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TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AWING 1921-2012

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To
My father Solomon Mbamoh Ngemita, for the love and care showed to me which has
greatly inspired and taken me to the level I am today.

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ABSTRACT

The Present dissertation is concerned with Traditional Institutions and Conflict Management in Awing from 1921-2012. It is an analysis of the mechanisms of traditional institutions in conflict management from the colonial to contemporary periods. This work aims to showcase the important role traditional institutions played in the management of conflicts and the preservation of peace in the Awing community. It has as objective to show that traditional diplomacy can be a mechanism through which the state could encourage the notion of living together in Cameroon. That is why the present work investigates the age long practices of the people of Awing and how these practices could be put at the service of peace and social cohesion. Considering the fact that we are dealing here with a social phenomenon that cannot be quantified, the qualitative research technique was employed in the collection and analysis of data. As concerns the collection of data we prioritised oral information as we gave a voice to actors and observers of the Awing socio-political land scape so as to capture their mind-set, opinions and ideas on the phenomenon of conflict management. We as well exploited a bulk of published and unpublished documents related to the question and the area of study. Our principal research instrument here was the question guide which was administered to selected informants based on their proximity to power and related institutions of conflict management in Awing amongst them we had Traditional authorities, title holders, religious authorities, youth leaders, women and administrative authorities. In analysing our data, we used the analytical research approach that involves the use of critical thinking skills as well as the evaluation of facts and information which permitted us to avoid subjectivity and falsification of information and facts in research. At the end of this interesting scientific exercise, we arrived at the following results. That the Awing polity in its geopolitical representation is a clear picture of decentralisation very much clamoured for in Cameroon. Secondly we realised that Awing like many other grassfield *Fondoms* is blessed with strong respectable and respected institutions which have great influence on peace and social cohesion in the locality. We equally noticed that the Awing traditional institutions through its diverse mechanisms of operation resolved some order in conflict management. The Awing traditional institutions still project some limitations which must be looked into by key stakeholders so as to manage conflicts and restore peace in the locality. And finally we realised that amidst the successes recorded the task of peace preservation and conflict management was very effective.

RÉSUMÉ

*Cette dissertation s'intitule « **Institutions Traditionnelles et Gestion des Conflits à Awing de 1921-2012** ». Cette étude porte sur une analyse des mécanismes des institutions traditionnelles dans la gestion des conflits de la période coloniale à la période contemporaine. Ce travail vise à mettre en valeur le rôle important joué par les institutions traditionnelles dans la gestion des conflits et la préservation de la paix dans la communauté d'Awing et a pour objectif de montrer que la diplomatie traditionnelle peut être un mécanisme par lequel l'Etat pourrait encourager le vivre ensemble au Cameroun. C'est pourquoi, l'étude actuelle s'interroge sur les pratiques séculaires des habitants d'Awing et comment ces pratiques pourraient être au service de la paix et la cohésion sociale. Compte tenu du fait que nous traitons ici un phénomène social qu'on peut nuancer, la technique de recherche qualitative a été employée à la collecte et à l'analyse des données. En ce qui concerne la collecte de données nous nous sommes rapprochés des acteurs et observateurs socio-politique d'Awing afin de saisir leur état d'esprit, avis et idées sur le phénomène de la gestion des conflits. Nous avons ainsi exploité une masse de documents publiés et inédits liés à la question du domaine d'étude. Notre principal instrument de recherche ici était le guide d'entretien qui a été administré à des informateurs sélectionnés en fonction de leur proximité avec le pouvoir et les institutions connexes de gestion des conflits à Awing. Parmi eux, nous avons des autorités traditionnelles, des détenteurs de titres, des autorités religieuses, des leaders de la jeunesse, des femmes et des autorités administratives. Dans l'analyse de nos données nous avons utilisé l'approche de recherche analytique qui implique l'usage d'un esprit critique ainsi que l'évolution des faits et l'information qui nous a permis d'éviter la subjectivité et les fausses déclarations de l'information et faits dans la recherche. A la fin de cet exercice scientifique intéressant nous sommes arrivés aux résultats suivants. De prime abord, le système politique impressionnant dans sa représentation géopolitique est une image claire de la décentralisation tant réclamée au Cameroun. Ensuite, nous avons réalisé qu'Awing comme beaucoup d'autres chefferies chez les Grassfields est doté des institutions solides, respectables et respectées qui ont une grande influence sur la paix et la cohésion sociale dans la localité. De plus, nous avons également remarqué que l'institution traditionnelle d'Awing à travers ses divers mécanismes de fonctionnement a géré tant de conflits et recouru à la paix dans la localité. Les institutions traditionnelles d'Awing projettent encore certaines limites qui doivent être examinées par les principales parties prenantes afin de gérer les conflits et de rétablir la paix dans la localité. En fin, nous avons réalisé qu'au milieu des succès enregistrés la tâche de préservation de la paix et de gestion des conflits est rendue très efficace.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADU	:	Alameti-Nemoh Development Union
AEFALSH	:	<i>L'association des etudiants de la faculte des arts lettres et sciences humaines</i>
ANICHRRA	:	Africa Network Against Illiteracy, Conflict and Human Right Abuse
A.S.A	:	Awing Students Union
AVAMFU	:	Awing Valley Mixed Farmers Union
AWICCCUL	:	Awing Central Coperative Credit Union
DEA	:	<i>Diplome des Etude Affrofondi</i>
DIPES II	:	<i>Diplôme de Professeur de L Enseignement Secondaire Deuxieme Grade</i>
D.O	:	Divisional Officer
E.N.S	:	<i>Ecole Normale Superieure</i>
G.H.S	:	Government High School
G.S	:	Government School
G.T.C	:	Government Technical College
IRIC	:	International Relations Institute of Cameroon
M.D.U	:	<i>Mbenten</i> Development Union
M-MBECDU	:	<i>Mbeme, Mbetu, Mbesoh, Meupih-Mbenjah</i> Development Union
RAB	:	Regional Archives of Bamenda
NACA	:	Ndong Awing Cultural Association
NACDA	:	Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association
NAY	:	National Archieves of Yaounde
NDC	:	The National Development Credit
NGO	:	Non- Governmental Organisation
NW	:	North West
NWW	:	Nacda Women Wing
NYW	:	Nacda Youth Wing
TDU	:	Tanjang Development Union
UNO	:	United Nations Organisation

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GLOSSARY

Word in Awing	Meaning in English
<i>Foo</i>	King
<i>Apombe and Antwele</i>	Farming Days
<i>Nkap</i>	Money
<i>Essai</i>	God Almighty
<i>Nto o</i>	Palace
<i>mɔ yi mbyáñnə</i>	Boy
<i>Ndim yi mbyáñnə</i>	Brother
<i>mōonə</i>	Child
<i>tá</i>	Father
<i>ndumə</i>	Husband
<i>ngwé</i>	Wife
<i>afanə</i>	abomination
<i>ntsoolə</i>	War
<i>ələmə</i>	Witchcraft
<i>kəpeenə</i>	Hatred
<i>ədzələ</i>	Theft
<i>pekum</i>	Notables
<i>Pefo pe nteh</i>	Quarter Heads
<i>Nde</i>	Elder

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

When groups of people live or work together, some degree of conflict is inevitable. The notion of conflict has a large broad meaning and connotations, making it difficult to understand and to deal with it. These situations of conflict are usual and unavoidable in our everyday life, either in personal or professional spheres. Africa is plagued today with a multitude of conflicts, which have brought untold sufferings on the people and account for the under-development of the continent. Colonialism created artificial boundaries that did not only separate ethnic groups and families but laid the foundations for numerous conflicts.¹ This was accentuated by the negligence of traditional methods, and preference for imported methods in the resolution of these conflicts which did not only reflect African local realities, customs and tradition. This work focuses on the Awing people, who are faced with a situation of inter-dependence with its neighbours. The Awing people are a group of people from the Northwest Region of Cameroon, who are characterized by a model of organization, a philosophy of life, a typology of relationship between different neighbours. According to Fon Fozoh II of Awing “The Awing man from origin, like other Africans is attached to his culture and will stop at nothing to preserve it”.² It is in line with the above facts that it becomes important to analyse the cohabitation of Awing and their neighbours.

We admit that it is impossible to write this History without mentioning the patrimony of this people, their religious beliefs and their institutions which are elements that bring to light the relevance of this research within the body of knowledge on traditional governance in matters of peace maintenance.³ This work is thus a process of explanatory investigation on the evolution of relations between cultures as preconized by Raymond Quesnau and Fernand Braudel who uphold the idea that History is the science of man in his totality, that is; “History is man, always man in its admirable efforts”.⁴

From this, it appears that the Awing people like different peoples of Cameroon try to define a political and social agenda in which traditions remain permanent. The precision which results is that this community through its migration and settlement saw itself in the obligation to mobilize certain resources, the said resources which at different levels permits us

1. J. Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire De L Afrique Noire*, Paris, Presence Africaine, 1978, p.54.

² Interview with Fon Fozoh II of Awing, Yaounde, 4 November 2021.

³ P. Apongnde, *The people of Awing: North West Cameroon*, Yaounde, Pacific Print, 2014. p.3.

⁴ F. Braudel, *L Espistemologie De L Histoire*, Paris, Payot, 1969. p.14.

to understand that, during the precolonial period, the people of the North West region lived together. This principle is very important as no tribe is cut from their culture, consequently there is a need to ask why conflicts between Awing and her neighbours. Following this, tribal cooperation was established among the people based on pacts and marriages. Colonial customs are tools of cultural systems which hinders this conflict.⁵ The phenomenon of “tribal violence” in this work largely explains the normal phenomenon of the people in this geographical zone and also violence which is intra-tribal and extra-tribal is a normalize phenomenon to peoples in which Awing is part as they cannot escape from it. It is the reason for which Napoleon Nwunasunagazin says that “Man in his struggle for survival has put in place strategies and ways of life in other to succeed in his venture, in a bit to cope, he is in effect carrying on change for progress in his environment”.⁶

This permits us to note that, the colonial context does not permit deep studies on systems of dialogue between peoples of the North West region of Cameroon. We can also think that the system of Indirect Rule constructed by Lord Frederick Lugard⁷ was an instrument of enforcement of antagonism in the sense that each tribe reinforces its attachment to its geographical space and socio-political individualism in profit of the colonizers.⁸ From this it appears that in this Africa in miniature which constitutes Cameroon, the way in which the Awing people accompany public authorities in maintaining their living together is interesting in the sense that this study permits to understand the way culture unites ethnic groups and its role in sustaining traditional institutions.

With the aforementioned we are therefore called to reflect on the following question; What is the role of Awing traditional institutions in maintaining peace? By Answering this question, we will be addressing our central thematic, “Traditional Institutions and Conflict Management in Awing 1921-2012”. This will permit us to show the role of new History as a cognitive model in which, the Awing people in the Santa sub-division of the North West region of Cameroon attracts our attention. For this there was a need to present the different problems faced by the Awing people by insisting on the role played by traditional institutions. The aim at this level is to show all angles of analyses which will help in understanding the lives of the Awing people.

⁵ J. Bazin et E. Terray, *Guerre de lignages et guerres d Etats en Afrique*, Paris, Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 1982. p.24.

⁶ N. Nwunasungazi, *The spirit of community development in Awing*, Bamenda, Full Gospel Pres, 2014, p.4.

⁷ V.J. Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Limbe, Pressbook, 1996. p.17.

⁸ T.A. Parham, *The psychology of Blacks: Centering our Perspectives in the African Consciousness*, New York, Psychologie Presse, 2011, p.32.

Choice/Motivation of the Study

The study of Traditional Institutions and their role in the field of conflict Management in the Awing Village has never been given adequate attention by Historians. But Awing Traditional Institutions reveal many interesting points on traditional mechanisms as tool for the Management of Conflict. This assertion is from the fact that there are relatively few written document on this field. Apart from works of Anthropologist on Awing, no attention is paid on conflict management. It was after the discovery of the above that the researcher thought that a study on traditional mechanisms of conflict management in Awing could be a positive step towards reconstituting the History of Awing. It could also be an important step towards the democratization of Cameroon from the grassroots.

Scope and Delimitation

The time frame of this study goes from 1921-2012, covering a period of 91 years. The years 1921 was chosen as it marked the year of the return of the Awing to their present area of settlement. Upon arrival they meet a new neighbour they were not used to as a result it created tension in the area with the first occupants the Awing people and this will mark the start of tensions between both villages. The work ends in 2012 which was marked by the symbolic handshake between the traditional rulers of Awing and Baligham which brought to an end the Awing-Baligham hostilities.

Conceptual Frame work

The conceptual frame work fixes the words of analyses and helps to understand what we are talking about. The Greek philosopher Aristotle notes that “Men do not understand themselves because they do not accept the words they use”.⁹ Also the conceptual framework permits us to have an intelligibility of what we will show. It comes out that:

Scientific honesty demands that historians ought to have an effort of conscience which defines the orientation of his thoughts, present his postulate...which is seen in action and which makes us to assist in the birth of his work, how he delimited the object, what he was looking for, what he discovered.¹⁰

The concepts to be defined are Culture, Culture of Peace, Traditional Institution, Conflicts, Methods, Traditional Methods of Conflict resolution as seen below

⁹ A. Toynbee, *Conceptuel and Methodological issues*, London, Routledge, 1916, p. 183.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p.165.

Culture; is an assembly of elements proper to a people, according to the Robert dictionary.¹¹ Culture is an assembly of knowledge, material and immaterial which is related to a people. This definition seems to be global when culture sounds diversified in the sense that culture is always assimilated to civilisation. In this measure Antoine de Saint Exupery¹² underlines that culture is an assembly of path which will lead and which gives a common sense to man. In this perspective we will privilege the fact that the culture of the Awing people is not only material and immaterial and that customs and philosophy play a central role in analysing this work. The approach of Saint Exupery shows that through culture, custom, a people can determine their relationship with others in what situates them that is why we validate the approach of culture as ideal for a community. With this we can say that culture is an assembly of elements, instruments which permits a people to not only define themselves with others by establishing specific, pacific or conflictual relationships. In this measure the field of culture is related to diplomacy in our work.

Culture of Peace: from Latin Pax¹³ Culture of peace is a state of absence of insecurity. Peace is a situation in which all societies, communities aspire to be. Peace in the sense of Jean Jacque Rousseau is a democratic process in which the community disposes of a means to express themselves. For John lock, peace is a situation in which there is an absence of violence and a situation where man has fundamental rights to defend and express themselves¹⁴. In other words, peace is a situation in which there is an absence of violence, wars, and were fundamental rights of all are respected. It's in this measure that we consider that peace for Awing is practice and entails politics which consist to live together as seen during field work¹⁵ in Awing.

Conflict Resolution; is as old as the creation of man. It has been a worldwide phenomenon involving individuals, states, organizations, as well as civil societies. If conflict resolution is as old as the creation of man, this therefore stands in line with the view that conflict itself is as old as the existence of man. Without the existence of conflict, there would not have been conflict resolution. These goes in line with the concept that man is violent to his fellow man". That view is strongly held by Thomas Hobbes.¹⁶ Man is violent and this violence is as a result

¹¹ Robert *Dictionary, illustrated edition*, Paris, Robert, edition, 2011, p. 112.

¹² A. Saint Exupery, *Terre des Hommes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1978, p. 22.

¹³ Suetone, *La Vie des Douze Cesars*, Paris, Gallimard, 1986, p.XVI.

¹⁴ C. Montlibert, *Introduction au raisonnement sociologique*, Strasbourg, Press universitaire de Strasbourg, 1990 p.85.

¹⁵ Interview with, Ma Mbagwana Lucie, 64 years, Female Awing Notable, Yaounde, 10 August 2022. 8am.

¹⁶ T. Hobbes, *Elements of Natural and political Law*, Paris, Vrin, 2010. p.22.

of fear, thus man as a result of fear adopts a violent attitude towards his fellow man as a means of defense.

The conflict resolution theory brings to the surface other concepts like mediation. This is the technique by which a mediator brings two parties or more together in a situation of conflict to a solution. It takes the third party to bring the two parties in a conflict into terms of agreement. The third party must under all circumstances be neutral to the said conflict, without which sentiments dominate the resolution scene and renders objectivity threatened.

Infact, I. W. Zartman holds that, conflict is an evitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions brought on by the presence of several choices.¹⁷ Conflict resolution in this work is presented as an assembly of elements which are political, cultural, economic, social or philosophical used by a people to solve differences internally and externally, this permits us to understand that conflict resolution is a permanent process which is at a time political with the intervention of traditional institutions and the state.

Many authors have been interested in the notion of conflict and this gives a particular significance. For some, conflict is comparable to a quarrel.¹⁸This approach of Ancient Greece is relative in the measure that conflict progressively was likened to war and for Von Clausewitz war is the continuation of politics in another means. This said, our work will treat questions of violence in terms of organization and consequences.

Nancy Peterson defines conflict resolution as a process of permanently bringing a dispute or conflict to an end by ensuring that the interests of the disputing parties are taken into consideration, and adequately addressed thereby paving the way for mutual satisfaction.¹⁹She also sees conflict resolution as “a variety of approaches aimed at resolving conflicts through the constructive solving of problems distinct from the management and the transformation of conflict.”²⁰

Further according to the Payson Conflict Study Group, the resolution of conflicts as opposed to the settlement of disputes or the suppression of differences is a process that changes

¹⁷ I.W Zartman, *Negotiation and Conflict Management*, New York, Routledge,2008.

¹⁸ Platon *La Republique*, 'Introduction et Note" par R. Baccou, Paris, Garnier Freres Flammarion 1966. p. 157.

¹⁹ N.Peterson,, "Mediation Dictionary: A Glossary of Terminology used in ADR and Mediation", 2007, Online at www.mediationdictionary.com , consulted on 20 March 2021.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

the nature of conflicts in a durable way by addressing essential human needs, and building qualities of sustainable relationships between groups.²¹

For Swamstrom and Weissman, Conflict resolution refers to the 'resolution of the underlying incompatibilities in a conflict and mutual acceptance of each others existence'.²² It²³ has as principal objective to resolve or terminate conflicts in an open and predictable process following certain legal principles. In consequence in our work we will consider conflicts as an assembly of disputes, violence, antagonism which appears in Awing and also in their relationship with their neighbors.

Conflict Management; J. Bercovitch and J. Fretter defined Conflict Management as the use of techniques to resolve disagreements or control the level of discord. Conflict management techniques include facilitating meetings for conflicting parties to identify the problem, discuss resolutions and create superordinate goals that require cooperation from conflicting parties. Conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills and also establishing a structure for management of conflict in your environment.²⁴

Another concept which called for our attention was **Method**; and can be defined as a particular way of doing something.²⁵ Consequently, while we talk of traditional methods of conflict resolution in most African communities, the use of modern methods at different levels and by diverse actors and institutions have gathered momentum and fresh impetus. This has to come to undermine the important place that was hitherto held by these traditional methods as far as conflict resolution is handled by the Awing people.

Furthermore there is also the concept; **Traditional**; which simply means, being part of the beliefs, customs or way of life of a particular group of people that have not changed for a long time²⁶. Traditional methods of conflict resolution therefore refer to the use of methods that make up part of the beliefs, customs and the way of life of a particular group of people that have not changed for a long period of time in the resolution of conflict and differences. Traditional conflict handling mechanisms also refer to those methods used in the resolution of

²¹ Payson Conflict Study Group, *A Glossary on Violent Conflict* : "Terms and Concepts used in Conflict Prevention, Mitigation, and Resolution in the Context of Disaster Relief and Sustainable Development", Payson Center for International Development and Technological Transfer, Fourth Edition, 2001.

²² N.L.P. Swamstrom and M.S. Weissman, *Conflict, Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management and Beyond: A Conceptual Exploring*, Washington D.C, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, 2005.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ J. Bercovitch and J. Fretter, *Regional Guide to International Conflict and Management from 1945 to 2003*, Washington D.C, CQ Press, 2004.

²⁵ A.S. Horny, *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of current English*, London, Oxford University Press, Seventh Edition, 2005.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

conflicts taking into consideration the cultural context of the people.²⁷ These traditional methods are identified by variety of names, endogenous methods, indigenous knowledge systems and are common on the African continent as the people have remained attached to their culture and traditions.

Theoretical Framework

This work has as objective to show that cultural elements influenced the behaviour of a people, in its relations with their neighbours. The case of Awing is a part of this process in which the behaviorist theory talks about.

Constructivism is a model of comprehension in this work. Constructivism is born as a result of the fusion of sciences of social science like Philosophy, Anthropology, Sociology, and History. This theory was influenced by actors like; Max Weber,²⁸ Jurgen Habermas.²⁹ All the proponents named above will be useful to our research in that, the question of peace, security cannot be ignored. Constructivism will also be of great use to us as, it will show how institutions construct peace and it will also insist on the idea that knowledge in the world is constructed by human beings in their interaction with the world. This view is seen in our work in the relationship of the Awing among their communities and Awing with their neighbors.

Functionalism is also another model of comprehension for this work. Functionalism is a theory based on the premise that all aspects of the society like institutions, norms, serve a purpose and that all are indispensable for the long-term survival of the society, as proponents we have Emile Durkheim³⁰, Like others authors like A. R Radcliff –Brown³¹, Herbert Spencer³². Functionalism permits to see the role of the Traditional Chiefdoms, importance of mechanisms used in to promote and maintain peace. Also the logic of cybernetic permits us to see how the population of Awing formulates problems which are inputs. These inputs are questions which are sent to the palace and turns out to outputs with the decisions given by the palace.

²⁷ M.Mutisi, 'Gacaca Courts in Rwanda: An Endogenous Approach to Postconflict Justice and Reconciliation', *In Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, Volume 2, Number 1, June 2009, pp. 17-18.

²⁸ M.Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, London, Routledge, 1949. p.4.

²⁹ Jurgen Habermas developed in his work different theories who concerned historical materialism in the case of our work, what is of interest is the ethics of discussions which shows that it's in a clean order that an individual determines its moral value. In our work it is seen in the part taken by Awing Fons who are aware that their ethica, moral can favor peace.

³⁰ E. Durkheim, *Les Regles de La Methode Sociologique*, Paris, Felix Alcan, 1895, p.14.

³¹ Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown is a British Anthropologist. He is a founder of the theory Social Anthropology which consists to elaborate an assembly of analytical concepts. The process of social life according to him is seen in three aspects which are ecology, institutions, and culture which is the socialization of an individual.

³² H. Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, Boise Idaho, Pacific, 2002, p.23.

Literature Review

All research is generally registered in the field of work already done on the subject we have chosen. The construction of a literature review consists to identify the gap existing between what is known and what is not known and to identify the boundary of the field that compasses what is already known and useful to recommend and, thus determine the direction in which we should look. This section provides an overview of previous work in order to better focus our problem.³³ The available literature must be directly related to the subject of the present study in order to restore the angle of originality of the present work. Much work has been carried out in the Awing land so far. Very little of this works see to the field of conflict in the area as a majority are on culture. However, related literature on conflict that has been carried out with specificity on other parts of Cameroon, Africa and other parts of the world will greatly enrich this field of study. To this fact, we have been able to go across a number of works on conflict which either directly or indirectly deal with the Awing land conflicts and thus provide us with more than enough literature we could need in the course of this study.

John Tata Ma-apoh Chefor in his book entitled *Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Association: The foundation of Awing Culture*, displays the Awing culture by showing the foundations of this culture.³⁴ According to him oral tradition holds that the people of Awing originated from the Bantu roots of East Africa. Legend also reinforces that they came from the North East of Congo, passing through South Sudan and migrated in the name of Tikars and settlements took place along the way until they got to Widikum in the 16th century, where they constituted of a large group composed of four clans; Moghamo, Meta, Ngie-Ngwo and Ngemba clans. This will help us in our work to understand the migration and geographical tension that exist in Awing today because of their migration history.

The Awing fact book³⁵ compiled by members of the Ndong Cultural and Developmental Association shows the geographical and demographical situation of Awing. According to the book, Awing is located at about 21km (13miles from the south of Bamenda town). Between 10°10'E of GMT and 5°49N - 6°00N of the equator is located the Fondom of Awing. *The Awing fact*³⁶ book also displays the ecological features of Awing. Awing has lots of vegetation and surrounded by rugged mountains. The highest areas are 2,550 m (8,366 Ft)

³³ G. Bedard, *L'elaboration d une problematique de recherche, Sources, outils et methode*, Collection Logiques Sociales, Paris L'Harmattan, 2005, p. 144.

³⁴ J. Chefor Tata Ma-apoh, *Ndong Awing Cultural and Developpment Association: The foundation of Awing Culture*, Yaoundé, Flour buisness center, 2016.

³⁵ NACDA, *Awing fact book*, p.56.

³⁶ P. Mbangwana, *Ndong Awing chronicle*, Bamenda, Full Gospel Printing Press, 1998, p.40.

and the lowest areas are 1, 20 m (3, 957ft). Also according to the authors there are 63 quarters in Awing. These falls within 10 main quarters and some of these main quarters have quarter development unions which enhance their development coordination, this piece of arts will direct us in understanding the impact of ecological features and the geographical partition of the Awing village.

Pascal Apongnde³⁷ in his book entitled *The people of Awing* outlines that Awing is a decentralized unitary society with a traditional system of government, based on both hereditary and nomination and gives a socio-political organization of the Awing people. the existence of secret courts like *Keum Ngong, Keum Nwing, Keum Adzoh, Meunji, Afu-mbangifo'o*. The author also talks of quarter heads in Awing and their role in conflict resolutions. He also presents sample of indigenous convocation letters in Awing which shows the judicial system of Awing with also a judicial pyramid of Awing and its people. This work will help us in our research work by showing that in Awing there exist traditional methods of conflict resolution and promotion of peace which is just needs direction.

Paul Nkwi³⁸. in his book on *Traditional Diplomacy* paints a picture of inter-chiefdom relations in the Northwest region of Cameroon. He talks about the ethnic composition and distribution of different ethnic groups as well as the migration of groups. He also worked on the political, economic and social organization of these different groups, and how chiefdoms in the Northwest used to solve their problems by using traditional mechanisms. This work seeks to provide useful information on the history, origin, migration and settlement of the Awing people and how they used traditional mechanisms to resolve their problems.

Ho-Won Jeong is another author who based his interest on conflict resolution. With examples from peace processes in the Middle East, North America, Central America, Asia, Africa and Western Europe, Jeong examines different ways of tackling a range of problems arising from competitive relationships within and between societies.³⁹ The author is of the opinion that the principle mission of conflict resolution is to prevent the re-emergence of harmful conflict. After having presented and examined the concepts of conflict management, settlement and resolution, the author goes further to bring the different forms of conflict ranging from adjudication to arbitration and collaborative problem solving. This study is

³⁷ P. Apongnde, *The people of Awing*, p.16.

³⁸ P.N. Nkwi and J.P. Warnier, *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields*, Yaounde, Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde, 1982.

³⁹ H-W. Jeong, *Conflict Management and Resolution: An Introduction*, New York, Routledge, 2010. p.14.

aimed at showing the strength of traditional institutions which at a level has limitations that can lead to the use of modern methods.

Oliver Ramsbotham,⁴⁰ Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Mall paid attention to conflicts and conflict resolution. In their work, they bring out first, second and third generation precursors and the enormous contributions they made to the field of conflict resolution and go further to examine the possible motivations of conflicts. Laying much importance on reconciliation, they show how conflicts manifest themselves and bring forth the different mechanisms put in place for their resolution. The author's views on reconciliation and transformation of conflicts are going to be very important as the philosophy of conflict resolution of the Awiing people is based on reconciliation.

Joseph Nfi. Examined the Inter-community relations that resulted from attempts to create single administrative unit out of the people who had to form separate entities with different languages and customs but who entertained various relations between themselves in the pre-colonial times.⁴¹The author also says that relationships between chiefdoms were also facilitated by diplomats. This messages constituted the Traditional institutions.

Fustin Kenne in the article; *Au dela des Frontières: "Les Milices Armes et l'Instabilité Distabilisation en Afrique Centrale"* sees conflict from the international point of view and focuses on arm militia. The central African region is his point of elaboration, where the arm military has played an abrupt role in fostering instability and constantly destabilizing regimes in the area.⁴² According to the author, this militia is made up of two types which are rebels and militia. Unlike the militia who use recent armaments, there is little use of arms in this type of conflict apart from crude tools. And Warriors are a representation of an ethnic, fighting for rights, or lands. His research will help us in our study by showing the realities of wars as went a conflict emerges among parties there is often a high tendency of brigands and the case of Awiing is not an exception.

According to Emmanuel Sobseh in his article "The Demise of colonialism" colonial rule played a great path in boundary disputes in the grass field.⁴³The alarm is heightened on the intensity that colonialism has given to boundary disputes in Africa with notable the case of

⁴⁰ Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, London, Polity Press, 2011. p.3.

⁴¹ J. Nfi, "Intercommunity Relations and the politics of identity in the Nso Chiefdom, Bamenda Grassfields, Cameroon". J. Res-peace Gen.Dev.4 [4] ; [2014].

⁴² F. Kenne, "Au dela des frontières : les Milices armes et l'instabilité /distabilization en Afrique Centrale" D. Abwa et al, (eds) in, *Boundaries And History in Africa : Issues in conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontiers*,2018. p. 137.

⁴³ E.Y. Sobseh, "The demise of colonialism" In *Boundaries and History in Africa: Issues in Coventional boundaries and ideological Frontiers* (eds), D. Abwa., A-P. Temgoua, E.S.D. Fomin and W. Dze-Ngwa, Bamenda, Maryland Publishers, 2011, p.84.

Bali-Nyonga-Bawock dispute. The Researchers work will enrich our study in that, it shows the implication and conspiracy rule played by the colonial masters seen in the problems of boundary demarcations which still exist still date.

Dze-Ngwa's opinion on conflict goes to ethnic conflict resulting from migration and settlement patterns "Early settlers and late Settlers".⁴⁴ The conflict between the Mbororos and the indigenous people in the North West as seen by Dze-Ngwa is the results of the search of geographical space on the part of the Mbororos. This party concern here has existing economic boundaries, socio-cultural boundaries and political boundaries, but no administrative and geographical boundaries. Remedies over the years have resulted to some reasonable degree of co-existence but this aspect of living alongside one another in a single environment and practicing different religions is what Dze-ngwa refers to as unity in diversity⁴⁵. The present conflict sees land as the igniting point of antagonism. This work will enrich our work in understanding the perception of Early Settlers and Late Settlers in the context of Awing where there is a large Mbororo community.

Virkijika G. Fanso explains the view that were held by Africans and Europeans on the meaning and functioning of boundary demarcating the existing groups in the traditional African society. Their work is limited to ritual pacts as a resolution mechanism exploited by the Africans far back in the pre-colonial period. Their work will contribute in ours by calling for the need of understanding the conception of pacts for peace which is an old phenomenon and with this the people of Awing are not an exception to these realities as they opted for negotiation and mediation be it in internal or external conflicts and at certain situations they had pacts so as to promote peace in their locality.

Rose Fri-Manyi Anjoh in her article "The conflict of civilisations" has also investigated on conflict in another peculiar approach.⁴⁶ Her view on conflict centers on the conflict resulting from the clash of civilisations. The long existing conflict between the Arab world and western civilisations which has gotten global effects is her point of interest. To her view, among the factors that have fuelled this conflict religion stands as the core element. The major factor responsible for this conflict was the question of religion.⁴⁷ This work will help us our research by making us to understand that a difference in beliefs, opinions, tradition can

⁴⁴ W. Dze-Ngwa, "Boundary Dynamics and the search for Geographical space: The case of the bororos in the Northwest Region of Cameroon", In, *Boundaries and History in Africa: Issues in conventional Boundaries and ideological Frontiers*, (eds) D. Abwa et al.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ R. Fri- Manyi, "The conflict of civilisations" In, *Boundaries and History in Africa: Issues in conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontiers*. (eds) D. Abwa et al, Bamenda, Mary Land, 2011.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

create situations of conflicts and it is seen in Awing with the conflict of beliefs by certain clans in the village.

Fanso in his thesis entitled "Trans-Frontier Relations and Resistance to Cameroon-Nigeria colonial boundary, 1916-1945" writes on the issue of boundaries in Cameroon which is largely seen as the source of inter-community conflicts and even to the rest of Africa.⁴⁸ Before the arrival of the colonial powers, there existed no official boundary line separating Cameroon and Nigeria and the introduction of European defined boundaries and their context culminated to clashes between communities and nations. He gives an analysis of the Cameroon-Nigeria Bakassi conflict, although this work does not concern the Awing people it shows the intensity of boundary conflict in which Awing is not an exception. This research work displays similarities with our present work of study as we see that the actions of colonial masters created situations of conflictuality as mentioned in our work, the partition of Cameroon by Britain and France made some tribes to migrate from one area to another thereby creating tension and making the process of conflict resolution very difficult. In our work so as to acquire concrete and precise information it necessitated the research to have a methodology and source of work.

Helen Mbi Mgwingala⁴⁹ in her dissertation "A Literary Analysis of Awing Creation, Myths and, Aetiology tales" in her dissertation she talks of the myth of the creation of Lake Awing and the perception of the Awing People who consider the Lake as a gift from the Almighty and in its preservation it is forbidden to carry water from it without the concern of the palace, Her work will open light in our present work by showing the beliefs the Awings have in relation to the Lake and are ready to defend it from all externalities be it man or natural disasters.

Emmanuel Mofor in his dissertation "A literary analysis of Awing Twin Songs" carries out an analysis on Awing Twin songs and said nothing about Awing Traditional Institutions. 50 But this study will help us understand the socio-culture of the Awing people which will be of vital tool in our work.

David Nkwenti in his dissertation on "Age-sets in social change" studied the different age sets in the Awing society. 51 This study will be of used to us in the sense that we are

⁴⁸ V.G. Fanso, "Trans-frontier Relations and Resistance to Cameroon-Nigeria colonial boundary, 1916-1945", Phd Thesis in History, University of Yaounde I, 1982, p. 3.

⁴⁹H. Mbi Mgwingala "A literary analysis of Awing Creation Myths and Aetiological Tale" A Master Dissertation University of Yaounde I June 1977.

⁵⁰ E. Mofor, "A literary analysis of Awing Twin Songs" Dissertation University of Yaounde I 1993.

⁵¹ D.Nkwenti, "Age-Sets in Social Change. A study of Age-groups in Awing", Howard University, Washington D.C, August 1974.

going to see the role played by this people in the resolution of conflict in Awing as it will be explained in the Madzong.

Jackson Nseh Ndenkeh in his Dissertaion “Awing Folktales” has carried out a literary analysis of the Awing Folktales. ⁵² His work on the people of Awing will help us to understand the social life of the Awing people which will enable us to create a link with the domain of conflict resolution.

Betrand Nwachan Awazi in his dissertation “Chieftaincy and Local Governance in Moghamo Clan” present the Moghamo Clan prior to the arrival of Europeans and also show the role and challenges of Traditional Rulers in their domain of governance in the Moghamo clan. ⁵³ His view portrays Traditional Institutions in the grassfields chiefdoms and goes in line with our work.

Charlotte Fochiatow Petianghamboh in her dissertation “Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association” presents the Awing village as she insists on the fact that the economic and social structure is responsible for the peaceful co-existence that exist in Awing. ⁵⁴ He further explains the remarkable of NACDA a local village organ who carried out a lot of development in Awing. His work will inspire us on the role of Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental association and their efforts to enforce security and peace will be handled throughout our work

Charles Mbiseh Alongifor in his dissertation “the cultivation and marketing of irish potatoes in Santa municipality” will also contribute to our work as it will give us a picture of the economic environment in Santa in general and Awing in particular. ⁵⁵ This study will contribute to our work by giving us a clear picture of the economic environment during our period of study.

Patrick Bungfang in his dissertation on “Inter-Chiefdom Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon” presents inter-chiefdom conflicts in the North West by giving a picture on the colonial and post-colonial eras in the North West Province during the German and the British occupation of British Cameroon. ⁵⁶ His investigation will be useful to us as it will present the unique geographical environment of the North West during conflicts.

⁵² J. Nseh Ndenkeh “Awing folktales a Litrary Analysis” Dissertation, University of Yaounde I, 1993.

⁵³ B. Nwachan Awazi, “*Chieftaincy and Local Governance in Moghamo Clan 1888-1961*” Dissertation, History Department, University of Yaounde I, October 2021. p.12.

⁵⁴ C. Fochiatow Petianghamboh “Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association 1962-2019” Dissertation, History Department, University of Bamenda, October 2021.p23.

⁵⁵ C. Alongifor Mbiseh, “The Cultivation and Marketing of Irish Potatoes in Santa Municipality” Dissertation, History Department, University of Bamenda, June 2018. p.32.

⁵⁶ P. Bungfang “Inter-Chiefdom Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon from 1889-1999: Colonial and Post Colonial Influences”, Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, August 2000, p.14.

Deyeh, Nuvah in his dissertation on “cooperation and Land Conflicts in Ndop” will also be of great help to us as the author will present different methods used by traditional institutions in Ndop in matters of conflict in relation to land.⁵⁷ This work will be important to us as we will inspire ourselves from this study as traditional methods used in Awing during land conflicts are similar to that of Awing.

Claude Nkiene Desire Toh is also a point of attraction as his dissertation on “Traditional and Modern Methods of Conflict in Balikumbat”.⁵⁸ The author presents the modern and traditional methods of conflict who are vital tools for the resolution of conflict between Balikumbat and her neighbors. This work will be of great importance to us in that we are going to have a picture of traditional instances with a judicial competence in Balikumbat which are similar to that of Awing.

Problem Statement

This work treats the necessity to understand how a people have succeeded in managing conflicts in their locality. Our main problem in our study is formulated this way, have Traditional Institutions succeeded in managing conflicts where modern political institutions have failed?

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study consists to understand in what way political and diplomatic mechanisms used by Awings are factors which favour the development of peace in Awing.

Specific Objectives

1. Highlight the role of Geography in the imposition of diplomacy of peace in Awing.
2. What are the different conflicts in Awing and which Traditional Institutions have effectively managed them
3. What are the methods used by Traditional Institutions in resolving conflicts in Awing.

⁵⁷ C.Deyep, Nuvah “Cooperation and Land Conflicts in Ndop Sub Division 1966-1992”, Maters Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I, 2014, p.12.

⁵⁸ C.Nkiene-Claude Tinoh, “Traditional and Modern Methods of Conflict Resolution: The Case of Balikumbat and Her Neighbours 1967-2011”, Masters Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I, November 2015, p.13.

4. Evaluate and bring out challenges faced by Traditional Institutions in resolving conflicts in Awing.

Research Questions.

What role did Traditional Institutions in Awing play in the domain of Conflict Management?

Specific Research Questions

1. What was the Awing Geographical and Political life between 1921 and 2012?
2. What were the different Conflicts and which traditional Institutions within Awing Traditional System managed them?
3. What were the Mechanisms and Actions taken by the Awing Traditional Institutions to maintained peace in the Awing locality?
4. What were some of the challenges faced by the Awing Traditional Institutions?

Sources and Methodology

For this work to be accomplished, we relied on both primary and secondary sources. For the primary sources, information was gotten from the National Archive of Yaounde and the Regional Archive Bamenda, the library of the African Network against illiteracy, Conflicts and Human Rights Abuse (ANICHRA), Library of the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), and the library of the University of Yaounde I. Also a multitude of interviews were conducted in Awing, Santa, Bamenda, Yaounde, Limbe, Douala and Bafousam. Material was also gotten from private Archives, Magazines and Journals. Oral sources were consulted via interviews and focus groups discussion. Altogether we interviewed 31 informants amongst which we had the traditional ruler of Awing, Members of Awing Traditional Council, Notables, and Elites of the area studied as well as of the Baligham locality

As a technique of writing, we adopted the qualitative research approach. For our findings, 31 persons of different works of life were sampled and interviewed with the help of a question guide. Conclusions were arrived at thanks to meticulous and precise procedures which entailed observation, interviews analysis and criticisms. The results of our findings established that a majority of people who were in one way or the other affected by conflicts preferred traditional methods of conflict resolution which provided opportunities for

reconciliation contrarily to modern methods which proposed solutions but failed to restore peace. CORRECTIIIOOOOON

Significance of the Study

Awing like many other chiefdoms in the North-West Region of Cameroon were subjected to a multitude of conflicts that had adverse ramifications on the people and greatly hampered the various moves that were taken towards carrying out meaningful development in the Region. It was therefore imperative for these conflicts to be resolved effectively in order to create room for development.

This work is significant in that it shows the important role played by Traditional Institutions in the Resolution of conflicts in Africa and the Cameroon Grassfield in particular.

By presenting the different conflicts in Awing and paying attention on the Awing-Baligham conflict from 1921-2012. This study will go a long way on sensitizing the masses and decision makers of Awing on the adverse effects conflicts can have on the Awing people in particular and other communities in general.

The study facilitates more reading about Awing in an already abundant literature, and shows the nature of relationships in Awing and not forgetting the hostile relationship between Awing and Baligham.

This work is equally significant in that it shows how the Awing people remained attached to their cultural traditions and how this attachment has facilitated the management of conflicts in the area.

Difficulties Encountered

A great number of difficulties were encountered in the course of getting vital information for the realization of this work, these difficulties delayed work, but with the determination of the researcher, we succeeded in accomplishing our work.

The first problem we encountered was the insecurity and ghost towns in Bamenda and around. This made it difficult for the researcher to access some areas in the Awing community to get information and faced with this, the researcher had to walk on foot from one place to another so as to acquire information risking his life. Also due to insecurity, the researcher went out for some days for information and was unable to come back with valuable information and to deal with this, information was gotten through phone calls.

In the same light another problem was our accessibility into the Awing Village, with the persistent gunshots and insecurity, it made things very difficult and to deal with this, we were called to collaborate with the forces on ground (the administration).

Also the traditional and sacret nature of some key informants made the accomplishment of this work very difficult. We were often faced with instances where an informant will tell us loud and clear that not all information was communicable, this kept us sometimes in a desperate and frustrating situation and we had no other choice than to return to the Awing palace to get an authorization from the *Fon* so that this information should be kept at our disposal.

Further, in acquiring information from the National Archives of Yaounde, Bamenda and Libraries we were faced with the problem of limited staff composed mostly of one or two persons who slowed down our data collection process and as solution we had to present ourselves earlier in these places.

Furthermore, another difficulty was the misleading attitude of some informants who wanted to use us for their personal battles; good we were conscious of the fragile nature of the concern articulation.

Organization of Work.

This Work is divided into four chapters, a general introduction and a general conclusion, with the general introduction presenting a brief background of the work.

Chapter One treats geographical presentation of Awing and historical background. We made an analysis on history, geography, political, and sociological life of this people.

Chapter Two focuses on the prevailing conflicts in Awing and the traditional institutions which have contributed in managing them.

Chapter Three handles the actions of traditional institutions in the resolution of conflict in Awing and will access the actions of traditional institutions like the *Fon*, Kwofor, and traditional development in the resolution of conflict in Awing.

Chapter Four tackles the evaluation of traditional methods of conflict resolution in Awing. We will evaluate this methods, challenges and give recommendations so that, traditional institutions continue in their quest to promote peace and the living together of the Awing and their neighbours.

CHAPTER ONE

GEOGRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF AWING AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE FIELD OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Introduction

Presenting the Zone of study, its potentials, and resources constitutes one of the plans of this reflection and how it acts as a ground for conflict. This is why it's useful to understand the structuration of this people in their zone of localisation. The problem at this level, consists to evoke cultural realities which constitutes the identity of this community and the incidents on socio-political life. That is why our chapter will be divided into two sections.

1.1. Geographical Presentation of Awing.

The region of which is an object of study, is found in the part of Cameroon which was administered by the British. Here we are talking of the North West region, a territory of people with interconnection cultures called the grass lands and it's from this zone that Awing is found. It is seen that in effect geography impacts the behaviour of a population and we can say that the people of Awing as a result of their riches found in its settlement sites were forced to entertain pacific and conflictual relationships with their neighbors. The French Geographer Yves Lacoste thinks that "Geography serves as a tool for War".⁵⁹ In consequence the Awing people in their spatialization have to integrate the physical and human environment in order to do conflicts or resolve them. With this it is important to observe some of these elements.

1.1.1-Location of Awing

Awing is found within the grassfield region of the Northwest Province of Cameroon.⁶⁰ This region of the grass fields is particular because of the soil, and because of the peoples which compose it. The Awing people whose culture and custom is an important part of this region. As a result, we are in the obligation to talk of the relationship that unites this people. This aspect of things shows that the cosmopolitan nature of the peoples settled in the zone called Awing is already a factor of putting in place a diplomatic politics. This is why when founding their village Awings had the obligation to take into consideration their boundary limits with their neighbours and principal clans in Awing. The Awing village is found precisely in the Santa Sub-division of the Mezam Division. The particularity of this

⁵⁹ Y. Lacoste, *La géographie, ça sert, d'abord à faire la guerre*, Paris, La Découverte Poche, 1976, p.5.

⁶⁰ J.P., Warnier, "Le sang des siens et le sang des autres, la symbolique des conflits armés dans les Grassfields de l'Ouest", *Communication au Grassfields working group*, rencontre de Yaoundé, du 6-8 mars 1980.

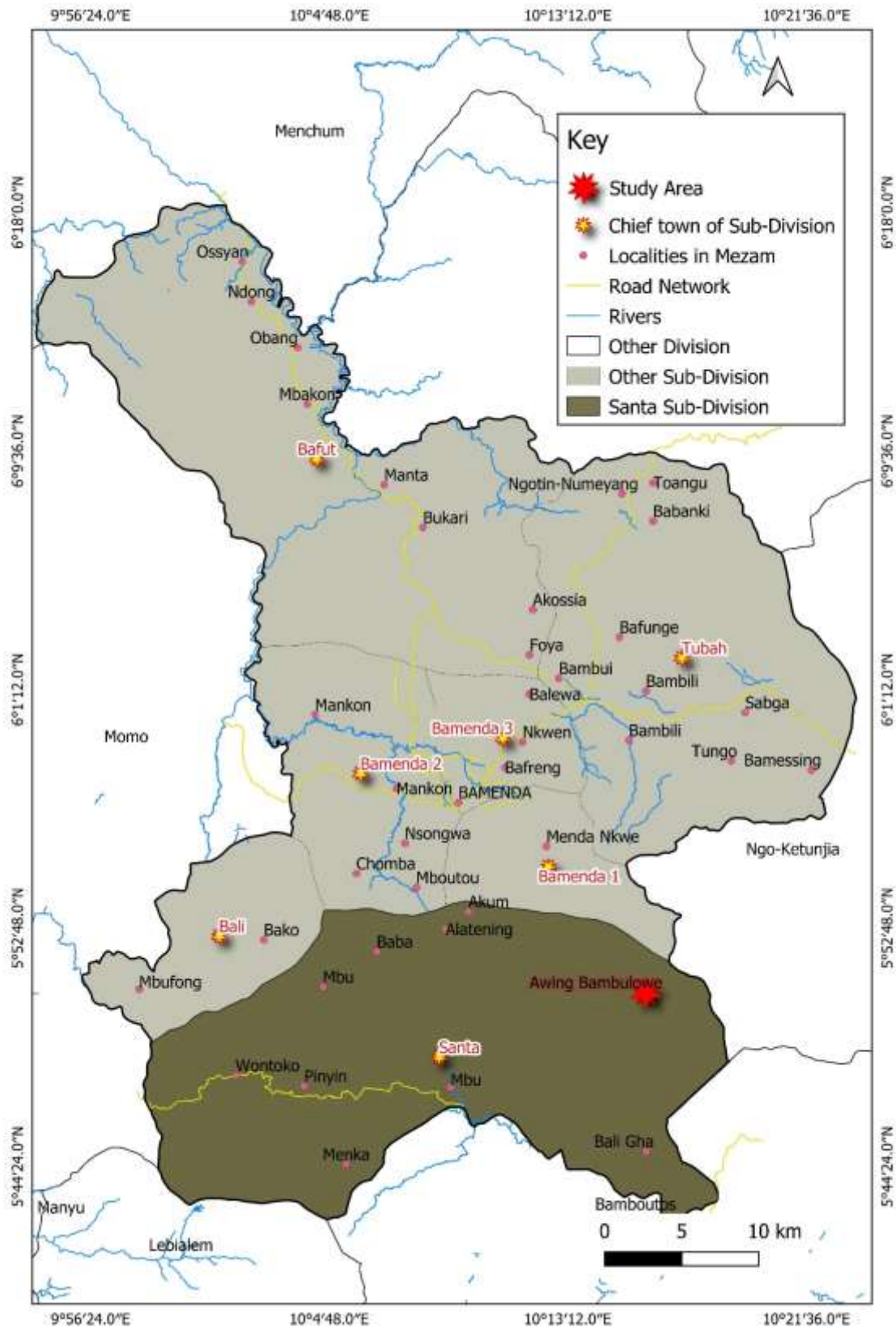
region is seen in its resources for example white honey, its population density, but also the importance of traditional institutions. To return on the human demography, the exact estimation dates in 2010 according to Awing fact, Awing has an estimated population of 30.000 inhabitants with an area of approximately 100 square kilometres.⁶¹All this elements of geography shows that traditional institutions in Awing which will be progressively installed, rest on certain elements which in the modern context we could call it elements of power which are representatives of all state diplomacies, here we make refrence to population, space notably .

The geographical particularity is seen in the fact that this village is seen in altitudes and we measure at this level the influence of chain of mountains which goes from the Atlantic passing throught mount Cameroon upto Algeria. As regards to the relief features, Awing village lies in a valley bounded in the west, north and east by the northern extensions of the volcanic chain of the Bamboutos mountains and the valley on which the village is situated opens into the Noun plain. The highest point is mount Lefo on whose northern flank is found the Awing crater-lake. Two other hills, the “*Nkonwangna*” and “*Kongmombeng*” are also prominent in the area. These hills are covered by savannah grass but the underground is full of volcanic rock, suitable for construction. It has an altitude of about 15000 metres above sea level and situated about 45 km from Bamenda town. Awing is bounded on the north by Bamendankwe, Kedjom Ketinguh and Bambili. On the west by Akum, Njong and Santa. On the south by Baligham and Bamenyam and on the east by Balikumbat and Bamunkumbit.⁶²It is seen that mountainous sites played an important role in the history of peoples in Cameroon. Many authors have demonstrated the fact that mountains, reliefs have permitted peoples to survive to invasions. In effect settlements on mountaneous site shows the ideology of a people who settled in such an area either for protection or displacements; this shows the mentality of a pacific person who don't want to invade others and refuses imperialism which can in a part explain the settlement of different villages and Awing is not an exception. It is important to underline that this work invokes the treatment of conflicts, we could at this level ask what are the cultural links that unites Awings with their neighbours? The answer to this question is difficult to understand in the measure that traditions and migrations are ignored on a large part by historiography.

⁶¹*Awing fact Book*, p. 14.

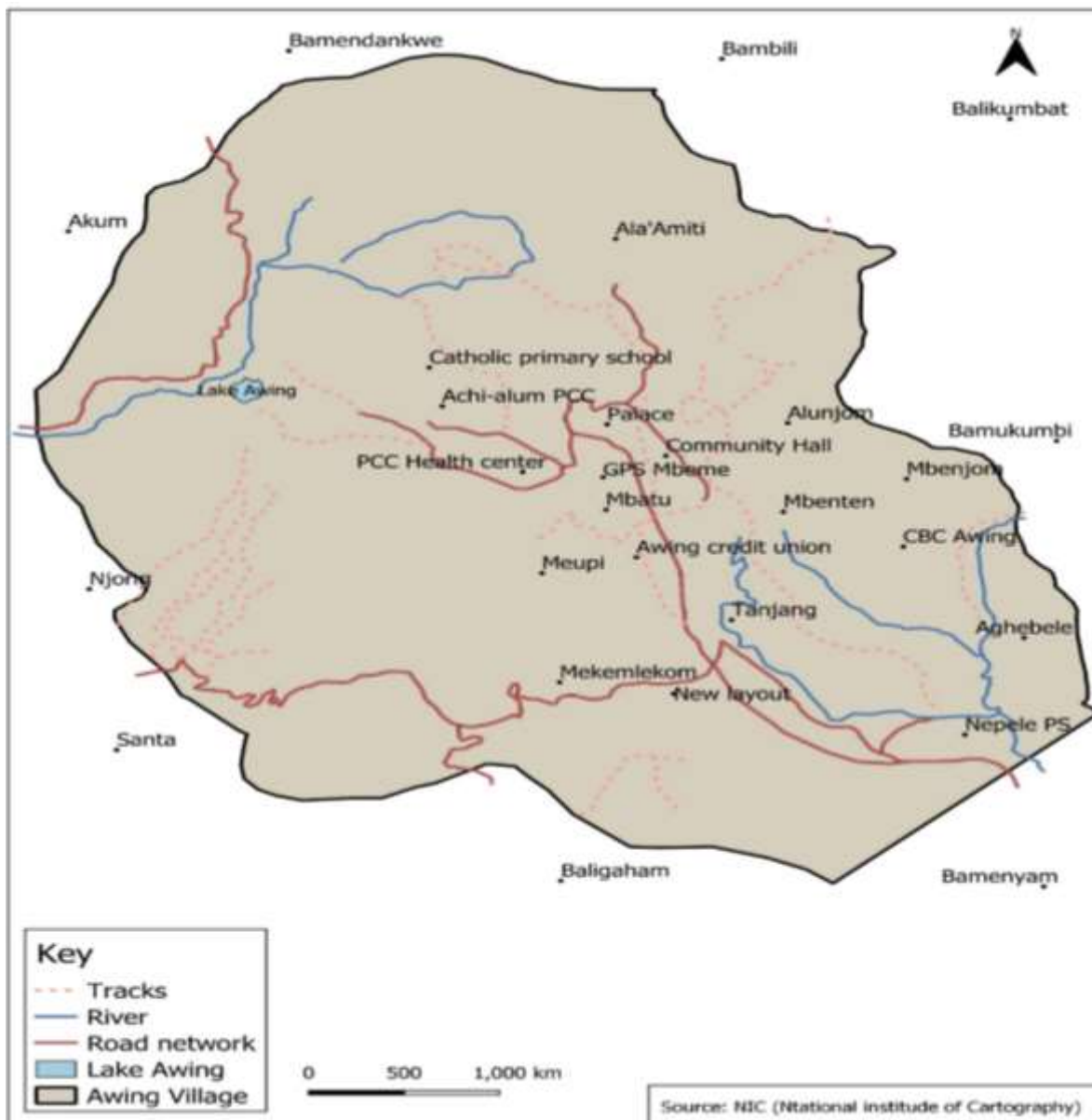
A. Agone: *I Am proud to be Awing: Understanding the History and Origin of Awing Fundom*. Bamenda, Maryland Printers, 2012, p. 16.

Map 1: Mezam Division showing Awing in Santa subdivison



Source: The National Institute of Cartography.

Map 2: Awing village



From the above map we see the dispersed nature of the Awing village which makes administration difficult and there is a need for traditional institutions to be effective. There is need to rest on a strong traditional institution as a result of it, we can see that the *Fon* is not only the fruit of dynasty but also a fruit of an internal diplomacy. Also it is important to recognize that the dispersion of villages is related to elements of climate and technology. In effect we can note that the Awing village is made up of many streams which are boundaries between different clans in Awing. From this country we need to retain its climate and hydrology which is influenced by relief.

1.1.2-Hydrography

Awing has two main streams; the *Njom*, on the east and the *Achialum*,⁶³ on the west. Both streams take their rise from the northern mountains or hills. Besides the two streams, there are also a few springs and seasonal streams. Some small streams found within the palm bushes and hill sides serve as permanent sources of potable water for Awing households except in areas where pipe-borne water has been introduced.⁶⁴ The Awing Lake is a touristic site and a drinking pool for cattle that graze in the area. Apart from the touristic dimension, it is discovered that hydrography is an element of management of relationships between entities. We have known right from ancient times that the hydrological elements play a triple function that is an element of preservation, expansion and lastly an element of development through commerce. That is why different peoples in Santa and different clans in Awing have always had the desire to control certain places of the Lake like the Lake Awing. This last as a result of its resources becomes a strategic place of contestation where diplomacy has to be kept in place. The fact that Awings control this zone is a source of conflicts with other villages like the Akums. With this it will be important to have an illustration of Lake Awing

Plate 1: Awing Lake



Source: <http://www.google>. Map, consulted the 24 august 2021. **Correction**

6. N. Alakeh Mofor, E. Buleng Tamungang Njoyim and A. D. Mvonde-ze in "Quality assessment of some springs in the awing community, Northwest region Cameroon, and their health implications" Davide Vione, 2017.

⁶⁴ P.N. Fozoh *Sounds and Rhythms of Awing Fundom*, Bamenda, Awing star Inc, 2011, p.5.

1.1.3-Settlement patterns

In Awing, there is no well-defined settlement pattern. On the plain where the people first settled, there are settlements along main streets more or less like an urban area, except that residents also include gardens, which separate one compound from the other. Each compound is demarcated from the other by fences, which have been replaced by lines of eucalyptus area⁶⁵. Population pressure on residential areas has forced the new generation to move to build on the slopes of the surrounding hills. Some have gone much further on to the hills where land is available. The Bororo cattle rearers who have decided to settle down permanently have now occupied the land that used to have no population. It is important to observe settlement patterns as founding elements of traditional diplomacy, through architecture. In effect architecture reveals the mode of existence of a people ideology, philosophy of life related with the environment, this is the reason in which historians like Thierno Mouctar Bah were interested in the question of elements of relationship between societies which shows insecurity in some zones.⁶⁶What can we retain if not that through architecture and settlement patterns of Awings; we can identify the political life of these people. The different elements of architecture are feasible through traditional houses as seen in this photo.

Plate 2: Traditional house in Awing



Source: Awing Palace Photo Album, Awing, 13 March 2022.

This Inhabitation is in conformity to the ones we see in the region of the North West of Cameroon, and we observe the absence of falsification and also the presence of a vast land

11. M. Pekeleke, *"The Place of the Raffia plant in the Culture of the Awing People,"* Masters in Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2003, p.18.

12. Th.M. Bah, *Architecture Militaire Traditionnelle en Afrique de l'Ouest*, Paris, Harmattan, Nouvelle editionn, 2012, p.104.

which is a place of dialogue between members of a family or clan. With this traditional houses in Awing is a sign of dialogue or diplomacy.

1.2. HISTORICAL PRESENTATION OF AWING

1.2.1-Origin and Migration of Awing

There is a lot of myth and legends surrounding the origin, adoption and the use of the Awing name. However, the name Awing has to do with putting up smiles. *äwiŋə dzuŋ*⁶⁷ that was literally coined to appear as Awing with the coming of the Germans in the 1880s. The Bambuluwe (Awing people) are said to have originated from a tree at the market in the present day Ntarinkon and later moved to where they are today. This was later contested by other researchers like Tata Ma-poh John Chefor who holds that oral tradition states that the people of Awing originated from the Bantu roots of East Africa.⁶⁸ Apongnde Pascal through his works on legends holds that the Awing people came from the North East Congo, passing through South Sudan and settled in the Widikum,⁶⁹ where they constituted part of a large Tikar group composed of four clans *Moghamo*, *Meta*, *Ngwi-Ngwo* and *Ngemba* (Upper and Lower). The Awing people are of the Ngemba clan (Upper Ngemba)⁷⁰ and are said to have migrated from the Widikum via Tadkon in Batibo alongside other groups like Bambili, Bamenyam, and Mankon due to famine.

When they arrived the present day Mankon in the rainy season, the swollen River Mezam prevented them from continuing eastward. In effect they spent some time in an area called Ntarinkon; named after their former site (Tadkon). When the rains debated, Awing, Bambili, Bamenyam forded the river, leaving behind the Mankons and made a brief stop at Baba (Ndop) from where they continued their journey to the present Bambili soil; Hear, they settled in an area called *Ngup*, near Lake Awing. Due to differences between family heads, some decided to part company; hence, leaving the Bambilis where they are today.⁷¹ The Awings and the Bamenyams continued their journey through Bandja to a place known as Akah and then to *Afəum Njom*.⁷² Where the soils proved not quit fertile for cultivation; hence, a further move to *Alaməti* (forest village) which is a quarter in present day Awing. All these

⁶⁷ Smile and be Together.

⁶⁸ J. Chefor Tata Ma-apoh, *Ndong Awing Cultural and Develppment* p. 7.

⁶⁹ P. Apongnde, *The people of Awing*, p. 34.

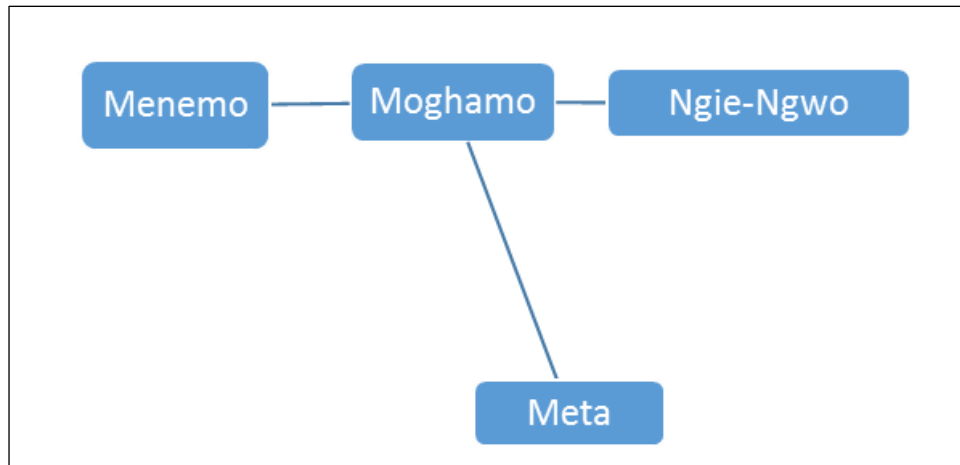
⁷⁰ R. Newton, *Intelligence and Reassessment Report on the Ngemba area Bamenda Dvision*, 1938. P.13.

⁷¹ Interview with Pa Mbapeh, 70 years, Secretary of Awing Traditional Council, Awing, 13 March 2022.

⁷² Mbenjom former site and a sub quarters in the present day Awing.

elements brings us in a specific manner on the nature and characteristics elements of migrations for Awings.

Figure 1: Different clans of Widikum



Source: Source:Compiled by the author.

1.2.2 Institutions

Structurally, political organisation according to Radcliffe-Brown⁷³, Weber⁷⁴ and Almond⁷⁵ is the institutions that regulate the use of force and is functional with reference to social cooperation and leadership. The political system of Awing is based on a hereditary traditional authority. Access to power is highly determined by direct descent. It is characterised by the following institutions, which are presented and then summarised below.

Fo'o

At the head of the political pyramid, there is the Fon (Foo') who is seen as the first citizen of the land and the custodian of tradition. According to Cosmas Cheka⁷⁶, the Fon with his executive powers, executes the decisions of "Kwifor" and the traditional council. He accumulates the interest values of his people, appoints quarter heads and installs notables.

He also has the right to choose people to represent his interest in different places. During annual sacrifices, he plays the role of a chief priest⁷⁷. The Fon receives and entertains visitors in the palace. He never sells goods be it palm wine, cattle or other elements. He is

⁷³ A.R Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure et Fonction dans la société primitive*, Paris, Edition de Minuit, 1968, p.18.

⁷⁴ D.Beetham, *Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics*, Polity Press, 1991.

⁷⁵ S.E Finer, "Almonds Concept of the Political System: A Textual Critique" Cambridge University Press, 1970. p.17.

⁷⁶ C.Cheka, "Traditional Authority at the Crossroads of Governance in Republican Cameroon", African development 2008, p.23.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ta Mba Mbamassa, 52 years, Member of a Secret Society Awing, 30 August 2021.

therefore generous as he receives and shares. His sacred nature is such that he does not even shake hands with people.⁷⁸ There is a belief in this community that the Fon is the landowner and so some special land areas such as farmlands, raphia palm bushes and hunting grounds are set aside for him.

Table 1: Awing royal genealogy

Name and surname	Reign
<i>Mefumetu(Nkachi)</i>	ND
<i>Mefuèenegome</i>	ND
<i>Ngongeh I</i>	ND
<i>Alo'ndzafo'o I</i>	ND
<i>Nkeunjie</i>	ND
<i>NgongehII</i>	ND
<i>Nkefo'o</i>	ND
<i>Alo'ndzafo'o II</i>	1825-1858
<i>Akofo'o</i>	1858-1870
<i>Regency</i>	1870-1879
<i>Fozo'o I</i>	1879-1911
<i>Ayaf'o</i>	1911-1949
<i>Ngongeh III</i>	From 5 th jan.1950 to 23 rd april 1998
<i>Fozo'o II</i>	(4 th May 1998)

Source: Compiled by the Author.

The table above shows the royal genealogy of Awing with the first ruler *Fo'o Mefumetu* whose ascension in power is not determine. The Awing *Fondom* as seen above has 13th *Fons* from the time of its creation. All this *Fons* have witnessed situations of conflictuality based on oral tradition and this table orientates our study as we will show the actions of this traditional rulers in the field of conflict management in the subsequent chapters.

Pekum

After the *Fon*, comes a group of people called “*pekum*” who rule the village with him and so form the ruling class. The “*pekum*” are of two categories: “*Kumngong*⁷⁹” and “*Kemazoh*”⁸⁰. The “*pekum*” form the village traditional council known as “*kwifor*”. They enforce the tradition and serves as the mouthpiece of the *Fon*. Nowadays, because of

⁷⁸ P. Nchoji Nkwi, “*Cameroon Grassfield Chiefs and Modern Politics*”, Bamenda, Frobenius Institute, 1979, p.34.

⁷⁹Which consist of the nine founding fathers of the village. They are usually referred to as the hereditary rulers, counsel of elders or clan heads

⁸⁰These are about seven males selected from the village by the *Fon* to rule with him during his reign. They do not have hereditary rights as the first group.

population increase and the creation of different administrative units called quarters, the Fon has the duty to appoint competent administrators as quarter heads. Such individuals have their statuses elevated and so they participate in the ruling of the village. This has called for a modern traditional council to facilitate the work of the administration, which comprises the different quarter heads.⁸¹In consequence notables, the traditional council like the Fon have the responsibility to influence the political and diplomatic decision either in terms of peace or war, their actions are seen in the internal point of view in managing litigations between the principal Awing Clans. Here we make mentioned of actual Clans has some have the tendency of not recognizing the ancestral rights of others on land in Awing. Below is a table of principle Clans of the Awing Village.

Table 2: Original clan heads of Awing kingdom

Name of Clan Head	Quarter
Ndime / Mbangwashi	Mbeme
Mbatezene/Mba ala	Mbetu
Mbantse/Tangye Mona.	Mbenten
Mbate/ Mbakambi	Mbesoh
Mbajua	Mbenjom

Source:Compiled by the author.

The table above shows us that Awing Village is composed of five different Clans whose rivalry and understanding determines the actions of traditional institutions notably the traditional council. The modern traditional council remains⁸² a deliberative and executive institution in the village. The work of the council is done in a general assembly as well as in committees such as Social affairs, Land and dispute, Health and development.⁸³ Apart from the traditional council who play a political role of the control of action of the *Fon* through Elites. It's important to note the existence of Quarter Heads to materialize on field the decision taken by the paramount Fon so as to establish the decision taken who are the Quarter Heads;

Pefo pe'nteh

The quarter heads that are appointed by the *Fon*. They control their various quarters. Awing has about 54 quarters each headed by a quarter head "*fo'nteh*." They settle domestic

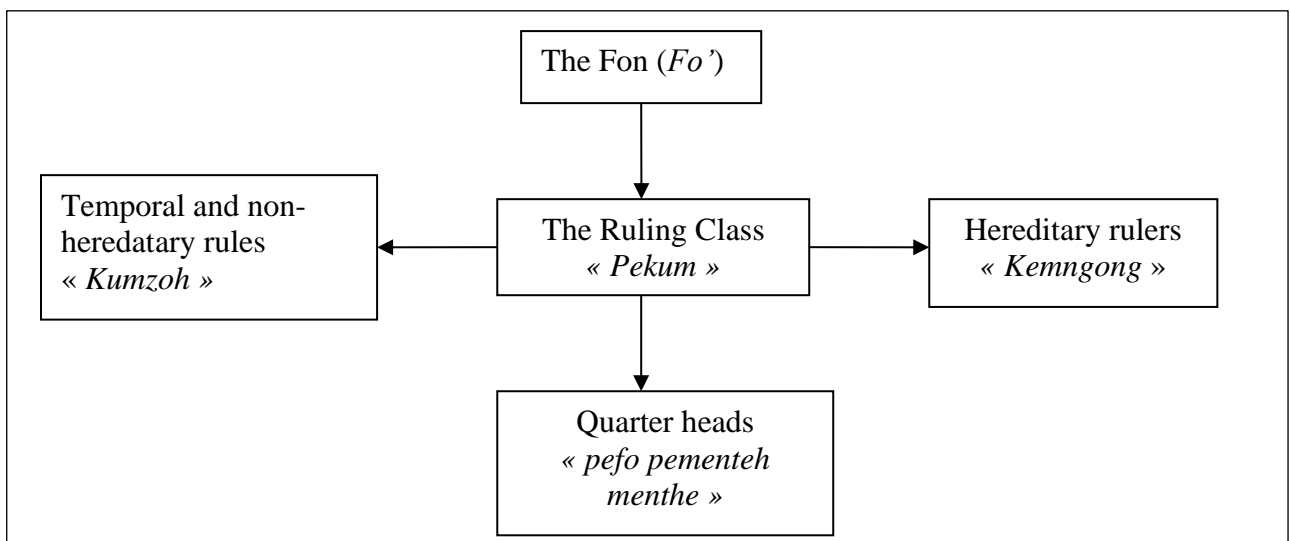
⁸¹The "*pekum*" who are ex officio members and others appointed from the society. This council consists of twenty-nine males and one female.

⁸² Interview with Pa Ateh Michael, 60 years, Awing Elite, 29 August 2021, 2pm.

⁸³ Interview with Nsah Bernard, 36 years, Former Director of Awing health center, 29 August November 2022.

disputes of a less serious nature such as family squabbles, minor land disputes, petty theft, in their different quarters. Some of the disputes are also over the ownership of land and raphia palm grooves. In the time of poll tax, only quarter heads could give a record of their subjects⁸⁴. No decision of public interest is taken in the village without consulting them. A case can only be taken to the palace or to the traditional council when it is above their capacity. The above three groups of people form the Awing political and administrative set up as it is illustrated below.

Figure 2: The Awing Political Structure



Source: Compiled by the Author.

This figure shows the separation of power in Awing in function of instructions in matters of Politics and Diplomacy. This is why diplomacy in Awing has a multiply dimension whose aim is the wellbeing of the Awing People.

1.3- ECONOMIC PRESENTATION OF AWING

The economic structure always reveals the orientation of a people towards development. It wants an assembly of activities which permits a people to meet their needs and also to define itself in relation to others. Also the economic nature of a people can make them a target by others. With this, we were forced to present economic activities on different angles by taking into consideration their political incidence.

⁸⁴Awing Fact, p.33.

1.3.1. Agricultural activities in Awing as Aspects of Conflictuality.

About 90% of the villagers practice subsistence farming. They cultivate both cash and food crops. Among food crops are: cocoyams, taro, beans, maize, bananas, plantains, groundnuts, amiss an assortment of vegetables. The traditional meal of the Awing people is “achu” made out of cocoyams.⁸⁵ It is usually eaten with what is nationally known as yellow soup and in Awing dialect as “na’apang”⁸⁶ and/or black soup “ambagha”.⁸⁷ A drink called “nkang” is produced from fermented maize grains⁸⁸. The major cash crop produced in the area is Arabica coffee. However, due to price fluctuation in the world market, the value of this cash crop has fallen. Consequently, people concentrate their efforts on the growing of food crops and raphia palms as a means of livelihood. All these economic activities show that the people of Awing dispose of rich territories which raised external hatred from neighbors and internal conflicts. In effect land problems will multiply as different actors are campaigning to have territories in Awing and it is the duty of traditional institutions to bring out mechanisms to resolve these conflicts we can call today, conflicts of appropriation. It is seen that other economic factors are to be taken in consideration, we could mention economic infrastructures.

1.3.2. Infrastructure

War in effect destroys economic infrastructures which peace builds. It is for this reason that Awings who have economic dynamics facilitated their developments by choosing to construct a type of economic structure permitting exchanges between them and their neighbours. Awing has two markets, the main market is called “*meta nkap*”⁸⁹ which operates once a week with buyers and sellers coming from within and without the village⁹⁰. Apart from being the central market to which most food stuff and other wares are sold, the “*nkap*” market serves as a place for entertainment, meeting place or “*rendez-vous*” spot and as a communication centre. Here, messages from the *Kwofor* or his messengers are usually delivered to the local population. This market also has stores, bars, workshops and garages.

Unlike the “*nkap*” market, which operates in the day, there is the “*Afetngone*” market. It was formerly known as “*Njumba*” market meaning lovers’ market⁹¹. It operates only in the evenings from four o’clock. Today, this market complements the main one. The village now

⁸⁵ Interview with Ekeum Pengye Mbamoh Josephine, 49 years, Yaounde 28 August 2022.10am.

⁸⁶ Meaning Achu Yellow Soup

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Interview with Manyi Justine Mbamassa, 48 years, Awing Woman, Yaounde 28 August 2022

⁸⁹ Meaning money market.

⁹⁰ Interview with Cho pius, 30 years, Moto man, Awing, 16 July 2022.

⁹¹ This is because it was the meeting place or social spot for lovers.

has a farmer's Credit Union⁹² and an agricultural post, which orientate farmers on farming strategies and practices. Awing, being a big producer of coffee has a cooperative union that handles coffee from local farmers. It processes the coffee, bags, weighs and commercialises it for farmers. It also provides inputs, tools, insecticides, etc to coffee farmers. Most of the chairs (seats) in the union are made from raphia bamboos. In addition to the Awing cooperative union⁹³. There is a credit union in the village serving as a banking institution where natives save money and from which they can borrow money for their needs. The Awing people also set themselves into solidarity groups, "ntchoua" where they save their money for a rainy day⁹⁴. To facilitate their farming task, they group themselves into farming association's referred to as "nshie." These people may be family members, friends, and age mates and are most often sex oriented⁹⁵.

With regards to transport, Awing has very few farms to market roads. Three roads link Awing to the neighbouring towns and villages. One to Mbouda, another to Bamenda via Santa. The all season road is the one passing through Santa. These roads are not tarred, but there is great improvement in the transport sector as vehicles ply the road on a daily basis, transporting both passengers and goods. The development of the road network to an extent also enables farmers to evacuate their produce from the farms. The transport of these goods to bigger markets is easier as well.⁹⁶ This is the case with palm wine, which is transported to various towns, cities and nearby villages in cars. Within the village, there is a network of local roads leading to all the parts of the village if not into every compound. From this analytic aspect, we have to make a reference to arts and handicraft as a means which portrays the political ideology of the Awing people.

1.3.3. Arts or handicraft

The philosophy of a people is visible through symbol, arts and artisanal. Awing arts reveal a people turn to a relation with nature where the transformation of products of hunting, forest shows that mindful of their pacific nature they were also a people capable of defending themselves. We see the transformation of leopard skin, traditional weapons, and warrior statues as illustration of different elements of arts in Awing. Craftsmanship is one of the important economic activities of the Awing people.

⁹² N. Nwunasungazi, *The spirit of community development in Awing* p.45.

⁹³ Awing credit union was founded in 2017 in Bamenda, with the objective to encourage Awings to save money, promote developmental projects in Awing.

⁹⁴ Interview with Pa Mba, 55 years, Farmer, Awing, 16 July 2021.

⁹⁵ Interview with Mbomefoo Mbamoh Solomon, 60 years, Awing Notable, Yaounde, 28 August 2021. 2pm.

⁹⁶ Interview with Pa Tih, Awing Driver, 32 years, Awing, 16 July 2021.

Plate 3: Arts and Craft works in Awing



Source: Awing palace Photo Album, 13 March 2022.

There are many people involved in this sector: men, women, youths and children alike. The production of some articles like bags, stools, coffee baskets “*akekah*”, ceiling boards and caps is assigned strictly by the society to men.⁹⁷ Particular men are initiated to mask carving. Women on the other hand fabricate other forms of baskets.⁹⁸ One of the main raw materials for handicraft is raphia, most especially the bamboos. There exists a significant fact in that Arts and Handicraft are associated to the political mode of Awing. Arts shows the power of the Fon, society or people. The mode of social organisation influences social organisation and diplomatic decision making.

1.4. Religious and Social Institutions in Awing.

This part treats religious questions, aspects of culture in Awing and social communication between the Awing communities. Our first phase of presentation will rest on religious presentation of Awing. We know that colonial historiography has long rejected African traditional religion. With this, we need to consult many publications⁹⁹. It is why the following part will present the system of believes in Awing, the implementation of modern religion, problems related to super-natural, Secret societies and rituals.

1.4.1. Religions in Awing

Awings like all African Peoples, are structured through a hierarchy of believes and religion. It is notably an assembly of conictions, thoughts, which regulates the lives of people.

⁹⁷ Interview with Divine Afeseh, 35 years, Craft man, Awing, 16 July 2021.11am

⁹⁸ Interview with Monica Pekeleke, 56 years, Awing Woman, 30 August 2021, 12 noon.

⁹⁹ J. Roussel, *Lesson of Colonial Dentology*, Brussel, Aucam, p. 65.

Paul Greger.¹⁰⁰ “All peoples have significations through a believe system”. It is the same with Awing that through their beliefs they are inspired in cultural continuity from Egypt. Cheik Anta Diop in his¹⁰¹ work, shows that all African peoples possesses the same base of elements of believes who have a signification in their mode of life. This fact pushes us to understand that the people of Awing have a believe system, a religious philosophy which articulates the relationship between man and god through ancestors who play the role of intermediaries. Is it the characteristics of all Bantus? All religions or belief system, mode of living are a means of perception of others. It entails psychological mechanisms through which a people incarnates and find resources so as to face its history and destiny. This is the reason in which the Awing religion is a parameter which organises, controls relationships between traditional authorities but also between this one and peoples. At this level religion is a diplomatic factor, that is the reason in which certain authors always relate relation and the mode of life of a people. Alexander thinks notably that it is the essential character of the bantu, articles written by him tries to proceed to a summary of the mode of life of the Bantu people.¹⁰² It is seen that the Awing people have a system of values and believes, formulated the following way:

Hierachcical system of believes in which god is supreme, the regulator, the one who decides on the justice of actions. Bernard bilongo thinks that as an essential character of the bigsouth of Cameroon.¹⁰³ This supreme god is not only the entity that awing people refer themselves, here we are in the eygyptian serrapum where all gods would not be alone¹⁰⁴. What are the secondary gods of Awing?. Apart from the belief in the Supreme Being, the Awing people also believe and worship other gods called “*meseh*” ranging from the family, clan, village and the lake gods to which sacrifices are made through rituals in the shrines¹⁰⁵. Different families have their family gods mostly placed in the centre of the compound in the form of a tree or a stone. Quarters also have their gods in this form and are generally referred to as «*nwing*». These gods have their shrines where sacrifices are offered yearly or when necessary, for peace, harmony, protection, good health, blessing, fertility and prosperity¹⁰⁶. Hence, their religion is predominantly ancestral worship. Raphia palm wine is one of the main items during such ceremonies.

¹⁰⁰ P. Gregier, *Ehnic Charactelogy*, Paris, Presence Africaine, 1978, p.23.

¹⁰¹ C.A. Diop, *Nations, nègre et culture*, Paris, Presence Africaine, 1978, p.32

¹⁰² A. Alexander et All (Eds) *Cahier des etude Africaine*, Review trimestrel, Volume 2, p. 2.

¹⁰³ B. Bilongo, cite by F. Bernaert et D. Bitondo, *Simple and practical methods to evaluate analytical data*, University of Dchang, Cameroon-Belgian coporation 1992. p.17.

¹⁰⁴ J. Leclant, *Phararonique Egypt*, Paris, Maspero, 1986, p.67.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Ernest Akoko, 58 years, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 30 August 2021 10am.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Nchokefor Peter Akote, 57 years, Former president of Nacda, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

Traditional religion during the colonial period witnessed a dissacrality, it is seen that they gave space to modern religion who had to bring a new mode of life to the Awing people. The idea of Christ and pardon in the myth of Yahwist of the bible supposes that we can't make ourselves justice.¹⁰⁷Awing is also a melting pot of other religions – Christianity and Islam. However, Christianity dominates in this area.¹⁰⁸ With these religious beliefs, many people tend to waver between ancestral worship and the so-called modern religion. Hence, these people practice religious syncretism. Modern religion in awing is a consequence of the coming of Protestants and catholic missions after 1890.Pope john Paul II notes that:

The Christian faith was presented to the people of this country at the end of the last century by protestants and catholic missionaries. They came without knowing you with the soul desire of charing with what they themsemeves had received as good news, and what the causes of the joy and salvation was.¹⁰⁹

The history of Christianity in this region has a particular intinary in effect:

Befor World war I broke out the northern part of west Cameroon region had been entrusted since 1912 to the German missionary of the secred heart congregation led by Rev.Lennartz who later became Mgr.Lennartz first Apostolic prefect of Adamaou, after the conquest of Cameroon by the French and colonial army, the colonial office requested the British missionary to takeover from the german missionary.In November 1921 Rev. John William Campling, a Scottish priest was assign to take the first group of missionaries of Mille-Hill to Cameroon .¹¹⁰

It concerns missionaries not only to convert but also to fight against practices considered as idol worship. Roussell¹¹¹ thinks that the role of Christianity is to destroy images who are representative of people idoletary mood. This underlines that, for Awings religious congregations, it concerns saint missionaries with obligations to fight cultural practices of the Mezam people through which we could invoke witchcraft and activities which had roots from witchcraft. It is discovered that modern religion notably protestant played a role in the change of mentality especially the relationship among Awings.This is done by the works of certain pastors as they contributed in the resolution of diffrences. This is why we are taking in consideration certain religious bodies in Awing.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Saint James Version of the Bible.

¹⁰⁸ Awing Palace statistics cited by *Awing fact book*. p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ E. Mveng, *1890 Album of the Centinary, 1890. The Catholic Church in 1000 Years of Evangelisation*, Yaounde/Rome, Press Dehoniane, November 1990.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid* p.194.

¹¹¹ Roussell, Lecon, p.33.

Table 3:CHURCHES IN AWING

1	CBC Aziandzere	21	Full Gospel Piango
2	CBC Meketikong	22	PC Mekamtikong
3	CBC Kongmbing	23	PC Achialum
4	CBC Mbesoh	24	PC Mbeme
5	CBC Mbenten	25	PC Mbemuh
6	CBC Nkongwah Neka	26	PC Alameti
7	CBC Afuh	27	PC Ntenela
8	CBC Mbetu	28	PC Nemo
9	CBC Mepi	29	PC Mbepang
10	CBC Nephok	30	PC Agheble
11	CBC Piango	31	PC Tanjang
12	CBC Mbenjom	32	PC Mbenjom
13	Apostolic Church Mbeme	33	PC Mewugne
14	Apostolic Church Song Mbeten	34	PC Nepele
15	Kingdom Kongbing	35	Catholic Church Mekemtikong
16	Kingdom Hall Mbetu	36	Catholic Church Achialum
17	Kingdom Hall Piango foo	37	Catholic Church Mbeme
18	Kingdom Hall Mepi	38	Catholic Church Mbenten
19	Full Gospel Neka	39	Catholic Church Atua Akaa
20	Full Gospel Agheple	40	Catholic Church Tanjang

Source:Tata Ma-apoh John Chefor.

The table above shows the religious cartography of Awing. A study by Ama-po john Chefor says there are about 40 churches divided in many religious congregations. Here we discover that the CBC¹¹². Is one the churches well represented with 14 chapels and its justified by the fact that they are the first to come to Awing.They have missionary and local figures who promoted the implementation. Apart from them, we have other protestant churches like the Presbyterian church in Cameroon who also has 13 churches, we have charismatic churches like Kingdom Hall with four churches, we also have the Full gospel church which shows the renew Christians is also present in Awing.Its revealed that all this different religion congregation present in Awing responds to what professor Savador Eyezoo calls religious boundaries, it entails that different religion congregation.

In Awing we often see the use of religion churches to manifest tribal tendencies. Churches influenced the views of the Awing people as they drive to result conflict be it internally or externally which permits the paramount Fon in the management and evolution of conflict Apart from Christian churches, Muslim religion is also present in Awing.

We can inscrib this presence as a result of the general movement of the islamization of West Cameroon headed by the tikar in the reign of the Bamum sultan.¹¹³ Also the research

¹¹² Cameroon Baptist Convention Data consulted on the 19 July 2022 at 12 am.

¹¹³ Interview with pa Samuel Ngongeh, Farmer, Awing, 13 March 2022.

of pasture push communities from the North Cameroon to settle in Awing. Here we make illustration on the Bororo community who in matters of rearing are important. The presence of the Muslim community is a sign of integration in a measure that it shows the Awing people as peaceful persons who accept others. We understand that they can promote the resolution of conflict, we understand by this the works of Jabiru Mohammad on the role of the Bororo in the development of the North West region of Cameroon.¹¹⁴

Plate 4: Bororo Man in the hills



Source: Ma Mbagwana Lucie Photo Album, Yaounde, 2 April 2023.

The picture shows a borroro cattle rearer which underlines the rearing and the displacement of animals in this zone which is not hindered by the local population. This fact of living together permits the Awing population to appear as a hospitable the Muslim leader is called Ardo, he has the same statues as other traditional leaders in the community people. This Muslim presence had an influence not only on the economic and social view point but also in the construction of houses.¹¹⁵

We can also consider that Islam is a factor that contributed in the cohesion of people in Awing. This is understood as the MBororo can practise their religion in all liberty and see their children go to school.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Soulemani Abbo, Cattle Rearer, Awing ,13 March 2022.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Adama Adama, Muslim Farmer, Awing, 13 March 2022.

Plate 5: Fon Invokes Ancestral Spirit as he pours wine on blood spiling from a slaughtered ram in order to feed the god.



Source: Awing Palace Photo Album, 13 March 2022.

This plate presents to us an incantation with the ancestral spirits in Awing. As we can see the leader of the clan who pours animal blood so as to gain favour in the eyes of the ancestors this is done in conflictual situations so as to plead to the gods for the spirit of understanding among all clans as it will help by reducing tension in the clan and promoting conflict resolution.

Plate 6: Fon Makes Sacrifice with Women Through Blessing of Hoes.



Source: Awing Palace Photo Album, Awing, 13 March 2022.

In view of different rituals, the Fon has the responsibility to demand from the ancestor's favour to support their agricultural activities and it also a means to avoid land conflicts which often appears between the women of the village or different clans in Awing. With this there is always a need to have a cultural ceremony to bless their farming tools and call for co-existence in the society.

Also Witchcraft and Supernatural Powers is another aspect which reveals aspects of conflictuality in Awing. The question of witchcraft has been analysed by anthropologist and priest. We could in this fact reference ourselves to Authors like Meinrad Hebga¹¹⁶ in his work he explains the phenomenon of witchcraft, how it functions, and how it's dealt with.¹¹⁷ This different authors underline that there exist no African society without the super-natural powers in the sense that Africa is the center of the fight between good and evil. The Awing community is concern with this. The Awing belief system includes witchcraft and supernatural powers as mentioned above. When an incident or phenomenon is beyond any of their explanations, it is always attributed to witchcraft. They believe that everything that happens has a cause.¹¹⁸ When some one dies by accident or through other mysterious death, it is usually attributed to witchcraft or sorcery. Also, the sudden death of a young man is hardly considered natural. The resolution of conflict necessitates the need to understand that the African society is naturally made up of believes which entails that all processus of peace and dialogue has to consider antagonist strengths consider as obscure spirit who oposes the idea of peace. A witch is considered here as someone who is against the better live of people and against peace.

The notion of secret society sounds ambiguous as it sends to a different comprehension, secret societies appears as a club of the initiated, a group of person's holders of powers and control the society. It's the reason in which colonization and the Catholic Church decided to lead a fight to fight against secret societies¹¹⁹. It is this fact that makes us to define the defined the secret society as an assembly of structure controlled by the initiated in a traditional community and which permits to maintain culture. Severin Cecil Abega thinks that secret society is the regulation organ between the world of the living and the world of the ancestors¹²⁰. The role of secret societies is to assist the Fon, to protect cultures and the clan. To fight curses. Secret societies is a place of discussion between the living and the ancestors.

¹¹⁶ M. Hebga, *Sorcellerie et Priere de Delivrance*, Paris, Presence Africaine, 2001, p.32.

¹¹⁷ E. De Rosny, *Les Yeux de ma chevre : Sur les pas des maires de la nuit en pays douala*, Plon, 1996. p.22.

¹¹⁸ J. Pearl, *Causality: Models, Reasoning, And Inference*, London, Cambridge press, 2000, p.22.

¹¹⁹ A. Mbala, Kye, *La pastorale dans une ville d'Afrique*, Nordheim, Cerdic-Publications, 1995. p. 229.

¹²⁰ S.C. Abega, *L'ESANA*, Yaounde, Clé, 1985.

There exist several sacred cults in Awing, some of the most influential ones include *the Keum Ngong, Keum Ngwing, Keum Adzoh, Meunji, Afu-Mbangifoo*, and all these sacred cults play important roles in conflict resolution as they have the power of acting as a traditional jurisdiction which will be clearly seen in chapter 3 when we will be talking of mechanism of conflict resolution in Awing.

The Awing people also believe in the supernatural powers of some secret societies like “*Afuoa Mba’a Ngyifor*,” and “*Manji*.” These two societies are believed to possess powerful magic that lead to military success and community defence.¹²¹ They perform pre-planting rituals in order to scare away all evil or foreign forces that can prevent high yields. Secret societies play a great role which permits the Awing society to be able to differentiate themselves with other societies. The mechanism used by the secret society helps the paramount *Fon* to settle his authority in the political and diplomatical sphere. Also societies because of their rites and rituals obliges the Awing people to respect a word given, this is very important in the perception of peace or war. The socio-culture of Awing can be a means who influences contemporal diplomacy, what are the characteristics of the social culture of Awing.

1.4.2 Social Life of the Awing People

There exist symbiotic relationships between elements that make the Awing people. While human activities in this community are largely dictated by the different days in a week, the local months of the year and the landscape, the former in a way shaped the latter. These aspects of the Awing culture are very significant in that it, it will help understand the notion of conflict and conflict resolution. We shall begin with the days and months in Awing.

-Days of the week and months of the year in Awing

Awing has its own calender of activities which is significantly different from the ordinary one. This percularity stems from the nature of the community activities and the experiences of the people over time.

-Mystery of the days of the week in Awing

Awing has eight days in a week which do not have any relationship with the days in an ordinary calender week. At first there existed three days in the Awing calender which was today, tomorrow and yesterday. As confirmed by the Ndong Awing Cultural Development Association cultural commitee head Tata Maapo John Chefor in an exclusive interview¹²².

¹²¹ Interview with pa Jacob Ateh, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 22 January 2023.

There was a time when the first *Fon* was ageing and baffled with so many things amongst which was the fact that princesses were not yet married, hence the problem of who was to commemorate his disappearance for according to the Awing socio-culture the King never dies. In effect, the *Fon* decided to summon his notables so as to discuss the weighing and worrisome issues with them. This was done and upon their return, he distributed the princesses asking them if he could get married to his own children and this saw the naming of the first day *mbɛnə*.¹²³ On the next day the *Fon* disappeared,¹²³ given this situation the palace was said to be sticky therefore came the name of the second day *aləumə*.

In the light there was a need to give a quick and credible response to the vacancy on the throne. The new *Fon* was enthroned which was considered as the third day *nkwəllə*. As the enthronement was made, the gods haboured by Lake Awing were consulted the next day on the choice and the modus operandi that the king makers employed. The fourth day was named *afedng ɔnə*.¹²⁴ The new *Fon* was named and the results of the lake consultation, was presented to the entire community the next day which was considered as the fifth day called the *ntchwiə*.¹²⁵ The naming of the new *Fon* called for celebrations and the next day was set aside for the Queen mothers ceremonial dance called *mbə ə*, hence the name *apoo-mbə ə*. Which is the sixth day of the week in Awing. However, it so happens that not everybody was able to dance the *mbə ə* verywell. Some people were said to be the *nchwelə*.¹²⁶ For this a day known as the *anchwelə*.¹²⁷

After this long period of mourning and fasting, the people needed to go and look for money which led to the eight day called *nkejibə*. In brief the eight days in the Awing calender are presented as follows. In the field of conflict, it is important to note that there are days which are specially allocated for the judgement of cases by the Awing Traditional Council, verdicts are always passed on the Awing Market Days. Below we shall present a table of the different days in Awing.

¹²³ It has to do with carrying so many things in mind and it's on this day that princesses are given out to marriage in Awing still today.

¹²⁴ Meaning to go for Lake gods.

¹²⁵ Meaning to name.

¹²⁶ Meaning not able to dance.

¹²⁷ The seventh day of the week in Awing. A day set aside for the category of people who couldnot dance the Queens Mother Dance to catch up.

Table 4: Days in Awing.

Day 1	<i>mbɛɲə</i>
Day 2	<i>aləumə.</i>
Day 3	<i>nkwəllə.</i>
Day 4	<i>afedng ɔnə</i>
Day 5	<i>Ntchwiə</i>
Day 6	<i>Apoo-mbə ə</i>
Day 7	<i>Antchwelə</i>
Day 8	<i>Nkeibə</i>

Source :Pascal Apongde, *The people of Awing* p.23.

Afedng ɔnə and *ntchwiə* are local holidays or call them country Sundays. These are days in which the Awing people assemble for clean up campaigns in the neighbourhood or remain indoors. These days have their activities and it is a taboo for the Awing People to lunch a war on a holiday as this aspect of or studies orientates and makes us to understand the role of days in the field of conflict resolution.

- Months of the Year in Awing

Awing has nine months in its calender year, According to P. Mbangwana 1998.¹²⁸ They are highly dictated by agricultural activities and are named after the moon *sal]* forit is the appearance and the disappearance and the disappearance of the moon that marks the beginning and the end of the month respectively. Given that the moon appears at times befor the end of some Months and disappear as suite. Below is a table showing the partitioned of Months of the year in Awing.

Table 5: Months of the Year in Awing.

<i>San noya</i>	New year month	December – January
<i>Sal] pəubə</i>	High Temperature Month	February
<i>sal] apiə pumə</i>	Planting Month	March-April
<i>San asoo ngɔnə</i>	Weeding Month	May-June
<i>Sal] akɔlə ngəsəl]</i>	Maize Consumption Month	July –August
<i>San apuə ngesəl]</i>	Maize Harvesting Month	August-September
<i>Sal] akɔ kəndzo</i>	Beans Cultivation Month	September-October
<i>Sal] ngwadnəpil]ə</i>	Dry Season Approaching Month	October-November
<i>Sal] keləstmelə</i>	Christmas Month	November-December

Source: Apognde Pascal, *The people of Awing*, p.12.

The table above presents to us the different months in Awing which is attributed bythe activities of the people. The Awing people just like all villages have a monthly seasonal

¹²⁸ Interview with Pa Effa Akodi, Traditional Practioner, 45 years, Bamenda, 19 july 2022.

calender from which they plant all their activities. In the context of conflicts, the Awings did not go to war in periods of harvest. Just like days, months are also determinate in the domain of conflict resolution in Awing as it guides the behaviour of these persons faced with a situation of conflictuality which will be examined in the subsequent chapters.

1.4.3. Culture and Social Communication among the Awing People

Apart from the mere use of language in the transmission of message, there also exist other mechanisms through which information is transferred by the people from one individual to another and from one place to the other, depending on the circumstance. It simply suffices for one to apply them and the message is passed across.

- Language and Verbal Communication among the Awing people.

Awing is the language that is spoken in the Awing community, it exists alongside other languages like the Fulfulde, Pidgin English, English and French. It is spoken by about 95% of the entire population, for even those who speak other languages always strive to understand and speak other languages. It is a subset of the Ngemba national language which is used by most tribes in the North West Region of Cameroon. Awing is spoken by the inhabitants and most settlers on a daily basis in virtually all units of the society, that is within the family set up, in workshops, worshipping grounds and even in schools and colleges especially by pupils and students respectively.¹²⁹ The Awing Language has thirty-one letter alphabets and efforts are underway to enhance the reading and writing of the said language by sons and daughters of Awing.¹³⁰ The Awing alphabet is as follows according to.¹³¹

Aa Bb CH ch Ee εε Əə Ff Gg gh Ii It Jj Kk Li Mm NY ny Iŋŋ Oo Ɔɔ Pp Ss SH sh Tt TS ts Uu Ww Yy Zz.

The people of Awing also apply extra linguistic noises for example crying and laughing. There is also a system called Archaic.¹³² Which has to do with sending an individual to go and call for him or her. This system and the use of written notes or letters are still cherished by some because of reasons they alone know. However, they are gradually losing their rightful places in the Awing community due to the advent of the Mobile Telephone Network, access to the internet and other modern communication gadgets is a dream that is already being realised in Awing. In this light we also have the Awing Anthem which is also a

¹²⁹ Interview with Mofor Terence, Awing Youth, Bamenda, 19 July 2022.2pm.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ S.N. Atechi, *Basic Notions of the Awing Language*, Yaounde, Livelihood Education Press, 2021, p.7.

¹³² *Ibid* p.16.

way of communication and calls for the unity of all Awing Sons and Daughters to foster the development of the village, unity in this aspect is very important as this village always faced internal and external tensions and the first solution to this problem is to call for change of mentalities which is displayed in the Awing Anthem.¹³³

- Non Verbal Means of Communication among the Awing people.

It has earlier been indicated that language is not the only medium through which information can be transmitted by the Awing people. The use of symbolic instruments to convey messages are a remarkable and an incontestable reality in this community. In fact, sculptures or status, fig leaves, and those of the peace plant carry a lot of figurative messages, depending on the context and the circumstance under which they are used. Just like in a case of land dispute, traditional institutions in Awing can use plans as an interdiction order prohibiting conflicting parties from having access in the disputed land.

CONCLUSION

This chapter makes an analysis of the geography of the Awing area. Key notes have also been dished out on the structure, the traditional organization of the clan on the economic, political, religious, and social domain. Possibly contributions have also been made with regards to tracing the origins of the Awing people. We have had a look on the political organization of awing which is a clear picture of decentralization, this political organization had long existed before during the precolonial era. Awing people through time have gone through a lot of conflictual situations both intra and extra a majority been as a result of land disputes, which will be addresss in the subsequent chapter

¹³³ Confer Annex 2.

CHAPTER TWO
TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND TYPES OF CONFLICTS IN THE AWING
LOCALITY OF THE NORTH WEST REGION OF CAMEROON

Introduction.

The existence of customs can make us to think that Africa was a world of dreams, in which conflicts did not exist. But in observing the history of the Mezam people there exist many conflicts which opposed them through out the century. This chapter presents the traditional institutions in Awing which are incharged of conflict management and the different conflicts, which could take place between these people and what were their manifestations. We shall in two analytical sections present the traditional institutions in Awing incharged of the promotion of peace and resolution of conflicts and the different types of conflicts which are internal and external in natures. In all cultures resides elements which facilitates the promotion of peace in times of conflicts. Peace appears here as a common fact to all peoples as Ntumfor Nico Halle notes: “Peace is the hallmark of human endeavour. Nothing good on earth can be achieved without peace, violence, war, and conflict have never achieved anything positive in the world”.¹³⁴This guided us to the formulation of this chapter which will bring out different elements in the Awing culture that facilitates the implementation of peace and also in what way does culture possesses elements which promotes the living together of the Awing people.

2.1. First Class Traditional Institutions of Promotion of Peace and the Resolution of Conflict in Awing

It appears that Cameroon is Africa in miniature whose diversity makes it pride and it is within this diversity that we meet elements permitting people like the Awings to resolve their internal and external problems. This element is related to the structural organization of the Awing people. We could think that to understand the relationship of the awings and their neighbors, we should base our selves on five levels of hierarchy which governs the Awing people and whose actions are decisive in the way they relate with other tribes. Ntumfor Nico Halle notes: “Peace is not only pivotal; it is central in all aspects of life. Peace is tranquillity, serenity, and cessation of war, freedom from civil disorder or strife. Indeed, peace is

¹³⁴ Interview with Ntumfor Nico Halle, 70 years, Barrister, Douala, 13 March 2021.

harmony”.¹³⁵ This vision is crucial in the different levels of power in Awing as they have made it a responsibility to be protectors of tradition and architects of development.

This work is interested on the *Fon*, *Kwofoo*, Notables, Traditional councils, Quarter heads, Secret Societies, who employ different mechanisms in other to bring serenity or peace during intra-extra ethnic disputes. The first interesting element is the *Fon*.

2.1.1 The *Fon* (*Fo o*)

In the North West Region of Cameroon traditional Rulers are also called Chiefs or *Fons*, this Traditional Rulers lead Traditional Socio-political institutions in different Chiedoms or *Fundoms*. The *Fons* are believed to have been called by the ancestors to represent them on earth. The significant role they play in the communities make them indispensable in the evolution of events and the management of village affairs. Administrally the *Fon* provides a back-up to the civil administration.¹³⁶ Among other things they collect tax, organise and sensitize the population and in the domain of conflict resolution he disposes certain qualities.

The office of the *Fon* of Awing is incompatible with other executive office in the Awing political system. The *Fon* is the head of traditional government, an honourable member of the *Kwofoo* but has veto powers. He is the head of all traditional institutions except that of *Kwofoo*.¹³⁷ Although activities of this house are carried out in Public in his name. During the colonial days, the *Fon* of Awing acted as liaison officer between his people and the colonial administration. The enthronement ceremony of each Awing paramount *Fon* also marks the renewal of oaths of loyalty and faithfulness¹³⁸. Starting with the monarch who swears to be faithful to the Awing customs and traditions and be loyal to the Awing people either in war or in peace. The *Fon* has the following obligations;

-Control differences

Here it is the centrality of the *Fon*'s powers “The *Fon* lives in the palace which is the melting pot of decision making and seat of traditional institutions”.¹³⁹ This aspect makes him to be aware of all differences in the village and has the obligation to see solutions of compromise to problems in the village. Above this diplomatic aspect the *Fon* disposes of rights of hegemony as he is the head of all traditional authorities. It appears that the *Fon* “The

¹³⁵ Interview with Ntumfor Nico Halle.

¹³⁶ Interview with Akondi Samson, Awing Elite, Douala, 19 July 2022. 12 noon.

¹³⁷ Meaning House of *Kwofor*.

¹³⁸ V. Afomboh Fonnguh “Traditional Government in Awing Village” Dipes II Dissertation in History ENS Yaounde 1998, p.22.

¹³⁹ Interview with Tata Amapoh John Chefor, 69 years, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 19 June 2022.

fon receives tributes from his people who pay him allegiance in return for protection” and its in this context that in instances of inter-clan conflicts its difficult for certain communities to refuse his arbitration and we can see in the example of conflicts mentioned in the previous character his arbitration is generally without witness and we can understand why the state has the right to consider him as an auxiliary of the administration as he has the power to distribute” the territories of the village and we have seen the conflictual instances of land at the internal and external levels.

-The *Fon* presides over the council of notables and possess the right to sanction on his subjects. He is the protector of tradition that is the holder of the spiritual spirit of the Awing community. In all this principles, it appears that the *foo* has the obligation to assure peace, social justice and security seen through the quarter heads or directly by himself in this level, he disposes many instruments like letters of convocation, sanction of convoked parties many elements which permits the Awing people to establish a relationship with their traditional authorities. In this way the *Fon* is the first solution of peace, eventhough as awings through it migrations fought wars and with this the implementation of a culture of peace. And we understand the pacific relationship with the Bororos and Balikumbat. Our next interest will be on the second level of political hierarchy in Awing, before that there is a need to have a pictorial image of the *Fon* of Awing who played a leading rule in ensuring a diplomacy of peace.

Plate 7: The 13th *Fon* of Awing *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing enthroned on the 4th may 1998.



Source: Mbamoh Solomon Photo Album, Yaounde, 19 July 2022.

The personality above is the *Fon* of Awing, *Fon Fozoh II* of Awing. He came to power on 4 May 1998.¹⁴⁰ *Fon Fozoh II* is a graduate from the Higher School of Public Works Yaounde. He is a civil engineer with an unimaginable capacity for creation and realisation of projects. He is a proprietor of a college, manager of a constructing Company and farmer with immeasurable capacities. After the disappearance of his predecessor *Fon Ngogeh III*, the coming of *Fon Fozoh II* brought an era of appeasement in the relationship of Awing and her neighbours.¹⁴¹ His respect for authority and elders has won him the admiration of many. His best moments are when he shares with his brothers and sisters. Only lazy people are his enemies. Our next interest will be on the next level of political hierarchy in Awing.

2.1.2 The *Kwofoo* (Law makers)

The *Kwofoo* plays a regulatory role in the social and political field of Awing. In the western region of Cameroon we know the importance of the laikam, in the center of Cameroon we are not strangers to the society of *Essingan* who decides on the perception of the betis in time of crises.¹⁴² We understand that to invoke the notion of conflict is to question the role of an institution in the preservation of peace and promotion of values which guarantees the promotion of traditional values. For Awings there are many secret societies whose displays this view. An informant acquired held us to say the following:

Kwofoo is a secret society with a traditional and administrative role below that of the *Fon*, serving as the regulator of the *Fondoms* governing machinery and as the *Fon's* mouth piece. In fact, all the activities carried out by who so ever endure the degree of this institution is tantamount to incalculable risk for issues injunctions on behalf of the *Fon* usually using fig leaves against hunting in protected areas, construction in places reserved for farming and some developmental projects and more importantly to boycotters of royal convocations. This secret society has a female arm locally called *KWU 'Foo* or *'Takembeng'* in the grass fields. It intervenes in matters where the rights of women are violated or when the *Fon* abuses power.¹⁴³

It results from this analysis that this institution has the responsibility to protect the society and to try to be a platform where intra-clinical differences can see solution. We understand that the notion of promotion of peace for Awings possess a large political

¹⁴⁰ Confer Annex 03.

¹⁴¹ Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Association was created in 1966. It has structures nationwide and, in the Diaspora, and unites all Awing elites towards the fostering of socio cultural and economic development of Awing through self reliance initiatives.

¹⁴² M. Kye, *La pastorale dans une ville d'Afrique*, Nordheim, edition CERDIC, 1995, p.23.

¹⁴³ Interview with, Pa Mbapeh, Secretary of Awing Traditional Council, 75 years, Awing, 13 March 2022.

dimension and necessitates the coming of the chief and the secret societies in the elaboration of strategies facilitating a return to peace. *Fon Fozoh II* says “Awing is a land of free people”.¹⁴⁴ The objective of the secret society is to preserve Awing territories by avoiding land disputes. We understand here the words of *Fon Fozoh II* which notes; “Awing is acknowledge as one of the most admired freedom of the North west province as a result of its rich contemporary culture which blends values, norms, materials and spiritual traditions that cut across several ethnic groups with diverse ideas ”.¹⁴⁵The *Kwofoo* has other functions as displayed below which are

- *Kwofoo* retains all executive powers which are nearly all delegated to the *Fon*.
- It is the only Body that has the right to try and punish the *Fon*, upto impeaching the *Fon*.¹⁴⁶There is a serious conflict here between traditional laws of modern administration. The decree on chieftaincy stipulates that chiefs are protected by government against threats by any individuals, or group of individuals. The Cameroon government sees Chiefs in the North West and West Regions of Cameroon in the mirror of Lamidos of the Northern regions of Cameroon, where they are sovereign leaders. Consequently, and unfortunately the decree on Chieftaincy sees the *Kwofoo* as a council of Elders that helps the *Fon* in his administration, rather than a Council to which the *Fon* is subordinate. Traditional institutions, particularly *Kwofoos* in the North West Region, have thus been seriously weakened by the decree on chieftaincy. Some unscrupulous Fons are taking advantage of this weakness and making efforts to become outright dictators in their villages.
- The *Kwofoo* is in-charge of Foreign Relations with other villages and foreign organizations.
- It is the institution that formally declares war against enemy villages. This is in line with Western Modern Democracies in which only the parliament in Europe or congress in the US the right to formally declare war against an enemy nation. In traditional African societies this is always the last resort when all peaceful mechanisms to settle the conflict has failed.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Mbomefoo Mbamoh Solomon, Awing Notable, Yaounde, 60 years, 19 July 2022.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid* p, 14.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid* p, 16.

- Infact, the *Kwofoo* has the sole right of executing criminals condemned to death by it. Again, this has been over ruled by the modern judiciary system in which the death penalty can be pronounced only in court by a competent judge.
- In the same development, the *Kwofoo* has a paraphernalia which performs on important occasions. It performs on country Sundays and opens the death celebrations of all late adults¹⁴⁷ and initiated male. It also opens the death celebrations of the Dissappeared *Fon*¹⁴⁸ and then performs everyday during the funeral celebrations.

We will look at the third institution of promotion of peace in Awing which is the notables will be kept under the first class due to cognitive reasons.

2.1.3 The Notables and Traditional Council

After the *Fon* and the *Kwofoo*, comes the Notables who constitute part of the ruling caucus. Notables are made up of two categories. The first is known as the *Kemgong*.¹⁴⁹ They are usually referred to as the council of Elders and are as follow: *Ndime, Mbangwashi, Mba-ala, Mbantse, Tangye Mona, Mbankadmbi, Mbanjua, Mbatia and Ndindeng*. The second category is the *Kemazoh*.¹⁵⁰ They serve as technical advisers and close collaborators to the *Fon* alongside the messenger called the *Nchinda*.¹⁵¹ To appoint a notable in Awing is a practise which calls for great celebrations as this person constitutes the decision making actors in Awing and can influence the management of conflicts be it in the positive or negative sense.¹⁵²

The notables in order to maintain peace issue fig leaves.¹⁵³ Which act as a convocation letter when circumstances arrises after notifying the *Fon*, or do so on their own ingenuity but must inform him with immeidiate effect. Notables always act alongside the crowned prince locally called *Mofoo* who is the head of princes and princesses and the *Mbafoo* who on his part is the technical adviser to the *Fon*. The *Mofoo* and the *Mbafoo* are coronated the same time with the *Fon*. They exercise no special authority and their mandate also ends with that of

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Mbomefoo Mbamoh Solomon, Awing Notable, Yaounde, 60 years, 19 July 2022.

¹⁴⁸ The word disappearance is used to explain the death of the *Fon*. As in the grassfields regions of Cameroon it is a taboo to say a *Fon* is death we simply say he has disappeared.

¹⁴⁹ Consist of nine founding fathers or clan heads of the Fondom who double as member of the Kwifor.

¹⁵⁰ Men and Women selected from the entire Fondom by the *Fon* himself to rule with him during his reigh.

¹⁵¹ The *nchinda* is appointed by the *Fon*, but this time around among his agemates. They exercise no particular authority and their mandate ends with the *Fon*.

¹⁵² Confer in Annex 3.

¹⁵³ Interview with Fozoh, 37 Years, Prince and Palace Assistant, Awing, 13 March 2022.

the Fon. Other categories include name title bearers, red feather holders and ordinary notables.

Plate 8: A Fraction of Awing Notables with the *Fon* of Awing



Source: Mbomefoo Mbamoh Solomon Photo Album, Yaounde, 15 June 2021.

The above plate gives us a view of a fraction of Awing notables in the *Kemazoh*, *Kemgon* and the *Awing Fon*, as earlier mention these notables contribute to the smooth running of activities in the Awing Palace in particular and the Awing Fondom in general.

The Traditional Council

This institution is a collection of quarter heads.¹⁵⁴ It came up due to a rapid increase in the population and the creation of new quarters in Awing.¹⁵⁵ This status permits the quarter heads to participate in the management of the *Fondom* under the Traditional Council alongside the notables who are ex officio members and other persons appointed from the community. The traditional council plays a deliberative and an executive function in the Awing fondom members and other persons appointed from the community. The traditional council plays a deliberative rule and an executive rule function in the Awing *Fondom*.¹⁵⁶

An executive function which is collaboration with the *Fon*, *Kwofoo* and Notables. Its duties are exercised both in general assemble as well as in commitees such as land disputes, farmer grazier conflict, social affairs, and health, and development commitees where

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Pa Mbapeh, Secretary of the Awing Traditional Council, May 11 2022.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem*.

¹⁵⁶ *Idem*.

decisions to summon presumed perpetrators with the fig leaf are unanimously. The traditional council meets once a week on a country Sunday to access management in the village and resolve wide-ranging cases touching indigenes from the different quarters. The meeting is chair by the chair man of the traditional council. In the case of land conflict when two people are in a conflict over land dispute, the traditional council intervenes by summoning the two conflicting parties and the judgement is passed as a result the gravity of the issue. When the traditional council witnesses crimes like murder, it goes beyond their traditional jurisdiction as they will refer the case to the police or Gendamarie.¹⁵⁷ The Awing traditional council has also played a great role in conflict management between Awing and other surrounding villages as they instructed the people to maintain peace by organising meetings in view of discussing and resolving conflicts. The members of this council called for great respect which made their opinions to be respected by all. The Awing traditional council can be located inside the Awing palace.

2.2 Traditional Institutions Regulation Character (The Police of the Fondom).

The Awing village like all villages in the North West Region of Cameroon has regulatory societies known as *Ngomba* houses.¹⁵⁸ These societies play tremendous roles in the management of conflicts between Awings and Awings with their surroundings. These societies can be seen below.

Maintaining internal security within the *fondom* is one of the most daunting tasks of the traditional authority. The mission is shared by institutions like: *Kwofoo*, *Menji*, *Mopoo*, *Nekang*, *Afuobangifoo*, *Lale* and *Uanipoo*.¹⁵⁹

2.2.1 The Mopoo: The Valiant Officer.

The *Mopoo* is the Valiant officer of the Awing *Fondom* who ensures the peace and the security of the *Fon* and *Kwofoo* when they are to attend and grace an occasion, like the death ceremony and other important occasions. Owing to those function he is an armed officer. This armed officer uses essential spears *Mekong* which he waves out skifully to ensure and tactically, to wage a war in other to impose serenity and security.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Annex 4.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Ta Mbamasa, 52 Years Member of a Secret Cult, Awing, 13 March 2022.

¹⁵⁹ C.f Annex 4.

Plate 9: Fon confers one of the most powerful titles Mekong memopo, o of the Land on Prof. Paul Nkad Mbangwana



Source: Awing Palace Photo Album, Awing, 13 March 2022.

The above image was the ceremony of titles attribution where, the *Fon* conferred in 1998 one of the most powerful titles *Mekong Memopoo* of the *Fondom* was given to a veritable Awing son, as he was given the task to assure the security of the *Fon* and *Kwofoo* and with this, he had an important role in the management of Conflicts be it intra or extra.

2.2.2. The *Nekang*: The Physical Protector of the *Fondom*.

Just like the *Mopoo*, the *Nekang* has the duty to preserve peace and security in the *Fondom* with an extra duty as he is incharge to physically protect the *Fon* and his Institution.

2.2.3. *Menji*: The Spiritual Protector.

This institution is more of spiritual than physical. *Menji* the backward moving magic party seldom appears in public. It is being said, children born some twenty-five years ago have never witnessed it. How ever its institution is being sharpened always. Nevertheless, these traditional forces of the land have been strengthened by government through the creation of the Gendamarie Brigade.

2.3. Other Traditional Institutions in Awing.

2.3.1. Mandzongs

Mandzongs evolved around people of the same age groups. In fact, each and every male individual in the community is born into an age set with variations between three to four years' interval. They constituted themselves to perform as the *Fons* reserve army during warfare. Their principal role has changed from serving as the *Fons* reserve Army to participate actively in the organization of the community tasks as well as socio cultural manifestations. The Women age set *nkang*, it plays a similar but less role as compared to the *mandzong*. Mandzongs are very important groups in the Awing *Fondom*. This is a system where members of the community were classified into permanent separate organizations irrespective of their socio economic status and philosophy. The lone criteria were age and sex. Persons within a four-year span are placed in the same age category or regiment¹⁶⁰. The idea behind this ranking was not to go create social inequalities, but for the functional convenience of the socio political structure which will; be indicated at certain point below. Which shows they constituted a number of task force for the *Fon*, each *mandzong* was named after a war or great event. Here, individuals had a sense of identity with others in their respective groups because of their knowledge of the cultural principles that govern the social structure and process

The right to be a *mandzong* member falls within the prerogatives of the *Fon*.¹⁶¹ If a set was constituted and needed a nomenclature by which it wanted to be called, potential members will have sent a delegation to the *Fon* palace to solicit for the desired name for their set. However, the name was not granted free of charge.¹⁶² For the said delegation had to remain in the palace for the same time during which this delegation performed some work for the *Fon*. This work ranged from fetching wood, water, Indian bamboo for construction of palace houses, building of the said houses, fastening or mending of fences around the palace, clearing of the palace yard and hunting for the *Fon*, among other duties.

When this job was done to the *Fon* satisfaction, he then organized a great gathering which he bestowed the name to the group. Whatever the case, members referred to themselves by the name immediately after it was vested on the group and in a situation where the *Fon* refuses to attribute a name to a set, members can possibly assume a name by which they wish to be called. This was the case with one of the groups which spent two weeks fetching

¹⁶⁰ B. Nkwenti Azeh, *Terminology. International Journal of Theoretical and Applied Issues in Specialized Communication*, Volume 2, Issue 2, January 1995, pp. 325-350.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Pa Mbamoh, Civil Engineer, Yaounde 22 December 2021.

¹⁶² Interview with Pa Alombah Bernard, Awing Man, Yaounde 25 December 2021.

elephant stalks for the decoration of the palace , but when the *Fon* refused delayed giving them a name , they called off the work and choose the name ntso keka¹⁶³.Below are the names of Mandzongs according to ages.

Table 6: Different Age levels of Mandzongs.

<i>Name of Mandzong</i>	Upper age limit
<i>Mandzong Chih-Ngoo</i>	Extinct
<i>Mandzong Ntso-Menu</i>	Extinct
<i>Mandzong Ntso Seghe</i>	Extinct
<i>Mandzong Ntso Akeka a</i>	Extinct
<i>Mandzong Teme Nele e</i>	Extinct
<i>Mandzong Tso Nesung</i>	110 Years
<i>Mandzong Tih Fookweu</i>	95 Years
<i>Mandzong Ndee Ketang</i>	80Years
<i>Mandzong Teka akeu</i>	75 Years
<i>Mandzong Ntso Mekie</i>	65 Years
<i>Mandzong Akeungndzem Foo</i>	55 Years
<i>Mandzong Ntso Foo</i>	50 Years
<i>Mandzong Koh Pewa ghake Foo</i>	45 Years and Below

Source. C.Tata Maapoh, *The Foundations of Awing Culture*, Yaounde, Flor Business Center, p. 22.

Above are the names of various Mandzong members, most of them have passed away and their successors represent them in their social groups, for those that are completely extinct, new groups can be bestowed such names.

2.3.2. Women Notability. *The Ekeum Pengye*

The place of women in the *Mbuewing* anthropology is symbolized as indicated by the presence of two women representatives including *Mendeh Ngong* and *Mendeh Nwing* as skull of the women. These are constituent members of the Awing traditional nobility representing the women folk in the mystical spiritual and traditional governance. The sitting of power of these two women is the house of *Ekeum Ngong* and *Ekeum Nwing*. Initially, nobility amongst the female folk of Awing was through marriage to the *Fon*. As such, in addition to the two female notables indicated above, all queen mothers are also *Ekeum pengye*. To be a member of the Awing Women notability there are some conditions to fulfill. This conditions might look strict but it can be justified in the sense that members of this group of Wise Women are people who call for respect and are also in the age who calls for respect.

Conditions to Fulfill to be a Women Notable in Awing

Below are some conditions given to us during our field work.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Meaning war of Elephant meant to remind them of what they did.

- To be a member of the Awing women nobility you must be in the age of menopause.
- Members of *Pekem pegye* must have married.
- One of the children of a Female notability member in Awing must be married.
- A *pekem pengye* must be old to name a few.
- To be ground a *Pekem pegye* woman in Awing you must pass first through the secret Women notability house before been confirmed in the palace.
- When menstruating you do not need to come to the palace and even if you go, there are certain secret places in the palace that you are not allowed to go.

The Fon HRH Fozoh II coming to power in 1998 and realising how much women were putting in the development of Awing.¹⁶⁵ There was need to recognize them in the organizational set up of the village and also the need to improve on the women leadership, there came a Kwofoo Penye who represented all women like their chief-judge and also a number of women have been ennobled *pekeum pengye* to show recognition of their contribution to Awing development just like the men *pekeum*. These women assist in conflict resolution in Awing in the following:

- Attribution of sanctions to women found guilty of infidelity and other allegations like theft etc.
- Kwifo pengyie acts as a consultative agent in the domain of extra marital conflicts as men always had the tensivity of reporting their wives who did not want to fulfil their marital duties.
- Men could also be convocated when found guilty of maltreating their wives.

The above strategies used by the Women Notables in Awing clearly show the role they play in the resolution of conflict in this locality. At first notability for women was only done through marriage with a royal blood with time things changed as the Fon Fozoh II of Awing being a visionary decided to include other women in this emblematic call. It will be very important to acknowledge the role played by Ma Mbagwana Lucie who played a great role in the affirmation of women as a result of a meeting she held in Bamenda in 1986 to educate Awing women on their role in the society ¹⁶⁶ and with time we have noted the increase in membership in this women group from a restricted number of 6 to 20.¹⁶⁷ Able Awing women

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Ma Mbagwana Lucy, 67 Years, Awing Women Notable and Lecturer, Yaounde, 5 October 2021.

¹⁶⁵ *Idem*.

¹⁶⁶ Cf Annex 4.

¹⁶⁷ Cf Annex 5.

who donot only contribute in the development of the village but also in the promotion and resolution of conflicts.

Plate 10: The Women Notables *Ekeume Pengye*



Source: Mbamoh Josephine Photo Album, Yaounde, 8 April 2023.

Above is a picture of a group of women notables in Awing, the venue of the above image is the Awing palace for the presentation and blessings of their uniforms by the *Fon* of Awing. We can say that women represent an essential aspect in the Awing society as they influence political and traditional rights. At the level of the Awing palace they have the task of certain responsibilities, also in the *Kwifor* as in their traditional associations. In this light they play an important role in matters of development on the economical, political and cultural point of view. We can think that their elite rule is manifested through the Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association where they don't hesitate in safeguarding the population of Awing. It appears that women intervene with success in the ideology of putting in place of peace and we can find certain emblematic figures like Ma Halle Justina Justina Amamboh¹⁶⁸, Ma Lucy Akwese Mbangwana¹⁶⁹ Mrs Ayafor nee Justine¹⁷⁰, Mrs Asana nee

¹⁶⁸ She is one of the First Female Senior Agric Engineer from Awing, a speciality which which few women in the world venture into. She was the Deputy Director of the Dibombari Agric Training School. She also was the Preident of the Christian Women Fellowship of the Presbyterian Church in Bonaberi Douala, Steering the activities of some four hundred women of that congregation.

¹⁶⁹ She brought women development in Awing. She enegaged herself in efforts to boost the socio-cultural, economic and political role of women in the development of Awing. As pioneer president she adopted a

Rebecca¹⁷¹, Dr Mrs Linda Akondeng¹⁷². All this feminine figures appears at a time as auxiliaries of the traditional power but also elites which militates for the maintenance of peace. The Awing Woman is thus an essential element of the society in that they facilitate the taking of decisions, consultations and resolution of conflicts on the internal and external view point. Also the Awing woman is a mediator which justifies her participation in traditional institutions and interms of development. On the last part of this chapter we shall be looking on the different types of conflicts in Awing as it is important to know them.

2.4 Types of Conflicts in Awing

Talking about the notion of conflicts makes us to interrogate on the social structure of Awing, this last appears as a regroupement of linaire clans that is awings identify themselves in the conscience of belonging to the same ancestor, founded by an unknown ancestor like other banthu tribes.¹⁷³ Also for Awings there exist a segmentation of original groups in different clan in quarters and in this sense the phenomenon of blood determines social relations.¹⁷⁴ The different major clans in Awing are *Mbenten*, *Tanjang*, *Mbeme*, *Mbenjom*, *Mbetu*. This sees individuals identified by certain elements like Organisation of power, Custom, The superiority of power, the existence of big families.

As a result of this characteristics th different clans, have the tendency of supporting each other, faced with what is considered as common danger and it is the reason in which history of relations between community have developed a spontaneous characteristics of groups made of prejudices, which cannot be seized, vulgar, but founded. Each people have its character projection in the conscience of others. In view of all this we could understand that the different clans of Awing didnt entertain relations without conflicts and the phases of social life was mark by war initiation. For Daniel Abwa, this is normal as in all African societies we see elements like “Muder punished by hanging or by the sell of slaves”.¹⁷⁵ From

pedagogic policy and moved from door to door and from quarter to quarter to campaign for the full participation of women in the affairs of the fundom.

¹⁷⁰ Her projects refected her profession, she lunched a crusade against Hiv/Aids in Awing.

¹⁷¹ She embarked on a mission to build the Awing Women Social Center in the Awing market square. She equally pressed for the eradication of widowhood a battle which is not yet won. She was embodied a Nkem Mengye in 2006.

¹⁷² She engaged a process which laid down condition for the granting of district hospitsl in Awing She had as mission to see the santa sub division enjoy a fair share of health care from the government and the international community. Her actions were not only felt in Awing but also in santa as she brought Unicef in the area.

¹⁷³ PH. Laburthe. Tolra, (Minlaaba'a), Tome 1, Thesis in History, University of Paris V, atelier de reproduction de these universite de Lille III / Librairie honore champion 1977. p. 97.

¹⁷⁴ E. Mveng, *Histoire du Cameroun*, Tom1, Yaounde, Ceper, 1985, p. 227.

¹⁷⁵ D.Abwa, “Politics and Commerce in the Banen 1893-1914” In History, University of Yaounde, FLSH, 1979, p. 65.

this we could see that many reasons could push the Awing people to entertain conflictual relationship in clans which compose it. With this conflict or war became a word of comprehension by a group with its relationship with others.

2.4.1 Traditional Conflict related to the coming of the Awing Palace.

Conflict was thought and assume by different clans, with this custom valorises rites, initiations to war, it constructs altitudes which are seen during conflicts. In precolonial Africa notably in the banthu zone, confrontations are below large etatic constructions. For awings, inter-tribal wars were related to social rivalries of the fact of colonial codes, it appears that this form of violence was prescribe by alliance and existing percentage but in observation customary customs were forgotten by dominant tribes but as in other places, we witness the birth of tradition. Severain Cecil Abega¹⁷⁶ notes “The assignation of an enemy and many of its lineage increases to honour of the one who committed it and even those of his lineage. The repraisals stops revenge”. Pierre Philippe Rey goes in the same sense as he things inter-clanical wars are constant.¹⁷⁷We noticed that in the case of Awing as Apondge notes that in the foundation of the Awing palace there was a misunderstanding between the eight founding fathers of Awing he notes:

One of them in the person of Mbagwashi proposed to others the designation of a paramount *fon*.The idea was accepted and dismissed by others who claim that mbagwashi was trying to play over the sense and put one of his sons as *fon*.Given that Mbagwashi was a sweet talker he succeeded in convincing most of them; but there was problem of how and who was to be the *fon* ...Mbagwashi suggested that an enclosure to be esterblish were the clan hides the mystical bangles,.This was done by eight of the founding fathers being; Ndi-ame, Mbangwashi,Mba-alah, Mbantse, Tangye Mona,Mbantse, Mbanjua and Ndi-Ndeng; but for Mbankadmbi Who completely refuted the idea.¹⁷⁸

Mbankadmbi could not accept to summit himself to this, also it’s discovered that the strategic character of the palace had been seen by other founding fathers and mbagwashi had to play wisely so as to reach his aim. Apongnde Pascal in his work says that, Mbangwashi organised a merry making occasion in his compound that was heavily attented by the clan’s heads, a situation that distracted them from thinking about the issue of the first *Fon*, the people were feasting, Mbagwashi smuggled one of his sons by name Nkachi into the enclosure, when this was discovered the next day the was total commotion so much that the

¹⁷⁶ Abega, Lesana, p.35.

¹⁷⁷ P.H. Rey “War and lineage politics”, pp.36.

¹⁷⁸ Apongnde, *The people of Awing*, p.37.

fon to be had to flee for his safety. One of the clan heads *Mbantse* took him and he stayed in his compound, he was then enthroned and entrusted the name *Foo Nefumetu*.

As we can see as the base of traditional institutions we have a strategy of positioning in which there was the use of supernatural powers to impose a chief. This situation could also lead to tensions and misunderstandings and even a rebellion by certain founding fathers for example *Ndi-ame* it results that:

The situation was worrisome and unbearable to others who had to quit with their followers. The disgruntled *Ndi-ame* who equally threatened to leave with his own followers was appeased and given the title *Ndi* that rendered him second in command in *Awing* and conferred on him the right to assume interim upon the *Fon* disappearance and never to clap, nor take off his cap, when greeting the *Fon. Mbantse* who protected the *Fon* to be was empowered to always lodge the new *Fon* before and during coronation a function that still exist still date.¹⁷⁹

From this we can see that for *Awings*, conflict can be opposition to a traditional order accepted by some and rejected by other clans, we understand why descendants of *Ndi-ame* refused systematically to recognise the chieftom rule as they think they were duped by *mbagwashi* as he imposed his son. In the internal point of view, we could conclude that intra-group conflicts are those that come up from a constituted group and they are carrier of many comprehensions. It is important to note that for *Awings*, conflicts of succession and inheritance are at the base, a division of traditional institutions. It appears that succession dispute can be define as fact “which aims to take care of another's prerogative rights and duties”.¹⁸⁰ It is important to note that the designation of the superior *Fon* of *Awing* in the condition stated by different sources raised a culture of contestation of heritage. In effect, its custom succeeds generally to a deceased person in which designs a successor. It is the reason in which heritage consist to benefit of the patrimony of a person.¹⁸¹ This fact makes us to say that an intra-personal relationship in *Awing* is registered in the field of rational conflict.

Apart from this conflict, there also exist conflicts of incantations, just like in all African societies there exist a conviction and beliefs in powerful practical magic and supernatural forces, generally it is not strange that many individuals are considered witches or holders of supernatural powers and this is why *Awings* designs witchcraft which signifies

¹⁷⁹ Apongnde.

¹⁸⁰ Z. Saha, "Gestion de Conflict et Culture de la paix en pays Bamileke dans Quest Cameroun Du 18th -20th "These de Doctorat P.H.D. en Histoire 2005. p.104.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

something bad, ERIC De Rosny has for a longtime studied the phenomenon of witchcraft and has concluded that “it’s the conception of death by Africans that describes their fear of witchcraft”.¹⁸² Also Awings are convinced that death is not a natural phenomenon and that its principle explanation is witchcraft. This fact leads to the stigmatization of some clans accused of been the place of witchcraft; and that can lead to misunderstandings and disputes between different clans in the sense that it’s a factor of distarbilization in the community¹⁸³. Its with this that one of our anonymous informants notes that peace cannot exist in Awing when witchcraft exist and that some use it to trouble social peace and hinter community development ¹⁸⁴.

If the informant decides to be anonymous, is because informations in relation to witchcraft are to be treated in disgresion. To affect the whole community, the image of lineage and witchclan is imposed, in the case of our work there is need to not hurt feeling in validating the information of denomination appellation of quarters full with witches.

Our informant informs us that many disputes and misunderstandings observe during the day by certain families are product of witches generally a member of a family who can colliade in other to destroy social peace.¹⁸⁵ This conflict doesnt have to make us to forget that there exist other realities which divide the Awing community.

2.4.2. Social conflicts in Awing

The notion of social conflicts is related to antagonism that follows from material questions of values, order and alliances. At this level we could categorise social conflicts as structural conflicts which touches the foundation of the society in that it puts into action the traditional mode. For Awings, we have so many social conflicts like Land conflicts, Appropriation conflicts, Matrimonial conflict.

2.4.2.1 Matrimonial Conflicts (*ndzɔ'a*).

For Matrimonial conflicts we need to understand that in traditional African in general and in Awing in particular marriage is morethan an institution, a pact between two or more people, concerning families, two clans. It is the reason for the sacrality of marriage which when esterblish cannot be dissolved.¹⁸⁶Two forms of marriage exist in Awing. These are

¹⁸²E .Rosny, *Les Yeux de ma chevre ; Sur les pas des Maitres de la nuit en pays douala*, Paris, Plon, 1996, p.40.

¹⁸³ G.M. Enjome Moukore, "Les Methodes traditionnelles de resolution de conflit : Cas du pay Boudiman dans le Nkam 1900-1927", Mémoire de Dipes II en Histoire ENS Universite de yaounde I, 2013/2014, p.37.

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous informant, Trader, 45 years, Yaounde, 5 September 2021,

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Ma Lucy Ndifor, 34 Years, Farmer, Yaounde 5 September 2021, 6pm.

¹⁸⁶ S.C. Abega, "La mante religieuse" *Annales de la FSLH*, N° 10 1977.

monogamous and polygamous marriages. Polygamy marriages predominates in this village eventhough monogamy is becoming the order of the day among the youths who are influenced by western cultures and present day economic situation. Marriage between a boy and girl from two different families on a larger scale is welcome but can be rejected because of family diffrences as some tribes because of their past history might not want to mix with other villages. Marriage is an event in that it's the foundation of community reproduction and generally it's a custom to make war with its brother's inlaw, but the were situations that phenomens like sterility, adultery, home abandonment, the refusal to assume conjugal works, the repudiation as source of conflict and tension. In effect, there is need to examine case by case this different cases.

2.4.2.1.1 Sterility

For sterility it appears as something not normal in the Awing society in particular and Africans in general. For this the existence of bride price is conditioned by the capacity of the woman to reproduce.¹⁸⁷ That is why all barren women in Awing were considered not useful to the society unlike those those holders of badlock.¹⁸⁸ The existence of ancient medicinal medicine, secret societies of women, predisposed that all young girls of the awing community to procreat. The barren woman is the one who has violated laws, doesnot respect ancestors in all a witch, with this a woman was maltreated by her inlaws which led to anger the of the womans family who could Accuse the man family notably the mans brothers to be responsible for their daughters barreness and in the case of a polygamous family, they could accuse co-wife of been responsible of this situation because of their magical practices.

24.2.1.2. Infidelity

Also infidelity is a source of conflict in the Awing community in that, it was a man to woman relationship and posed the question of honor of the accused family. One of our informants informed us that infertility with one of the chief's cocubines was not considered as a simple offense but a crime. In the first case there was a possibility of banning you from the village, but in the second case it could cause the life of the accused who could have been precipitated from a high valley and generally meet dead.¹⁸⁹ With this an animosity was installed between the family and the palace. The refusal to fulfil marital duties especially from

¹⁸⁷ C.Barbier, *Femme du Cameroun, Mere pacifique, Femme rebelle*, Paris, Khartala, 1986. p.22.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Ma Mbamoh Florence, Awing woaman, 49 years, Yaounde 5 September 2021.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Pa Ngongeh Jacob, 48 Years, Awing Prince, Yaounde, 18 April 2022.

the spouse who could receive the anger of her in laws and generally could demand reparation in the accused family. In Africa Banthu as said by Severain Cecil Abega.¹⁹⁰ This can be considered as a fact relating to witchcraft of a woman who wants to kill her husband. All the elements presented here shows that the Awing society faced structural tensions which necessitated the use and acceptance of some rules. We could conclude at this level that this society faced disputes of tensions between families and clans in the sense that the family head was brought to take part in other to bring peace, but this conflict were only the ones faced by the Awing community, we also have conflicts of appropriation as example land disputes and theft.

24.2.2. Land Disputes

Land conflicts generally is current in Africa. Maxime Gabriel Dongmonol analyses the importance of this goods in inter-community relationships as he underlines that land is a holder of conflict because of its economic importance. If this is right in the mbam, it is the same in Awing where the deisire to possess territories lead to situations of tension tension among clans. In principle, land in Awing is owned and controlled by the *Fon and Kwifor*. As a matter of fact, the acquisition and exploitation of land in this community is placed under the executive authority of the kwofoo who abitrates as Landlord when there is any land dispute. This is a common practice with all the Chiefdoms and *Fondoms* of the grassfield zone where control over land is exercised by lineage or extended families. The over-lordship of these people over land represents the territorial aspect of their authority over persons from whom they collected tributes. But today some lineage and family heads own land which they have acquired and can dispose of it at will. Since succession is highly paternal in Awing, women hardly own land. They work on farms that belong to their family and friends.

Also land has a strategic tenure as he who posseses land has the possibility to satisfy the needs of his family and clans. In this case, there are certain clans who have the tendency of not respecting their ancestral limits and it's added with the existence of large agricultural exploitations in santa which posseses land. It's the reason palm and raffia is accompanied with community tensions.¹⁹¹

2.4.2.3. Theft [ədzələ]

In fact, the problem of land is not the only one present in the Awing society, we also have the problem of theft which in all its form was a source of discord, if theft is a

¹⁹⁰ Abega, *La mante religieuse*, p, 62.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Manyi Mbamassa Justine, 45 Years, Awing Native, 20 Decemer 2021.

malediction its use could have guaranteed to some family's substantial revenues because of theft inplantations.

2.4.2.3. Succession Disputes

In the Awing village like in any other village in the North West region of Cameroon. The is also the problem of succession disputes. The process of choosing a successor is very complex and entails a lot traditionally.¹⁹² Succession process in Awing is when another in his prerogatives and obligations hands his properties to a person when he dies.¹⁹³ We succeed generally to people who are death and a problem can erupt generally when a man dies without leaving behind a successor in Awing, the first son could step in and this will creat a problem of succession which can end up been solve in the palace and in some situations the administration is involved. With this we can se that succession becomes a source of dispute, fight and confrontations for example in Awing. In some cases, before his death, the decease choses one of his sons for personal reasons. And a situation may arrive that a war could broke out as a result of his actions thus, a father who does this will put his family in a situation which might affect them for a longtime to come.

The process of sucesion in Awing is managed by the top institution in the village, which is the palace and in cases where some houses manage it is just as a result of devolution of powers from the palace. Thus in a peaceful family, the grand father can conduct the sucesion ritual and simply present the successor thereafter to the Fon. In Awing the are often probems which comes up as a result of changing a successor which can be done mutually or forcefully, cases may arouse when a man dies in a young change and the successor of the big family, the family quickly meets and puts the man brother as successor. During our ground work we conducted a survey and a majority of persons we interviewed in the village were against this idea. The *Fon* of Awing Fon Fozoh II being a visionary is trying to put an end to this practices as it is proven that the deceased successor's children with time will revandicate their position in the future then installing tension. We also have instances of forceful change of successors there have been some isolated cases against the dictates of our succession rules have forcefully changed successors. With this the Fon of Awing being educated is trying to impose what our customs demand, this will help to encourage the promotion and resolution of conflicts.

¹⁹² C.F Annex 6.

¹⁹³ Interview with Pa Edmond Chefor, 75 Years, Traditionalist, Baffoussam, 14 January 2022.

2.4.2.4 Evil Practices [təpɔŋə]

In the same development, in Awing there is also the problem of witchcraft. The *Petit Larousse* dictionary defines witchcraft as an extraordinary event which reveals magical practices, of supernatural forces. The Awing man believes in witch craft. In Awing like in any other traditional African society, people die hardly of a natural dead, the dead of a person no matter the person age, sex, or social class and in some circumstances the person responsible is always a family member. And in Awing there are some areas which are considered dangerous because of witch craft. When an incident or phenomenon is beyond any explanation, it is always attributed to witchcraft. There is the belief that everything that happens has a cause. When some one dies by accident or through other mysterious death, it is usually attributed to witchcraft or sorcery. Also, the sudden death of a young man is hardly considered natural, with this there is need to talk of inter-clan conflicts in Awing.

2.4.3. Inter Quarter and Inter-Tribal Conflicts Encountered by the Awing people.

Awing like any other village in the North West region of Cameroon is not void of conflict. The history of the Awing people has impacted their relationship with one another by creating an atmosphere of insecurity, fear, distrust and among all hatred. As some tribes say they were dispose of their rightful inheritance by the Awing forefathers who took decisions then which still affects them still date. Below is an outright presentation of situations of conflictuality in the Awing kindom among tribes and even tribes grieve against the palace?

It appears that in all peoples, Awings witnessed internal disputes came as all African societies. Joseph Ki-Zerbo refuses the myth of a perfect Africa in which there is no conflict¹⁹⁴ from this perception Awings as their neighbors of Widikum whose migrations followed the same path faced the same problems. In the view of Thierno Mouctar Bah, we know that all migrations are by nature violent which supposes wars.¹⁹⁵ Taking this into consideration, we can say the Awing clans which were installed in our field of study were done in a progressive manner which raised disputes on ground, or we know that land is the first resources of the people that is implanted. With this we underatand why tribal wars and intra-tribal wars.

Philip Rey thinks that Africa was not ignorant of inter-tribal wars.¹⁹⁶ This fact supposes that wars were not inexistent in the Awing Clans. Historiography as it is presented actually

¹⁹⁴ J. Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire generale de l'Afrique* p.17.

¹⁹⁵ Th.M. Bah « Guerre et Paix aux abords du Lac Lake Tchad » These de Doctorat d Etat en Histoire, Universite de Yaounde 1984. p.30.

¹⁹⁶ Ph. Rey et all, *Guerre de Linage et Guerre d Etat a Afrique*, Paris, Eclipse, 1976.p12.

does not permit us to be explicit in a clear manner on this.¹⁹⁷This historiography was based on many aspects on the division of Awing in different Clans as others had interest to invade others. But in all facts it appears in the historiography point of view that the question of spartialization by order of coming constituted an element of misunderstanding among Awing Clans. We can not say the first clan to have come first because of problems of dates but it can be one cause of disputes which appears in a general manner. An informant informs us that “Awings always argue on problems of land because of problems related to the order of installation”.¹⁹⁸

Taking this into consideration we can say the social organisation of Awing can be explained with semi-autonomous villages that nature refuses permanent authority and social cohesion. The elements which can justify this are, natural Elements like rivers, Mountains, Forest. This separates them from other Awing Clans and the division of land as a result of migration.¹⁹⁹It can be discovered that in view of this two elements, the Awing people have witnessed natural disputes, it is the reason in which Paul Grieger notes all villages form a social community with their norms, laws and their social hierarchy.²⁰⁰Considering this, we can say that tensions can push a clan to show a fearful attitude with others if he feels excluded or pointed fingers by others. To make a similar example the history of the Ewondos shows that as a result of the repartition in Yaounde, certain clans refused to accept the partition of women and land.²⁰¹

Also an informant contradicts and we are confronted with the phenomenon of patrimonial history which wants that everyone valorises his clan and excuses itself from community problems.²⁰² In this sense can we accept the hypothesis brought by *Afomboh Vincent* who in his work accuses the founder of a clan in Awing? We don't think same as methodology in History teaches us that a single source in History is null and void and taking this into consideration his hypothesis is not founded. In effect no informant from another clan was consulted as he based himself only from informants from a particular clan. According to Thucydide History is an investigation; if we accept the principles in which our participative observation mindful of the conflict permitted to note differences among Awing

¹⁹⁷ V.Afomboh Fonguh, Traditional Governemnt in Awing Village, History Dissertation in Dipes II –University of Yaounde I –ENS Yde, p.22.

¹⁸⁹ . Interview with, Pa Ateh Micheal, 59 years, Awing Elite and Presidential Guard, Yaounde, 3 September 2021.

¹⁹⁰ . Interview with, Mr Ngongeh, 44 years, Awing Elite, Yaounde, and July, 2022.

²⁰⁰ P. Grieger, *La Charactologic Ethnologic*.P.48.

¹⁴⁹. *Ibid*.p.18.

²⁰² L. Halkin, *La Critique Histoire*, Paris, PUF, 1976. p.33.

Clans. We can not accuse a particular clan, the reason of this conflict is related to certain elements which we can site:

- The problem of the right of birth.
- The problem of methodology.
- The problem of fear and insecurity.
- Colonial problems from the Germans and British administration.
- The refusal of customary rules.

All this reason permits us to say that relations among Awing Clans was not void of hostilities. There exists a social cause which instead had to constitute a factor of alliance among Awings that is marriage. In this society in effect it is suprising to say that marriage is a means of discorde, while we know that in Africa, marriage is an alliance and a way of esterblishing a pact between community and family. That is why Severein Cecile Abega thinks that “Inlaws don’t fight”.²⁰³ It is thus suprising to make marriage a problem of conflictuality in Awing we will refer ourselves to the different clans in Awing.

In reality marriage is a social institution and a majority of historians, sociologist regonised the importance in the social structure and is seen in other societies, marriage don’t have the same signification. Is this the case of Awing?

With this in the Santa sub-division marriage can be a solution, in the case of Awing did there exist discords? At this level a secret informant reveals that "Certain Awing families opposed their children marriages because of their clans ".²⁰⁴ If we validate this information we need to ask why the same people, have reasons to oppose a marriage, are they logical; in effect our investigations made us to see a complex reality which wants that between the Mbenjoms and other clans it is difficult to have a matrimonial alliances accepted by elders of the family.

Other informants we consulted were mute on reasons explaining this phenomenon or added some explanations that in a scientific point of view raised interrogations; this is what one of them declared:

The relationship between the Mbenjom people and other clans of Awing are sometimes hostile because of past grieviances as it has affected marriages between both parties as an informant who pleaded that his identity be kept secret says (I am from Mbenjom and my wife is from Mbenten, before her family accepted our wedding it was a fight as at first they were against our wedding). With this, we can clearly see the atmosphere in Awing. To appease the Mbenjom people, one of the Mbenjom grandsons by

²⁰³ S.C Abega, *La Mante Religieuse*, p.12.

²⁰⁴ Anonymous Informant. July 12 2022.

Matrilineage was enthroned as the paramount Fon of Awing in 1950.²⁰⁵ Recently the newly enthroned paramount on of Awing is a great grand son of Mbenjom by Matrilineage.²⁰⁶

It is discovered that the refusal to entertain intra-clan or intra-quarter relationship kept in doubt the relationship between Awings in the pre colonial and colonial period as it was not calm. The British reports presented the Bamenda zone as a zone of conflict between, 1916 and 1950.²⁰⁷ With this we can understand that the reasons responsible for the hostility of this people could be because of the colonial administration. A clear example was Fon Ayafor who suffered in the hands of the colonial authority as he went to prison.²⁰⁸

To resume this presentation, shows us that conflicts that existed between Awings were a reality and actual historiography doesn't permit us to present in a specific manner this different conflicts which lives the field of history opened, also the is need to regonised that Awing mineful of their problems developed strategies which brought calm and also pushed them to face external tensions.

Inter-tribal conflicts encountered by the Awing people

Right from the occupation of its present side, the people of Awing have witnessed so many inter-tribal conflicts with villages like Akum, Njong, Bali-gham, and Bamu-kubit. And the reasons for such confontations were most of the time related to questions of land, expantionist policies of it neighbors which will on a bigger part display in the consequent chapter. The mutations of tribes in the North West Region of Cameroon is not a new phenomenon, and many factors have been responsible for such movements as it spans the life of all humanity. In pre-colonial Africa tribes migrated in search of food, trade by barter and sometimes natural disasters and most important some tribes migrated as a result of harsh European policies. It will be important to know the different ethnic groups of the Bamenda Grassfield as displayed in the table below and also we shall display the different tribal conflicts witnessed by the Awing people. With this we can understand that the reason for the hostility of this people could also be entertain by British or German colonial administrations.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ His Royal Highness Fon Ngogeh III. Successor to Ayafor. He was the 12th Fon in line since the Fondom of Awing was created. He reigned from 1950-1998. He sat on the Awing throne for 48 years.

²⁰⁶ Interview with anonymous person. 12 July 2022.

²⁰⁷ Mac-Gregor report on the political situation in British Cameroon in League of Nations report 1950.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Apongde Pascal, 45 years, Writer and Awing Native, Yaounde, 4 December 2021.

²⁰⁹ RAB, "Intelligence Report on the Village groups occupying the Ngemba Native Authority area of the Bamenda Division of Cameroon Province", January 1944.

Table 7: A Presentation Ethnic Groups and Villages in the North West Region.

Ethnic group	Villages
Tikar	Kom, Nso, Oku, Mbiame, Wiya, Tang, War, Bum, Bafut, Mbaw, Fungom, Mmen, Bamunka, Babungo, Bamessi, Bmessing, Bafanji, Baba, Bangolan, Big-babanki, Babanki-Tungo.
Widikum	Esimbi, Beba-Befang, Mankon, Ngemba, Ngie, Ngwo, Moghamo, Meta.
Chamba	Bali-Nyonga, Bali-Kumbat, Bali-Gangsin, Bali-Gashu, Bali-Gham.
Tiv	Aghem Federation.
Mbembe	Mbembe, Misaje, Mfumte.

Source: Paul Nkwi, "Traditional Diplomacy A study of Inter-Chiefdom Relations in Western Grassfields, North West Region of Cameroon", Thesis of sociology, Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde 1987.

From the above Table we can see the Ethnic Groups that collectively constitute the Bamenda Grassfields. The lives of people of this region is coloured by migration as a result to promote their expansionist policies during the Pre-colonial and Colonial periods, and Awing been classified under the *Ngemba* is not indifferent to these realities as they have faced a series of confrontations with their neighbors as seen in the table below.

Table 8: A Presentaion of Conflicts Witness by Awings.

Conflict	Periods
Awing-Akum Conflict	1998-1999
Awing-Njong Conflict	1999
Awing- Bamukubit Conflict	ND
First Awing Baligham Conflict	1926
Second Awing-Baligham Conflict	1998-1999
Third Awing-Baligham Conflict	2011

Source.Compiled by Author.

As seen in the table above, the people of Awing have witness so many confrontations with their neighbors as a result of the latters expansionist policies which is a threat to the sovereignty of the Awing people. The principal threat faced by this people came from their Neighbors Bali-Gham who according to oral history²¹⁰migrated from the West region of Cameroon to their present site there by , marking the start of hostilities between this two neighbors as well elaborated in the subsequent chapter where we shall see the role played by the Traditional Institutions in Awing in this conflict and not forgetting the role played by the administration in collaboration with these traditional institutions in finding long lasting solutions to this conflict . In this line we shall pay an attention to the Awing-Baligham

²¹⁰ Interview with Akondi Samson, Former Mayor of Santa, Douala, January 18 2022.

conflict which according to oral history started in 1919 with the first major escalation in 1926. Our research obliged us to present this case because both villages have some points of similarity for example like their migration, settlements, agricultural activities which have always been a reason for tension in the area. We cannot talk of conflict in Awing without mentioning this aspect of their history which we thought wise of presenting as seen below.

Case Study: The Awing-Baligham Conflict of 1926, 1998 and 2011.

According to oral history, the migration of Awing and Baligham is a cause for the Awing-Baligham conflict of 1926. It is said that the people of Awing came from East Congo and migrated with the widikum before settling in their present side, while the people of Baligham later came from a place in French Cameroon Ba-gham situated in the west region of Cameroon.²¹¹ The causes for this conflict can be revealed below:

Cause of the Awing Baligham Conflict of 1926.

On their time of arrival the people of Awing because of their fear of colonial invasion migrated to the hills and later coming back meet the people of Baligham on their land. It is important to note that the people of Awing first settled a people there called Kon-kah²¹² so coming down they expected to meet this people but to their surprise they meet a new neighbor they did not know this created the first vague of tensions between both villages. Also another reason for the Awing-Baligham conflict of 1926 was the disruptive bounding demarcation tentatives of Baligham. As an informant says:

The people of Awing due to their magnitude and kindness in the reign of *Fon Ayafor* 1911-1958, gave a portion of land to Baligham to settle down, and it was agreed that this people had to respect the stipulated bounding given to them but with time the people of Baligham started having an expansionist policy which brought a lot of tension in the area.²¹³

In this light we can see that the non-respect of the bounding agreement by the Baligham people contributed to tension between both villages as an informant from Baligham who pleaded his identity should be kept secret says “The People of Awing had vast portions of land which were not exploited. The Baligham people on their part had a fast

²¹¹ S. Shawood, Assistant Divisional Officer, The Ngemba Assessment Report in the Bamenda Division 1937.

²¹² S. Shawood, Assistant Divisional Officer, The Ngemba Assessment Report.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

growing population and there was need for expansion”.²¹⁴ This point of view could explain the reasons for the tensions which existed during this period.

The Course of the War.

At the time the people of Baligham arrived, the people of Awing were in a place in Awing called *Alameti*.²¹⁵ The people of Awing were neither aware that their former neighbors Kong-Kah had retreated to their old location²¹⁶ and enabling the people of Baligham to settle in that area, when the people of Awing left the hills and came back down upon meeting the Baligham people there were series of confrontations which had tremendous consequences.

Consequences of the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 1926.

To begin with, as a result of the conflict the people of Awing reiterated their desire as the sole owner of the land and had one main objective which was to dislodge the people of Baligham whom they saw as invaders and this mission was not truly achieved because of the British intervention.

Also as another consequence was that Fon Ayafor of Awing was arrested and sent to the prison in Bamenda.²¹⁷ But with time some notables of Awing went to prison in his place.²¹⁸

Another consequence was that there was an uneasy calm that returned in Awing as the *Fon* did not want to go to prison again. After the disappearance of *Fon Ayafor* there came *Fon Ngongeh III* 1954-1998 who at the beginning was slow to react to provocations of his neighbors as the notables he had at his disposal were witnesses of past events and did not want to go to war again but with time and the coming of the new generation there was a change of policy which later led to new tensions in the area.²¹⁹

The Awing-Baligham Conflict of 1998/1999 and Causes.

The central cause of the conflict of 1998 is the land dispute which have existed for a long time before the coming to power of *Fon Fozoh II* of Awing on the 4th May 1998. As a result of the expansionist policy of Baligham who did not respect the principle of good faith

²¹⁴ Anonymous Informant, 51 years, Baligham Native, Yaounde, 5 January 2021.

²¹⁵ Interview with Ntsokefoo Peter Akote, 58 years, Awing Elite, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

²¹⁶ The people of Kong-Kah originally came from Babadjo in the West region of Cameroon; they migrated to Awing as a result of a succession dispute that erupted in their village before they were settled by Awing.

²¹⁷ Interview with Ernest Akofor, 56 Years, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 5 January 2021.

²¹⁸ Interview with Tata Amapoh John Chefor, 65 Years, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 5 January 2021.

²¹⁹ *Idem*.

in past agreements with Bali-Gham. Also the disappearance of *Fon* Ngogeh III and the coming to power of *Fon* Fozoh II was seen by the conflictual neighbors of Awing like a sign of weakness, as an interview with the *Fon* of Awing confirms this:

The year 1998 was a challenging year for me as my coming to power was marked by a vague of conflicts with my neighbors. Sure this was as a result of my youthfulness as my conflicting neighbors saw it as a sign of weakness which was not the case for me as I was determined to prove them wrong by developing strategies to bring lasting solutions to these problems.²²⁰

We can see that this situation kept Awing vulnerable to attacks and on the another side the new *Fon* started having pressure from his masses to stop all diplomatic negotiations and attack Baligham as this people were considered as people who donot respect the principle of good faith²²¹ leading to the conflict of 1998.

Course of the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 1998.

-The non-respect of the fig tree boundary agreement by the people of Baligham leading to tension and expansionist policy of this people.²²²

-The kidnapping tendencies and hostilities from both camps.²²³

-Between May 8th and 18th the people of Baligham kidnapped and killed a pupil of Government School *Menkondekong* taking an adavantage of the youthfulness of the *Fon* as they knew he will not react immeidately.²²⁴

-The Pick of tension was witnessed on the 20th May as news were received during the unity day celebrations in the Awing Marching stand at the Big Market in Awing that, the people of Baligham had attacked Awing, the was a prompt reaction which had tremendous consequences as seen below.

Consequences of the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 1998.

- Distruction of properties and losses of lives from both parts.
- Government intervention and the creation of commissions to bring lasting solutions to the conflict.
- The conflict created tension in santa as beyond as the was the fear of the unknown among natives of both villages. For example, in Bamenda town

²²⁰ Interview with the *Fon* of Awing, HRH *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing, Awing palace in the Awing Palace in Nkolbissong Yaounde, July 13 2022.

²²¹ R. Kolb, *Good faith in international law*, London, Hart Publishing, 2019, p. 6.

²²² Interview with Akondi Samson, 61 years, Awing Elite, Douala, 13 March 2021.

²²³ Interview with Akondi Samson.

²²⁴ Interview with Peter Akote, 58 years, Awing Elite, Limbe, 13 March 2021.

Awing people did not express themselves in their language in areas occupied by the people of Baligham for fear of aggression be it physical or physical.

- The Fon of Awing wrote a report on the 17th April 2006 to the administration informing them that the people of Baligham have broken the cease fire agreement between both villages.²²⁵

The Awing Bali-gham Conflict of 2011.

For the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 2011 the reasons were still same as the main reason was the expansionist policies of the people of Baligham and addind to this Both parties found it difficult to respect the decision of commissions installed in this area. Also another reason responsible for the conflict was the constant unstability of government officials in relation to the matter, as a government administrator will engage a process of dialogue and reconciliation but before the latters actions are malterialized he is muted to another area making the situation difficult as a new administrator will need to study the file before engaging a process of conflict resolution which might waste time and not heal fruits.

Course of the Awing-Baligham conflict of 2011.

Tensions escalated as a result of the failures of commissions created to bring lasting solutions to the conflict. the seizure of womens food in the disputed land area by the Baligham population. Failure of diplomatic tools by the Fon of Awing in the resolution of the conflict.

Consequences of the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 2011.

The creation of commissions by the government to bring lasting solutions to the conflict. As commission members we are going to have the members of the government, representatives of both villages, mediators and the traditional rulers of both villages.²²⁶

Also the developmental associations of both villages are going to engaged a process of arbitration to bring lasting solutions to this conflict for example in Awing with its developmental association Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association and its emblematic president at that time in the name of Peter Akote played a very important role as engaged a consultation process with the President of the Baligham Development Association, whose efforts are going to trigger the processus of conflict resolution in the Area.

²²⁵ *Idem.*

²²⁶ Interview with Ntumfor Nico Halle, 70 yeras Awing Elite, Douala, 13 March 2021.

In the same Development religions personalities also brought in their contributions in the bring solutions in the Awing-Baligham conflict and this is seen with the actions of catholic officials in collaboration with presidents of developmental associations. The actions of Revered Father Eric Ngalame who brought both villages together by acting as a mediator to the two conflicting villages represented by the presidents of their developmental associations as seen in the image below.

Plate 11: A mediation Session by Father Eric Ngalame of Baligham with the Presidents of Developmental Associations of Awing and Bali-gham.



Source: Peter Akote Photo Album, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

From the image above we can see one of the consequences of the Awing-Baligham Conflict of 2011 as we clearly see the role played by religious institutions in situations of conflicts. These institutions played a great role in reducing these conflicts.

In the same development the elites of both villages will play a tremendous role in collaboration with the administration to draw a bounding demarcation between both villages so as to reduce the tension in the area. Their actions will clearly be seen in 2009 with a joint effort from the government and the administration.

Conclusion

Through out this articulation which was centered on the presentation of traditional institutions and types of conflicts in Awing. After a brief introduction of this chapter we then

moved further to present the different traditional institutions like the *Fon*, *Kwifor*, Traditional Council, Notables, Quarter Heads, Regulatory Societies, Women Notability, and Traditional Developmental Associations. After presenting this institution we brought out their roles in the resolution of conflicts in Awing which affects the day to life of the Awing Man. We then proceeded by bringing out the second part of this articulation which was centered on the presentation of the types of conflicts in Awing as there is no society in the world which is void of conflicts.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS AND ACTIONS OF TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS IN AWING

Introduction

It appears that an assembly of traditional institutions act for the promotion of peace in our zone of study. This culture of peace is an essential element in co-existence between Awing and her neighbors. That is why, the present section is interested in the dynamics and mechanisms which permit to avoid or resolving conflict. With this the elephant question which is of interest is what are the logic and instruments used by the traditional institution in order to resolve conflict in our locality.

3.1. PHILOSOPHY AND MECHANISM OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AWING.

The notion of the philosophy of resolution of conflict belongs to a culture. We are in the case of an autonomous culture of the people of Awing. With this there is need to understand that Awing acts by the ticket of a sufficient authority in order to affirm its unity and relationship to peace. The Awing man has the tendency of avoding law impose by an external authority.¹It results thus that, the Awing people have a vision in which the world is a structure in which coordinated efforts of men imposes an order of peace. This vision according to Javeau says an organisation is considered as a structure by which coordinated efforts of man attain superior results as a result of their individual efforts. This condition inview of a bigger efficiency is assumed by a structure of authority which attributes its notion of objective to a central dimension.² This aspect of things permits us to say the reduction of war activities in the Awing village constructed a dynamic, kept in place a harmonious cultural diplomatic relationship by this, we can say the was a culture for peace in Awing.The child grows into and within the cultural heritage of his people. He imbibes his culture in the traditional society.

The child observes, imbibes and mimics the action of his elders and siblings. He watches the naming ceremonies, religious services, marriage rituals, traditional court verdicts. He witnesses the coronation of a king or Chief. The political and social organisation of Awing has to be understood as a tool of functionalism in the measure that it helps to evacuate the problem witnessed. In a critical point of view of sociological functionalism, the Fon of Awing

¹Interview with Pa Kumase, 71 years, Awing Elite, Douala, 13 March 2021.

² C. Javeau, *Understanding Sociology*, Paris, Marabout University, 1976, p.190.

is at the head of social organisation in Awing and by this he is the protector of the vision of social organisation which is a platform of social cohesion.

This customary chief even in the modern era has the obligation to coordinate the intergration of Awings with their neighbors. Consequently, the *Fon* of Awing has the duty to maintain a good relationship with her neighbors. This act is welcome by the population who will educate their children by taking into consideration the exigences of traditional concensus between Awings and their neighbors. With this we need to proceed by an organisational analysis which permits us to pose the question what are the laws imposed by the Awings so as to maintain peace? To answer this there is need to take in consideration the demands and objectives of this people at the level of their social relationships.

We are in the case of functional sociology which calls for the use of necessary elements so as to impose peace. This concerns an ideology in service of those who are more concern in decision making like elites or calling for a modernism for a liberal vision of progress.³ With this the ideology of peace is related to the traditional education that younger Awings received, a system of education which favors the separation of power and domination between the teenagers and social elders without taking into consideration traditional environmental institution its important to note that the Awings have made education the pillar of their relationship with neighbors.⁴ Here we could talk of an ideology or philosophy as order of reality. The child in the traditional society cannot escape his cultural and physical environments. This shows that any human which grows up in a particular way is likely to be infused with the culture of that society. The Methods of conflict resolution goes the sameway as it was practised from generation to generation and it became a law as certain practices which had a barbaric nature were banished as a result of time.

3.1.1-The notion of conflict and its acceptance by the Awing community.

The notion of conflict appears as a fact that permits communities to find themselves in this Africa in minatiure which is Cameroon. It appears that the extreme diffrences of environment of communities had to add distance between people. In effect geography informs us 1200 km are kept in evidence between the North and South Cameroon.⁵ Taking note of this we can ask ourselves how did the people of Awing as a result of their social interactions succeed to construct a social control? We could ask ourselves questions to know if land

³ M. Wiewiorka Resume par D. martinet P. Royer, « l 'Intervention institutionelle en travail social », pp. 41-42 Publie dans l'ouvrage, *L etat des sciences sociales en France*.

⁴ Interview with Tata Mofor, Aing Prince, Awing, 13 March 2022.

⁵ J.C. Klotchkoff, *Africa in Minature*, 1996, hors Serie, pp. 233 234.

richness is a sign of problems in Awing. The results doesnot permit us to accept these in relation to others. Also it appears that the question of responsibility is ask, in another word it is possible to construct a Cameroon disconnected of certain independent fore fathers.

For this there is a need to analyse refrences which permits us to say in Cameroon all citizens act on their own so as to construct an Africa in miniature. ⁶The present work will have sought out to understand the settled population in this study, with this no ethnological approach can answer the problem. It appears that (this zone is a tropical Africa, humid. These high plateaus, where relief are covered by plantations and great pastures were large cattles are seen).⁷ The present analysis questions the necessity to understand why culture can be a factor of antagonism in a certain manner the use of culture. In a society which combines a time lineage aspect with decentralised societies the existence of conflict is paradoxal. In effect strong traditional institutions lead the population to compromises as they see the image of the *Fon* of Awing as a father and influence in the resolution of conflict. It is thus difficult to see a conflict stay for a long period of time as conflicts reported to the *Fon* is always taken note by the latter and his decision is law.⁸

The *Fon* here plays the role of supreme judge, referee, in that he is the one who can question the decisions of inferior instances like notables, quarter heads, secret societies at this level we could ask ourselves if the people of Awing see the decisions of the *Fon* in the domain of conflict resolution right. In this line, we convocated an informant to respond to this.⁹ Who thinks that the social organisation of Awing insists on the respect of elders whose emblematic figure is the *Fon*, at this level the refusal to accept all decision taken by him is considered a taboo and disrespect to the ancestors.

From these level conflicts according to the people Awing can be defined as an assembly of misunderstandings, disputes between individuals, clan or quarters. The Awing community considers living together as a means to deepen their philosophy of life and enforces customs. Traditional ceremonies, rituals, festivals are many elements that permits the *Fon* to put an end to these misunderstanding. Also the fact that the *Fon* takes into consideration the opinionsof his notables permits a general decision taking with notables. For Martin Ngu Ndumu this is important as it is the principal characteristics of the *Fon*:

The *Fon* is the first personality of the village. He is the most respected and even revered person in the *Fondom*. In fact, he is considered a deity in

⁶ J.C. Klotchkoff, *Africa in Miniature*.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 233.

⁸ Interview with Tata Mofoh, Prince, Awing, March 13 2022.

⁹ Interviw with Mama, Awing Man, Awing, March 13 2022.

human incarnation. Since he is undoubtedly the first personality of the realm, in return, the highest, human qualities are expected of him in fairness, honesty, incorruptibility, productivity, prowess, in hunting and warfare. The *Fon*, as a person, should never participate in any criminal activity. All ugly aspects of human endeavours, except war, are turned away from the *Fon*.¹⁰

Therefore, the power of the *Fon* is not absolute in the sense that he is a divine *Fon*, seen in the *Kwofoo* who can contest in rare exceptions certain decisions taken by the *Fon*. The former acts as an assembly which delegates executive powers to the *Fon* to act on behalf of the *Fondom*. In case, of the injustice of the *Fon* the *kwifor* disposes of the right to punish to or remove him from the throne.¹¹ At this level there exist a conflict between traditional law and administrative law. In effect the traditional law suggests that the *kwofoo* be competent in matters of crimes, which makes that the decision of *kwofoo* surpasses that of the *Fon*. On the other hand, the *Fon* is an auxiliary of the administration the only one recognised by the state whose decision is taken into consideration by the judicial instances in Awing.

Also the Awing society provides that it is not the responsibility of the *Fon* to declare war to another village, clan or quarter as he only has the competence in the traditional point of view to condemn to death criminals after judgement. He could also exile some inhabitants because of their behaviors. In the same line, positive law is against the traditional competence of justice in Awing. It is also noted that the personality of the *Fon* is important in its way to render justice. In effect, custom and religion are certain aspects that certain *Fons* put in front in the resolution of conflict. In Awing the altitude to start a ceremony by praying to the ancestors gives a secret dimension to all decisions taken in deliberations.

The existence of libertions makes the *Fon* the highest priest of traditional religion as he has obligation to render tributes to the ancestors. In consequence, no conflict or problem has to take place during sacrifices and ritual ceremonies. The individuals which is seen guilty of violations of this fact exposes itself to be submitted to the anger of the spirits of the ancestors. To resume the Awing people are conscient that relationships between individuals cannot be existing without conflict. It is the reason in which this people have made traditional authority the central point and regulator of its social model. In this title the *Kwofoo* plays a role of guardian in what transmit demands and aspirations of the people to the *Fon*.¹² The oral tradition that brought the Awings from North East Congo¹³ is similar to that of the *widikum* of eastern banthu, different clans make a mixture of different traditional altitude, inconformity

10. M. Ngu. Ndumu, *A Short History and Culture of Bamenda-Nkwe*. Bamenda, Full Gospel press, 2018, p.29.

¹¹ *Ibid* p. 30.

¹² *Printing Awing N°01* p. 8.

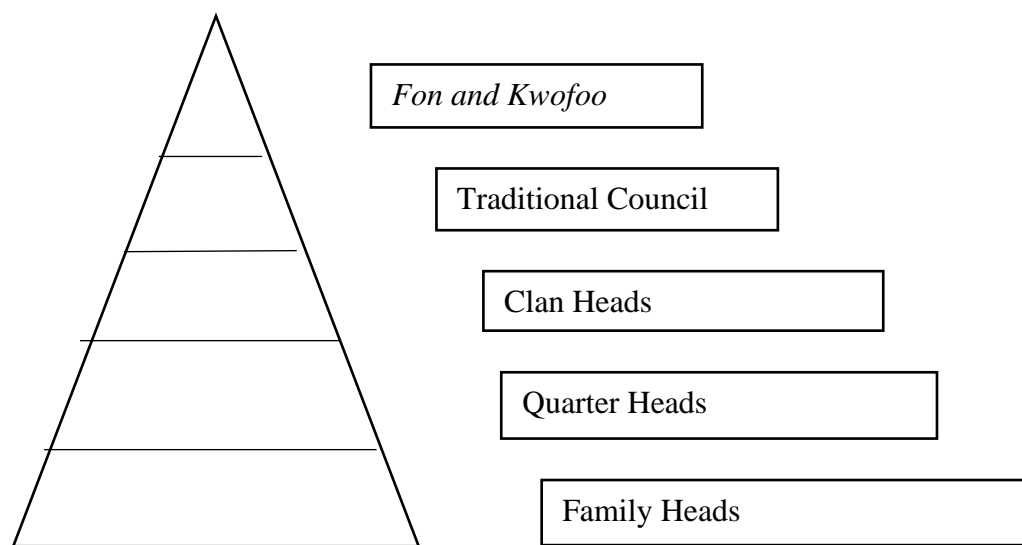
¹³ *Ibid*. p. 9

with legends like the myths of Lake Awing. Here we see the idea of ancestors whose rule is to guide the society. Ntumfor Nico Halle says the history of the Awing people is registered in an environment where violence, war, and conflict are excluded as it brings nothing positive.¹⁴

3.1.2 THE JUDICIAL PYRAMID OF AWING

Taking this into consideration we can say dialogue is the main means used by Awings in order to resolve their differences and it is accompanied by the convocation of elders, distribution of gifts in order to render favourable decisions taken by different judicial pyramids of the Awing people.

Figure 3: The Judicial Pyramid of the Awing People.



Source: Figure produced by author from interviews in Awing.

No Matter what each instance of this pyramid is in function of the types of problems encountered by the Awing people. This is why we can say the culture of dialogue and peace has permitted the Awing people to maintain a good relationship with her neighbors so as to preserve their boundaries. With this there is need to say there is a good relationship between Awing and the public administration which illustrates their diplomatic spirit. We can say that it is this combination which makes the Awing people to develop relations of friendship and solidarity which has facilitated economic and social development which desire has let to the putting in place of the Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association. In view of all these there is need to understand the resolution of conflict in Awing is connected to the social organisation of the Awing people.

¹⁴ *Printing Awing* N°01 p. 13.

3.1.3. The Management of conflict is connected to social organisation of Awing

It is important to understand when we talk of resolution of conflict we are interested in violence and misunderstandings registered in a precise time and mobilises social instances of the Awing community. In a simple word it is to know the traditional role of social repartition as source of methods of mediation, negotiation, and arbitration. It is the reason in which the Awing society in order to understand the reasons or preferences to this diplomatic means, there is need to consult the African culture in general and Awing in particular. We need to note that authors like William Zartman have worked in this field.¹⁵ The presentation made by this author shows an important political distinction between the traditional conception of promotion of peace and modern conception. We are in the domain of culture which is in a specific sense.

In effect the Awing culture is the same in all parts of the village and the methods of conflict management are the same in the whole village. The management of conflict can be considered as the focal point where decisions describe the social environment of the Awing people. In another way we can only explain a decision by taking note of the nature of those in the traditional arbitration court. In other to talk of peace there is need to talk of the social organisation of Awing. In social sciences culture is by essence autonomous which submits it to a critical rationality in the measure that all culture has a way to consider the world with its relationship with others. The cultural vision of Awing in matters of promotion of peace is to consider as an accomplished and self-sufficient unity.¹⁶ It is the reason in which for Awings before talking about conflict resolution, there is need to talk of the different instruments of promotion of peace and also the way in which they can integrate these elements in the socio-cultural organisation. We will start from the principle in which all cultures are a law which imposes submission.

It is the reason in which the people of Awing by their centralisation have decided that the history of its social relations have to be written by taking into consideration conditions in the socio-cultural sphere. In another word the Awings are witnesses of the social image their society wants to give to others. This principle which is followed in modernity in documentary knowledge had pushed Eboussi Boulaga to talk of [Intellectual critic]¹⁷. It is the reason in which societal life in Awing, the degree of comprehension of tradition permits to say or situate historical responsibilities which concern each social actor in the preservation of peace.

¹⁵I.W. Zartman, "Introduction:African traditional Conflict" in *Traditional cures for Modern conflicts : African Conflict Medicine*, Boulder Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, p. 4.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷ F. Eboussi Boulaga, " L'intellectuel critique", in *politique Africaine*, N° 05, 1993, pp.26-34.

This fact is very important because the resolution of conflict between villages, clans, permits to measure the function and efficiency of instances of governing of the Awing people. We could ask ourselves while do the Awings reject the processus of mediation. To understand this there is need to consult the definition of certain authors. Claremont and Davies who define mediation as the process in which the parties to a dispute, calls for the assistance of a dispute resolution practitioner, who identify the disputed issues, develop options consider alternatives and endeavour to reach an agreement.¹⁸

In this work we donot accept this intellectual posture in the measure that, the organisation of the Awings refused the introduction of external factors in the management of this conflicts.¹⁹ With this there is need to interrogate the way Awings handle conflictual situations, they donot choose them but take into consideration that the stability of the community is related to the way social instances react first. We therefore consider that family, clan, quarter, creat favourable conditions which permits to push an engagement for all peace. Also there is need to note that wars which can weaken the aspect of decisions taken by the social organisation in matters of conflict. It is the reason in which an informant insisted on the fact that " each family heads, quarter or clan disposes of the right of auto-determination in which he can use "²⁰. Customs at this level becomes itself an obstacle in the pacific co-existence between the Awings. The experience we gathered from pacipative observation is that the groups dynamic in matters of resolution of conflict is in function of different elements like Experience witnessed by those in the cycle of decisions, The perception and environment which they find themselves, The social and financial objectives, the promotion of order and custom.²¹

Taking this into consideration, we have accepted the fact that the behaviour of Awings faced with questions of conflict results in the expression of social control. In the following investigations we observe that political considerations influence the resolution of conflicts for Awings, in this the bad relationships which are inter-personal seen in the Awing community results from ignorance, fear, personal interest, corruption, manipulation. It is the reason in which this work questions the continuity of the social organisation on the mentality of individuals in view to construct a social wellbeing for the Awings. In the line of our research,

¹⁸ R. Claremont and L. Davies "Dispute resolution without going to court" In *The Law Handbook :Your practical guide to the law in south wales* [eds] by S. Basam and D. Gardiner. Sydney, Thomson, reuters [professional] Australia limited, 12th edition, 2012, p. 558.

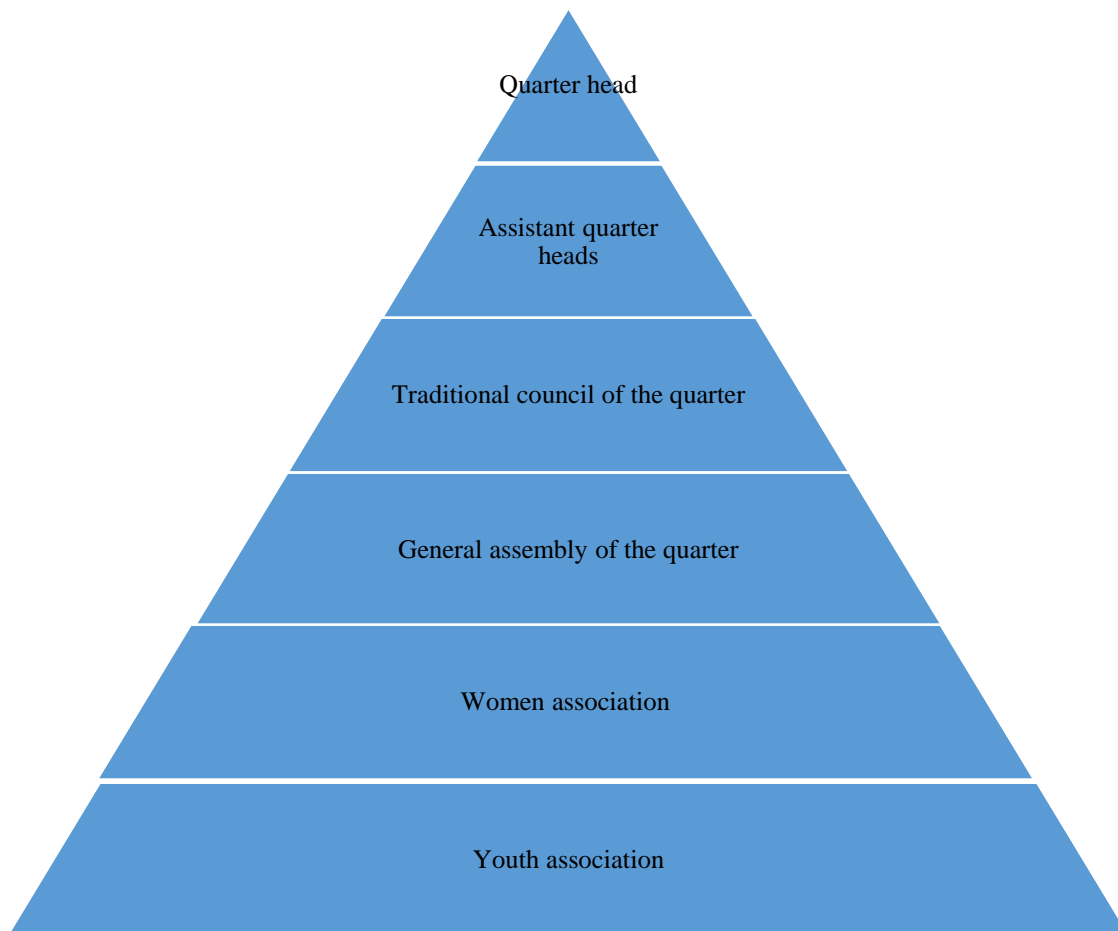
¹⁹ Interview with Pa Ndifor Samson, Awing Elite Bertoua, July 2 2022.

²⁰ Interview with Pa Foran Best, Awing man, Yaounde July 19 2022.

²¹ P. Claval, "Le role des recits Fondateurs dans les sciences sociales" in *Geographie et Culture*. 1993. pp. 115-132.

it appears that an organisation principle which permits us to make in evidence functionalism paradime in the study of organisations. It appears that the Awing village understands sub-structures commonly called quarters which disposes of a specific organisation in the means of conflict resolution is envisaged and managed. Taking this into consideration we can say that the social body of a quarter in Awing disposes of a social justice structure which is a reflection of the organisation of a quarter, below is the presentation of this organisation.

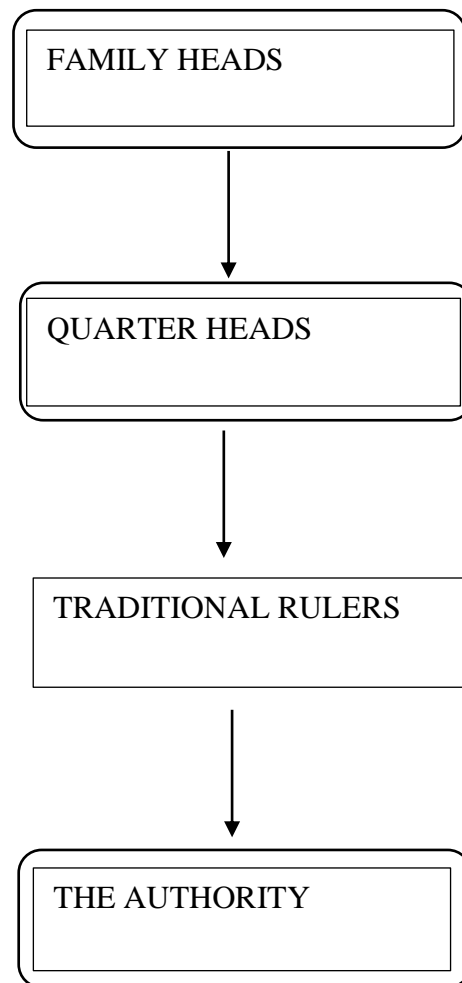
Figure 4: The Pyramid of Social Representation and Instances of justice in a quarter in Awing.



Source: Mbamoh Solomon Ngemita, the Quarter Head of the Mbemu quarter in Awing, Yaounde, 13 February 2022.

This figure which was given to us by one of our informants is not shared by all researchers that work on this, some researcher's priviledge the global structure as the only guardian of justice without taking into consideration their sub-division, auxiliary organs which influence the taking of decisions in Awing.

Figure 5: The Channel of Conflict Resolution in Awing



Source: Compiled by Author.

This diagram is does related to the structurised theory which makes us to understand that for Awings hierarchy is the only way in which conflict resolution can be done while the first figure is more illustrative. This is understood in the diagram above we clearly see the philosophical channel of conflict resolution in Awing which has been practised still date. With this diagram when a conflict occurs in the Awing community it has a channel it follows before it will be resolved. Conflicts are first handled in the family level where we see the Family heads who try to bring long lasting solutions incase of grievances, and when the conflict is more complicated they can bring it to Quarter heads who on their own in case of short comings bring it up to the Traditional ruler who in his traditional jurisdiction works with the notables and the traditional council to bring lasting solution to this problem. But in cases of murder the traditional ruler reports the case to the competent authority that with its competent jurisdiction will bring solutions the conflict. It is important that to note that the

state is the last option in case of a conflict. There are conflicts that can still end at the level of the family and quarter heads like Extra-Marital conflicts and theft. Conflicts on land, Witch craft, aggravated theft are handled at the level of the traditional rulers while crimes like Murder and persisted land disputes are forwarded to the competent administration for long lasting solutions. Conflicts in Awing were resolved differently throughout time resume in ancient and contemporal methods of conflict resolutiobn as seen below. From this the quarter becomes a judicial organisation in which, the quarter head plays the role of a judge²² when he is reported a case. In the French system he can be considered as a first degree judge who acts in function to the offences and satisfaction of parties. It is why he is consulted, other structures also act like the association of youths and women which are platforms where they debate and try to bring solutions to conflictual issues. At this level, there is need to releivate the important role of the president of the association in the resolution of conflict. The latter is finaced by the Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association who influence them to be a key element in the resolution of conflict in Awing.

Taking into consideration the functional approach, the vision, the social and political organisation of the quarter can push individuals in conflictual situations to search for concessus by adapting to decisions taken by these first two structures. Also it happens that difficulties surfaces in the system of conflict resolution in associations and there is need to call the general assembly of the quarter. This recent structure wants to be a platform of intergration and harmonization that is why, in this work we are intrested in the behaviour we can releivate between a structure and organisation. The aim objectives in the quarters obliges conflictual parties to respect or reject judicial decisions. Peace in this domain becomes a mode of life and can be considered as an ideology at the service of those who have the easiest influence on decision-making, the elites or to call for a modernism that disregards relationships of domination in favour of a liberal vision of progress.²³

The objective of the intervention of the general assembly of the quarter on social and judicial questions doesnt have an absolute character as the plentive can make the traditional council of the village to intervene. The latter is the guardian of the Awing customary rights faced with modern values defended by the general assembly of the quarter. The importance of the power it diposes permits the latter to impose on inferior instances its decisions. It can be

²² Interview with Pa Tenyi Atseh, Awing Elite, Yaounde, 21 June 2022.

²³ M.Wieviorka in D. Martin and P. Rayern, *Institutional Intervention on a Social Work*, Paris, Harmattan, 1987. pp. 41-42.

seen as a court of appeal who can sent the problem at the level of the assistant quarter heads for reflection and analyses before the final arbitration of the quarter head.

These organisation is thus a reality which maintains the internal management system of problems by the clans in Awing by taking into consideration their diversification and also social changes intervening in the quarters. This is why Michel Crozier notes " That the sources of dysfunction are not to be found in people or structures, but in the rules of the game that govern relationships".²⁴ In view of all this, the resolution of conflict in Awing permits us to understand the modality of management of social organisation in Awing, the structuring and perfecting of individuals who live in Awing. In the same line we shall be intrested in the methods of conflict resolution in Awing.

3.2. TRADITIONAL AND MODERN METHODS OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AWING.

Conflict Management are one of the aspects of cultures of societies. It appears that each state, each society or clan have defined instruments which permits them to do war or put an end to war. We can identify the traditional conception of management conflict which is opposed to modern problems. We are going to be intrested at a time on the traditional methods of conflict resolution on one side and on the other we are going to talk of the contemporal methods of conflict resolution.

3.2.1. Traditional Methods of Conflict Management in Awing.

The Awing society like all social organisation auto-regulates that is in the point of view of social history. There exist a dialetic which wants that war and peace necessitates methods in matters of peace and war for the Awings. We can thus say the Awing society in the traditional or customary point of view disposes of certain diversified or varied elements in conflict resolution which can be called the internal or traditional methods of management of conflict.²⁵ This is the reason we can say through the presentation of the Awing society we can identify an assembly of tradition, mechanisms or elements which shows the value of the Awings in the aspect of pacific co-existence.

It is from this that we can say the Awings develop a vision and necessary means to assure the maintenance of peace. In the traditional point of view, culture is thus a strategy,

²⁴ M.Crozier, E. Fridberg, *L'acteur et le systeme*, Paris, Seuil, 1977. p. 113.

²⁵ C.D Nkiene, "Traditional and Modern methods of conflict resolution: The case of Balikumbat and her neighbours 1967-2011", Master's Dissertation in History, 2015. p.6.

traditional methods of conflict resolution has to be considered as it concerns the positive attitude of a people who try to establish a pacific relationship with its neighbors and internal units²⁶. Thus the present explanation permits to understand that an assembly of instruments of diplomacy are used in order to facilitate the living together among Awings. This fact is clean in the customary base and one can say the ways used by the Awings permits the relationship of power between the Awings and other organisational instances Associations, Quarter palaces, Paramount palace. The problems that are posed or those who already exist.

With these we can say the traditional methods of conflict resolution between the Awings and with their Neighbors permits us to measure the importance of tradition in negotiations. For example the Awings in order to resolve their conflict with their longtime conflictual partner Baligham used traditional conferences, encircled by rituals, libations in order to resolve misunderstandings.²⁷ It is evident that a strategical model is seen that permits to say in order to resolve concrete conflict problems between tribes, Awings put in place strategical actions which want that the relationship between chiefs should be a means of facilitating negotiations.

This logic and reason permits us to say in the resolution of conflicts Awings privilege negotiations, conciliation and arbitration.²⁸ This fact puts into question the approach of Nkiene Tinoh who thinks we cannot distinguish between conciliation and local negotiation.²⁹ It appears at this time that traditional logic is an assembly of methods which determines the functioning of social organisations in one word; it permits to observe concrete problems for the functioning of an organisation.³⁰ This is the reason in which actors who permitted the management and resolution of conflict in the Awing country are before all Quarter Heads, Paramount Chiefs³¹. It is the reason in which we can understand :

These traditional methods of conflict resolution generally fall under the alternative dispute resolution [ADR] which refers to a broad variety of measures other than litigation that try to make out resolutions to conflict that will be reciprocally acknowledged by the principle parties.³²

²⁶ C.D Nkiene, "Traditional and Modern methods of conflict resolution:

²⁷ Interview with, Pa Ngomessing, 46 Years, Awing man, Bamenda, July 19 2022.

²⁸ Interview with Ma Pekele Monica, Civil Servant, Yaounde January 4 2021.

²⁹ Nkiene Tinoh, "Traditional and Modern Methods of conflict resolution", p. 6.

³⁰ M. Crozier, *Le Phenomene Bureaucratique*, Paris, Seuil, 1963, p. 7.

³¹ Nkiene Tinoh, "Traditional and Modern Methods of conflict resolution", p.7.

³² Miller: *A glossary of terms in conflict resolution*, p.7.

With this the methods of negotiation and conciliation are the system in which the Awings manage their problems, we can site their conflict with Balighams or the high tension between clans. This is the reason in which we can put in evidence that tradition imposes on decision-making instances in Awing the necessity to avoid errors. We are here in a general System of domination made by an element or group which effects are successive damages through the whole social body.³³ In this type of perspective, the central interest of this work permits us to characterise the Awing country as a world with classification but in which games and objectives of conflict can encourage the population to react in order to install an order. We are in the perspective that Michelle Foucault kept in evidence when he thought that “The finality of power is less from conflicts between persons or the engagement of one to another...in the sense that we understand by this term not the management of the state, but the manner of controlling the altitudes of individuals or groups”.³⁴

It appears that the behaviour of individuals or group influence in a significative manner the fact that Awings understand themselves with others. Negotiations and conciliation a privililege means which thus, have instituted forms of traditional diplomacy. Through them we can measure the action mode and their possibilities.³⁵The historical perspective permits us to say conciliation and negotiation for Awings is an imposed form by their manner of living which organises this political and economic mode of life in the traditional point of view. With this how do the political organiations accept the modern methods of conflictManagement?

3.2.2.-Modern Strategies of Conflict Management in Awing.

The question of peace and war is a structural relationship between societies. Awings are not an exception of this logic and with the coming of colonisation be it in the German or British Era the Awings did not escape from the comprehension of the notion of peace as an institution. In effect colonization place an assembly of steps which we can present on many angles:

- Living together.
- Understanding and the acceptance of judicial decision.
- Respect of law.
- Applicability of decisions taken by superior instances.³⁶

³³ E. Goffmann, *Les rites d interaction*, Paris, Minuit, 1974 p.7.

³⁴ M. Foucault, *History of sexuality*, Paris, Galimard, 1976-1984, 3 vol p.12.

³⁵ J. Russ, *Theories of Power*, Paris, Librairie generale francaise, 1994. p.18.

³⁶ *Ibid.*p.6.

Colonial law inspired itself from the Justinian code which makes institution a means of introducing knowledge. Taking note of this, this work analyses the forms of conflict resolution in Awing and the nature of their relationship with neighbors and within themselves. In the same development it permits us to say peace is an institution as Awings understands the latter "An assembly of beliefs, mode of behaviour, instituted and imposed by the coloniser".³⁷

Also colonial laws were imposed on the people of Awing by stopping them in resolving their conflict through violence. The coloniser in effect which follows a civilisation mission finds this incompatible with the existence of ethnic conflict. According to Smith colonial order put an end to the African conception of conflict. Conflicts for the Europeans was an expression;" Dispute is present when two or more parties perceive that their interest are incompatible, express hostile attitudes or pursue their interest through actions that damage the other party."³⁸ This approach of conflict implies necessary an aspect not taking into consideration of African tradition which is mediation. If we know that the resolution of conflict integrates different instruments and methods and also it is evident that the right of treaty imposed by the administration in Cameroon and made of colonial administrators in matters of litigations, and this fact constitutes avoilation of the African tradition, which shows that initiatives of reconciliation are inside African societies³⁹

These aspects of things lead us to say colonial law in matters of conflict resolution brought a difference between customary laws and laws of persons which in a judicial perspective permits us to validate that peace as an institution is against social relationship. During the German colonisation the people of Awing learn to distinguish the mechanisms of conflict resolution in terms of treaty and in terms of acts which comes from persons⁴⁰. In one word they learn that the manner of resolution of conflict necessitates the presence of the administration this fact permits us to say conflict resolution was based on two aspects which are mediation and good officers imposition of peace.

On the second state colonisers also used their administrative law so as to impose peace as an institution in the Santa sub division. For the Awings, the notion of customary conciliation had to give place to the European conception, the latter who impose on the arbitration, mediation and good offices as methods of resolution of conflict. In this line what

³⁷ J.C. Ricci, *Introduction a l etude du Droit*, Paris, Hachette, 1993, pp.106-109.

³⁸ A.P. Schmid, *Theesaurus and Glossary of Early warnings and conflict prevention terms*, synthesisfoundation (Erasmus University) 1998, p.11.

³⁹ N. Peterson, "Mediation Dictionary : A Glossary of Terminology used in ADR and Mediation" 2007 , online at www.mediationdictionary.com , consulted in Yaounde on 20 June 2022 at 2 p.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 107

does this concept mean. For Clearmont and Davies Mediation is a process among parties which is necessary for conflict resolution. A mediator identifies the possibilities of management of conflict, possible evolution but also alternative approaches which can facilitate the return of peace.⁴¹ It results that for Awings their daily life was modified as confusions arose between the palace and the society in general faced with the presence of administrators in the management of conflict.⁴² Also the colonial institutional phenomenon permits us to understand the centrality of methods of conflict resolution that is why, in an explanatory manner this analyses questions the changes that the Awing society will face. With the new approach of conflict resolution we are confronted by a super position of culture and their confrontations in the sense of Michel Lobrot.⁴³

It is thus clear that colonisation was a factor of modification in the Awing society, when we take note of arbitration in matters of conflict resolution. We can observe that arbitral positions taken by the colonial administration in debit of culture and custom. That is why there is need to present the effective management in an empirical phase of mechanisms of conflict resolution for the Awings.

3.3. ACTIONS OF TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT IN AWING.

In the Ancient and Contemporary periods there were many methods guiding conflict resolution in the traditional African societies. Those who wanted their conflict to be resolved must have confidence in the tribunal that will resolve the dispute. There is a channel of resolution of conflict in Awing which with time has evolved. Be it ancient or contemporary the natural channel of conflict resolution practised by all Awings when faced with a problem can be seen below. In our work. The question of the implication of traditional institutions in conflict resolution appears as an essential factor that the international community takes note with an alternative. This last originated in South Africa, Burundi, to name a few shows us that through lectures we can see instruments for the management of conflict.⁴⁴

It appears that conflict resolution is an aspect or mechanism used in a general manner by African societies as a result of this, we can base ourselves on the approach of Emile

⁴¹ R. Clearmont and I. Davies “*Disputes without going to court*”, p. 558.

⁴² Interview with Ma Pekele Monica, Civil Servant, Yaounde, 2 January 2022.

⁴³ M. Lobrot, “Les voies du changement social, in perspective de *l’analyse institutionnelle*”, sous la direction de R. Hess et A. Savoy, Paris, Méridiens Klincksieck, 1998, p.224.

⁴⁴ Interview with Mr Ngopang, 43 years, Awing Elite, Awing, March 14 2022.

Durkeim who thinks that peace is an institution ie.an assembly of behaviour and rules.⁴⁵ With this the Awing society questions the notion of peace and tries to understand this notion. As a result of this the problem of this reflexive sector will constitute to present the different actors who are: Chiefs, Council of Notables, Women Associations, and Elites. In the same development traditional institutions by their actions permitted the Awings on one side to promote, resolve, and impose peace. That is why on this present reflexive presentation we shall be interested on the actions of Chiefs, Notables, Associations and Resource persons.

3.3.1. The Strategies of the Chief in the Resolution of Conflict in Awing.

In the Bamenda grassfield of Cameroon in General and Awing in particular where culture is deeply rooted in the lives of the people, effective local conflict resolution mechanisms were developed. The effectiveness and efficiency of these methods contributed immensely in the restitution of peace despite the little recognition of these methods by the states. The Awing people have witnessed a series of intra-extra conflict which made them to develop traditional conflict resolution mechanisms which help in promoting peace and resolving conflicts, the many conflicts that the Awing people were involved we saw the effectiveness of this methods and the traditional institutions in Awing. As such thanks to the traditional socio-political institutions as the Fon, the traditional council, secret societies and cultural associations, diverse indigenous methods were used in the resolution of conflicts. This chapter therefore seeks to bring out the different methods be it ancient or contemporary used in the resolution of conflict and the actions of traditional institutions to promote peace between the Awing people themselves and their neighbors.

The *Fon* occupies a central place in the management of traditional institutions in Awing, their prerogatives, competence and image determines the relationship of Awings with the tradition. This relationship permits the smooth functioning of the society in a specific manner as the chief acts as the guardian of the transmission of the tradition from generation to generation. The Chief has the obligation to maintain the cohesion of the Awing, this central position obliges him to intervene in a decisive manner in conflictual situations between the Awing people. The chief thus presides with methods of convocations. In effect, convocation supposes that the *Fon* when submitted a litigation which was first submitted to the inferior instances. In the Awing culture the concept of convocation is the basic element of all judicial

⁴⁵ E. Durkheim, *Les Regles de la methode sociologique*, Paris, Alcan, 1895, p.34.

procedures.⁴⁶ Also it is not possible to treat or resolve a conflict if the two parties are not present and with this said, convocation is an interpellation, a law, to appear in order to justify or defend yourself.

Taking note of this, the refusal to respond to a convocation is considered a taboo to the culture and the ancestors. The Chief disposes of the primody of the tradition which makes his convocation a respect; we can say a traditional convocation in Awing is a code which shows the submission of Awings to their traditional mode of life. With the Awing royal genealogy we can say different chiefs that succeeded followed the traditional methods of justice.⁴⁷ That is why it still remains a means of judgement, how is this possible. It's important to note mindful of modernity and independence the Awing population mindful of their non-humogenous character accepted to be submitted to the traditional laws. The chief proceeds by sending a convocation leaf or plant which signifies a convocation, in which the convocated is oblige to be present in the palce for a matter concerning him.

Plate 12: An illustration of an outward bent fig leaf plan in Awing.



Source: Apongde Pascal Photo Album, Yaounde, 23 February 2021.

The outward bent fig leaf in Awing is used when issues whose magnitudes are judged to be very high are concerned. That is in cases where the concerned ought to be arrested as per the judicial system. But what is peculiar here has to do basically with internal affairs; that is not including external or diplomatic issues. This form of fig leaf and its decoration is only used by the *Fon* and *Kwofoo*.⁴⁸ It doesnot spend the night with the recipient as tradition requires and due to mystical pressure that it incarnates. However, this type is typical of the

⁴⁶ Interview with Pascal Apongde, Awing Elite and Researcher, Awing, Febuary 21 Febuary 2021.

⁴⁷ Interview with Pascal Apongde.

⁴⁸ Apongde, "Fig Leaf as an Indigenou Covocation Letter in Awing", Master Dissertation in Anthropology, University of Yaounde I, 2014, p.30.

Mbenjom subsystem and has for some time now been gradually replaced by other procedures of convocation. The Chief acts as the auxiliary of the administration, as convocation for him is a way of affirming his power vis-a-vis his people and the administration.⁴⁹ That is the reason in which the different Awing clans have the obligation to give him allegians and tributes by thanking him for his protection as Apongde Pascal notes;

The *Fon* issues convocation letters which are usually in the form of folded fig leaf, dracaena camerooniana and lots more and equally metes out sanctions on deviant subjects when needs be, in keeping with the customary laws and tradition of the land; with the goal of ensuring peace, social justice and guaranteeing security.⁵⁰

The Chief presides the council of Notables and is the ultimate judge whose decisions taken in a group establishes a principle which cannot be contested. The spiritual dimension of the *Fon* makes sure that no body can contest the decision of the *Fon*.⁵¹ Also it can arrive that a conflict can appear as a result of his decisions and that of the national or Administrative justice. At this title the problem that is submitted to the chief cannot come directly to him without passing through two primary organs which are the *Kwofoo* and the Notables.⁵² This makes that each decision of the *Fon* cannot be taken without these two organs just like King James II needed bishops in England to rule his people the *Fon* of Awing cannot do without his *Kwofoo* and Notables. Through out the history of Awing, its Royal Rulers have displayed traditional strategies of Conflict Resolution when faced with conflict with their neighbors. As we are going to examine their actions in the Reign of Traditional Rulers in Awing who distinguish themselves through their actions in the domain of conflict management in Awing.

3.3.1.1. Case Study 1: The Action of *Fon* Ayafoo (1911-1947) in the Management of the Awing-Baligham Conflict in 1926.

Oral History says that the people of Baligham originated from the West French Cameroon in a place known as Bagham in a place called Gogsila, present day in the West Region of Cameroon. Their movement was facilitated by the desire to be under the British rule during the mandate period in Cameroon after the defeat of the Germans in 1916.⁵³

Oral history also accounts that by the time Baligham people arrived, the people of Awing were already having a boundary with Bagham at river noun, and when the Baligham people arrived the Awing people did not recognise them as their original

⁴⁹ Interview with Tenyi Amapoh, Awing Elite, Yaounde, July 19 2022. 2pm.

⁵⁰ Apongde, *Fig leaf*, p.32.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.34.

⁵² *Ibid*, p.42.

⁵³ V.J. Ngoh, p.23.

neighbours as the Awing people settled a group of people from babadjo in a place called gadiwa.⁵⁴ With time this people were assimilated by the Baligham people. The Awing people not aware as they escaped to the hills scared of the colonialist expropriation, later came down from the hills by 1921 only for them to meet a people they did not know on their land which led to tension between both ethnic groups.

-Actions Taken by *Fon Ayafor* to manage the Awing-Baligham conflict.

Fon Ayafor came to power by 1911 after 9 years of regency that took place after the reign of Akofoo 1858-1870 in the Awing *Fondom*. With the coming of his reign *Fon Ayafor* was faced with the European competition which opposed the Germans and the British. The British based in Nigeria where they established a protectorate in 1901⁵⁵ tried progressively to enlarge their influence mindful of the accords of the Berlin West African Conference and the Germano-Cameroon treaty of 1884. The defeat of the Germans in the First World War shows that his reign was not calm as he had to face the new British coloniser whose methods of administration were not different from that of the Germans.

Also with the lack of confidence and the feeling of insecurity, this pushed the latter to migrate with his people to the hills to hide from the German rule to the start of the British mandate in British Southern Cameroon; this was a means to limit the contact with the European powers. We can see at this level that the lack of confidence was a conflict in the measure that the colonial administration could not depend on him so as to control the population of Awing. It was from 1921-1923 in the action of a certain British Administrator C.J.A Gregg⁵⁶ that we assist in the reduction of tension between *Fon Ayafoo* and the British colonial administration. In sign of good will, *Fon Ayafor* in 1923 accepted to receive the British colonial administrator C.J.A Gregg in his royal palace. It is important to know that this understanding will be of short notice as the British will expect from this leader the respect of colonial laws and also the former will expect the British to help him recover his territorial integrity in which a portion of his land was occupied by the Baligham people⁵⁷. As a result of these two perceptions, it will lead to conflict between the Awings and the Colonial Administration.

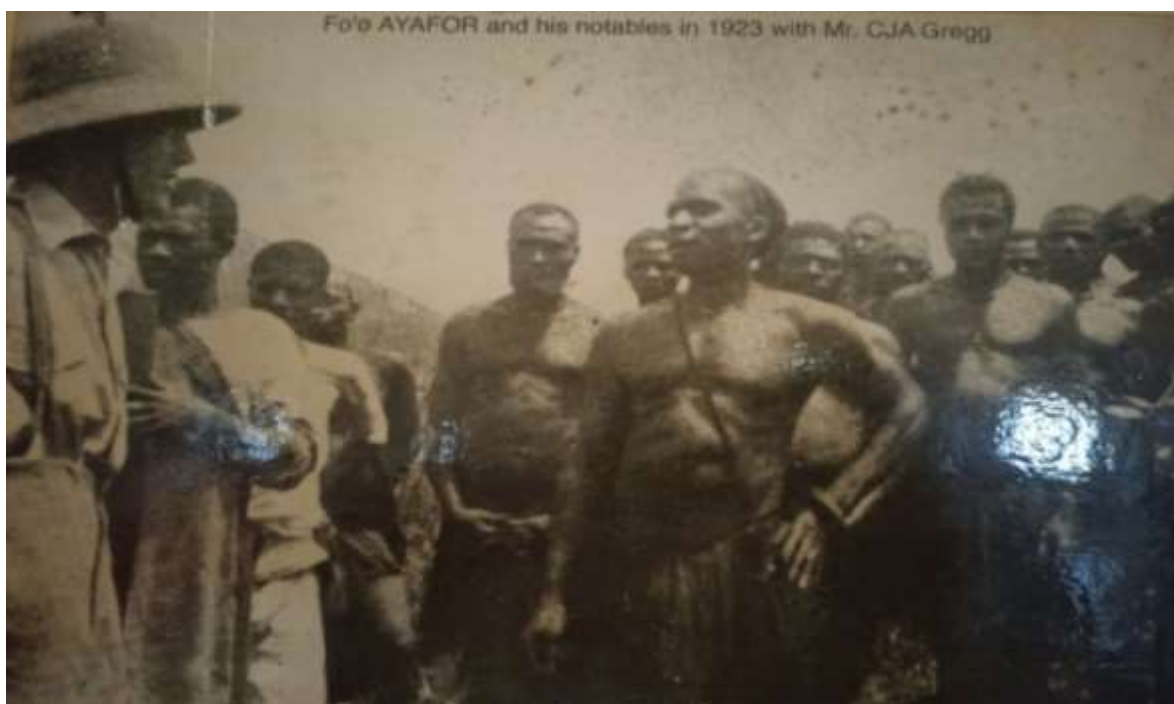
⁵⁴ Interview with, Tata-Amapoh Johu Chefor, Awing Elite, Yaounde, January 06 2022.

⁵⁵ *Idem*

⁵⁶ RAB, File Nw/QC/b/1977 Provisional Service of Community Development, North West Province, 1979.

⁵⁷ RAB, File CH/19116/ Annual Report on the Bamenda Division 1920.

Plate 13: Fon Ayafor I and his Notables in 1923 with Mr. CJA Gregg.



Source: Peter Akote Photo Album, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

This picture illustrates the context of the encounter between Fon Ayafor and the British administrator CJA Gregg. We observe the shock between two cultures, one who represents the West with his dressing code so as to show his authority on traditional institutions while on the other side we have a chief in his tradition who conserves his traditional equipments interms of dressing and pride. The above picture shows Fon Ayafor I who from his posture and his possession of traditional weapon discusses at an equal stage with the British colonial administrator. The principle clean to all diplomatic discussions is not an obligation in the measure that, the donot discuss with a visitor with a weapon, With this, the notion of peace as wanted by the Awings supposes that their pacific attitude should not be a fact of weekeness but also a strategy reserved for eventual conflicts with their neighbors as for example the Awing-Baligham conflict.

Fon Ayafor I was a priviledge witness of the conflictual situation that existed between Awing and Baligham, as a result of our ground work an informant told us that Fon Ayafor develop strategies to handle this situation as he tried to do a traditional negotiation in that he esterblish the first boarder between these two villages in 1926 and it is proven in a document called Ngemba Mojamow area signed on the 16 april 1926, the Awings granted land to the people of Baligham because of the good heart and welcoming spirit of Fon Ayafor. This Fon

displayed the altitude of the Banthu man who welcomes a stranger who needs shelter.⁵⁸ A fig tree was planted as boundary agreement between the people of Awing and Kong-ka, this boundary demarcation is today located in the Baligham Main Market.⁵⁹ This boundary with time was not respected by the Baligham people but we cannot ignore the action of Fon Ayafor who provided solutions to this conflictual situation.

3.3.1.2. Case Study 2: The Awing –Njong Conflict of 1998/1999 and the Action of Fon Fozoh II of Awing.

The coming to power of *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing brought an atmosphere of insecurity as the neighbors of Awing saw it as an opportunity to attack the village.⁶⁰ We can say his youthfulness at this period was seen as a sign of weakness. The main cause of this conflict was the Santa coffee estate as there was need by each village to have a full control of this area for their economic objectives.⁶¹ As a result of the lack of understandings between both villages it led to mortal confrontations between both villages which led to the loss of lives and destruction of properties. During our field work we had the opportunity to interview the Paramount Ruler of Awing on this matter and we asked him the steps taken by him to resolve this conflict and he gave us this answer:

The conflict between my kingdom and Njong was a fierce one and there was need for me to step up in that difficult moment. It was a faithful early morning I got up and entered by car for the Awing big market where I met one of my notables and we carried along a junk of palm wine. The irony was that I did not tell him we were going to Njong. I did so because I knew if I did he could have not agreed to follow me. We have to remember that during this time Awing was at war with Njong and going to Njong was considered a suicide mission. When we arrived the Njong palace the population could not recognize us, we pleaded to see the Njong *Fon* and as time evolved the people there later recognized us and there was panic everywhere. We were later received by the *Fon* of Njong and his cabinet in the Njong palace hall who was full with a large crowd and in front of this people we reached an agreement to stop the war which was respected by both parties.⁶²

From this we can see that the *Fon* of Fozoh displayed a strategy of local mediator and negotiation so as to bring lasting solution to this conflict.⁶³ Even the protector of his people the *Fon* of Awing saw the necessity to call for peace in a situation where there was no place

⁵⁸ Interview with Akondi Samson, 16 August 2022.

⁵⁹ Interview with Akondi Samson, 16 August 2022.

⁶⁰ *Idem*

⁶¹ Interview with Pa Mbapeh, Secretary of the Awing Traditional Council, Awing, 13 March 2022.

⁶² Interview with, HRH *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing, Awing, 13 March 2022. 4pm.

⁶³ *Idem*.

for understanding. He later when on forming a commission which was made up of some Awing elites to bring lasting solutions to this conflict. This emblematic leader also played a role in the resolution of the Awing-Baligham conflict in 2011.

3.3.1.3. Case Study 3: The Action of *Fon Fozoh II* in the Management of the Awing-Baligham Conflict.

The Awing-Baligham conflict is not just something of today, as mentioned above *Fon Ayafoo* was the first traditional ruler to have witnessed this conflict. Oral history holds that in 1879, before the arrival of the Germans the Awing people had already settled in their present site and the Baligham people later came to the area years later.⁶⁴ The coming to power of *Fon Fozoh II* of Awing was as a result of the disappearance⁶⁵ of *Fon Ngongeh III* on the 23 April 1998, who previously came to power on the 5 of January 1950⁶⁶. He came to power in a time where the people were in a period of conflict with their neighbors like Akum, Njong, and Baligham. During his reign this ruler witnessed series of tensions between both villages as well explained below.

The 20 May 1999 Escalation of Tension between Awing and Baligham

According to our ground work it is said on this day the population of Awing were gathered at the Awing main market for the celebration of the day of national unity when information reaches the *Fon* on the 20th May ground parade that Baligham had attacked Awing.⁶⁷ It created an atmosphere of fear and there was need for a prompt reaction. Being a youthful *Fon* at that time it was a difficult situation for this traditional ruler, as reaction there was a mortal confrontation which led to the losses of lives and destruction of properties between both villages.

The Confrontation of 2006 between Awing and Baligham and the Diplomatic Action of *Fon Fozoh II* of Awing.

In view of all said above, we can see that the relationship between Awing-Baligham was that of conflictuality we can understand that *Fon Fozoh II* of Awing was a diplomate and did not hesitate to have a constructive dialogue with the neighbors of Awing like the

⁶⁴ Interview with Akote Peter, Engineer, Limbe, 8 June 2021.

⁶⁵ We used the word disappearance instead of death because, in the grassfields precisely in the north west region of Cameroon chiefs do not die and it is considered a taboo when an individual says the *Fon* is death. The *fon* does not die he disappears to the land of his ancestors.

⁶⁶ Interview with Akodi Samson. Former Mayor of Santa, Douala, 16 August 2022.

⁶⁷ *Idem*.

Balighams.⁶⁸ The year 2006 in the History of Awing was full of tension between both villages. It appears that violence and tension between Awing and Baligham communities are scenes which are evocative; other wise what justifies the development of this tension in the years 2000's. In effect it is discovered that land problems of boundaries which was slowed down during the colonial period reappeared in the actions of certain persons which defends non-community logics faced with the challenges which led to violence from one side to another. The traditional institutions of Awing are posed as auxiliary of the administration and the respect of the law. It is in the sense of the letter addressed by the *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing to the administrative authorities of the Northwest region of Cameroons. (See **Appendix XV**)

In writing the letter we observe that the Awing Palace recognised an accord of cessation of hostilities with the Baligham village. In the republican context it is a violation of national laws in the measure that no communities be it Awing or Baligham have the right to declare violence on the national territory. While violence that occurs are regular and shows the difficulty of the state to impose an acceptance of general rule of peace between communities. It is the reason in which the Awing palace recognises that it is after a meeting of reconciliation convoked by the Governor but presided by the Divisional Officer of the Santa sub division that elites tried good officers between both communities.⁶⁹ But for the Awings it appeared that good will is from his community in the measure that Baligham Elites and their traditional institutions been infavour of this meeting at the start refused to attain the meeting convoked by traditional administration. With this we can ask ourselves what moltivated this refusal by the Bali-ghams?

Many hypotheses can be advanced:

The first is the fear and insecurity of the Balighams in relation to the administrative authorities whom they feel will not protect them.

While the second hypothesis is that in which the Baligham *Fon* and Notables witnessed a pressure from certain groups who don't want to dialogue with the Awings. All this reason shows that the traditional institutions of Awing is concient that it is the duty of the national authority to make respect laws. The Awing leaders imputes on the Baligham people the refusal of dialogue and reconciliation.

This why faced with the rising tension, violence, and the use of weapons the later demands the presence of the reconciliation commission and the administration in order to end this situation. This shows that the Awing *Fon* was concient of the difficulty to negotitate with

⁶⁸ Interview with Akodi Samson. Former Mayor of Santa, Douala, 16 August 2022.

⁶⁹ Cf. Annex 7.

his neighbors and it is the reason in which he choosed to implicate the administration in order to find a compromise. This is an aspect of good officers in diplomacy which we need to regonise and it shows the diplomatic skills and the strength of the Awing traditional institutions in the field of conflict resolution. Awing like other villages in the North West or so have been faced by one or even more conflicts situations with its neighbors as seen above. At some points, the people of Awing were forced to even take up arms, defend themselves and ensure the protection of its people. As another diplomatic approach to the crisis the Fon of Awing had to exceptionally go to Baligham, the first visit was with the Baligham Fon and so as to bring peace in the region, the Fon of Awing sent a delegation to support the new Baligham Fon enthronement and it should be noted that during this time both villages were still in conflict. The delegation left Awing with the Fons blessings, food items and an envelop that was destined to the new Fon for his enthronement as a sign of love, the Fon of Baligham refered to the Fon of Awing as his father this was a special declaration made in public and such a public regonition brought calm in the area for the moment. In 2012 the people of Awing witnessed the First visit of the Fon of Baligham in Awing and it was witnessed by the Awing people as it took place in the Awing main market and thus the Awing and the Baligham case is one where even the Cameroon Governement, other societies can learn from as we see two Traditional Rulers who are engaged in peaceful diplomatic paths to bring peace in the area. With this we can clearly see the role of traditional instituttions in conflict resolution.

In the same development, mindful of the different commissions created by the administration to bring lasting solutions to the conflict. Fon Fozoh II of Awing saw the necessity to bring both villages together by using his position as the guardian, protector of his people, with this he favoured a mutual collaboration with the new Fon of Baligham who was young seen to be young and more diplomatic than his father with this they both meet again in 2012 in the Awing Palace. It is discovered that the letter of Fon Fozoh II of Awing to the administrative authorities can be seen as a problematic in the measure that in 2012 a spectacular scene took place in the Awing Palace as the the Fon of Baligham revisited the area. The picture illustrates this fact.

Plate15: The Second Historical Handshake of the Year 2012 between Fon Fozoh II of Awing and the Baligham Fon Samkie Elvis Ganyam II of Baligham.



Source: Peter Akote Photo Album, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

The present image above shows both traditional rulers of Awing and Baligham after a meeting in the Awing palace. This portrays both traditional rulers as great conciliators and advocates of dialogue which guided both kingdoms in their efforts in the resolution of conflict. Also it is important to recognize that this action came as an appeasement to the tensions in the region genuine after the letter of the Awing Fon to the administrative authorities in 2006 also displayed above. We can say this encounter was a means by the Baligham Fon to test the determination of the Awing Fon. For an informant who pleaded his identity be kept secret that, it is after this encounter that Baligham thought that they could appropriate the litigated territories as a result of the diplomacy of the Awing Fon. In theory we can say that diplomatic efforts between Awing and Baligham are made by two elements which are, the Principle of Strategy and the Principle of Good Faith. These two approaches show us in view of resolving conflicts, the traditional institutions of Awing accepted to dialogue with their neighbors knowing well that all their neighbors knowing well that their neighbors don't play the transparency card. We can thus say the custom and the voluntary of respecting peace are factors which advocates to these positions of Awing. These different elements make us to say the resolution of conflict in Awing is a fundamental principle. That is

why, we will presented the Philosophy of conflict resolution in Awing. The Awing man has a philosophy which generates co-moral values like; Love, Justice, equity, transparency, integrity, accountability, Dignity, Mobility, Accountability, Respect for human right, Peace honesty and the fear of the Law.⁷⁰ These values are the day to day altitudes of the Awing people and we see it in all domains in the Awing village and the domain of conflict resolution is not an exception which will generate to the philosophy of conflict resolution of the Awing Man. In the Awing community conflicts is present in the day to day lives of the Awing people and there is a channel showing how it can be resolved through some particular actors in their community.

The Fon of Awing portrays the full usage of the tradition as he incarnates in him the African traditional way of conflict resolution which is conservative as the African man always likes to solve his problem internally without the influence of external organs. This is seen in his engagement to work with the Baligham work in 2012 to look for long-lasting solutions to this conflict.

3.3.2. Actions of *Kwofoo*, the Council of Notables and the Traditional Council in the Management of Conflict in Awing.

In the administrative structure of Awing the *Kwofoo* and the council of Notables play the second role in the administrative ladder of Awing. For the *Kwofoo* they play the role of initiator of laws, rules, which we have to respect in the society. To say it, it is the judicial instance that sees the *Fon* only when faced with problems whose importance forces members to wait their views. The *Kwifoo* puts in execution the orders of the *Fon* controls land issues, problems of development and sanctions all those who are opposed to royal convocation. The powers of the *Kwifoo* comes from his spiritual nature in that the *Kwofoo* plays the role of an assembly of incantations which increases the Fons powers. Also the refusal to answer a royal convocation, the *Kwofoo* plays the role of the police where he puts a view point who becomes law against an individual and sanctions through penalties so as to regulate and reduce crime.

The Attribution of Fines and Traditional technics used to resolve disputes in Cases of Conflict by the *Kwofoo*.

In cases to resolve conflicts the private council of the Nde- *Kwofoo*⁷¹. Different fines are attributed to different crimes:

⁷⁰ Interview with Ta Mbah Mbamasa, Member of a Secret Society Yaounde, 14 August 2022.

⁷¹ Notables who are relatives of the Fon.

In a case of Homicide, the offender has to come with a slave and two goats. But today instead of a slave it is replaced with a goat.

For Accidental Homicide the weapon used is to be confiscated by the *Fon* and the slayer is ceremonially cleansed, after-wards the family of the dead man or woman are told not to revenge their dead relative. There is no compensation, this practice still goes on still today.

In situations of suicide the body is to be buried by two members of *Kwofor*, if the suicide takes place in a house, the members of the family will leave the compound still the body is buried. All belongings of the house become the house property of the *Kwofor*. If the suicide occurs in a plantation patch, the plantation patch becomes the property of the *Kwofor*.

Also in cases of witchcraft, in some cases sasswood is administered to a fowl provided by the suspected witch. If the fowl dies, then the suspect is guilty. In some cases, it's administered to a suspected person directly.

And lastly in a situation of Adultery with the *Fon* wife both Men and Women are strangled by the *Kwofoo* but this practised has been abolished a long time ago in favour of exile. A secret informant affirms that:

The people assembled and the two defenders are covered with ashes. All present help dig a grave where the man is then given a robe and told to hang himself, should he fail to do so it is done for him. But today the death penalty has been changed by *Kwofoo* into exile.⁷²

In a situation of Land disputes, when both parties fail to have an understanding the *Kwofor* council puts a traditional injunction on the concern land which comprises of restricting both conflicting parties from the land so that a dialogue, local mediation and negotiation process be lunch to reduce tension.

The role of the judicial regulator is seen by the action of the council of notables who are divided into two categories.⁷³The traditional council is a recent affair whose reaction is a form of modernization of the Awing society:

The traditional council plays a deliberative and executive function in the Awing fundom that is, working in collaboration with the *Fon*, *Kwofoo* and Notables. Its duties are exercised both in the general assembly as well as in committees such as land dispute, farmer grazier social affairs and health

⁷² Interview with Secret Informant, 24 July 2022.

⁷³ There are two categories of notables in Awing, we have the kemgong which consist of the nine founding fathers or clan heads of the fondom and the second are the kemazoh which is made up of selected men and women selected from the entire Fondom by the fon himself to rule during his reign.

and development committees where decisions to summons presumed perpetrators with the fig leaf are taken unanimously⁷⁴

The *Kwofoo*, Traditional Council and Notables use specific convocation systems which will be important to display in our work, as earlier mentioned convocation in this context is a situation where an individual or a group of persons is summoned by the other at a particular time and for a given purpose or reason which can either be direct or indirect depending on the circumstances. The action of the traditional Council of Awing will also be seen in the letter of denunciation issued to the senior divisional officer of Santa in regards to the violent tendencies of the Balighams.⁷⁵ Being part of the traditional administration these institutions usually use the simple inward bent fig leaf for convocation of villagers to answer to summons concerning them.

Plate 14: An Illustration of a simple upward bent fig leaf in Awing.



Source: Apongnde Pascal Photo Albums, Yaounde, 4 December 2021.

This fig leaf is usually used by all traditional administrative organs in Awing which is usually stamped or endorsed with symbolic spittle before it is served to the concerned who has the obligation to answer the convocation instantly. With this we shall proceed with the actions of traditional development associations in the resolution of conflict in Awing.

⁷⁴ Aponde, *The people of Awing*, p.23.

⁷⁵ C.F Annex 8.

3.3.3-The Actions of the Traditional Developmental Associations (Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association) in the Management of Conflict in Awing.

Oral and written sources are of the fact that Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Association saw the light on the 23rd December 1962.⁷⁶ This took place at the late Pa Nkemontohs residence in Buea. This initiative was brought up by late Pa Francis Forlack Takuh who came from Nigeria where he was a student member of the Ngemba youths movement⁷⁷ where he gained connection and experience on how people can mobilize to an association. The idea of the association was later accepted and immediately brought up by a group of young Awing sons and daughters. As prominent founding fathers of this association included: Late Pa Francis Forlack Takuh, Late Pa George Fru Mba, Late Pa Fred Forghang Mba, Late Pa Jacob Mbamuluh, Late Pa Joseph Chungong, Late Pa Foryere, Late Pa Mbachi, Late Pa Frank Tasi Kumase, Pa Ernest Nkwate, and Pa Mathias Mbonglen Mbapeh who are the lone survivals of founding fathers for now.

When this association was created, it was called Awing Youth Association [AYA] since it was constituted mostly of youths in the beginning, then the association started enlarging with size thanks to the sensitization campaigns. The Association faced some challenges before its implantation in Awing as an informant tells us:

The Association faced a lot of difficulties in relation to its implementation efforts in Awing because *Fon* Ngogeh III 1950-1998 saw the association saw the initiative as a plot by the Awing youths to overthrow him, with this the was mass meetings to the palace by the association leaders to convince the fon to accept this initiative.⁷⁸

This altitude can be attributed to the conflictual situation Awing was facing during this period as the Fon might have feared that his enemies wanted to use this association to weaken him in particular and Awing in general. On the 5th July 1980 the name was changed from Awing Cultural Association to Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association to reflect the objectives of the association which was directed towards development. As objectives this association is aimed at: Advocating for the unity of all Awing sons and daughters towards the common goal of developing Awing village, promoting peace in line with cultural, economic and educational development, promoting self-reliant development, encouraging cultural activities in and out of the community, assisting each other personal development progress, the laws of

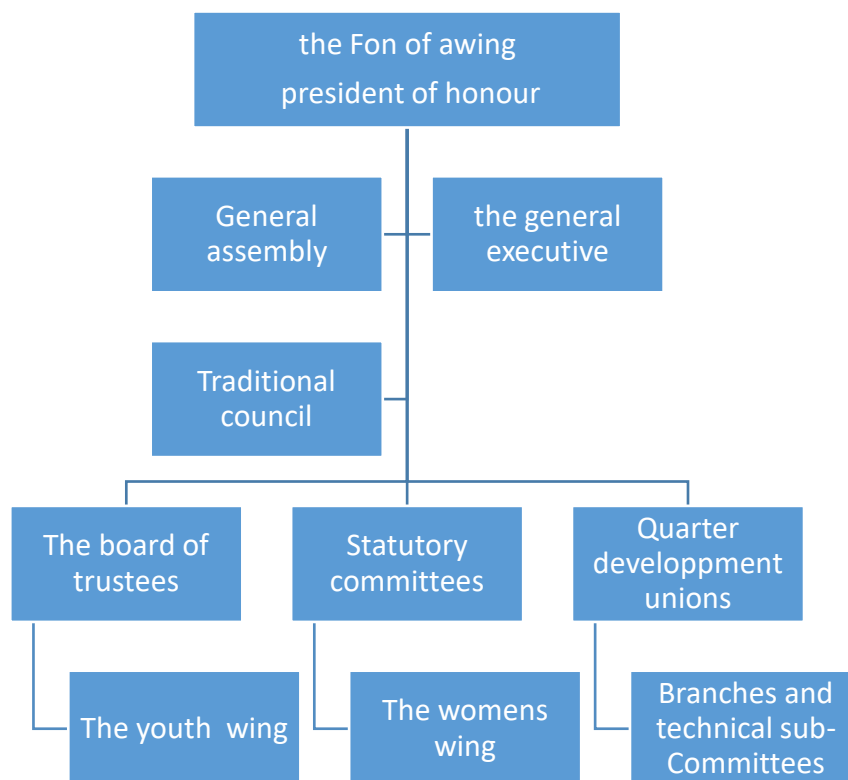
⁷⁶ Ntumfor Nico Halle, Barrister and Awing Elite, Douala, 13 March 2021.

⁷⁷ Ngemba youth's movement was an association of all youths who were from the Northwest Region of Cameroon, precisely upper and lower Ngemba.

⁷⁸ *Idem.*

the state and its institutions, Promoting the good image of the community to the world. The Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental association has in it like all other associations in its structure:

Figure 6: The Organisational Structure of Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association.



Source: Compiled by Author.

All this structures play an essential role in the development of Awing and particularly in the domain of conflict resolution in and out of Awing which will soon be presented. Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association as any human association need finance to for its smooth functioning.⁷⁹ These association derives its finances internally from, Membership contributions and Levies⁸⁰ Donations and gifts from members⁸¹ Royalties and Legacies, Revenue from any fund raising activities⁸², Any other source approved by the General Assemble⁸³ , Sales of almanacs, membership cards, diaries, posters and other gadgets.⁸⁴ And

⁷⁹ Ntumfor Nico.

⁸⁰ An annual membership contribution is paid by each member as Ndong Awing General Development due, is paid through his branches which is sent to the village. Men pay a fee of 6000 frs, Women 4000 frs and youths 1000frs.

⁸¹ These donations were often given to Nacda gatherings. All donations were chanelled towards the development of Awing.

⁸² Awings Elites and other members of Nacda so as to bring in money in the association. In this line there was need to bring in projects of development or assistance which could bring in money in the association.

⁸³ Here consisted on the money which received by the Awing cultural and development association.

externally by the state⁸⁵, Project funding bodies⁸⁶, Well wishers⁸⁷, Loans from micro-finance institutions.⁸⁸In view of all this we can say the Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association is the means in which the Awing society rest on. It appears that this association plays a role in the relationship and reports between the Awings and their surroundings.

The Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association is at a time an association of development, social, economic and political. The political dimension of Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Association progressively installed in the measure that the statue of this association is against all political interference. With this it appears that for the development of Awing there is need for a climate of peace and the role of elites and associations in the relation of conflicts clearly seen in the implication of the Ndong Awing Developmental and Cultural Association in the domain of conflict Resolution seen in the action of its former president who witnessed the conflict with Baligham and he thus engaged in a concrete action plan to bring an appeasement towardsthis situation.

Oral tradition and documentation tells us the outstanding achievement of Former Nacda President Mr Penanje Philip on the fact that the latter played an important role in the boundary demarcation as an informant tells us: “Mr Penanje team were successful in the resolution of conflict between Awing and Baligham. They proceeded by planting giant boundary demarcation pillars. This achievement brought calm in Bakassi”.⁸⁹As we clearly see the contribution of traditional cultural associations in the domain of conflict resolution. Mainly seen in the role of Former Nacda present Mr Peter Akote, as he also engaged in consultation process with the president of the Baligham Development Association thanks to the efforts of *Fon* Fozoh II of Awing who mandated himwith a peace plan to engage all consultative means so as to bring calm in the area. With this we can clearly see that developmental associations were not only involve in economic projects but they could also call for peace as demanded by its constitution states⁹⁰.

Plate 15: Presidents of the the Baligham and Ndong Awing Cultural and Developmental Associations engaging dialogue in Santa

⁸⁴ This was a financial strategy which was well thought and welcome by all unanimously. It consisted of producing card boards with names, pictures, occupations and telephone numbers of all persons who are a member of Nacda and hails from Awing.

⁸⁵ Cf. Annex 8.

⁸⁶ Cf. Annex 9.

⁸⁷ As for laons, just like any association in the world, the Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Association needs money to carry out it activities, with this there is need seek for huge financements from credit unions with a low profit rate.

⁸⁸ Interview with Pa Penanje Philip, Former Nacda President, Yaounde 21 July 2022.

⁸⁹ Interview with Mbomefoo Mbamoh Solomon, Notable, Yaounde 24 June 2022.

⁹⁰ Confer Appendix



Source: Peter Akote Photo Album, Limbe, 14 March 2021.

CONCLUSION

The present chapter presented the Actions of Traditional Institutions in the Resolution of Conflict in Awing. We noticed that there exist a philosophy of conflict resolution which is inspired by culture. Taking this into account we presented an assembly of mechanisms of resolution of conflicts which permits us to say that Awings have a specific definition of conflicts. In addition, the question of mediation and peace is related to the social organisation of Awing which makes that all Awings institutions have a word to say in matters of peace and war. We presented through this chapter ancient and contemporary methods of conflict resolution and we arrived the conclusion in which; the methods of conciliation and mediation were the most privileged by Awings. Taking this into consideration, this permitted to evaluate the actions of traditional institutions as Chiefs, Kwifor, Notables, Traditional council, Quarter heads and cultural developmental associations. In this light we shall proceed to a scientific evaluation in which the actions of traditional institutions facilitate the resolution of conflict in Awing.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVALUATION AND CHALLENGES OF TRADITIONAL METHODS OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AWING

Introduction.

This reflexive sector poses the question of the perception of the resolution in Awing and the account of the strategy of traditional institutions to resolve conflicts. With this said, it calls for a scientific resuming of the development of problems which was ours, that is the way the Awings managed the resolution of conflict in the internal and external point of view. That is why we shall proceed in a qualitative evaluation in two phases of the methods of resolution of conflict in Awing.

4.1. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AWING PEOPLE IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

It appears that the customs of Awing had an incident in their ways of putting in place their relationship with others. To understand this cultural field, there was necessity to understand the physical characteristics by geography, the human field, economic and political. This fact is useful by taking into consideration that Awings had to privilege a type of conflict resolution. This last puts in evidence conciliation and negotiation. We can think that the mentality of conciliation dates from far. In effect, the violence of this process brought them to fight the installation of Islam in west Cameroon with their neighbors of Babadjo.¹ The Awings as other peoples have suffered the absence of dialogue from their initial invaders. The Cameroon historiography reveals that people notably Sudanese are responsible for this movement of population, as said by Angelbert Mveng who specified that they migrated in waves.²

At this level, it appears that during their implantation in West Cameroon that Awings discovered a real will to implant themselves and to live as good neighbors at the space which they will installed. We can ask ourselves why did the Awing people refused to dialogue with invaders of their original sites. Many reasons are advanced which shows that traditional diplomacy functions only in peaceful context. The reasons are:

-The Religious aspect in the measure that, they did not want to renounce to their religion to adopt a Muslim religion.

¹ P. Akote Ntonkefoo, *As I Know it with facts and Authentic Documents. The Compelling Story of Cameroons most Renowed Village and Developmnt Association*, p.43.

² E. Mveng, *Histoire du Cameroun*, Yaounde, Ceper, Tome 1, 1985, p.45.

-Awings had no knowledge of the invaders and the difference in customs made them to have only two choices which was to stay or leave the area.

It is the reason in which we can think that it's their implantation in west cameroon which made them to learn lessons on how to leave with the population. The Awing historiography reveals that, even in the site which they were implanted to avoid fulbe attack as the Awings did not witness a period of peace, in effect Peter Akote notes:

During the stay of Awings in Babadjo, it so happened that a war broke out between the people of Babadjo and the people of Pinyins in the Northwest Region. Babadjo at that time, were hosting the people of Awing, therefore they joined forces with their Babadjo host and fought against the Pinyins.³

Let's note that during this war no solution of peace was seen and Fon Akofoo, who found refuged in Babadjo was killed which shows that force was not the principle element to have a pacific relationship with neighbors. Did this experience push Awings to opt for reconciliation and the choice of specific methods?

4.1.1 Methods of Conciliation and Negotiation Vital Tools in Awing

Conciliation and Negotiation are methods concentrated by international law, in what permits the parties in conflict to resolve their differences.⁴ It is discovered that in traditional philosophy, Negotiation and Conciliation were evident facts " *Si tu veux savoir qui je suis, si tu veux que je t enseigne ceque je sais, cesse momentanement d etre ceque tu es, et oublie ce que tu sais*"⁵ It is discovered that African societies in their development, their relationship, have always searched to resolve their differences through many instruments. Awings at this level don't escape from this perspective, no community of Cameroon existed without putting in place mechanisms of management of conflicts. The Awing Historiography considers that certain Fons like, Foo Ayafor I as a peace advocate. Peter Akote talks of the great reconciliation.⁶ It results that Foo Ayafor played a role in order to reconcile the Awing families who separated themselves from problems related to the palace. It results that:

When Fon Ayafoo was officially enthroned the Fon of Awing, he set out to reconcile with his brothers, viz, Alombah and Njongwing. When he went

³ P. Akote, *As I Know it with facts*, p.44.

⁴ M.Vaisseand et all Smooth, *Dictionay of International Relations*, Paris, Dallos, 2002. p.14

⁵ Tierno Bokar Salif, Sage de Bandiagara, xx siecle, cite par son eleve Amadou Hampate Ba cite par FAO Histoire De La Recherche Agricole En Afrque Tropicale Francophone, Volume 1 "Aux Sources de L Agriculture Africaine : De la Pre-histoire au Moyen age. Rome FAO Preface.

⁶ Akote, *As I.p.*45.

and met Ngongwing who fled to messanga he negotiated for peace and he accepted to return and settle in Awing.⁷

The methods he used was encounteres, discussions with his brothers who contested his ancension on the throne, it is the reason in which peace has become a philosophy, a type of quest to maintain unity and progress which is the development of the Awing people. This type acquired unity under Fon Ayafoo which will see his sucessors follow him. In the example of the Fon Ngongeh III of Awing, who despite his young age to arrive on the throne at the age of 21 had to manage the internal divisions in Awing.

Plate 16 : Young Foo Ngongeh III Ancending Power on January 05 1950.



Source: Mbamoh Solomon Photo Album, Yaounde, 8 April 2023.

In effect, it is discovered that this Fon originated from the Mbenjom through his Mother which saw his authority accepted and contested by some clans and this is the reason in which:

Thus the ascension to power of Foo Ngongeh III virtually brought unity because the Mbenjoms, who had been threatening to depart finally realized that their own son was in command. They had to pipe down and allow peace and unity to prevail. It is for this reason that when the village was involved in activities like digging of roads or the opening of quarters, the mbenjom

⁷ Akote p.50.

people were always the first to come out as they wanted to show their full support for the throne.⁸

This aspect of things shows that the personality of the Fon can be a tool in the management of conflict as this aspect obliges certain clans who opposed the authority of his predecessors to become instruments for unity. It is the reason in which we think that Foo Ngongeh III had a diplomatic intelligence taking this into consideration we are interested in his politics who did not divide the Awing people, as one of the methods of the Fon of Awing to bring peace in his village was his apolitical character:

Foo Ngongeh III was strictly a political in his approach and did not side with any partial political expression. The latter position was that which never party anyone as he belong to all his children and anyone who happened to succeed would have done so for the good of the Awing village that is why he prayed for all and shone none.⁹

Plate 17: Fon Ngongeh III with a Civil Administrator.



Source: Peter Akote Photo Album.

In view of all this we have to understand that aoliticism was a methods of management of conflict in Awing. That is why he enforced himself to have a good relationship with elites in the Northwest region of Cameroon and again he respected the state and republican values

⁸Akote,p.46.

⁹ Akote, p.56.

without taking part in political disputes and this is the reason in which, the state will recognize his efforts and honour him as seen above. This results from their history and also wellbeing. That is why the Chinese philosopher Confucius declares " *Qui ne sait d'ou il vient, va nulle part*"¹⁰. These reflections can seem displaced but the present work questions not only the political, social life of Awings, but also their way of living between themselves and also their neighbors. The Egyptian Maat has the merit to inform us on the fact that rules, principles have to guide the lives of societies.¹¹In all ways, the Awing people constructed a past, a history through which Disputes, Misunderstandings, Conflicts had to be resolved that is why, the present work goes from a principle in which: "*Sans Passe, Nous sommes Sans avenir, Sans Present nous sommes sans passe*".¹²This citation permits us to understand that, the management of problems of peace or mediation between Awings and her neighbor's permitted to mutualise efforts in order to consolidate peace.

Awings in general, without taking part, took to advantage to consider that conflicts are a means of dislocation of the society. In this sense it is logical to think that the state of Cameroon conscious of its regalian engagements could not accept a situation of conflictualism in the North West Region. The specific case kept permits to say that in matters of management of conflict the population of Bamenda like all others had the heart to put in place a system of governance which permitted to observe the resolution of conflict which supposes methods. In effect, to govern is an art well done Fon Fozoh qualify as visionary.¹³ If we refer ourselves to the theory of the conception of management of conflict it will interpellates the manner of governing in Awing, as it is seen as a strategy. The said politics is an analysis of a situation which opposes us in order to resolve the difficulties in the society.

John Stuart Mills thinks that for certain spirits to govern is an art essentially practical, which does not raise problems apart from means and end.¹⁴As it is seen that the resolution of conflict imposes to each peoples in the measure that war will be a solution in long term. Institutions of Cameroon in their regalian institution acted judicial text in order to oblige different nations which composes Cameroon to act in the sense of national unity. The President Ahidjo, John Ngu Foncha, Bernard Fonlon, ST Muna, Anje Tsogue, Enow Kwayep all manifested for the putting in place of process which will make the social Cameroon tissue to exist. It is discovered that despite the text, engagements, the objectives of different

¹⁰Aponde, *People of Awing*.p.17.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Confucius, *Knowledge According to Confucius*, Paris, Asao Edition, 2012 p56.

¹³ Akote, *As I know it*, p, 69.

¹⁴ Stuart, *Gouvernement representative* p, 1.

actors were different. In effect, what we can understand in matters of public policy if its not the tensions between Awings and Njongs, Baligham, Babadjo, are only representations of what the state couldnot solve. This conception that we will invoke puts in relief the incapacity of the state to resolve tribal conflicts.

All governments, first have to define the objectives they have to promote, the second is to ask what system of government to realise these objectives.¹⁵ In view of all this we have the right to pose the question from Fon Ayafoo I to his successors, has the conception of peace changed. It is the reason in which the different Fons from Fon Ayafoo I to Fon Fozoh II promoted initiatives in matters of peace. We are in the field of the science of governance. In effect documentary observation permits to say the different Awing Fons reacted inview to construct a social-political system in and out of colonization. It is the reason in which from Fon Ayafor I to Fon Fozoh II traditional institutions be it Kwifor, Traditional Council, Notables, had the chance to decide the way the Awings manage their problems with their neighbors, that is why we note this evidence: *“Les Institutions politiques sont l oeuvre des hommes; elles doivent leur origine et toute leur existence a la volonte humaine”*.¹⁶

With this type of perspective, it brings an interrogation, the said interrogation is what this work opted to resolve in presenting a scientific manner that occupied the researcher was that which made him to deny intellectual tolerance, we will thus consider the aspirations desires, manifestations of entities which we are working on and notably the Awing people from this we can thus say:

*On doit encore considérer qu'un peuple n'est pas fait pour la liberté, a moins qu'elle ne soit assortie de limites et de restrictions regourees, s il ne copere pas activement avec la legalite et les autorites a la repression de la criminalite. Un peuple qui est plus dispose à donner asile a un criminel qu a l apprehender, qui est revolte par une execution, mais n est pas scandalise par un assassinat met les autorites publiques en devoir de s armer e pouvoirs beaucoup plus rigoureux que partout ailleurs, la premiere condition indispensable de toute vie civilisee n ayant pas d autre garantie.*¹⁷

Also methods of conflict resolution in diplomacy, traditional or modern have principles but also objectives which are there to make us understand the will of the traditonal chief to esterblish modalities of relationships with neighbors. For Awings traditional law encounters progressively positive law and its usage permits us to talk of conciliation and modernized methods. With this we are in the conception of law which permits us to say the

¹⁵ . Stuart, *Gouvernement* p.3.

¹⁶ Stuart, *Representative Government*, p.14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 4.

fundamental problem of Awing is the preservation of engagements contracted to maintain peace. This is the reason in which the Awing Fon could only denounce with force the Baligham Fon to the authorities.¹⁸ With this it is convenient to say for the Cameroon administration the management of conflict in the Santa zone originates from the theory of John Stuart Mills who thinks that "Two Judicial Norms which super-poses produces generally incomprehension and also antagonism in its applicability".¹⁹ Awings through the principle of Negotiation and Conciliation installed two types of norms or rules of international law which are hospitality and the respect of a word given.²⁰ In effect the conflict with Njongs, Balighams constitute numerous violations of Cameroon positive law, there is need to recognise that mineful of the general repression of the state in the Santa Sub-Division, norms applied were in the case of administrative tolerance; or we all know that administrative tolerance has a vocation of not resolving conflicts but to calm conflicts.²¹ It is thus clear that, in the different conflicts they witnessed in a paradoxical manner the Awings kept international sources of resolution of conflict in matters of international law. We can make a reference to the convention of Geneva 1949.²² This last is an assembly of judicial norms who have as vocation to regulate hostilities by limiting as much as possible attempts to civil persons or non fighters.

With a systematic reference on international convention, there is need to integrate customary laws in matters of conflicts. This last rest on the manner people apprehend their divinity with others. Also the principle of negotiation and reconciliation has to be read in the premise of African law, which gives a significant importance to religion. What role does the Awing tradition play in matters of peace? Napoleon Nwanasungzi in his study presents the Awing religion as a religion mark by a close relationship with the forces of nature. This is why we think that, the diplomatic philosophy of Awing inspires itself from the legends of Lake Awing.²³ To diplomacy, there is need to note that all peoples try to advanced their knowledge through the principle of knowledge of or after the principle of knowledge for.²⁴ These principles permit us to be interested on the orientation that Awings give in the solution of their problems.

¹⁸ *Infra* p, 114.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p, 12.

²⁰ F. Bujneon, « Droit International Customier » in *Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge*, Geneve, CICR, 2004. p.45.

²¹ F. Olama. Ombga, *Administration Civile au Cameroun*, Paris, Harmattan 2002. P.16.

²² Th. Meron, "War Crimes in Ex-Yugoslavia and the development of International Law" in *American Journal of International Law*, Vol 88 N 1, Washington Dc, 1994, p.89.

²³ Nwanasungazi, *The spirit of* p.8.

²⁴ J. Le Moigne, *Le Constructivisme, Tome I Les Fondements*, Paris, ESF Editeur, 1994p.60-62.

After this theory the relationship between entities is structured and evolves among time, which makes diplomacy a system kept by actors in order to reach finalities. That is why Jean Louis considers a system as a "*Quelque chose qui dans quelque chose [environment], pour quelque chose [activite] par quelque chose [structure] qui se transforme dans le temps*".²⁵ It is seen that from this the different Awing chiefs defined a well coordinated action since Fon Ayafor which have permitted the modification of their relationship with neighbors for example Njong and Baligham.²⁶ At this level the management of traditional institutions like the Kwofoo, Notables, and Traditional Council, permitted these institutions to install a strategy conducted by them or by institutions. Also it is discovered that certain Chiefs as Fon Fozoh II kept in place a personalised diplomacy which facilitated the resolution of certain problems with their neighbors for example the Njong. We can thus think that, the principles of negotiation and reconciliation is based on three essential principles that Patrick Hassenteuffel already elaborated:

- why are diplomatic politics kept in place?
- how do implicated actors react?
- what are the effects of a diplomatic strategy?²⁷

It appears at this level that the principle of diplomacy and its foundations motivates the existence of the relationship between Awings and methods. We are in the case of the comprehension of methods of conciliation and negotiation and history teaches us that these methods are present in the evolution of peoples. Napoleon Nwunasungazi notes:

Diplomacy is an old concept as far as development is concerned, before the coming of the whites in Africa by the 17th century, the local man has been using diplomacy in his own ways to solve their problems at the time. In times of crises, some tribes sought the help of other tribes to conquer their enemies.²⁸

With this external conflicts management by Awings precisely Fon Ayafor I and his successors were guided with the fear in that Africans are related by the principle of blood relation, the principle of classical international law permits us to distinguish two conflicts, the International Arm Conflict in the case of Awings and its surroundings and the Non-Arm External Conflict which elevates of international oppositions.²⁹ In this optic Fon Ayafor whose action in this study permitted us to observe that he was a man of peace, a pacificator by

²⁵ J. Le Moigne, *Le Constructivisme*. p.63

²⁶ Interview with Tata Mofor, Awing Prince, Awing, 14 March 2022.

²⁷ P. Hassenteuffel, *Sociology d'action publique*, Paris, Montchrestien, 1998. p.9.

²⁸ N. Nwunasungazi p.49.

²⁹ Nkiene Tinoh, *Traditional and Modern*. P.17.

accepting to welcome the Baligham people, as the founder of the rules applicable by Awings in period of conflicts. This type of conflict concern principally external conflicts and we can understand why his opposition to the voluntary of the Balighams to not have respected traditional enagements made him to be arrested and sent to prison, as an informant who pleaded his identity be kept secret for one reason or another informs us:

As a result of the Baligham people not respecting the Buvalo Zone, a place they were prohibited for hunting or farming, Fon Ayafor was Fed up with their constant non-respect of traditional enagements, and this made the latter to react promptly which led to his arrest and later oral history attest the fact that some Awing notables decided to go to prison for their Fon and their return was marked by tremendous consequences on their families years later as on returning to their homes years later they noticed so many things had changed.³⁰

It appears that in views of applicable rules who have not been precised by traditional law, the Awing village installed dispositions that different Fons in the example of Fon Fozoh II who did not have the choice but to reconduct the dispositions kept by Fon Ayafor I in the management of conflicts with their neighbors, another informant tells us that "In case of Arm external conflict Awings have always refused when faced with an aggression on their territory to be the first to attack".³¹As a result of this it is thus clear that in analysing facts, the Awing Fons inview of their Royal Genealogy applied diplomatic rules of conflict resolution in refrence to their neighbors. With this there are questions raised like what are the strategies they used in resolving international conflicts, what are the results, can we say Negotiation and Conciliation permitted the harmonization of the social life of Awings.

We know that violations or committed infractions in the social Cameroon context are reprimented by the penal code and the penal procedure of Cameroon. With this all Chiefs and perssons of moral law who through actions disturbs peace is automatically placed on the angle of penal responsibility. In this the Awing chiefs promote are obliged to promote peace with their neighbors, in effect Article 74 aline 2 of the Cameroon penal code precises "Criminal responsibility shall lie on him who intentionally commits each of the ingredients acts or omissions of an offence with the intention of causing the results which completes it".This aspect of things permits us to understand that diplomacy promoted by Awings with it neighbors is supervised by the state who is a guardian to public stability. It is the reason in which we think that diplomacy is a politics and taking this into consideration we have to conclude that Each politic is pregnant with an idea of a problem, a representator of social

³⁰ Secret Informant.

³¹ *Idem.*

group or concern sector she wants to make existent and a theory of change.³² We are going from this problem in which peace has to be in all crises time and the history of Awings showed that from 1998 there was a need to look for solutions for problems which made them engaged in wars with others. That is why Napoleon Nwunasungazi recognises that:

As time went on many local populations changed their mentalities for negotiation in crises period; the Awing community has not been in different to this new found changed in solving conflicts. History holds that Awing has fought with her neighbours on several occasions. But in recent times, despite threats from her neighbors Awing people have been using diplomacy to see into it that the problem is resolved. This is the case with the Baligham and Njong villages who quarrelled with Awing over land matters.³³

In view of all this, our work consisted to show that negotiation and conciliation defines the real capacity or the weight of the Awing Chiefs to put in place a good relationship with others. That is why we were forced to show that these principles enforced the action of the Cameroon government in the maintenance of peace, also it was useful after epistemology to be interested on the way the Awings managed the conflicts that existed between individuals and Awing clans, with this we will be interested on the traditional methods of conflict resolution the question of internal rivalry.

4.1.2. The Contestation of Royal Authority: a Setback to Internal Conflict Management.

The Awing people like all people in Cameroon are composite and rivalry among clans are not excluded. It is the reason in which we are forced to demonstrate through out this work that traditional institutions face many difficulties. It is the reason in which they use methods of resolution which can appear paradoxical. The quality of governance is capital for the development of a people, as the amelioration of the life of population facilitates the imposition of peace. It is the reason in which we can say the way the Awing chiefs used human resources of their people, material and financial resources permits to understand the adhesion or non-adhesion of certain clans or families to the notion of social cohesion, we can thus say that development is a factor to peace.

This is the reason in which to conciliate clans who refused to accept their ideology, the Awing chiefs encouraged elites to put in place development initiatives like cooperatives and banks which permitted development. History reveals to us that, the ideas of creation of a

³² P. Muller, "Analyse cognitive des politiques publiques vers une sociologie d'Action Publique" Revue Française de Science Politique, Paris April 2000p.192.

³³Nwunasungazi, p 23.

banking system appeared in 1962³⁴ by the action of Mr Alota Stephen Nchotdzem who is considered the person who remitted in a two cooperatives agriculturals in Awing in a means of a cooperative to defend their rights.³⁵ This cooperative is a factor of social union as it will avoid dumping in the production and commercialization of tea. We can think that economic development was a factor of reduction of tension in the Awing village. For this, we assisted in the birth many banking systems which we can cite: The Awing Central Cooperative Credit Union (Awiccul), The National Development Credit (NDC), the Awing Village Global Bank And Equity Trust Finance³⁶. This financial institution shows that development development is a tool of conciliation and becomes a means for the Awing fon to put a mechanism which fights poverty and will encourage communication. Saint Thomas Aquin affirmed notably that the « *il faut un minimum de bien être pour pratiquer la vertu* ». ³⁷ This brings us to say that Awing Chiefs understood that democracy and peace have sense only in the context of good governance. It is for this fact that developments by meetings of elites permits to form what Jean Jacques Rousseau calls the social contract, which social contract does it in the case of Awing. Far from theories and philosophers, Awings took into consideration that disputes that opposed them are of the order to push authorities to be involved in the management of their palaces. That is why we have to consider institutions of development as institutions opposed to disorder. The *Fon* governance of Awing can maybe look as satisfying the needs of the elites which raises frustrations, favouritism. So many pushes people to oppose the *Fon*.

In another word, all Awing clans need social justice and effects of poverty are many factors who in an internal point of view favours the evolution of this problem. We can think that elites through associations of Nacda thought of bringing a solution to this contextation, did they succeed to put together the chieftom and instances of development in view to promote social conciliation. History teaches us that all persons who have public or private responsibilities and fails in his duty because of the desire to benefit from advantages they don't deserve our considered corrupted. Corruption is a factor of social distantiation; it pushes certain elites to avoid accepting decisions taken by the Fon.

³⁴ Napoleon, p.39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ S. Aquin cite par D. Fondong Monjih, « Lutte contre la criminalité transnationale organisée au Cameroun et la Convention de Palerme » Mémoire de Master en Relations Internationales, Université de Yaounde II – Institut des Relations Internationales 2014- 2015, p.32.

4.1.3. The Procedure of Submission of Litigation to the *Fon*

The History of the people of Awing are also written through this social factors which are obstacles to the living together, if we use the theoretical point of view we have to question the process of decision taken and applied many of these institutions in terms of management of conflicts with other clans. Jones theory brings out six modes of analyses which permits to talk of good governance in the management of conflicts with clans. It englobes six principles which we invoke concerning the Awing Fons.

The Emergence of Litigations posed to the palace.

We saw at this level that Awing Chief disposes many methods of convocations in order to interpellate citizens who have litigations. We discovered that there existed different causes which justified the existence of internal conflicts between Awings.

The Registration of the problem in the agenda of the *Fon*.

In effect, the different instances which are Kwifor, Notables, and Quarter Heads have the responsibility to inform the Chief of the problems that emerges in their territories of commandments, if we refer ourselves to theories we are in the field which can be considered public problem. This last is understood as an abnormal phenomenon by social actors. A social situation poses a problem for example disputes among clans, two families. That is why Jean Pardiolleau underlines that "*Un probleme est la perception par les acteurs dun ecart entre ce qui est [constat], ce qui devrait etre [devoir d agir] et ce qui pourrait etre [possibilite d'action]*".³⁸

Thirdly the phase of proper decision-taking.

It's at this level that, the arbitration of the *Fon* permits to transmit the litigation, the decision he will take has to be accepted by both parties. But in view of our work not all clan heads were happy with decision taken by these institutions but a larger majority was pleased.

Fourth principle, the phase of putting in vigour the decision of the *Fon*.

It supposes that the problem went arbitrated and the solutions approved are immediately kept in the disposition of the villagers.

Fifthly the Elaboration of Mechanisms of Resolution of Peace.

After decision taking, the *Fon* and the instances he manages the country chooses the types of mechanisms which has to be applied in the resolution of conflict. Awings distinguish customary conflicts from social, and political. It is the reason in which the choice of instruments which have to maintain peace is done mutually with conflicted parties.

³⁸ J. Pardiolleau, *L etat au concret*, Paris, Puf 1982, p.235.

The Sixth Principle is the Full Resolution.

Here there is need to malterized peace, either in a material manner [boundary] or in a symbolic manner or ritual. All this shows that Awings disposed of methods of diplomacy, it is the reason in which in this work we are intrested in the various roles of actors and their legitimacy in matters of conflict.

In effect, how can we understand that, face with violent crimes against Awings in general tension continues to develop? The second chapter of this work demonstrated that certain Awing clans did not accept the genealogical sucession and since then they did not stop to context the latter. It is the reason in which we can say they have a historical responsibility in the division. In effect, without pointing fingers, it appears that certain clan heads had the tendency of not respecting traditional instances in other to affirm their auto-determination in relation totraditional disposition. We are in the case of a constituted traditional norms, which makes us to know that all traditional institutions have to accept customary laws, with this how can we understand that certain clans in Awing as seen in chapter two refuses the strategy of conciliation and negotiatiation installed by the superior chiefdom.

A retrospective look on the history of the Awing people permits us to say that the authority of the chief has never been the universal rule and that different clans of Awing tried to be autonomous or contested traditional rules. A Secret informant who pleaded his identity be kept secret says that “Certain clan heads generally contexted the Judicial decision of the Awing Fon”.³⁹ This problem as underlined in the previous chapter permits to joint the theory of De-Andrade who thinks that Hierachies are always contexted.⁴⁰ It is the reason in which the different Awing Fon as showed in the picture of Fon Ayafor and C.J Gregg have always had as objective the interest of all Awing Fons in the resolution of political problems, as this we can understand the principles of conciliation have always been in vigour the importance of this last. Also an informant tells us that a certain Clan not mentioned have historically distinct themselves by an assembly of altitudes constantly refused traditionallegitimacy as wanted by Mbangwashi⁴¹. It is thus question to understand that acts of vandalism, disputes, infractions which occur in the Awing society as seen in our work puts in a bad posture the principle of conciliation eventhough negotiation exist.

We can attest through out our ground work that certain persons in the Awing Fondom see themselves as victims who slowed all forms of negotiations. We can ask ourselves why

³⁹ Interview with secret Informant. 14 March 2022.

⁴⁰ A.DE. Andrade " Les Superieurs hierachique" in Herve Ascencio, Emmanuel Decaux, Alain Pellet, *Droit International Penal*, Paris, Pedone 2000, pp.202-205.

⁴¹ Interview with Seccret Informant.14 March 2022.

the ideology of Fon Ngongeh III did not stop disturbs during the reign of Fon Fozoh II. It appears in ethnological work that in all people's oppositions exist for political, economic, social and religious reasons. This is the reason in which Paul Grieger thinks that all communities form a spiritual weapon so as to affirm its identity.⁴² What can we say of the Awing Village based on informations of secret informant saying certain clans did not want to be a member of the village?⁴³ History being a social field makes us to understand why it is intrusted on the interactions among peoples and structures. As a result of this we can ask ourselves what considerations the Awing Clans have in common. This question may sound senseless, but it puts down the place of forgiveness and truth in an ethnic community. We cannot write history by accepting falsification, the historian acts by the interpreting social facts. That is why in this work, we estimate that in traditional diplomacy, conciliation and negotiation which took place between the traditional palace and clans were not mentioned because of precautions that shows the will of the different Awing Chiefs to maintain social cohesion.

4.2. PERCIEVED INSTANCES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AWING

To appreciate the perception and resolution of conflict in Awing. It is evident that the vocation of organs of governance which assist the Fon is necessary. This shows the way this instances acted in the conflictual context. In view of bringing or imposing peace in the Internal or external plan. It's as a result of these aspects of things that peace can only be the property of the Fon but also an efficient system of governance. A system of governance sends us to institutions or public actors implicated in the resolution of conflicts between Awings and their Neighbors. Taking this into consideration we tried to show the role of each institution, it is the reason in which the theoretical language which will guide our analyses is that of dialectical know-how that Gaston Bachelard defines in this words "*La science realise ses objets sans jamais les trouver tout fait [...] elle ne correspond pas a un monde a decrier, elle correspond a un monde a construire*".⁴⁴ This reflection makes us to say that this work analyses on one part the Cameroonian context in the Northwest by bringing out structural and conjectural foundations of conflict resolution who assist the Fon and Kwifon. Two parts will be the object of this presentation.

⁴² P. Grieger, *Ethnic Charactology*, p. 66.

⁴³ Secret Informant. 14 March 2022.

⁴⁴ G. Bachelard, *La Formation de l'Esprit Scientifique*, Paris, Librairie Philosophique vrin ,2000p,105.

4.2.1-Historical perception of the actions of traditional instances in the management of conflicts in Awing

Throughout this work we recall the emergence of traditional diplomacy as political instruments which permitted the people to dialogue, resolve problems and react in the sense of social cohesion. The Historio-French Philosopher Redmond Aron had the tendency of saying that nations only existed by the fact that they are in peace and make wars.⁴⁵ This makes that people just like states find themselves in situations of peace or wars and Awings are not an exception to this as they are a centralised society. Charlotte Petianghamboh Fonchiatow notes that:

Awing is a centralised society with a traditional system of government, based on hereditary rule and access to power is highly determined by direct decent. Awing political system is stratified into five; the Fon, Kwifon, Notables, Traditional Council and Quarter Heads.⁴⁶

This aspects of things permits us to say the climate and political management brings us to understand that beneath the Fon, the Kwifor, Traditional Council, Notables, Quarter Heads, were essential elements of management of conflicts between Awings and their Neighbors. The essential question which emerges is to know how did they do, and what are the means which they disposed in order to facilitate diplomatic approaches. It can appear premature today to talk of an alternative diplomacy when we know the central state thought about it through the DDR while transitional justice which is a consequence of alternative diplomacy, becomes a means for the state to resolve antagonisme between traditional entities, with this there is need to say the present thematic cuts a fertile problematic which consist to underline that instances of the Fons control our structured groups whose politics generally escapes to the will of the hierarchy. Can we at this level talk of a para-diplomacy?

It appears that the definition of para-diplomacy is not exact to explain what the kwofoo and other institutions do in the daily life of Awings. This can seem paradoxal as generally in centralised societies, uniformity must be accepted while in facts unianimosity is not real in the state that the structural character of the administrative organisation underlines the risk of disterbilization of the Fon. We are in a phase where, the notion of peace permits to disassociate activities of power and that of diplomacy. As a result, we can ask at this level in a specific manner what do traditional institutions do to resolve conflicts between Awings and their neighbors. One of the measures which permits to evaluate the efforts in the diplomatic

⁴⁵ R. Aron, *Peace and Wars between Nations*, Paris, Calman-LEVY, 1962. p.23.

⁴⁶ C.Petianchamboh Fochiatow, *Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Asociation 1962-2019*, Masters Dissertation in History, University of Bamenda, p.29.

sector which also makes to forget the necessity to put in place administrative measures of management of conflict resolution in the point of view of traditional law. What can we say at this level?

The *Kwifoo* known as a spiritual traditional assembly of the Awing people and instances has the right to act in diplomatic matters. Since the 17th century, History reveals that after the migration of Awing this instance influence the decision of the paramount like Fon Ayafor.⁴⁷ In effect this government of religious order which regulates the administrative mechanism, has a vocation not only to advise or assist the Fon but also to handle litigation situations and can take decisions in relation to the fon. With this, we can understand that the *Kwifor* occupies a significant place and acts in plurality of roles interms of diplomacy and politics all what contributes in the concept of social control defined by Ross⁴⁸ which says social control is presented as the capacity of a society or community group to regulate itself that is put in place its rules, principles value. Queloz thinks that it concerns a way of regulating the society and for us is an assembly of method which permits the processus of education, intergration socialization of individuals in the sense of living together. This work shows us that social life for Awings necessitates the mobilization of knowledge traditionally or modern, who applies on the relationship be it internal or external, that is while spirituality degree is not to be ignored and that *Kwifor* is the instance which makes sure Awings respect laws, this institution is the sacrality of ancestors. We can say that the *Kwifoo* had the right to carryout incantations of the legends of Lake Awing as the foundation of the community, in effect if we refer ourselves to George Gusdorf who says that all legends are holders of an objective .⁴⁹ With this we can arrive in the aspect of things which wants that, these institutions occupy a central place in the evolution of politics and strategy that is kept in place between Awings and her neighbors.

4.2.2 Challenges Faced by Traditional Institutions in the Resolution of Conflict in Awing.

Conflict is omnipresent in every society, Conflict is also in evitable in all human efforts because of differencesintrest, goals, values and aims. According Bayera⁵⁰ most African conflicts emanates from families, Clans, Villages, locations or small units. Traditional

⁴⁷ C.Petianchamboh Fochiatow, Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Asociation. p.31.

⁴⁸ N. Queloz, "La Sociologie du Contrôle Social" *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 1988, 7-49. p.41.

⁴⁹ G. Jusdorf, Cited par Olongum, *Melange Africain*, Paris Infan 1976 p.13.

⁵⁰ E. Benyera, "Debating the efficiency of traditional mechanisms: The Case of National Healing in Zimbabwe 1980-2011", PhD Thesis in African Politics University of Pretoria.

institutions are found in all African societies who play effective roles in the resolution of conflicts in their various communities. Traditional institutions of conflict resolution in Africa in general and Awing in particular have native peace building and conflict transformation mechanisms which are mandatory in addressing social disputes, land disputes and political contestation. Since traditional institutions are regarded as part of the justice delivery system in quest for conflict transformation. It pushes us to raise three important questions which will be the back bone of this part of work:

- -What are the challenges faced by the traditional institutions in peacebuilding and conflict transformation?
- What are the difficulties faced by Awings as a result of its History, Enviroment which has slowed the resolutionof conflict in the locality?
- As a result of our ground work and research, what are the possible suggestions in which we can suggest to promote the implantation of peace and conflict resolution in Awing?

To answer the above central questions, we shall present this section in three parts, first we are going to start by bringing out the difficulties faced by traditional institutions in Awing which has hindered the process of conflict resolution in the Awing village.

The various traditional institutions in Awing like the Fon, Kwifor, Notables, Traditional Council, and Developmental Asoociations face challenges that can influence the process of conflict resolution in Awing. In this light we are going to start with:

The Challenge of Modernity has reduced the authority and power of the Fon

In Chapter one and two, we saw that Awing had 13 leaders and the last one being Fon Fozoh II. Through our research we showed that traditional rulers are the custodians of the culture of their peoples, these traditional rulers promote peace in their locality. Institutions of traditional leadership are an old form of governance that, in the past held administrative, executive and judicial functions. Infact chapter one shows that during the colonial era, traditional rulers in the Northwest in general and Awing in particular were upheld as leaders and adopted in the governance structures of colonial governments and became associated with the oppression and injustices of these regimes. Thus at the time of transition from colonial rule to democracy, traditional institutions were subjected to scrutiny by their constituencies. Disparate views were expressed about the traditional systems of government, as people argued that it was an institution that had been subjected to manipulation and distortion by colonialism and advocated for it to be reformed. This situation has slowed the process of

Resolution of Conflict in the Traditional level as this *Fon* is not seen by all again as the supreme and unquestionable leader he was during the colonial period in consequence chapter 3 shows that the *Fon* has lost some of his powers as he is forced to cooperate in order to promote peace.

The Tense Relationship between Traditional leaders and Modern Administrative Leaders.

Again another situation which acts as a barrier in the process of conflict resolution in Awing as observed through documentary observation is the tense situation that has always existed between the Administration rights from the British, French Era in British Southern Cameroon with the Traditional institutions in Awing. The Awing man through his history has always promoted the principle of non-interference which is not respected by the administrative institution seen in the case of Fon Ayafoo I and the fact that his successors mightful of problems choosed a position of neutrality did not please the administration. This relationship is often hindred by adversarial relationship between these two institutions. As more attention are paid on the mistakes committed by traditional leader's while less are paid to that of administrative authorities seen in the Awing-Baligham conflict as the constant change of Administrative authorities in Santa has slowed down the process of conflict resolution as an administrator might engaged a consultative session with both conflicting partners , and when he is at the point of rendering potential decisions which can reduced tension, he is affected out of the area suspending the file and with the coming of the new Civil Administrator he has to start all the process again which will subsequently contribute to challeges faced by traditional institutions in persons of traditional rulers in the process of the resolution of conflict in Awing.

The Reduction of the Administrative powers of the *Kwofoo* slowed down the process of conflict resolution.

According to oral history, the *Kwofoo* is the supreme political institution of the people. The *Kwofoo* Assembly is considered as the House of Assembly in Cameroon. All personalities in Awing are accountable to the *Kwifor*. As a result of modernization which brought the creation of development associations in Awing, the *Kwifor* is gradually losing its powers as a secret informant tells us that: "It is abnormal for an individual to take upon himself on a broad live TV channel talking about Awing without consulting the *Kwofoo*, the

Kwifor is very angry”.⁵¹With this we clearly see the role by played by the evolution of time which has weakened the *Kwofoo* Assembly and eventually weakens the process of conflict resolution in Awing.

The Problem of Adaptation of Traditional Customary Courts to Modern Changes.

Right from olden times, African societies have often had their traditional judicial institution even before the coming of the Europeans to the the North West Region in general and Awing in particular. Through out research most informants we interviewed raised the issue of modern courts supremacy over customary courts. The people through time have always believed in the power of the Awing Judicial system well explained in our second and third chapter. The Awing judicial system has faced a lot of challenges which affects the process of conflict resolution in Awing like its accession to modern developments. This modern courts come into vigour and supremes these traditional institutions which have always being the pillars of the society. For example, cases of Adultery in Awing is not judged the same way as it is done in modern courts, the altitude of honouring the gods with items like cows, sheeps, redoil, palm wine in a calabash is not practised in modern courts and this affects the younger generation who have forgotten this practises and which puts traditional institutions in a bad posture in the process of resolution of conflicts in Awing.

The Existence of many Traditional institutions with duplicated functions

As earlier mentiomed the traditional institutions of Awing are made up of the *Fon*, *Kwifor*, Traditional Council, Notables, and Quarter Heads. All these institutions handle conflicting solutions in Awing and there is always the tendency of duplication of functions on cases which can as a result hinder the process of resolution of conflicts. This multiplication justifies the fact that the *Fon* of Awing goes to see the *Fon* of njong in secret without consulting his institution because he knew that these institutions will slow down the process of resolution of conflict.

Personal ego and hatred, has slowed the process of Conflict resolution in Awing

There is no perfect society and there is one thing history has taught us is that you can either be on the good side or the bad side of history. This is the case with Awing as its migration history and the arrival of the first palace in 1921 at Alameti and the tussle of power and supremacy among the initial founding fathers of Awing. We are all aware of the the

⁵¹ Interview wth Secret Informant on the 18July 2022.

traditional game they opted to choose their first ruler, it has not been really accepted by others from generations to generations and the inclusion of some tribes has for long eventhough not showed has nursed the spirit of hatred and revenge. These personal egos have influenced the process of conflict resolution which is sometime seen taken hostage by particular institutions as a result of one reason to another. with these the process and the quick reaction of traditional institutions are not quickly, the traditional institutions in Awing functions as a puzzle if one piece is disrupted the whole institution will eventually be hindered and consequently the effectiveness of this institutions are questioned in such decisions. In the same line myths and rites in certain clans facilitates the exclusion and fear of one another in cases of marriage were certain tribes prohibit their children from getting married in some clans. This has reduced the process of conflict resolution in Awing.

The settlement patterns and spatialization leaves Awing volnurable to constant attacks by their neighbors.

In the same light, in our chapters especially chapter one and two we presented the migration channel of Awing people and at their migration history with tribes like Bamenyam, Bambili, befor they finally settled around Alameti. The people of Awing as it regards its settlement patterns have a large concertration in areas like mbenten, tanjang, and mbenjom as this for hilly quarters like alameti they are settled there but not in a very large scale. The transfer of the Awing palace from Alameti to its present site created a vague of migration from hilly areas to low land areas which was seen as a positive site but negative in that the former areas were mostly used as farm lands and the was a low population settlement. The population of Awing is estimated about 45000 inhabitants made up of several clans, its land is estimated of morethan 100km². During our research work we noticed that a larger population were settled in concertrated areas leaving behind areas towards their boundary with Njong, Small Babanki, Akum, Bamendankwe, Bamiyam and Baligham. The main activities in this areas are mostly agricultural like farming and cattle rearing and a low population settelement rate in the area. These leaves this ares vulnerable to their neighbors who insearch of land for their economic activities often have the tendency of not respecting their border demarcations thereby leaving the area in constant insecurity and weakening the processes of conflict resolution.

The problem of proper boundary demarcations with their neighbors weakens the efforts of Traditional institutions in their efforts of conflict resolution

Through out its history proven through documentations, oral history, and fieldwork the people of Awing have witness a lot of conflictual situations right from the time of Fon Ayafoo I in the british colonial period in Cameroon still present under the leadership of Fon Fozoh II. The people of Awing have witnessed a series of confrontations with their neighbors as a result of the latter's non-respect of boundary demarcations. With this it puts traditional institutions in a difficult situation as efforts of mutual consultations weakens the process of conflict resolution in the area thereby affecting the traditional institutions of this area.

The challenges faced by Developmental Associations weakens their endeavour to promote peace in Awing

As seen in the previous chapters the Ndong Awing Cultural and Development Association saw light in 1962 and aims at uniting the Awing elites all over the country and the world. This association in order to promote peace and development in the village face a series of challenges which affects its contribution to the promotion of peace in awing. These challenges are seen as follows. The lack of finance is a great challenge to this association; most of the projects proposed by the elites to be carried out in the community is usually hindered due to financial issues. In this light their camapaigns of peace crusades as stated in its prehable are not an exception. Also the problem of lack of accountability is also one of the challenges that the association is facing. Members sometimes complaint that, the money sometimes raised for the execution of a project are not usually accounted at the end of the day. In the same developmet, the problem of personal egos is also one of the challeges that this association faces. This often occurs when happens when there is a transfer of power. Some people might lack confidence in the newly elected leader as to how accountability will be concerned.

Also there is a problem of educated men versus less educated. The perspective of development to the schooled men differs from those of the indigents and the lack of communication between this two people's certain times affect the association at a whole. The difficulties encountered by an association paralyses the whole structure and its actions are not an exception. It is often said that "Charity Begins at Home" so the internal difficulties encountered by this association affects its activities in the domain of resolution of conflict and there is thus a need for a solution which pushes us to possible recommendations or sugessions to remedy this situation.

4.2.3. Recommendations to the State and Traditional Authorities in Awing.

As first possible suggestion for an effective Traditional Institution in Awing the State needs to reduce its policy of interference in the matters of tribes or clans. The state needs to allow this traditional institution handle their own problems by simply guiding them and not using the policy of divide and rule for a better domination. One very important thing about the Awing man is that as a Banthu man the Awing man likes handling his issues be it conflictual or non conflictual and any form of external influence is not welcome. We have seen it, in our work with the actions of *Fon Ayafoo I* who was against all external influence and this constantly kept him in a conflictual situation with the colonial masters. The state needs to applied decentralization which will help to remedy the situation.

Secondly, as recommendation to the problematics above there is need to adapt our traditional courts to modern changes. Man in society is not static and as such traditional institutions need to answer to changes. The survival of the Awing traditional institution is sure testimony of the fact that traditional institutions in Cameroon stand as a springboard for local or rural masses to understand and integrate into the institutions of modern Cameroon. If this done, we will witness a smooth functioning of traditional institutions.

Thirdly, so as to promote the effectiveness of traditional institutions in the field of conflict resolution there is need simplify this institution by bringing them together for example an institution like the traditional council and notables can be encourage to work together other than working separately as the will be a duplication of functions and it will slow the process of conflict resolution. There is no need having so many traditional institutions while not bring them together so as to ease the process of conflict resolution in Awing.

In the same development, to reduce tension, insecurity existing among tribes in the area and to encourage the process of conflict resolution in Awing there is need to encourage a decentralised cooperation among tribes also known as a traditional diplomacy were tribes will exchange political, economic, and social-cultural competences. This cooperation if applied in Awing will reduce tensions in the area as the idea of living together will be encouraged not forgetting the developments that these tribes will learn from each other. In our work in chapter 3 we showed how the Fons, Elites contributed to the resolution of conflict without the implication of the state. It is discovered that this diplomacy is very efficient as our achieves shows the implication of authorities always let to fear as the state imposes rules that the conflictual parties donot want.

We earlier mentioned the problem of spatialization and settlements pattern of Awings which acts as a factor of conflictuality with their neighbors and as remedy there is need to encourage the effective occupations of land in Awing especially in areas around their boundaries. When this lands are used only for farming there is always the tendency from envious neighbors to occupy this area.

In the same line as recommendation, institutions of traditional order have to be a political so that they have to be accepted by all. In the case of Awing there is need by all traditional institutions to be apolitical especially the supreme leader of the Clan. In our work notably in chapter 3 we saw that one of the successes of *Fon Ngongeh III OF Awing* was that he was apolitical. He considered all as his children and shorn none, this fatherly altitude of him was appreciated by all and his decisions was always accepted by all. Thus, it promoted the promotion and resolution of conflicts in Awing.

And lastly there is need for a general representation of all parts of Awing in the differen traditional institutions in Awing. If done perfectly it will encourage reinsertion of all Awings and nurse the spirit of belonging to this village. With this incase of conflicts this different institutions could use person's familiar with a particular tribe so as to bring long and lasting solutions to the conflict in particular and to all conflicting situations in the country.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It was our goal in this work to present the historicity of a people in relation with their neighbours. That is, the characteristics and links shared in common by the different peoples of the Santa sub division of the North West region. With this we were interested in the Awing people in particular. The interest we had for this people was motivated not only on the personal point of view but also on a scientific perspective. This motivation of research permitted us to formulate objectives which made us to understand that due to the spatialization, the people of Awing entertain pacific, friendly, as well as conflictual relations with different peoples which they encountered be it on their migration journey or when already settled in their final spot. In this light, our work mentions the people of Njong, Babadjo, and Bali-Gham as peoples who were seen in the relational path of the Awing people before and during our period of study. It is discovered that geographical factors like climate and natural resources constituted factors of implantations of people who will rival each other to the point of confrontations and cohabitation for the management of space. It was against this backdrop that the topic; Traditional Institutions and Conflict Management in Awing 1921-2012 became of prime interest to us.

This work puts in evidence the fact that all conflicts are first cultural and the Awings in this case and their neighbours are a reflection of cultures which are affronting each other. History shows us that there is need to start from culture so as to bring lasting solutions to conflicts. The examples of Rwanda, South Africa, Burundi, served as scientific justifications to this study in the measure that we went from the posture in which cultural mechanisms of promotion and resolution of conflict can serve as tools to resolve contemporal conflicts. That is why, the cultural interest of this work is very important, as it permitted to observe that in Awing, the philosophy of peace was progressively kept in place and permitted the institution of an operational model in matters of resolution of conflict.

How ever the notion of promotion of peace can appear inadequate in an Africa of tradition and cultures. It appears that peace for Awings is similar to living. These facts permitted us to say the Awing man uses violence only when his rights are not respected and also in cases of violation of their boundaries as was the case with the Babadjos, Njongs, and Balighams.

After having conducted this research on Awing Traditional Institutions and Conflict management we came to realise that;

Traditional institutions like the Fon in the functionalist point of view influenced the conception of peace in the Awing country. To understand this a recall of our problematic as of; how do Traditional Institutions in Awing contribute in the resolution of conflict? We saw that from the 18th to 19th century notably during the reign of a Chief like Foo Ayafor I the people of Awing used political, economic, and diplomatic means to manage conflicts. It is discovered in effect that Awings during their migrations gave land to their neighbors so that this last carry out agricultural activities and also for settlement purposes. Here we see the origin of their problem with Baligham. This work questions the land tenure preoccupation Cameroon which confronts traditional and modern law, and this is also to answer the question of whom does land belong to. In another term the tribal conflict which emerged between Awings and her neighbors forced public powers to be interested in post-colonial conflicts where traditional institutions played an important role. In the political point of view, we understood that the Fon is the central personality to this political organisation which at a time very powerful but at the same time related to complementary reports; with other traditional instances. Other traditional instances obey the pyramid of hierarchy which shows the procedure of the submission of the conflict. This approach is generally conflictual with modern law which wants that the state has the last say in matters of conflict. While Awings in their diplomatic approach showed us that these peoples can understand each other and free themselves from logics wanted by the state. What makes it possible is the social organisation of Awing which is commonly headed by family and marriage.

We discovered through this work that certain clans in Awing consider marriage like an instrument in the measure that they refuse to authorise marital links with other tribes. This fact brings us to understand that religion and beliefs determines the nature of relations that Awings entertain between themselves and their neighbours. In effect the religious system in Awing comprised of a mixture of traditional convictions, the importance of the role of secret societies, the cult of ancestors but; all be relativist with the presence of modern religion. It is for this reason in our work we talk of religion actors in the promotion and resolution of conflict. Religion for Awings is a factor which obliges Awings to understand themselves in their search for peace with their neighbors. In this work we saw reverend fathers and pastors assembling the Awings and Balighams through the presidents of their development associations so as to facilitate the return of peace in the locality. This fact pushed us to channel our interest on the instances of resolution of conflict in Awing. In a functionalist point of view, we showed that these different organs play a major role in the elaboration, conception, and applicability of peace. We considered that their action differs in the cases of

types of conflicts in Awing. With this, concerning inter-clinical conflicts their roles took a major role as they are front-runners, at this level social conflicts, conflicts among quarters are controlled by them by taking into consideration the cultural dimension and customary law. This fact has been accepted by the *Fons* since the reign of Foo Ayafoo I to Foo Fozoh II, this last in effect brought a personalised diplomacy so as to resolve conflicts with the Njongs and Balighams. With this we can say that the personality of the Fon same as customs are instruments of resolution of conflicts. Therefore, parties in conflict can contact the public administration so as to contest the decision.

Also in conflicts opposing Awings with neighboring peoples it appears that the state has it word to say mindful of the para-diplomacy engaged by the Fon. This is why we distinguish Traditional methods and modern methods of resolution of conflicts, the interest was to show that traditional methods are not suppressed by modern events and that actual events comes from past situations. Is this not the sense of history; which is the study of the past, present so as to envisage the future? These ancient methods permitted us to understand that in conflicts Awings privilege local negotiation and mediation which shows that the interference of a third part notably the state, complicated the problem, we can thus talk of a direct diplomacy from Awings. Chapter 3 notably shows the different actions taken by traditional institutions so as to resolve conflict. We observed here that sittings and encounters, were one of the means used by the Awing people so as to put an end to conflict. That is why in this work the figure of Fon Fozoh II and his encounters with the Balighams constitute an important element of conflict management displayed in our work.

With this we can confidently establish as fact that traditional law and modern law can be associated in the management of conflicts or problems which posed communities. This situation permits us to present a people who respects the institutions of the state mindful of the traditional hegemony which characterises them. Also said, this work permits us to conciliate at a time the traditional vision of a people to state laws from a principle in which there is a pyramid of norms in situations of successions and also in matters of conflict.

Considering that UN mechanisms have showed their limits and the fact that it is globally impossible to resolve a conflict without taking into consideration endogenous factors, this study comes at this time with the sole purpose of filling the existing gap in the conflict resolution process as it throws light on an effective alternative well rooted in the people's custom and traditions. This new approach to conflict management and resolution which has proven its worth in the Awing Community could become a new standard to be adopted in the management of the different conflict plaguing the Cameroonian society.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: The Awing village Anthem

12

AWING ANTHEM.

1:

ala yetseu chi mem Ngemba pe fong⁷a ne
 'wing
 põ ne chi⁷ a 'ndzem ne menu môm petsem
 zhen 'ndzang ndô põ ne ndô ne
 'ndzem 'nti⁷i mbi
 menu môm-m le-e 'ndzang
 'ndô 'nsê kwene

Refrain : (mbue⁷wing)

mbue⁷wing
 ne wam tso le (ne wam tso le)
 'ntenken la 'a'ndzen
 ye'ntso ne mbi
 (kô'nkeu mben ne dzem-e)

13

2:

zheu 'ndzang 'ndô põ ne 'ndô ne'ndzem
 nti⁷i mbi⁷i
 menu môm le-e 'ndzang 'ndô 'nsê zob
 'kwene
 le nengerekeu põ ne 'ndô ne 'ndzem
 'nti⁷i mbi
 menu môm le-e 'ndzang 'ndô 'nsê kwene

Refrain : (Ndong Awing)

(nkang owu)

(pekeum)

(pengye)

Composed by Christopher Nkembo
 Ncho alias Papa Monkenyang (1978)

Compiled and transcribed by
 Professor Paul Mbangwana

Source: P. Mbangwana, *Ndong Awing Chronicle Diary 1999/2000*. pp.12/13.

Appendix II: Coronation pictures of Fon Fozoh II.

Source: Peter Akote Photo Album.Limbe,14 March 2021.

Appendix III: Presentation of a Notable after an initiation iin Awing.



Source: Mbamoh Solomon Ngemita Photo Album, Yaounde, 5 January 2021.

Appendix IV: First General Assembly of Awing Women Bamenda in 1978.



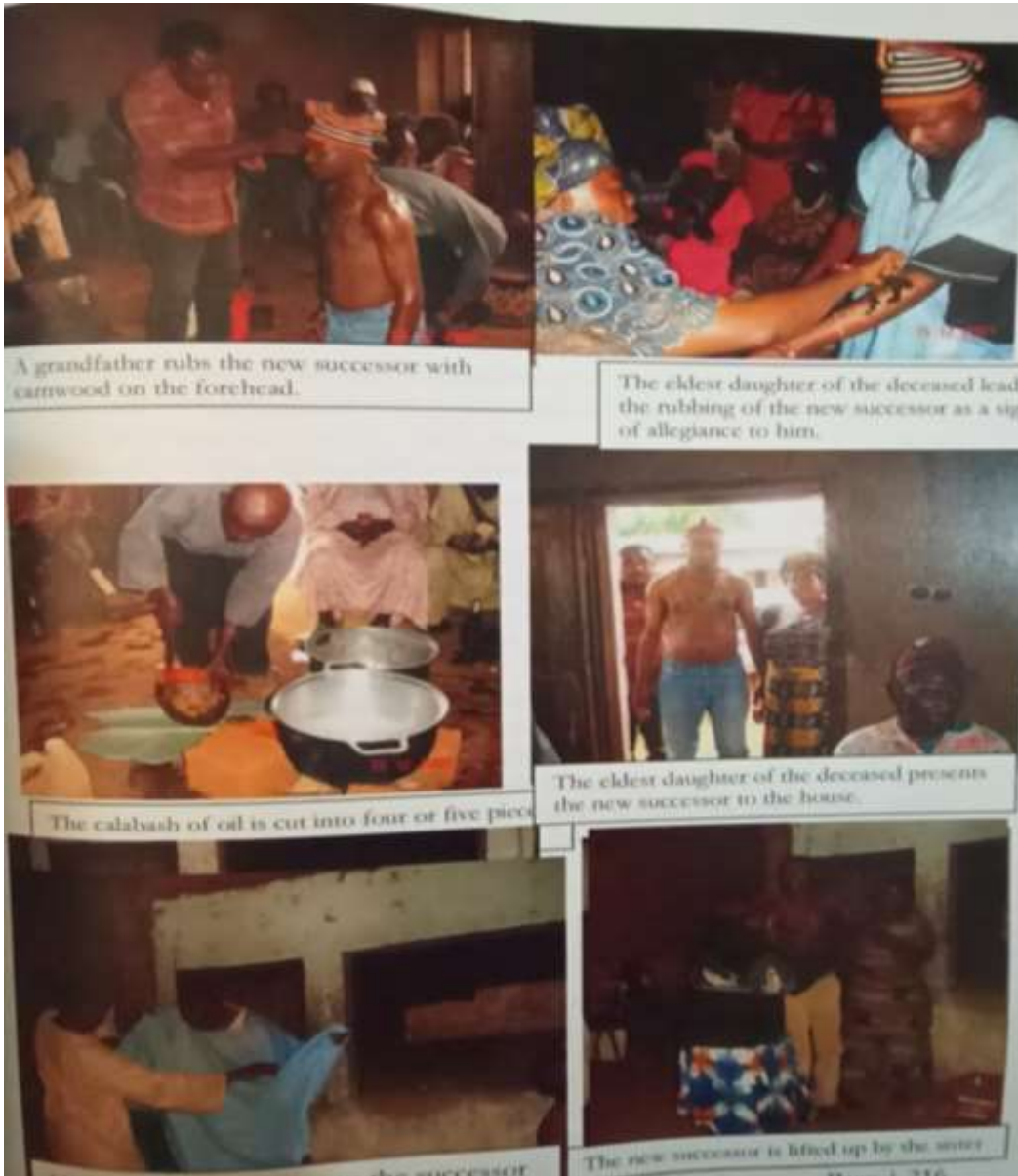
Source: Mbagwana Lucie Photo Albums, Yaounde, 5 January 2021.

Appendix V: The Strong Awing Women Notables.



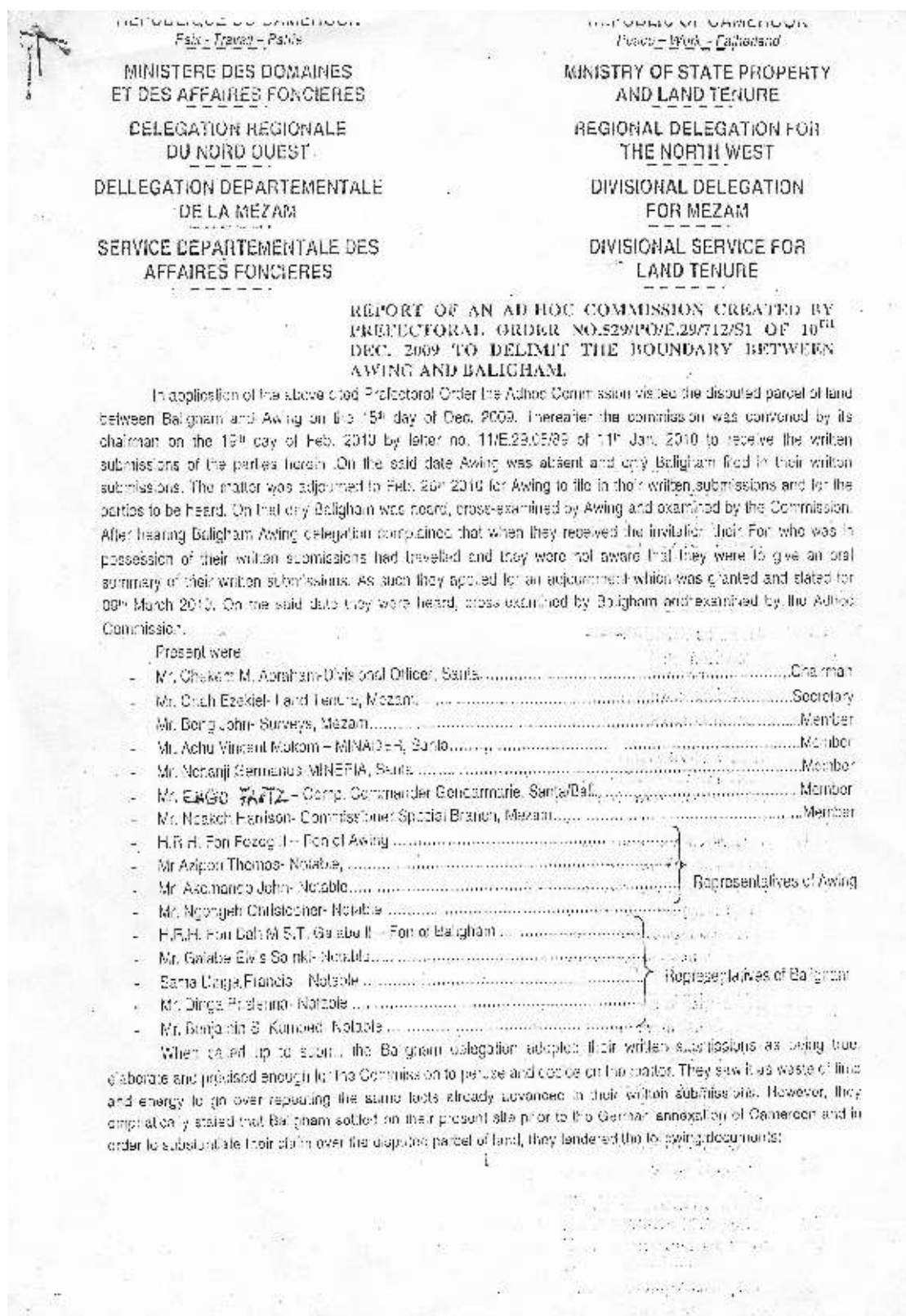
Source: P.Akote, *As I know It*, p.120.

Appendix VI: Presentation of a Successor in Awing



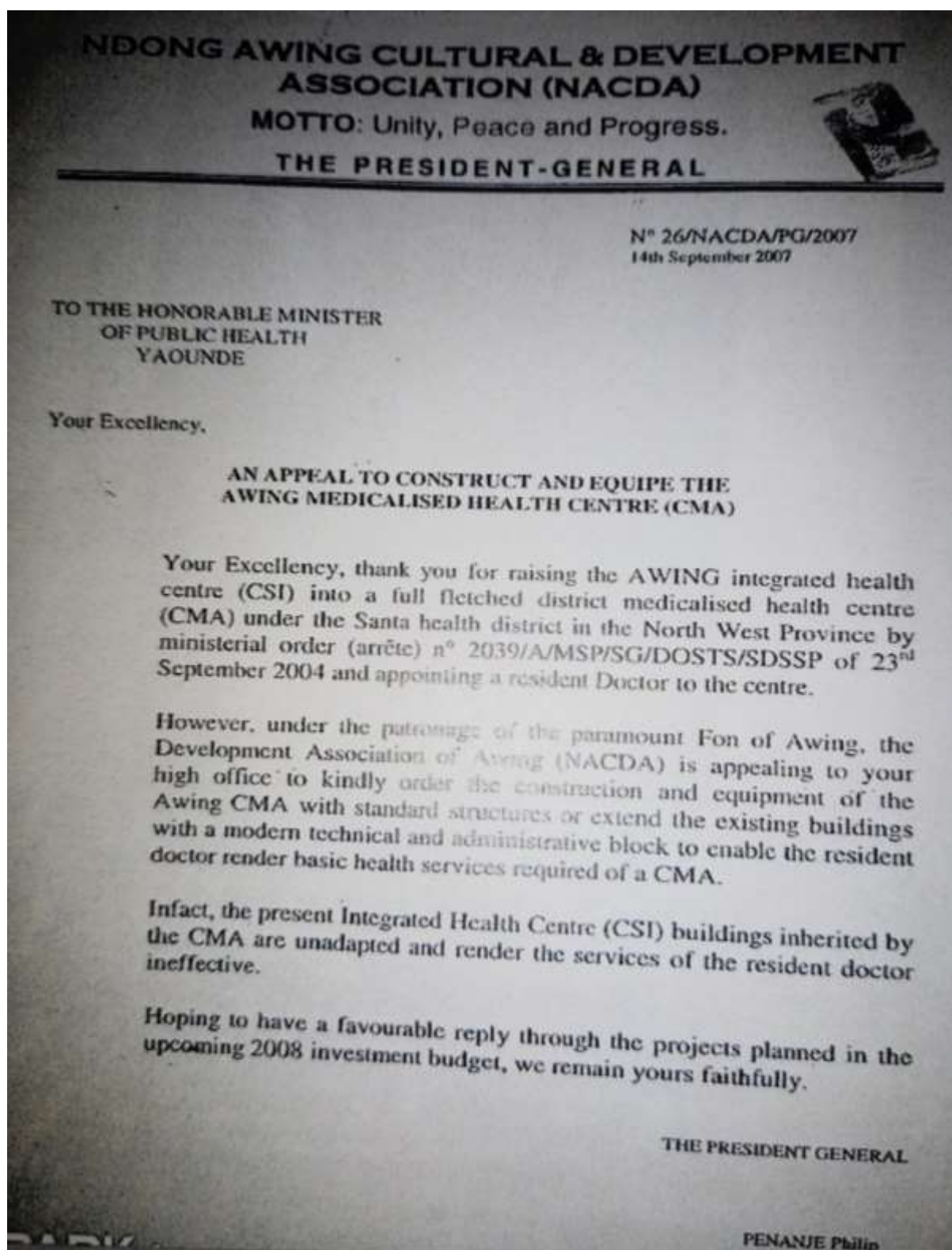
Source: P. Akote, *As I Know It* p,216.

Appendix VII : Title: a prefectoral report of an ad hoc commission created by the state to delimit the Awing –Baligham Border in 2009



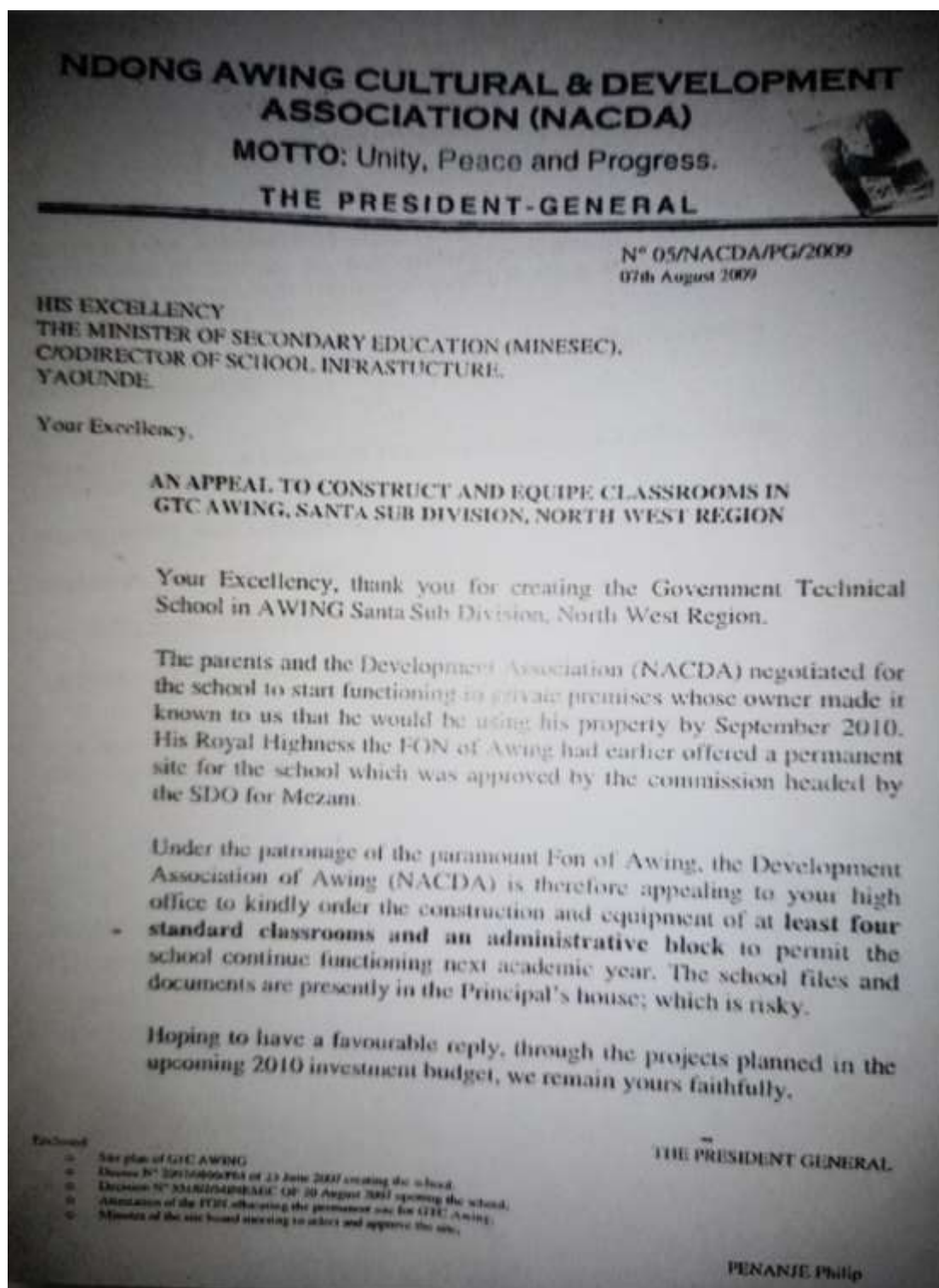
Source: The Secretariat of the Awing Traditional Council, Awing, 13 March 2023.

Appendix VIII: Title: letter of appeal to the minister of public health



Source : The Secretariat of the Awing Traditioal Council, Awing, 13 March 2022.

Appendix IX: An appeal letter for the construction of classes and equipments in Awing



Source: The Secretariat of the Awing Traditional Council, Awing, 13 March 2022.

Appendix XI : A News Article on the Escalation of the Awing-Baligham Land Conflict.

-** Quotidienmutations.info Journal d'information indépendant**-

Page 1 of 2

Enquete

30 Mar 2009

Litige : La bande de la discorde

Les Baligham et Awing se battent depuis la période coloniale pour un terrain qu'on dit fertile.



Les premières échauffourées éclatent en mai 1999. On prépare la célébration de la fête de l'unité cette année-là. Mais, l'unité est loin d'être soignée entre Baligham et Awing, deux villages qui sont pourtant obligés de partager les mêmes frontières.

Une sortie qui s'achève avec la mort de quatre personnes, dont un prince de la chefferie Baligham. Il a été brûlé vif par des assaillants. Tout comme 69 cases ont été incendiées. Les dégâts sont partagés. On a du mal à

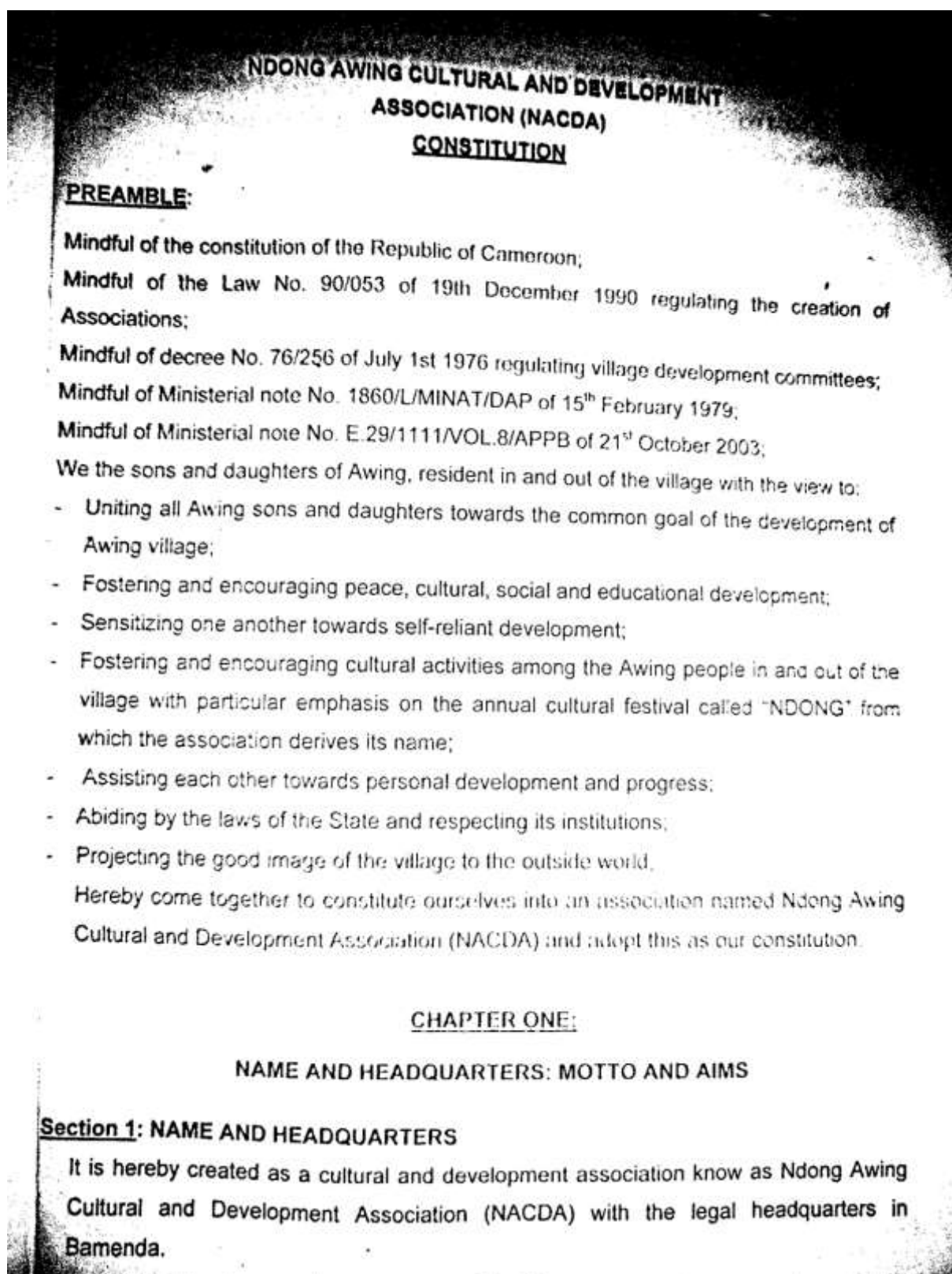
comprendre les raisons de ce soulèvement. A l'époque, une première commission est mise sur pied et présidée par le préfet de la Mezam. Elle a pour tâche de régler ce conflit. Trois à quatre séances de travail sont organisées, avec pour objectif de déterminer le propriétaire d'un terrain d'environ 2500 m², situé au quartier Gahyeba, entre les rivières Kucti (proche de Awing) et Nkwanmifi (dans la périphérie de Baligham). Les protagonistes ne s'entendent pas. Les Baligham pensent que cet espace leur revient. Pour soutenir leur thèse, ils brandissent un document signé de l'époque coloniale. Ce document porte la griffe de M. Ripert (chef de la circonscription de Dschang) et Hawkesworth (adjoint du district de Bamenda). On y retrouve également la signature de M. Dou (adjoint au chef de la circonscription de Dschang et par ailleurs chef de la sous-division à Foumban. Le document qui date de 1926, montre les levées topographiques et les limites.

En face, les Awing ne sont pas convaincus. Ils sortent à leur tour un document cadre intitulé Ngemba Mojamow area, signé le 16 avril 1926, pour dire que Baligham n'existait pas à l'époque. Et que ce sont eux qui, par pitié, ont permis aux Baligham de s'installer sur leur terre. Entre vérités et contre-vérités, l'administration actuelle se perd dans les dédales des textes coloniaux. Qui a finalement raison ? Difficile d'y apporter une réponse. En 2006, un second conflit entre les deux villages provoque la constitution d'une seconde commission. On croit que tout va s'arranger, surtout que les morts continuent à tomber. La commission nouvellement créée décide d'effectuer une descente sur le terrain. Chaque village doit contribuer à hauteur de 125.000 FCFA. Un peu moins que la première fois, 250.000 francs. Pourquoi ces commissions tardent-elles à rendre leur copie ? Le Fon de Awing pense qu'elle est confrontée à un seul aléa : "La véritable cause c'est l'affectation régulière des autorités administratives. Quand un sous-préfet arrive nouvellement et veut s'enquérir les mouvements dans la préfecturale font qu'il abandonne notre dossier pour son successeur. Et c'est comme cela tout le temps. Le premier forme une commission qui est différente de celle mise sur pied par le second, et la chaîne recommence. Chacun d'entre eux forme des commissions qu'il faut revoir ", soutient S.M Fozo II.

Au fil des jours, et à écouter les individus d'un camp comme de l'autre, l'administration est accusée d'entretenir le flou. Elle qui ne veut pas prendre une décision idoine pour éviter des sorties du genre de la semaine dernière.

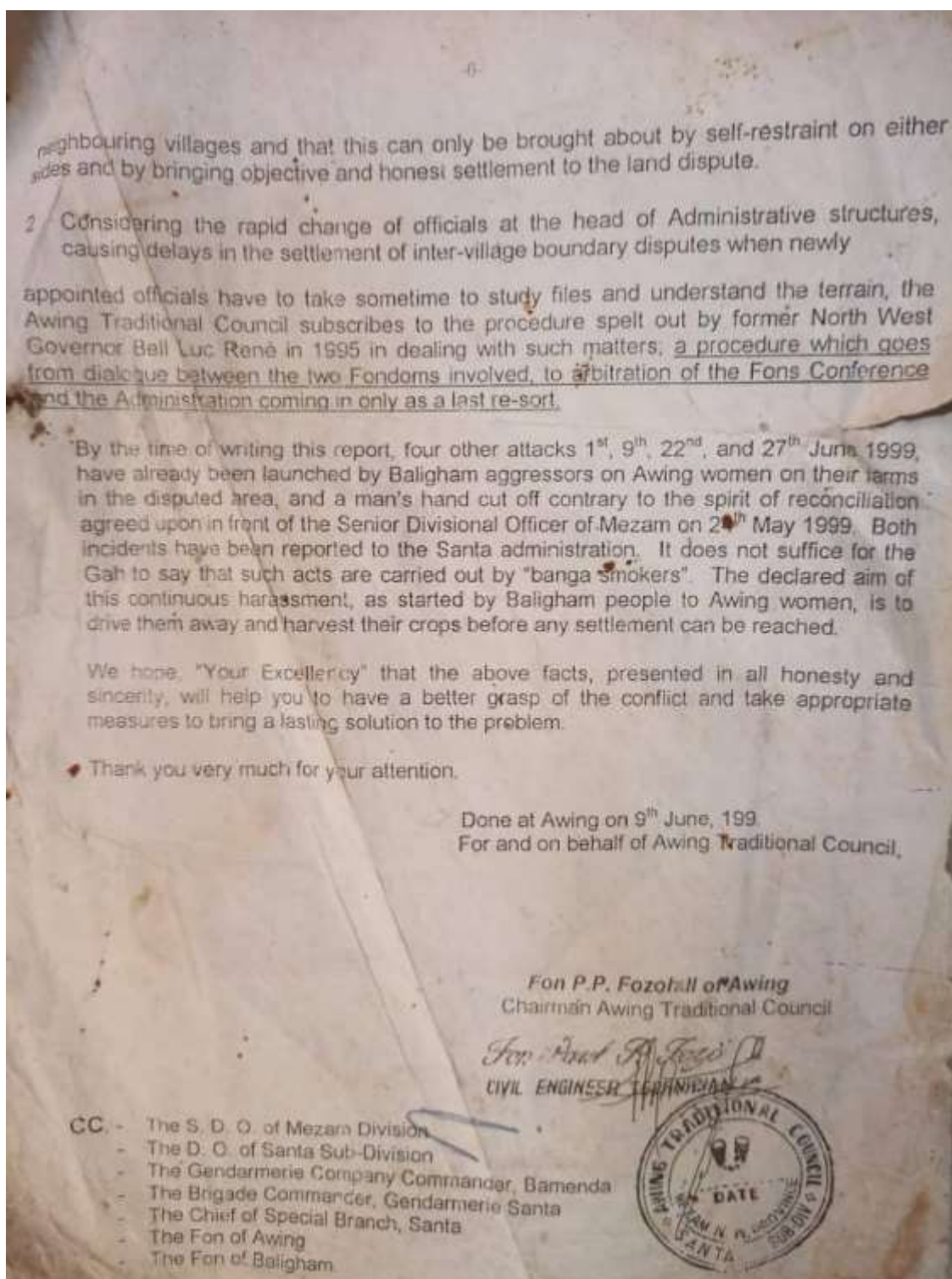
<http://www.quotidienmutations.info/enquete.php?subaction=showfull&id=1238391587&arc...> 4/1/2009

Appendix XII: The Constitution of Nacda and its Prehamble.



Source: Ndong Awing Cultural Development Association Golden Jubilee Constitution. June 2012.

Appendix XIII- A Report by the Awing Traditional Council to the SDO of Mezam on the Awing-Baligham Conflict



Source The secretariat of the Awing Traditional Council, Awing

13th March 2022

**Appendix XIV: Correspondance of the Fon of Awing to the Governor of the NorthWest
in the Subject of the Cease fire of 30th April 2006 with Baligham.**



The Divisional Officer
Santa Sub Division

Date: April 17, 2006

**Subject: BREAKING OF THE CEASE-FIRE OF APRIL 30TH 2006 BY
BALIGHAM VILLAGE.**

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the cease-fire agreed by both Awing and Baligham villages at the reconciliation meeting convened by you and the elites of Santa Sub Division on April 3rd 2006 in the Santa Council Hall has not been respected by Baligham village.

On two occasions, gunshots have been heard at the disputed area where Awing farmers' portions are being farmed by the Baligham population along with food harvesting.

It will be very necessary for the reconciliation commission to urgently visit the area in order to take steps to stop the provocations by the Baligham population.

Thank you for prompt action.

Sincerely yours,

Fon P.P. Fozoh II
Awing Fandom.

CC:

- H.E. The Governor of the N.W.P.
- The S.D.O. Mezam Division
- The Forces of Law and Order
- The Reconciliation Commission

Source: The Secretariat of the Traditional Council of Awing, Awing, 13March 2022.

Appendix XV: A question guide for the collection of information in view of writing a masters ii dissertation in history

A. IDENTIFICATION

NAME

SURNAME.....

OCCUPATION

AGE

B. QUESTIONS

Q1. WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE AWING – BALIGHAM CONFLICT

ANSWER.....

.....

Q2. WHICH YEAR DID THIS WAR TAKE PLACE

.....

Q3. WHAT WERE THE TRADITIONAL ANCIEN METHODS USED TO SOLVE

THEWAR.....

.....

.....?

Q4.HOW WERE CONFLICTS SOLVE IN AWING DURING THE

ANCIENT AND CONTEMPORARY PERIODS

.....

.....

.....

Q5. WHAT WERE THE TRADITIONAL INSTRUMENTS OF

CONFLINCTS RESOLUTIONS IN AWING

.....

.....

.....?

Q6. WERE THESE TRADITIONAL METHODS AND INSTITUTIONS

EFFECTIVE IN RESOLVING CONFLINCTS IN AWING

.....

.....

.....

Q7. WHAT WAS THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE

RESOLUTION OF THE AWING-BALIGHAM CONFLICT?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q8. DID AWING WITNESS ANY OTHER WAR IF YES

WHICH WAR WAS IT

.....
Q9. WERE ANY NON- GOVERMENTAL ORGANIZATION INVOLVED IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLINCTS BETWEEN THE AWING PEOPLE AND HER SURROUNDINGS
.....
.....
.....

.....
Q10. IN YOUR OPINION WHICH OF THESE METHODS WERE EFFECTIVE IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS, TRADITIONAL OR MODERN

.....
.....

.....
Q11. HOW MANY QUARTERS DOES HAVE AND WHO ARE THEIR CLAN HEADS?

.....
.....

WHAT ROLE DO YOU PLAY IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE AWING OF LAND DISPUTES IN AWING.....

.....?
Q12. HAVE YOU HEARD OF THE AWING/NJONG CONFLICT IF YES WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT?

Q13.THE AWING/BAMUKUBIT CONFLICT. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THIS WAR?

.....
.....

Q14. HOW IS PALM WINE A TOOL USED IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IN AWING

Q15.WHAT IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AWING MAN.....

.....
.....

Q16 WHAT DISTINGUISHES AN AWING MAN FROM AN AKUM MAN,DO BOTH NATIVES HAVE AREAS OF COMPLEMENTARITY

.....
.....
.....

(History is an illumination to the soul a nation without a history, a people with no knowledge of their history are like leaves who do not know they part of tree)

Thanks for your time and dedication your royal highness.

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B-Interviews

N°	List of Informants	Age	Status	Place of Interview	Date of interview
1	Akondi Samson	61	Politician	Douala	13 March 2021
2	Ama-poh John Chfor	63	Educationalist and Writer	Yaounde	-4 December 2021 -22 February 2022
3	Chi Binue Josephine	49	Female Notable Awing	Yaounde	20 December 2021
4	Divine Afeseh	30	Business Man	Bamenda	16 July 2022
5	HRH Fon Fozoh II	57	Fon of Awing	Awing	-4 November 2021. -13 March 2022 -14 July 2022.
6	Ma Mbagwana Lucie	60	Awing Female Notable	Yaounde	3 January 2022
7	Mahamat Taha	30	Researcher	Yaounde	22 July 2022
8	Mama Monica	45	Farmer	Awing	-4 November 2021.
9	Manyi Justine Mbamasa	45	Awing Native	Yaounde	20 December 2021

10	Marcial Mani	30	Researcher	Yaounde	20 July 2022
11	Mbah Vincent	55	Educator	Douala	13 March 2021
12	Mbamoh Solomon Ngemita	59	Awing Notable	Awing	18 February 2022
13	Mboetne Yusuf	34	Researcher	Yaounde	22 July 2022
14	Mekemte Aline	30	Researcher	Yaounde	25 July 2022
15	Mr Nsah Bernard	35	Doctor and Researcher	Yaounde	22 December 2021
16	Ntsokefoo peter Akote	58	Engineer	Limbe	14 March 2021
17	Pa Mbapeh	62	Secretary of Traditional council	Awing	13 March 2022
18	Pa Kumase	71	Politician and Awing Elite	Douala	13 March 2021
19	Pa Mbamasa	46	Business man and Traditional Practitioner	Yaounde	15 May 2022
20	Pa Mbamoh Diedonne	42	Awing Elite	Yaounde	22 April 2022
21	Pa Ngongeh Jacob	48	Police man and Awing Elite	Yaounde	18 April 2022
22	Pa Ntumfor Nico Halle	65	Barrister	Douala	13 March 2021
23	PaAteh Micheal	58	Presidential Guard and Awing Elite	Yaounde	3 september 2021
24	Pa Ernest Akofor	56	Journalist and Awing Elite	Yaounde	10 February 2021
25	Pascal Apongde	45	Eductionalist and Writer	Yaounde	4 December 2021
26	Pekele Monica	59	Civil Servant	Yaounde	11 December 2020
27	Prof. Wonyu Emmanuel	65	Lecturer in Iric	Yaounde	22 July 2022
28	Tasha Fopi	28	Researcher	Douala	15 March 2021
29	Tata Mofor	54	Awing Prince	Awing	12 March 2022
30	Thierry Ekani	42	Researcher	Yaounde	14 April 2022
31	Tih Nelson	45	Driver	Awing	13 March 2022

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