of her not doing it. This is because she gives her husband the maximum respect he deserves as the man in her home.

Others say there is no need to do 'gender' in their home. A woman is a woman and a man to them remains a man, and that is how Allah made it. They claim that their husbands give them the support they need even in their activities because in one way or the other they see its benefits. As the holy scriptures says the men are out to help their women because they are the weaker vessel and thus, there should be no instance of wanting to compare with a man because a woman is running a business.

“...sometimes, when I lack sugar he says he will need to struggle to see that he supports me with it... just sugar and when he returns in the evening he will tell me, [this is the sugar, I heard in the morning how you were saying you don't have surgar. Now this is it.] So, he encourages me and that gives me strength seeing that it helps... so it is like that. You see that if I had to be fighting with hom on my business he would not have been supporting me. So, you see when you a woman respect yourself as you do your business you will just see your husband as your friend assisting you in times of need” (24/08/18, Ayi Moussa ecole de police)

This informant tells us that due to her respect she gives her husband while carrying out her business, has prompted her husband to assist her in some certain things as far as that business is concerned. She believes if she was disrespecting her husband while doing such, he would not have permitted her in the first place, talkless of supporting her when facing some challenges in the business.

Respect to her is not regarded in terms of money but as a way of up bringing. It is in born and learned when growing up. As the Koran teaches, nothing is going to take that away from them when they grow up. Upon asking if she disrespects her husband due to the business she is does, she says;

“No no, never. I always respect my husband... So, it is not because I have seen money that I will be disrespectful to my husband, never, never. I always respect my husband. Even if I want to go here [pointing outside] I ask. Even if I want to do which thing, I ask. If he says no, that I should do it instead this way, I will do it like that, even for the soucette and folere, I ask him for advices if I should do it like this or like that...and I don't leave out what he says. If I see that his idea is not good, I will meet him and tell him that I see that if I do it this way, it would not be good, I wanted to do it this way and when he will think about it, he will tell me that I was right and then we should do it like that now” (24/08/18, Hapsatou Halidou.)

According to the informant, she gives her husband the maximum respect as a man and is accountable to him. The reason of doing her business has never in a way altered the respect she ascribes to him. Respecting her husband is making him give his opinion about her business. Even when to her, his idea is not the best she still finds the best way to let him know without arising conflict in between them. Thus, Mbororo women do respect their husbands and do not go to that extent of contesting with him on his authority that they believe Allah gave to them.

The issue of gender inequality doesn't encounter some women because they keep believing their husbands ought to have the respect which is dued them

“My business has never thought me how to disrespect my husband no no, no... even before I complete my tailoring training I had to pause for a period of time, it was my wish to continue and get finished at once but when my husband told me to have a break I really did not object him because he is my husband and I was thought to respect his dicissions...so there is no way I will be having comparing issues with my husband because now I am working...now I am working I still give him his place as my husband, his food and many other things are still well taken care of by me his wife so this business has not affected things with my husband” (05/12/19, Fadi Mvan)

This informant explains that she started doing her tailoring training and due to some instances of her husband telling her to stop for a while, she did not hesitate. So, this act shows that she totally respects her husband and for her, there should be no instance of having power struggles at home with your spouse because of a business.

4.3.1. Women's Negative Aspects to Gender

Unlike the fact that some women see positive reasons of gender in their homes with their husbands, some women we came across do believe on the contrary. Some of these women say for the fact that they get into a business causes their husbands to shy away from their duties as the man of the house. Upon asking these informants on the gender relationship concerning their businesses and their husbands, one of the informants says;

“ahhh with my husband we have a lot of problems... lots lots of problems I'm saying the truth. Why? Because he thinks, I am commanding. When he sees me doing my things, he sees it as me commanding. Since he knows that he is the head of the family; do you understand a little? When I bring something home and he see that he is not the one that brought it and he does not have the money, he will show that it is his own. Yes, he is the head of the family but there are some certain things that he has to do that he is not doing, so I remove my money and I do it, he does not want to accept that am the one who did it. He shows always that its his own when he discusses with his friends he will say he is the one who did it. Do you then understand that one? He wants to always show that he is the one. Even with the children now, whenever I pay their school fees I will take the receipts and put my signature on it to show him that I am the one who paid it. This is because when i will tell him that I paid the school fees of the children last year he will say I am lying he don't accept, he refuses to accept that am doing good in the house...” (27/08/18, Dada Bebe)

Dada Bebe is one of our main informants who explain the role of her husband since she started her activity of selling loin clothes. She explains to us how it has not been an easy thing with her husband because he thinks she has the money and subsequently wants to dominant in the things of the house. To her, she sees that the husband does not want to acknowledge the efforts she brings as a woman to assist the household especially as he does not want to be fully engaged as from the beginning which in a way brings conflicts to the house. To her she explains that this has in a way brought conflict of who can or who should provide what the home needs.

Some Mbororo women do explain a total change of character their spouses have towards the affairs of the home. This they believe is due to the petit trade they got into and to

them they believe that their husbands in some instances do not want to take their responsibilities as the man in the house anymore. They believe some of their husbands always get away with the pretext of us having money too that can use for the home too:

“My husband at first was taking care of the house; he made sure he provided the household needs. But since I started my business and started earning some little income from the business, it does not really matter to him how the house functions. I can tell him sometimes that oil is finish, and he will tell me to go buy it because now, I have money. And sometimes the way he says it, makes you think you were struggling with him meanwhile your aim is to assist him and not just to sit in the house doing nothing, it is not easy [huuummm...le marriage la] (Dawai 10/01/19)

This informant, her husband has seen her in a competition with him. Since she is doing a little trade, he believes that she can provide things in their household and not solely depend on him each time again. Sometimes to her this makes the husband shy away from his duty giving most at times the pretext that she is working too or having access to money.

4.3.2. Gender Aspect Regarded by the Mbororo Man

Some men do believe that in as much as their role is to work and fend for their homes, they also do believe both men and women are recipients of the divine breath of God. Indeed, as the Qur’an states, God originated them both from a single person or “one soul” (nafs-in-waahidad) (Jamal Badawi 2015; 5). They believe that Allah has invested both genders with inherent dignity and has made men and women, collectively, the trustees of Allah on earth (Jamal Badawi; 6). As quoted in the Holy Scriptures “*women are also seen as having equal status before Allah in their performance of their religious duties, in their obligation to follow the five pillars and in receiving the reward for it*”. Taking references from the Shurahs; S. 16: 97 reads: “*Whoso doeth that which is right, whether male or female, and has faith, verily to him we will give a new life and life that is good and pure, and we will bestow on such their reward according to the best of their actions*”. Further states in Shurahs S. 24:23; Those who slander and gossip wrongly over respectful and devoted women, shall be condemned in this world and in the world to come and endure immense punishment.

The above verse shows Allah’s value on women as the same way he values men, and if women endure injustice, Allah will not leave those unpunished who inflict it on women. Although these verses don’t show any asymmetry in respect of rights, duties or gender hierarchy, the gender-relationship in Muslim societies and countries is far from being equal. (Christel G 2005; 2)

On asking him the question of his wife being submissive despite her income earnings, Dada husband says,

“no, no, no, no, for her, she has never done that... I have been married to her since 20years and she started selling little things outside like savon, groundnut and also selling loin clothes in small quantities in my house, we have never had issues on the contrary she is still the woman I got married since 1998 [hahahaha] she is a respectful woman” (Ali Amadou 25/08/18)

Having been married to his wife since 1998, Ali affirms that when they came to Yaounde things became difficult. Seeing how things were difficult, his wife got into business and this has never in a way caused her to disrespect him in anyway. She has remained the loyal wife he got married and is still happy they are leaving together as she in her business does her possible best to take care of the family.

Some men do believe the contrary fact that this gender issue has not affected their position as the men of the house. Ibrahim husband to Hapsatou tells us;

“... Who? Me? If she can even manage the Douala seaport, men would I refuse? [Laughter...] men, who refuse their women from working, are men who have a good standard of living. I, I do not have ohh [laughing] you see?... it would be good that as the husband goes to fend, let the wife too do same but if you are a millionaire, why would your wife have to suffer? So now if you were poor what would you do? You would not be able to feed ehh. I have my needs and her too, and the children too have their needs, but my job alone cannot be sufficient... her money is hers and mine is mine. We in Islam ehh, the husband's money is for the wife while the wifes money is hers... Islam did not say women should go and fend for money for food to feed the children. Islam says men are slaves to the women. So, if she removes money to buy whatsoever, is beacause she wanted it....” (Ibrahim 0/08/18)

This informant full of energy when talking about his wife believes that women have a chance to prove themselves. For him, if his wife got the strength she can and should go for the best because at the end, it will go a long way to assist the family. His wife doing this business has not disrespect him. On the contrary, he finds pleasure on her doing what she loves.

4.4. Difficulties faced by the Mbororo woman in their businesses

In the past century, the Mbororo community has been going through several deficulties. First, with the concept of indigeniousty, they see how they have been marginalized in the past. Their past historical challenges of famer-grazer problem, climatic conditions that have drastically evoled in the past years has to them contributed to the difficulty they have been facing. The low esteem these mbororo held unto detracted them

from incapacity issues; orthodox approaches to facilitating development process among the Mbooro-Fulani have consistently failed (Woazeneh, 2001). With the very little support from the state, the level of illiteracy is still high (86%) in some Mbororo communities (Waddington 1997). Formally, these women had as primary activity cow milking which they used to cook their meals, produce beurre de carite and sell sometimes. In town, their experiences are more different due to the realities they encounter everyday with their different businesses.

4.4.1 Financial difficulty

With the global financial trend that shaped the African continent, Cameroon inclusive has greatly impacted the different individuals living there. This has had a disadvantaged in the income of different stakeholders. The low-income earnings of people has affected their standard of living. The limited income they receive from their different activities make it challenging for these women to increase their limited resources or their capital. To improve what they are currently doing is challenging considering the limited resources. One of our informants makes us to understand how challenging it is:

“It is not really easy doing business here in Yaounde. I do not have much money that is why I am just doing in little quantities. I will cook my small ndakere and rice and I will be walking with it... if I have much capital I will increase my quantity... because things are just increasing in the market and the customers will not even understand so to have much capital is good but where am I going to get it?... so I just manage with the small on that I have and life will keep going on...” (Hawa Abdu, 11/08/18).

This informant tells us that in as much as she will want to increase her capital and do more; she has limited finances to see this come to past. She is a hawker of Ndakere and rice on her head. She carries it in a bucket and a bowl where she walks and serves those who are willing to buy. She believes that if she had more capital, she would have to increase her quantity and probably have a stable place for her business.

Yaounde to some of them to is challenging in regard to their businesses because to them things are getting more expensive in the market. This informant says;

“Here in Yaounde things are not as cheap as we have in our villages. If I want produce kossam, the things I need in the market are very expensive. For example, if I want to get just milk, a kilo is 1800frs just for that and to include the sugar and the different things you will need, you see that if you are not strong you can quit the business... things now are very expensive I tell you and the prices just keep increasing in the market.” (unanimous)

This informant makes us understand that the increase in prices of business items make its challenging for her to increase the scope of her business. So, to keep her business running she continues to sell in little quantities. Moreover, these quantities vary according to the profits she makes from her business and the period she finds herself.

Most people doing the Folere and Mbaoba business say that one of their major difficulties is the fridges they use. These refrigerators get spoiled sometimes and fixing it most at times is expensive.

“There are sometimes that my fridge gets bad. My folere and mbaoba gets bad too in it. I can not continue to do it... as you came like that we had gone to fix it and so for now, what I am doing is just selling crocket...so this sometimes makes it so difficult for me especially when I have a command of folere to deliver...” (Ibrahim Hapsatou 25/08/18).

She tells us of the challenges that she faces when her fridge gets bad and the impacts it has in her business. Having a spoiled refrigerator at home slows down her business and sometimes makes her not able to deliver her commands to her clients. Nonetheless, as she explains she always does her best to fix her fridge when that happens and during that period when the fridge is on repairs, she continues with the ‘crocket’ business. Another informant let us to understand that she practically had to stop selling folere because her refrigerator keeps getting spoiled.

“Sincerely it is difficult when you do business and your fridge gets bad ehh... for me my fridge was getting bad at every moment and I had to be fixing it until I decided to stop. So, like this as we speak, the fridge is inside the kitchen like that... and now I am just concentrating in my material business...” (Hapsatou Halidou 25/08/18)

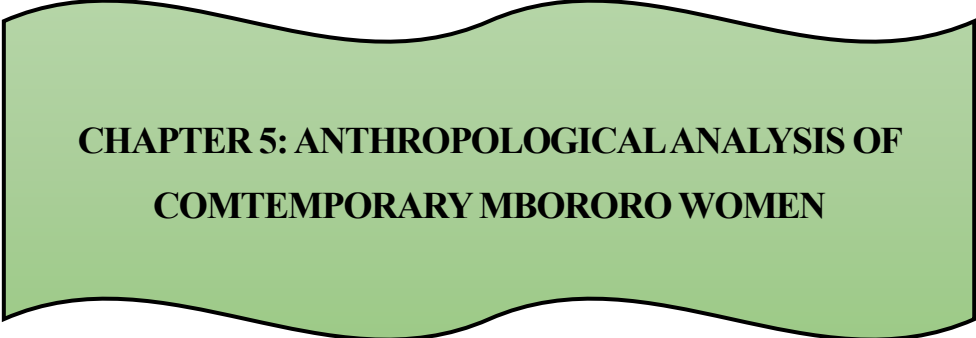
She makes us understand how her refrigerator really made her to stop the sale of folere. The frequency in which it gets bad made it challenging for her to keep doing folere for sell. She no longer does folere but now she concentrates in selling her loin clothes.

Another difficulty that these women face is that they do their businesses at home. This to them they say, is in a way limiting them to do greater exploits. Some say their quarter or where their home is located is somehow limiting them on having as many customers as they would love to. The environment in which they find themselves is not so open and this to them is challenging.

“I sell in the quarter in my house, but you see sometimes it is very difficult to finish a small quantity of folere that you bought because you are onlu counting on children in the quarter. So, it was slowing my business and I had to look for a place beside my house but at the road side. The truth is that it is not really far just up there [pointing towards direction]. So, I will prepare my children to school, after that I will carry my cooler and go and put it on the road. At the roadside many people will buy; workers, student and when my chidren return, the eldest one will come and replace me while I prepare for other things in the house. So with this, I have profit and can finish my quantity in 2-3days you see noh” (Hadjija 09/12/18)

Selling solely in the quarter sometimes slows her business and this causes a low profit turn over from what they would have been having if sold in a place having many people. This business woman explains to us that being at home slows her business and the strategy she used to increase her sales while maintaining her household is both to sell at home and at the road side. She explains further that, she will have to sell folere when the children are in school and return home while being replaced by her oldest daughter as she gets home to take care of other pressing needs. She admits that with this strategy, she has been able to increase her sales compared to when she solely depended on the people in the quarter

This chapter had as objective to bring out effects of the activities practiced by the Mbororo women and the gender relationship it has with their spouses and community as a whole. We explained both the different effects they face as they carry out their activites. We came across positive effects regarded by the women that included; independence, the advantage it has brought in improving the welfare of their family, unity and how doing this business has improved their literacy level. They had challenges such as their men not respecting and appreciating their efforts. We also discussed on the different gender relationship these women have with their husbands, some were cordial while others were not. The following chapter, chapter 5 is the analyses of Mbororo women and contemporary labor market.



**CHAPTER 5: ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
CONTEMPORARY MBORORO WOMEN**

This chapter of our dissertation constitute an Anthropological analysis of Mbororo women in a contemporary labor market in Yaounde. It expantiates on the dynamics of their culture and how they perceive work in a contemporary “modern” age.

5.1 The Dynamics of Activities

The Mbororo culture has witness some differences due to the change in time and the movement of people from one place to another. This cultural dynamic has been because of factors that compromise changes that came as a result of innovation originating from within and without her society. The recent and multiple immigration of these people have brought in alot into their fundamental cultural heritage.

Culture defined by Edward B. Tylor; “is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and any other capacity and habits acquired by man as a member of a society”. He further explains that no culture stands still, all cultures are always in the process of change. All cultures are inherent predispose to change and the degree to which each culture changes vary from one to the other. In the past years around the early century, the Mbororo woman was considered as “*the Queen of the house*”. She was supposed to remain at home taking care of her husband, children and all the household chores. The habit of being at home and their husbands going to herd the cattle, made her solely dependent on him for anything patterning to her. She oversaw the house, her children and her husband when he returned. In recent years, the migration from the hilly zones was favored by climatic conditions, socio-political economic and emancipations factors that made life different, as they had to follow their husbands into the cities. Their nomadic lifestyle became limited; they lacked land to graze the cattle and cow milking was no longer common in the city. These made this group of people get involved into other income generating activities. With the high standard of living and the limited income in the city, the mbororo men had more responsibilities compare to their previous lifestyle. This saw the mbororo woman asking many questions of being able to be a helpmate, a support to their husband financially as they quest too to be independent. The diversity of the town brought lots of dynamism in the people. In the search on how to help their husband and families, to become independent, the women went ahead to take from their culture to make a future for themselves. In what they knew to do as activities such as social (tailoring, sales of loin clothes) and economic activities such as kossam, Ndakere, and folere, these women had to adapt their culture to the present time to make a future.

We can see that in their fabrication of “Kossam” which has greatly changed from purely derived milk from the cows in the morning where they milked to condensed milk bought from the markets. Usually in the past this was not the case as these women will use pressed milk from the cows to cook and /or allow for fermentation to happen before its consumption as “Kossam”. But due to the changes; - immigration and other factors these Mbororo women now in town with the lack of this fresh milk do substitute it with condensed milk which they allow to ferment, proceeds to do their business and sell.

Kossam is a milk based beverage that hails from the Northern part of Cameroon that present great symbolic and social values for the local population. It has a high economic value for women as one of the most important sources of income for the family in rural areas (D.D. Roger and als 2013:261). In the past years, Kossam was done using strict artisanal methods of collecting raw milk from the fields directly from cows by the Mbororo women. After the collection of the raw milk, it was filtered into a smoked clay pot or bottle to obtain the beverage called “mbiraadam” (D.D Roger and als 2013:264). Mbiraadam is equal to fresh pasturized commercial whole milk stored for 5-10 hours at an ambient temperature. This mbiraadam later coagulate when kept for days. The coagulation result is called “Kindirmou” and can be used as commercial yogurt. This was further consumed, and other times was left to keep fermenting. Unlike in the past years, the use of artisanal processing of kossam is limited due to the short shelf life of fresh milk usually available in rural areas. In town, it is prepared mostly from reconstituted powder milk. This innovation has as different elements for its procedure include: milk, sugar, commercial yogurt, water and variant flavours.

These infiltrations through the interaction with others has made them incorporate other cultural tradition through the process of enculturation. Culture can also be seen here as a transmission through some frequent observation from the other. Their modification in the fabrication process has modify their behavior not just because people told them but as a result of their own observation and growing in awareness of what their culture is from the other to adapt to the current living standards. Mbonji (2005) refers to this as “*living culture*”. He further states that culture is “*the sum of solutions used by the members of a community to meet their needs*”. (Mbonji Edjeguele 2005). From this he distinguishes between the living and the dead cultures. Where living culture is plastic, active, open and have the capacity to absorb foreign cultural elements. We seen this in the daily lives of the mbororo women in town as they have gotten absorbed by the cultural elements of the town to switch from a total rural or artisanal fabrication of kossam to adding in different elements into it in recent times.

Before the 21st century, the Mbororo woman was involved in different activities in their rural areas. These activities practiced were such that it had some limitation on the woman's movements that was induced by their cultural background. These women were considered as subordinates to their husbands, and had to stay indoors (Njeuma M and Awasom N 1989). If it happened, they had to go out, they had to cover or veil their faces (Maharab) accompanied by one of a male relative (Pelican M. 2008). These for the past centuries have influenced their way of life as the desire to be at home and not wanting to go out became part of them. This also had as an effect with them with the notion of pulaaku that see the mbororo woman to be shy and clinging to her surrounding. Unlike the past, these women use more of Economic activities to make a living for themselves in the city which to some permits them to move from one place to another. The cultural dynamic trait in this city has made these women adapt from their culture to make a future. This dynamism made them to diversify as they take from their culture to make a living and has helped women insert themselves socially in the city. Rarely will a mbororo woman go out to fend for herself and more to that, alone. But in recent times there has been a shift to the fundamental cultural background as she now in some cases have to station her business things out of the house or hawk them into the various quarters to earn a living.

These categories seats on the arguments of determining what prompt individual to make the decision they do in response to opportunity and the pressure to change their ideas and behavior. The contact between people leaving in their new environment has extended between time. Migration has greatly had an impact in that not only in the transformation of one element to another but also to the Mbororo people who have been affected and with those who remained back. As Hahn and George (2007) in their book <<*Culture and Migration*>> says a better understanding of migration requires a closer look in cultural transformation in the society of origin as well as migrants host society. From this, we can explain this anthropological approach has considered the fact that migratory processes actually induce cultural change with the identity of the migrants.

Culture differs in respect to many factors which either facilitates or restrain origination and acceptance. Some women believed that selling in town will cause people not to forget their culture and have to remember how they lived in the villages before coming to town and meeting different types of dishes. So, despite the shift and the dynamism incorporated, some women believe that in carrying out their activity by preparing this meal, would help both parties. Also, the fact that it's easier to do what they were thought by their parents and

adapting it due to the new environment helps them to keep and/or maintain some cultural traits. An instance is the restaurant owned by a mbororo woman at the Etoudi neighborhood who sells what they know how to do best compared to other foods in town such as cassava or any other foods mostly eaten in the towns made it a favourable activity for these ladies. They have learned to incorporate some food such as rice into their sales.

These activities helped women to insert themselves socially in the city. The perception of the Muslim woman of her culture regarding her dressing influences some activity. It is part of their culture to dress and cover their body (Pelican 2006). Also, the practice of this tailoring by the women is often allowed by their husbands because they (men) believe that it will cause them to stay on one place and upon finishing they will have to sew from their homes. This to them preserve them, their wives and/or their girl children regarding their culture. S.4.34 (Christine G. 2007:2). In Yaoundé, under the leadership of Madam Mbouba who is the leader of the women's wing in MBOSCUDA, has as objective to have women get both an economic and social independence. With this, they opened two tailoring workshops in Yaoundé and some of these women were interested to go learn the art of sewing. The loin cloth in the Muslim tradition symbolizes decency beauty and respect

As part of a group of people who share the same characteristics, attitudes and interest. From our research we came to realize that these perceptions on their women has changed. These women believe that they no longer have to be religated just to just the home. The various communities now due to the rapid evolution have turn to see the importance of their women working. Due to the active nature of the Mbororo woman, in the past years, one of our informants explains to us that before coming to town she had gained assistance from the white people.

“...we did what our husbands asked us to do like le beure de carrite and there are still women there until today in the white's company. They give out materials on how they will do to conserve milk. For example, in my home at sabga there is a hall that the white mounted a system on how to conserve milk that cannot be removed today. If we neglate it, it will get damaged... so with this system the Europeans brought helped our community and that where I had my beginings. I learnt alot (Dada bebe 20/08/18)

Dada made us understand that, before her arrival in the city, there were opportunities that were put in place by different stakeholders. These opportunities assisted the women and the trainings further helped other women coming to have a basic know how on milk conservation. This was how she learnt her basic in business. She believes that as a

community, they play a role in empowering women. By this empowerment, the community has seen their women becoming more independent. Culture is learned, and every person begins immediately through a process of conscious and unconscious learning and interaction with others cultural tradition through the process of enculturation. The emancipation of the mbororo woman through multiple teachings, seminars and different vocational training has indirect and directly brought an awareness to the mbororo woman. Thus, the transmission of knowledge to these women has through the later shown us some cultural changes of the mbororo woman in a contemporary world.

5.2 Mbororo Culture as a tool of Making a Future.

Commonly known with their percularity in cattle grazing, the Mbororo-Fulani were more of tanshumance people. This was their sole means of income (Pelican Michaela 2006) and as an aspect of their cultural heritage that characterized the Mbororo man as having an inheritance. This was part of his identity and personality (Majou Issa, 2017). They grazed their cattle predominantly in favourable regions such as the North-West, East and West regions (Njeuma M and Awasom N, 1989). These favourable conditions caused them to settle in the high lands with good ecological and political conditions (Boutrais 1995; 15-20). Her custom and tradition saw her for reproduction purposes, taking care of domestic activities, assist her husband and being submissive to him (Gauthier 1885; Deli T. 2008; 6). These ways of life from the past have had extensive progress as these people more and more settled in different regions parmanently. This movement has caused them to have different perceptions from what they had as thier customs and traditions. The increase in movment has favoured the Mbororo woman who now due to their environment saw the need to make a future out of what her social and environmental conditions present. These social conditions caused them to adapt in making a future. There has been some cultural transformation as they borrowed from their culture to make a living. Taking aspects of their culture to transform it as they use to do business.

The Mbororo woman has greatly been educated and equipped for the future thus bringing a plus in her life and her immediate surrounding that has gone a long way to improve, build her confidence and taken the challenge to make a future. As stated by Pelican and Heiss, different people have their different ways on how to go about the future as different situation present itself. Others take time as they did a well-planned agenda while others toke up risks. Other factors such as the change in environment, social capital, cultural traits, played an important role and we see this with the case of the mbororo woman. The

Mbororo ways of thinking and seeing the future for some is incoherent (Pelican and Heiss 2014:9) Making a future for themselves is more of being independent while others see their children achieve more than what they didn't do.

5.2.1. Making a future with Social and Environmental Conditions

As cattle grazer in the early centuries the Mbororo-Fulani were more of transhumance people moving from one place to another in search of green pastures for their cattle. This was their sole means of income (Pelican Michaela 2006) and as an aspect of their cultural heritage that characterized the Mbororo man as having an inheritance. The Mbororo woman has believed in women not sitting and waiting to be provided for as the challenges of life comes before them. We see this with the case of this our informant who make us understand why she does her business.

“I do business because I needed to solve my problems such as house rent, my children's school fees, feeding and health care and many other things. At first, it did not happen like that because our husbands were having cows and they did everything for their wives. But now, none of them is having such cows to move with here again. There is no means to gaze cows in Yaounde. Rather, cows are transported into Yaounde. So, we have no choice than to try and adapt here...we don't have what we had in the past. Many factors have made things not be as in the past time like we used to do ...” (Hawa Abdu 11/08/18)

Mrs Hawa is one of the informants that explain to us how the environment has been an influence of her carrying out a business in Yaounde. From the above narrative, we understand that the change in her environment has made her to make a future socially. This has influenced her to get into a petit trade to support their household that was hardly the case in the past years. This activity has helped and improve their living standard and caused them to look forward to taking the risk in the new environment to make a future for themselves and most probably for their coming generations (Bourdieu and Johnson-Hanks). With the new environment they find themselves with no fields to graze their cattle, caused by migrations, this has made them to confront their future. This dynamism requires historical and phsychological transformation that made them to understand that culture would not be the same in a space of time. The unstable environment has also influenced the quest of making a future. Also, with this movement, these cattles incroched on individual farm produce that caused disagreements between the villagers and the herders as these cattle destroyed the farm crops (Njeuma M and Awasom N: 1989).

The relationship between man and his environment entertains a relationship of dependence and interdependence with her climate, plants, animals and other humans which by reasons of being in the city has been deprived of. This has brought transformations with her environment in a manner that the relationship between her and her natural environment contributes to the fashioning of her culture, her economy and political lifestyle. Cultural ecology that is supported with the concept of ecological determinism shows how living standards of a people will be a response to her environment. These environmental traits have more impact in some cultural traits (Steward Harris M: 1950). With these environmental factors, it has pushed these women and their family to seek different alternatives to fend for their home in a place not well known to them and in most cases, far from the realities of where they came from (Bourdieu: Pelican and Heiss 2014:9). Making a future in the city is more likely to adapt to the circumstances and the nature that favours the livelihood of people living there. One of the components of this theory of making a future used by her authors illustrates that despite the fact that making a future is a universal thing, the way people think and go about it differs from culture to cultures and individuals is specific to her environment and culture. Making a future, according to them, *“a future is not only conceived of, it is not only a product of imagination, but it is also confronted and constructed through action, in a back-and forth process between actors and their environment”* (Pelican and Hanss 2014:7). The women with all the challenges have chosen to confront herself and go beyond some customs and traditions that had limited her.

Apart from the fight between farmers and grazers (Njeuma M & Awasom N 1989), with the different disputes from different neighbouring villages in the past years, the political instability and socio-economic conflict (Fon E.N 1996) has shaped a lot of mentality for women as they migrated into town. Some change their environment for marriage purposes, others for educational reasons and most especially the recent anglophone crisis in Cameroon that began in 2016 literally saw many Mbororo people including their young women leaving the villages into the towns.

“A comote Bamenda time for that fight so... a comote ma village (ngoh) for came Yaounde for came fine way helep ma skin. A came Yaounde now so a di stay wit ma big brother.... And for shidong so depend on yi no fine, na why that a start for make di ma pap and rice di waka sell. Ei di helep me plenty because a no go di only look ma brother weh ei too get big family...”
(Assani 18/08/18)

Literally translated into English:

I left Bamenda during the fights. I left my village (ngoh) to come to Yaounde to look for a means to assist myself. Being in Yaounde, I live with my elder brother. And for me to seat back doing nothing is not good reason why I had to start up my pap and rice business to see. This business helps me a lot because I won't be dependent on my brother because he too has a large family to take care of..." (Assani 18/08/18)

The inconveniences of depending on someone else in a different environment from where she came from made Assani to confront her future. The political unstable conditions such as risks and natural catastrophes, which have been thriving (Pelican and Heisi 2014), has produced and reinforced uncertainty. Micheal Bollig (2006) on his studies on hazards, risk perception and risk minimizing strategies in two pastoral kenya and Namibia, identifies the lack of institutional control which brought insecurities to these escaped and that had no other choice than to turn on informal activities for survival as they make a future for themselves. The change in environment has influenced the state of the mbororo woman as she has adapted herself to the new environment and making it a pleasure of living. A change in their lifestyle because of this environment they found themselves is a cultural response to her new site (Steward 1955). According to Simone de Beauvoir (1949) "On ne nait pas femme: on le deviant" literally translated as "we ain't born women but we become" shows us how this lady believes that gender is more of a state of mind that should not be limited by biological factors. It can be concluded that social and environmental environs are crucial to many Mbororo women's attempt at making a future. Further it should be noted, that most African environments are characterized by social or natural instability or even deterioration to become who they want to be. Some of the Mbororo women got into business because they decided to move from their place of origin to come fend for themselves especially that it was seen as a taboo. But due to the change of the environment, these women go ahead to make a living in their community.

The marriage factor brought many women into the town. Marriage in the Mbororo community is that aspect in which the man gets a wife, or his parents fot their son. One of our interviewees says:

"My husband lived here in town with his uncle. His uncle died and he deided to stay here... my husband was here since the time of late president Amadou Ahidjo. He came here when he was 14years ehh and he grew here. He later got married to me. Because when he grew up like that, it was time for him to get married at a certain age, so his parents asked him to get

married and this was how I met my husband. He came to the village where he did all the marriage rights and I just had to follow him to Yaounde. That is how since then I got to this town Yaounde. For years, it looked just fine because the job that he was doing could carry us both. It was with the arrival of our children and the change in the economy as life became more and more challenging. I had to think of what to do to assist him. It might not be like what we will want but it is better than some other past times. This difficult moment” (HAPSATOU HALIDOU 25/08/18).

Mrs Halidou’s coming to Yaounde was as a result of marriage. Marriage has influenced most of these Mbororo women in the cities. From what this informant says, getting married to her husband made her to move from the village to town.

Getting into business especially in a zone which is in a greater part less known to them, was not an easy task for these women especially for the fact that they were less educated and have just been staying homes. A lot of them saw this way of life different from what they experienced or lived back home. The pressure of paying rents every month, the challenges of paying the children’s fees and providing for their family and much more made these women decide to get along with a petit trade for the welfare of her family. It can be concluded that social and environmental environs are crucial to many Mbororo women that have taken the opportunity in making a future for themselves. It is important to highlight those different perceptions have been driven more to the favour of some cultural change as stated by Julian Steward (1955). The existing conditions in behaviours of human being is in function of biological and the survival of species which further can mean that human culture can be explained as them adapting in their environment.

5.2.2. Economic and Social Capital

Cameroon in the past decades has faced a complete turn around in her economic structures. The fall in the prices of petrol and the different cash crops such as cocoa, plantains, bananas affected the world’s and Cameroonian’s economy that had an impact in her financial situation. This gave birth to the proliferation of different activities that were far from depending on the government. This economic instability witnessed great levels of unemployment because of the non-recruitment of people in both public and private sectors (Chambas, Lesueur, Plane; Deli T 2007). The privatisation of public companies led to the licenses of some Cameroonians and this favoured more and more these informal activities in the rise (Cognueau and al. 1996; Deli T 2007:3). With the increase in her population, Cameroon could not sustain her people by providing the necessary job thus, the birth of

different informal economic activities in the different towns to meet the need of the demanding family.

These unstable social and economic conditions caused these women's husband, seen as their sole income earner bringing little or no pay package home. This made it challenging for them in many different ways and this caused them to come up with different strategies to meet up with the demanding needs in the city. The uncertainty even in their present business in Cameroon has made the Mbororo woman get into ways of making a future in Cameroon. The men in as much as they could have little to care for their families saw it more difficult in town. Thus, this reality became more challenging to take care of the entire family.

“I am a Mbororo of Mbanyo and have been married to my husband for a long time now. We worked there at Mbanyo beside the road going towards Ngoundere... We worked with the Guinness Company for 19 years. Hum! It happened that the Guinness Company there had a close down and he was not paid. That caused us to fall back to suffering [silence] now we did not have anything. So, we had to hustle like that. We had some cows in the bush, we sold two of them and my husband bought a byc. It went on the road and that is what has been giving us money to catter for the children. Here in my home, I have ysix children and I did not go to school, I do not know how to speak French. I have many things on my mind I'm telling you, but I do not know how to say it... and that is the things who borthers me and that is what made me to enter in the folere business” (Hapsatou Halidou 24/08/18)

The economic crisis in Cameroon from the 18th to the 19th centuries with the devaluations of currency affected the living conditions of people. Due to those reasons, many lost their source of income and they found themselves with no jobs and had to get into other petit businesses for survival. As explain by this informant, they first lived a well to do life during the time her husband was working with the Guinness company but due to the closure of this company, they had lost everything and had to migrate to Yaoundé for a living. She had to start up her business to assist the husband who is a moto ridder. With this uncertainty, these women had to comprehend different ways of making a living and a future (Pelican and Hanks 2012). With the daily struggles to meet up with end needs, these women do not sit back to watch but take the opportunity that is presented to them. They adopt different means to support their household by making a future for themselves. Seizing this opportunity as termed as “judicious opportunism” by Jennifer Johnson-Hank (2005) the M.W used this moment that's being offered them such choices. With these social and environmental conditions, mbororo women comprehended different ways in making a living and a future. Those without access to the necessary economic or social capital lack the ability to confront their future

(Pelican and Heise 2014:13). This instability has created an atmosphere of action where she sees herself doing business for the good of her family as she gets involved in supporting her husband. With this aspect of not prepared and have little or no income because they are being considered as the lower strata of the society, it caused them to strive for a future of their own in the town (Pelican and Heise 2014).

Some Mbororo women involved themselves into business because when they look where they are coming from, it would have been burdensome depending on their parents at their age especially when they were not married yet.

Hawa is an Mbororo woman who left her former town due to some financial challenges found herself with no choice than to do something to fend for herself. Having lost her husband, she decided to take that bold step to fend for herself and her children to give them an education she did not have. Getting into business was not an easy task for her but as times went by she knew she had no choice than to get herself a petit business to do so as to survive and take care of her children. The choice of doing business in a strange land has little or no characteristic to its former environment and with no one to depend on she chose to get into an informal trade. This really helps her to take care of herself and household at large. We see that the M.W who was solely dependent can now take care of herself due to difficult economical factors.

Added to the lack of resources, the sole dependency on someone in town becomes uncomfortable when they see how these resources are not really showing for themselves. This was the case with our informants during an in-depth interview:

“...he had money at that time but the problems all started when one of a renowned city council major in town was breaking stores and broke his stores were among, two of his stores. Now, imagine someone who did not know suffering see himself being withdrawn backward. If I didn't struggle with the business, I have six children and I even have a set of twins among so if I wasn't doing the business I would have been sitting and waiting for him to give me one thousand francs to cook with and if it wasn't not ok? I take the money from my mbaoba business even if its a thousand franc and I use to complete to what I have, and I cook. And my children eat without problem (Ayi Aoussa 25/08/19)

Generally expecting the best out of life can be sometimes challenging when faced with some challenging circumstance. The unstable nature of the economic environment provided a condition of action for Ayi. Her situation was not far from this reality where her husband who was the sole fender of the household faced some financial challenges due to the break

down of his shop. This made her turn to do business to support him and her family. Selling folere was what she identified to do to enact a future for her family. Despite the economy that caused jobless situations in the economy, the mbororo woman does not see herself depending on their husbands for food, shelter whereas the modern society expected to be more independent with the rout to gender equality (Pelican and Heiss:2014; Roth 2007). With the specificities of doing business, they have devised different methods to make a future for them.

5.2.3. Social Dimension of Activity

So far, we may have created the impression that making a future is largely a process in the hands of individuals (Pelican and Heiss 2014:16). Each going her way to achieve desired dreams can put society aside. In the mbororo community, this has not been the case as they have in the past come up with different Association to assist in the emancipation of the Mbororo woman and girl child. The network in building and empowering each other has been the main objective of this association. As African actors, the same as anyone else, do not live in a social void but are embedded in social relations with kin, friends, neighbours, associates (Pelican and Heiss 2014:16). In the Mbororo community, the Qur'an was and is still seen as one of the binding force that brings them together and has the principle of life that bond them and show them how to live.

The Qur'an in past years was seen as a tool that limited the Mbororo woman in their quest for work. Many different schools of thought say it is a misinterpretation of this holy book or in one way or the other, there has been limitation in understanding of what it meant (J. Badawi 2015). These different ideas on how the Qur'an talk about the women working is perceived by different people. Nonetheless, their different perceptions have greatly influenced the ideologies of many especially with more teachings from the Qur'an by different Imans in the community. The relationship between the custom in a place and teachings of Islam as ingrained in the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition can be positive, neutral or negative" (J. Badawi, 2015). These have gone a long way in recents years to shape the mbororo community on women working and how the Qur'an sees them. With more and more knowledge gained and understood by these women and their community, they see the reason to confront their future (Pelican and Heiss 2014:14).

"...many people have, misinterpreted the Qur'an and this makes it difficult for women to freely do what they like. Also, the way we are being brought up, is to understand this but that is not really the case. When you get to understand the Qur'an well, you will see that it permits women to work.

Thoug they should not be exposed to all kind of things; they are permitted to work. I trust my wife when she goes out to do her business after all, she also helps me with the little income she brings at home in this difficult town when you have the rent, childrens fees and many other things and if she wants to depend just on the finances I bring in, it will be difficult...” (Moussa 25/05/19)

Moussa believes that it is an important thing for women to work to assist their partners and home in general which for him will go a long way to lessen the financially burden on him. Though he says the woman’s money do not have to be looked by a man, she in all has assisted their household with the income she makes from her sales.

More and more, the Mbororo community has been enlightened on the Holy Scriptures on women, her abilities and the fact that they need to be encouraged them as an active set of people and thus, should be seen in that same light. They are both divine creatures with divine breath because Allah created them so.

“...normally, in Islam ehh, Islam does not say that a woman should not work. They are people who do the interpretation wrongly. A woman is a human being like me ehh? She has needs of something and me too nor? How then can I say I will only meet my needs alone and she has to stay like that? Every one of us wants something; even Islam did not say a woman should not work. What Islam has refuse, is a woman going out without us knowing what she is going to do out especially as a married woman. That’s the problem that Islam does not want...” (Ibarhim 25/08/18 ecole de police)

This informant tells us his own perception on why he should accept a woman to work. Taking his backing from Islam, he believes that Islam has not restricted a woman from doing work but that it is the fact that people do misinterpret what is written inside of the Qur’an. He does believe that a woman is also a human being like him, that has needs like him and, so she deserves to work. He further explains that what Islam refuses is that a woman who goes out and you don’t know her where about or where she is going to especially if she is married. As Badawi says *“a woman should not only acquire Islamic knowledge, but she should obtain other knowledge that would help make her an effective mother, wife and an effective and useful member in the society at large. She should also try to work with perseverance and patients, without the spirit of contention and conflict...”* (J. Badawi 2015). As married women to an extent, they are now seen to carry responsibilities with the right allocated to her from the Qur’an, to be an ecourager, aiding her husband to perform his activities and to contribute to the good of the family and the society at large. If she begets children, it should be one of the

noblest functions she has to do as an idle Muslim mother. To realise that her duty is not just to feed or change her child but has to inculcate values (Jama Badawi 2015). The understanding of the Qur'an by their community has played social roles as they more than the past share better values, beliefs with collective interest. With this great understanding with collective interest in the awareness of knowledge, we find the tendency of women making a future for them and this perception has changed many things in recent years with most men sharing this same view point. A woman in her dignity has the right to work and to carry out her activity virtuously as the Muslim woman she is.

MBOSCUDA is one of the cultural associations we worked with. They work tirelessly for and towards the development of the mbororo community in their different areas. It works on seeing the Mbororo community better people in the future and has different headoffices in some regions of Cameroon at different dimension. MBOSCUDA has a more well foundation in the North-West and the South-West Regions of Cameroon with well-documented statistics, followed by the East region compared to the other regions. Its effort towards emancipating the mbororo community is measured from the different output result they have. On several occasions she has lobbied the state and other external partners to assist or fund some project at hand and with the adherence with the concept of the mbororo being a minority as far as the population is concerned in Cameroon, there has been a favour with this set of population being taken into consideration. With the successes of the project set aside by MBOSCUDA to assist her population there has been several times they organise vocational training which has gone a long way to assist many. MBOSCUDA in Younde has also been of great assistance to her people living in the town as they have their monthly meetings and objectives that they set for themselves. In associations we have different sub delegation of power with different people to take care of such as the Mbororo women's Wing. From the president of the women's wing in Mboscuda, there has been an improvement in the standards of living of the mbororo women here in town as they have gone a long way to learn a trade or be trained into different interested business of their choice. Such as tailoring for women, businesses such as the selling of foleere or kossam, some financial aid has been given to assist them with its limitations.

"After my training with MBOSCUDA, I have been able to be independent in my own way. I now can sew though I do it in my house. I have people who come and give me their dresses, I sew it and give to them and they pay my money. You see the money will depend on what they have asked me to sew. May be a gown, a skirt, or anything from there they will give like 2000FCFA, 2500FCFA or 1000FCFA for little childrens dresses... so the trainee has

really helped me very much and I am happy because I can help my husband and my family in my own little way” (Alima 03/04/19)

Due to more and more constant teaching and training of the mbororo woman, there has been a sense of dependence that has caused women to understand their stand in their homes. As a solemate, their husbands this has gradually regarded as a positive effect. A woman is now seen as someone who can greatly add and play a role in influencing the future of her household by her little business.

“So far with the women in yaounde, we have done a lot at our level to see our objectives attained such as training people in the tailoring workshop also, training them on how to make soap, the soap that we use to to...to wash our dresses. We also trained them to do coloring like what we called teinture on materials... though we didn't look at the sustainability because most of the women didn't go to school. Now after taking down the challenges, like limited education and no one to really do a follow back we are now more looking for projects which will be more sustainable so that more and more Mbororo women should benefit and make a beautiful future for themselves and their families” (president of the women's wing, MBOSCUDA Yaounde 18/08/18)

MBOSCUDA that seat as a mother of association for the profit of the Mbororo people has gone a long way to see that the MW is not just seen as a womean who seat at home but also in their little corner help the women to do something. They have gotten themselves involved at different level to encourage and come up with different strategist on how to elevate theMbororo woman here in Yaounde. As argue by Bourdieu's (1977, Pelican and Heiss 2014:15) actors have already gone further and are now in a process of figuring out their future; some more, others less successfully. From this comparison we can say the despite all what they have invested for these women and with the various challenges faced, they still see a future in the upcoming plans and objectives. Here, the contributions of other authors may show a way forward to grasp the cognitive aspect of what it means to make a future. Planning can have different properties or dimensions (Pelican aand Heiss 2015).

5.2. The Indoor Phenomenon

A phenomenon can be defined as a fact or situation that is observed to exist or happen, especially one whose cause or explanation is in question. A person or a thing which is remarkable. It is an observable fact or event. This work has made us to understand that in the mbororo woman's quest for something to do, most still do it in and around her home. The "home phenomenon" was derived from this study after the analyses of all the different activities that these women involved themselves in doing. The mbororo women with her cultural background and with the effects of enculturation which can be referred to as the process of one's cultural traits being passed from generation to generation has had some commonalities altogether. This aspect of enculturation according to their culture encourages women to be in their houses taking care of their husbands, children and the household in general has influenced the Mbororo women to stay indoor to do business. Also, as stated in the Qur'an, religated the mbororo women of her movement out of their homes. This has had an impact with the types of activities practiced by these women especially those who little or no formal education. These in a way made expansions of their businesses limited; the lack of education, limited capital to start up something bigger and the fact that they will have to still sit and take care of their families as they ought to.

The commonality of having about 80% of the women in our study working at home was catchy. Going above the home or the aspect of carrying these activities in their various houses, we found out that they still hold on to their culture of women still having to be at home. This is because Mbororo women still regards herself as the "*queen mother*" of her home. In other cases, other do stay at home due to the fact they are afraid to face the world because they think they are not educated enough for that and have as reason that the children are still small and need to be well taken care off. Others do their business from their homes because some say their husbands will not permit them from going out. One of our informants defended that "*women are fruits*", when going out will be seen by all types of men and to add, they are very fragile and if permitted to go out they would not have the strength to resist the pressures of the world and thus, will find themselves succumbing to it. Therefore, it will be better to prevent that by preserving them at home.

Furthermore, with the exceptions of totally refusing their women to work for one reason or the other, some men do believe it has to be with restrictions. These restrictions understood by the men especially are that they want to be protective of their wives yet, giving

them an environment to be fulfilled. By being close to them and keeping an eye on them while their husbands are away further from their homes in search for their livelihood.

The few percentages of women that leave their homes are those who go the extra mile to gain more market depending on their visions of things. Most at times they are women who despite their limited level of education have striven all the odds to establish themselves. Other amongs do sell on roadside not too distant from their houses. Most often have a relay that is given to them by their children while they return home for other duties. M. Brightman and Jerome L. (20017; 2) “Our insights are distinctive, some even surprising, because anthropology is holistic and involves shifting temporal and spatial scales of analysis. It explores how values and practices, ontologies and epistemologies interact and change, paying attention to the details of the everyday as much as to the exotic, and to the powerful as well as to subalterns”.

This chapter had as objective to analyse the different activities carried out by the mbororo woman. We used the theory of cultural dynamic and Making a future. We came to the understanding that the mbororo culture has witness some cultural changes as their women now carry out one activity to another. The dynamics of these changes has been due to factors such as high standards of living amongst others. Making a future for these women has been a way for them to have a better life not only to themselves but to their family as a whole.



CONCLUSION

Our research was carried out on the topic *Mbororo Women and Informal Activities in yaounde cameroon: An Anthropological perspective*. Our problem was derived from the fact that the mbororo women who were considered by the muslim custom to be at home, to give birth, to take care of the children and their husband had no right to fend for themselves but expected to be totally dependent of her husband. Due to sedentarisation from the multiple transhumances, the environmental condition, political, socio-economical conditions, the mbororo woman had to see herself carrying one or several activities to support her family.

To attain this work, we had a principal research question and three secondary research questions. Our main question was; why are there changes in the activities of mbororo women? Our secondary questions consisted of; what are the types of activities practiced by Mbororo women? How has these activities impacted the welfare of the Mbororo Woman and our third hypothesis is, under what circumstances do these activities contribute on the welfare of the household?

Following our research questions put forth, we derived both main hypothesis and secondary hypotheses. Our main hypothesis was Mbororo women have moves from being just house wives to nation builders due to climatic changes, modernity, etc. Our second hypothesis was, the activities practiced by the Mbororo Women among others are tailoring, selling of Kossam, loin fabrics, restaurant and many others. Our second hypothesis followed suit, men in the past were the sole income earners and the women depended on them but with modernity, the gender relationship has been affected. And the last hypothesis was, the activities practiced by the mbororo woman enable her to provide for her basic needs and to assist her husband in the running of her home.

We came out with our research objective which are as follows; our main research objective was to understand the different cultural dynamics amongst the Mbororo community. Followed by this, we had three secondary objectives; to demonstrate how cultural change influence Mbororo woman, to describe how the different activities affects gender relationship and to show the contributions that these activities bring to the Mbororo woman in their household.

Our main research methodology was qualitative. Our research raised questions of perceptions; effects on the activities practiced which favored a qualitative methodology to be used to provide findings. We had two main groups of people we interviewed; mbororo women and people related or close to them such as their husbands and the community such as the

Imans. These women gave us their perceptions on their practiced activities. Technics of data collection included, indepth-interviews, documentary, focus group discussion and direct observation. We had tools such as books, pen, camera to capture images and a phone to record our audios during the different interviews. Interviews guide and a phone were used during our indepth interviews and to take shots. During our direct observation, we used guides, a phone camera to capture images which facilitated our descriptions of our various findings. We recorded our focus group discussion with the sound recorder in the phone which was later transcribed in word document.

Most of our transcription was done manually as we had some language issue with some of our informants. After transcriptions, we allocated themes and code to the recurrent points. After coding, we identified the emerging themes and we proceeded with the content analyses.

Our findings revealed that there are many informant activities carried out by the mbororo women and for this work. These activities include; tailoring. This entails the sewing of dresses by the mbororo women for different individuals who at the end earn their pay. From their different training in the various training centers, some organised by MBOSCUDA has made the mbororo woman gain her autonomy. They can sew clothes for both elderly people and that of children such as gowns, blouses, t-shirts, skirts and others. This goes a long way to provide them with their basic needs as they earn money from it as from 1000FRS-5000FCFA depending on the customer's choice. The next activity found, we categorised them into businesses. They include; the sales of Folere, (this is done from the dried leaves of the rangual commonly called folere which is boiled, and the extract is used as juice to which sugar and other aromas are added). Mbaoba, (it is done with the baoba fruit which is soaked into water for a number of days, then when drained the add arome and other to make the juice. This is bottled and put in paper in various amount). Kossam (this is milk that is fermented into luke-warm water for 24 hours, mixed to get desired texture and further bottled with different prices allocated) and Ndakere, pap (this is processed from corn. This corn is peeled and soaked for several days after it is soft; it is ground and washed, then drained and rolled in balls of 50 FRS, the sales of cooked food and the sale of material. These informal activities when noticed are not far from their cultural background.

Furthermore, we found out that these activities were very important since they saw how this has gone a long way to support their family at different levels. It has brought a sense of independence. They no longer see their husbands as the sole provider of even their basic

needs. They believe with the petit trades they get themselves involved in monthly savings, provide for themselves, take care of their children and their own parents without necessarily going to their spouses to ask for the money. This has caused them to be pro-active, as they do not just wait for their husbands to be home before they can attain to any pressing situation that need financial attention. They interpret this as a huge sign a maturity and a sense of independence among them fellow women.

In addition, the sense of unity among each other as they gathered as women has made them feel more secured in the cities knowing how far they are from home. Thus, meeting monthly with each other as women, being able to stand for each other in the mist of challenges with their contributions, going through different teachings from the different workshops has given them a sense of awareness and confident to face their surroundings.

The aspect of them seeing some of the home duty being turned over to them by their husbands makes them to think if it was worth indulging themselves into an activity. These women do have the challenge of their husbands seeing them as competitors instead as helpmates. In gender relationship, most women do believe that they still give their husband the maximum respect he deserve, and in no way, has carrying out an activity shy them away from their marital and motherly duties.

There has been a visible and tangible evolution of work in recent years with more emancipation and mobilization from different structures, stakeholders and institutions that are drawn. This brings clarity to the activities done by women and the Mbororo woman in particular. The WID (Women in Development) approach during their UN conference in the early 1970s was based on the recognition on the importance of roles and status of women. The Mbororo women in their search to do something went through struggles to be accepted to get to do what they are doing as they further advocate for more. This is because, the mentality of work in the Muslim community concerning women are far from the reality of them involving themselves into an activity. As stated in the Shurahs; S. 4: 34 *“Men are the protectors and managers of the affairs of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means...”* this further was commented by Ibn Kather that says, “men are above (or superior) to women and a man is better and more perfect than a woman. He continues to say, because Muslim men provide for their wives and the children, and support them from their own means, they have their say or power over them. Women are not supposed to manage or control their own affairs and life situations; they are

expected to live under the protection of men in their family and society. Men have the right to limit their movements, their choices and their relationships outside the family.

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B. ORAL SOURCES


NO	NAME	SEX	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS
1	YAHYA ABOUBAKAR	M		Secondary	Secretary of MBOSCUDA	Married
2	Mde BOUBA	F		Tertiary	Vice president of MBOSCUDA	Married
3	FADIMATOU SALI	F		Tertiary	Leader of women in Mboscuda	Single
4	RUGAYATOU	F		Primary	Business woman	Married
5	MUSA NDAMBA	M		Tertiary		
6	Unanimouse	M		Primary	Taxi driver	Married
7	HAWA ABDU	F		Primary	Business woman	Widow
8	JAJI	M		Primary	Business man	Single
9	ADAMU	M		Primary	Bike rider	Single
10	BUBA YAKUBU	M		Primary	Cattle herder	Single
11	ALIDOU	M		Primary	Works at Mboscuda	Married
12	AISATOU	F		Informal	Business woman	Married
13	DADA MAMIE	F		Informal	Business woman	Married
14	FADI	F		Primary	Business woman	Married
15	HAPSATOU HALIDOU	F		Primary	Business woman	Married
16	DADA BEBE	F		Primary	Business woman	Married
17	IBRAHIM	F		Primary	Business	Married

	HAPSATOU ADAMOU				woman	
18	AYI MOUSSA	F		Primary	Business woman	Married
19	RABIYATOU	F		Tertiary	MINREX	Married
20	DZENABOU			Primary	Business woman (from Bamenda)	Single
21	YAYA	M		Primary	Bike rider	Single
22	ALI	M	42	Primary	Business man	Married
23	MUSA	M	32	Tertiary	Health personel	Single
24	HAPSATOU MOUSSA	F	44	Primary	Business woman	Married
25	DAWAI	F	30	Primary	Business woman	Married
26	DABO	M	27	Tertiary	Hustler	Married
27	SALI	M	35	Primary	Selling of car parts	Married
28	ANIMATOU	F	30	Primary	Tailor	Married
29	OUSMANOU	M	28	Primary	Bike rider	Married
30	BABA	M	38	Primary	Moto parts seller	Married



ANNEXES

1. Research Authorisation

<p>REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN PAIX-TRAVAIL-PATRIE ***** UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDE I ***** FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES ***** DEPARTEMENT D'ANTHROPOLOGIE *****</p>		<p>REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON PEACE-WORK-FATHERLAND ***** THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I ***** FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ***** DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY *****</p>
<p>Siège : Bâtiment Annexe F ALSH-UYI, à côté AUF</p>		
<h3><u>AUTORISATION DE RECHERCHE</u></h3>		
<p>Je soussigné, professeur MBONJI EDJENGUELE, Chef de Département d'Anthropologie de la Faculté des Arts, Lettres et sciences Humaines de l'Université de Yaoundé I, atteste que l'étudiante WENDON MBUI Gillian, matricule 13J322, est inscrite en Master II dans ledit Département, option Anthropologie Médicale. Elle mène, sous la direction du Dr DELI TIZE, Chargé de Cours, une recherche universitaire sur le thème : « <i>MBORORO WOMENS AND INFORMAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CENTER REGION OF CAMEROON</i> ».</p>		
<p>A cet effet, je vous saurais gré des efforts que vous voudriez bien faire afin de fournir à l'intéressée toute information en mesure de l'aider.</p>		
<p>En foi de quoi, la présente attestation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.</p>		
<p>Le Chef de Département</p>  <p>Professeur <i>Mbonji Edjenguele</i></p>		

2. Interview Guide for Mbororo Women

Date of interview:

Start time:

End time:

Venue of the interview:

Socio-demographic information

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Marital status

Level of education

Profession:

Religion:

Socio-demographic Information

Knowledge about the activities by the women

We are going to be having with you an interview of the activity or activities you do, the impact it has and the gender relationship it has with your surrounding and the different perceptions.

1. Can you please tell us the kind of activity/activities you practice?

2. Can you please give us a description?

Prompts: how is it done? How long does it take? The modalities involved? How do you raise money from it?

3. As a Mbrororo woman how has this business help you as a whole?

4. Have you observed any unusual changes in the relationship with your spouse or society as a whole?

Prompt: not more being respectful or any change in character.

5. What does these activities represent to you now?

6. What are the challenges you face?

Prompt: a) financially. B) Emotionally. C) Physically.

Thanks for your participation in this research.

3. Interview guide for Men/ husband

1. According to you how do you see a mbororo woman doing a business or working?

2. What is your take on her working?

Prompt: a) do you see it as a good idea?

3. Do you see mbororo woman working as a positive thing or a negative adventure?

4. Do you think her carrying out a business has changed her perception?

a) Do you still see her being respectful?

b) b) Has she change compared to the past?

55. Does the Muslim community to you changed in the way they see the mbororo woman?

56. How has the Qu'ran in regard to women been interpreted in recent centuries?

a) Does it still favour women seating just at home?

b) Or it has being more elaborated and well interpreted?

Thanks for your participation in this research

4. Focus Group Discussion Guide

A. KNOWLEDGE

We are going in the interview start with questions on the different types of activities you do

1. Can you please tell us what kind of informal activity you carry out?
2. How do you go on with these activities?
3. How do you raise funds for this activity?

B. PERCEPTIONS

For this session, we are going to ask you questions on what you think about the businesses you practice

4. According to you has this activity been of help to you?
5. Does this activity make you disrespect your husbands?
6. Do you think in carrying out these activities, you can make a future for yourselves in the city of Yaounde?
7. Do you think different associations have helped mbororo women?
8. Do you encounter challenges while doing these businesses? If yes what could that be?

C. ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

9. How do you surmount challenges in Yaounde?

Thanks for your participation in this research

5. INFORM CONSENT DOCUMENT

Name of Student: Wendon Mbuh Gillian

Contact: 674691672

Name of Supervisor: Pr Deli Tezi Teri

Contact:

Introduction

My names are Wendon Mbuh Gillian, a master I student at the university of Yaounde I. I am currently carrying out an academic research to obtain a master's degree in Anthropology of development. My research is on the topic Mbororo Women and informal activity in Yaounde: An Anthropological perspective.

In this study, we are looking at the different activities carried out by the Mbororo Women in the town of yaounde. Their different perceptions in making a future in yaoude and how this has either or not affected their gender relationship

You are kindly invited to participate in this academic study as a Mbororo woman. And the decision to participate in this study or not is up to you.

What is involved in this study?

If you agree to participate in this research, you will be asked questions on the kind of activity you carry out, you will be giving us a description of the activity and the different effects you face. We believe it will take you about 30minutes.

In the process of this questioning, we will need to use a sound recorder to record our discussion, a camera to take pictures and a pen and paper to take down notes. You can decide to withdraw your participation or stop participating without any penalty associated.

Risk

There are no anticipated risks of you participating in this research

Benefit of participating in this study

It will be good to know that; this research will go a long way to create some awareness about the Mbororo women in Yaounde and the different activities they practice. It will also create an awareness of Mbororo women getting more independent in the things they do and how far they have gone a long way to support their family both internal and external. This work too will go a long way to make known the perception of the Mbororo woman in recent years.

Confidentiality

We will put in the measures to keep information about you confidential and to make sure to protect it from every unauthorized disclosure, tampering or damage.

Your information will be published in the University of Yaounde I without disclosing your identity. Your information will be stored in a computer which only me will have access through a password. Your Research information will be handled by me.

Your right as a research participant

Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right not to partake in this study and you can withdraw at anytime with no penalties and this will not affect your relationship with the researcher or anybody else.

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