

INVENTING TRADITION IN THE FAKO DIVISION OF CAMEROON: CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION RULES IN PERSPECTIVE.

Mikano Emmanuel Kiye
Department of English Law,
Faculty of Law and Political Science,
University of Buea,
P.O. Box 63 Buea,
Cameroon.
mikano2@hitmail.com

Abstract

The paper unravels the distortion of chieftaincy succession rules in the Fako Division of Cameroon. Prior to European colonialism, most Cameroonian communities ascribed to hereditary chieftaincy stools which were recognized in centralized communities during Colonialism. In acephalous societies, the colonial state invented chiefs, eventually leading to the emergence of a chieftaincy custom in these 'chiefless' societies. The 1977 decree, organizing chiefdoms in Cameroon, has led to distortion of chieftaincy succession rules especially in the Fako Division, where these rules have been misrepresented and politicized for selfish reasons. Consequently, the emerging rules are products of politics divorced from the cultural expressions of the communities.

Keywords: Chieftaincy Succession Rules, Customs, Distortion, Fako Division.

Introduction

Chiefdoms predates the modern state of Cameroon and, perhaps, most other sub-Saharan African states. A chief is the leader of a tribe, ethnic group or village community endowed with customary authority. Chieftaincy succession rules in Cameroon, specifically Fako Division, are in a state of change, provoked by colonial and post-colonial processes unassociated with the cultural expressions of the community.⁵ During European Colonialism, the customary authority of chiefs was reinforced in some communities whereas in others alternate succession rules developed, whose legality was derived from processes unrelated to customs.

⁵ Fako Division is one of the five administrative divisions of the South West Region of Cameroon. The others are Meme, Lebialem, Ndian and Koupe-Manengouba. The South West Region is one of the ten administrative regions of Cameroon. Prior to colonialism, chiefs exercised hereditary customary authority.

The pre-colonial period was the golden era of traditional authority in centralized communities in Cameroon. Chiefs reigned, through traditional institutions, virtually unchallenged and commanded the loyalty of their subjects. Traditional societies were governed by customs regulating all spheres of social life including the rules governing chieftaincies and succession. These rules were based on customs which were rarely in dispute. They were mostly hereditary and couched in superstitious beliefs that saw chiefs not only as custodians of the customs and traditions of the people, but also as intermediaries between the people and their ancestors (Awinsong 2017), a role that was honourable and revered. Colonialism provoked developments that weakened the role of chiefs in traditional societies. In acephalous societies, such as those in Fako Division, the colonizers invented the notion of chief in these ‘chiefless’ communities.⁶ Attempts were made to traditionalize the institution, which was a creation of the colonial state. Chiefs were coerced to act as intermediaries between their subjects and the colonial state and disloyalty was sanctioned by punishment or dethronement, the consequence being that appointment to the office became dependent not only on the emerging tradition but also on political expediency. This trend continued after independence, having been inadvertently re-affirmed by the 1977 decree⁷ organizing chiefdoms in Cameroon.

The application of some provisions of the decree has detached succession rules from their traditional foundations to one akin to the political process. This development has led to distortion in chieftaincy succession rules, especially in Fako Division, and also impacted on the conceptualization of customary law, rendering it a product of recent politics as opposed to a reflection of the cultural values of the community. This paper discusses the evolving chieftaincy succession rules in Fako Division of Cameroon. It highlights the transition from the traditionalization of chieftaincy succession rules to its politicization. It argues that although these rules are still mostly ingrained in traditional values, there are indications to suggest that the emerging rules are reflexive of current politics detached from cultural history.

⁶ To all colonial rulers, the French and the Germans as well as the British, it soon became a matter of policy to rule the new subjects through indigenous chiefs. The French were as quick as the British to create new chiefs in societies where these chiefs were hard to find. See Geschiere (1993: 151).

⁷ No. 77-245 of 15 July 1977.

Pre-colonial Era: The Force of Customs and Traditions

The pre-colonial period represented the golden era of traditional governance in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Chiefs exercised tremendous influence in traditional societies and commanded the loyalty of the people. Not all pre-colonial societies had chiefs. Some were 'chiefless' people including the pastoral Masai, the Kikuyu, the Kamba, all of Kenya and the Ibo of Nigeria (Tignor 1971: 341). As leaders of the community, chiefs were responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and the promotion of development. In less centralized societies with a non-existent chief, these responsibilities were performed by family heads or Council of Elders, whatever the designation used. In 'chiefless' societies, administrative necessity led the colonial masters, especially the British, to create the institution of chief and to rule through them.

The authority and legitimacy of chiefs in traditional societies were based on customs and traditions, which were rarely contentious, and regulated social relations among the subjects. Most customs verbalize hereditary succession to chieftaincy stools mostly from father to son, and rarely from father to daughter. Although this trend represented the standard, it was not uncommon for chieftaincy stools to move beyond the immediate royal family, on occasions where there was no male heir to succeed the throne. Generally, whoever is enthroned as chief or is vying for the office is expected to be a member of the Royal House, often descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the settlement.

Prior to colonialism, the rules regulating chieftaincy succession were rarely in doubt. The community was usually versed with the history and traditions of the people so that everyone understood these rules and could trace the line of succession to the throne. Though disagreements pertaining to chieftaincy succession ensue from time to time, these were exceptions as the stool of chieftaincy was rarely non-contentious. In most communities in Cameroon, tradition dictated that the most senior male heir to the vacant throne succeeds it, and in the case of incapacity, his immediate junior brother assumes the mantle of command. Chieftaincy stools were also associated with powerful superstitious beliefs based on customs. This made it dreadful for undeserved members to contest the office for fear of being afflicted by unwarranted mystical consequences. Therefore, knowledge by the people of the customs of the community, complemented by spiritual observances, strengthened the hereditary positions of chiefs, and militated against any deviation from these practices.

Colonial and Post Colonial Periods: Emergence of Alternate Succession Rules

Colonialism transformed the role of chiefs and the traditional succession rules that hitherto existed. In acephalous societies, such as those of Fako Division, history recollects that the colonial state invented the notion of chiefs, which it borrowed from centralized societies. In centralized societies, including those in the North West and Western Regions of Cameroon, the institution of chiefdoms that existed prior to colonialism (Geschiere 1993: 152) was strengthened. Chiefs had to navigate a balance between serving their people on the one hand and the interests of the colonial state on the other.

In acephalous communities, unaccustomed to chiefs and where leadership resided in family heads or Council of Elders, the invented chiefs acted as intermediaries between the administration and the people. These chiefs were often appointed from individuals who had experience in dealing with Europeans, especially natives who spoke and wrote in the colonial language and served the colonial administration during World War 11 either as soldiers, cooks, or porters (Geschiere 1993: 155). The legitimacy of these invented chiefdoms was derived from the colonial state, and not based on a non-existent chieftaincy custom. Contrarily, in centralized societies, with a hereditary chieftaincy tradition, the colonizers consolidated on this tradition. Generally, the colonial state coerced chiefs into subordination; they served to enforce colonial edicts in return for the maintenance of their position of influence. In return for their loyalty, chiefs were protected against internal opposition or rebellious elements from within their chiefdoms, guaranteeing their survival. Geschiere (1933: 153) documents that in Cameroon the French were more supportive of their chiefs, the British in contrast were inclined to get rid of chiefs whom they themselves had created only a few decades earlier.

Because of their subordination to the colonial state, disloyal chiefs were punished and, occasionally, dethroned and replaced by compliant candidates (Tem, 2007). Such replacements rarely complied with the customs of the people that saw the office as one that exists in perpetuity subject only to death or an unlikely abdication. Similarly, the process of replacement of a dethroned chief rarely also complied with customs. Most often, the colonial administration ignored the customary succession rules and instead relied on political expediency in appointing or replacing chiefs. In South Eastern Cameroon, Geshiere (1993: 155) reports that in the Maka area, where chiefs were invented by the French, little attention was paid to traditional criteria of the selection process, instead they relied on the amenability of the candidate to the demands of the government.

Although the colonizers attempted to rely on the prevailing customs, the invention of chiefs in acephalous societies created novel rules of chieftaincy succession in 'chiefless' societies. Chieftaincy rules in those societies were therefore born from a colonial process having no relationship with the traditions of the communities. The invention of chiefs ushered the emergence of a novel chieftaincy custom, from which developed rules of succession that were previously non-existent. In centralized communities, the colonial state endeavoured to rely on the existing traditions, often departing from them for political expediency. In post-colonial Cameroon, some of these trends have continued with the coming in force of the 1977 decree organizing chiefdoms.

The 1977 Decree Organizing Chiefdoms in Cameroon

The 1977 decree that recognizes the crucial role played by chiefs came in force to regulate the traditional jurisdiction. Section 2 of the decree classified chiefdoms into first, second, and third-class and section 20 made chiefs auxiliaries of the administration. Chiefs are responsible, among others, in assisting the administrative authorities in transmitting government directives to the people, maintenance of law and order, collection of taxes and fees for the state and arbitrating in matters arising between their subjects. Indeed, according to section 19, chiefs are responsible in assisting the administrative authorities in guiding the people. In performing their duties, chiefs are entitled to efficiency bonuses on the recommendation of the local administrative authorities.

Section 8 provides for the appointment of chiefs. According to the provision, chiefs may in principle be chosen only from families called upon to exercise customary jurisdiction and candidates vying for the position must satisfy physical, moral, and literacy requirements. Upon vacancy of the throne, section 10 mandates the competent administrative authority to consult with the elders of the community prior to the designation of a successor. In case of an objection raised on the appointment of a chief, section 16(1) states that the competent administrative authority shall have the final say on the issue.

Section 15 of the decree puts administrative authorities, be they Divisional Officers, the Minister of Territorial Administration, or the Prime Minister, at the centre of the appointment of chiefs, a development that has infused political considerations in the appointment process and relegated customary rules. Though section 8 requires that appointees must hail from families called upon to exercise traditional authority, this provision is not mandatory as appointees must also fulfil physical, moral, and literacy requirements. Thus, in appointing chiefs, the competent administrative authority is not only guided by customs

but also factors extraneous to customs. Even though administrative authorities are often reluctant to disregard customary succession rules, they have sometimes been motivated to do so for political motives. When this occurs, it inevitably leads to the creation of new succession rules whose origin are founded in politics. Obviously, those changes in the rules are often resisted by conservative forces, although in most instances the overriding interests of the state eventually prevails.

In implementing section 8 of the decree, conflicts have frequently arisen between the community and the administration as the former have often objected against the homologation process for disregarding customs. The most recurrent allegation against the process was that it was not informed by local practices, leading to the designation of candidates remotely connected to the throne. Further, it has been alleged that the decision of the administration was based on false recollections of customs from selfish individuals who projected their personal interests against the common weal. Whether or not these allegations are accurate is anyone's guess. Nowhere has these contestations been more evident than in Fako Division of the South West Region of Cameroon.

Contestation of Chieftaincy Succession Rules: Fako Division in Perspective

Fako Division is the ancestral home of the Bakweri, a homogenous ethnic group of semi-Bantu stock, occupying about 85 villages in the Division (Mutia 2005: 217). The Division is notorious for the frequency of chieftaincy succession conflicts afflicting it to this day. The history of the Division may, in part, be said to account for development. The Division is endowed with natural resources and fertile arable lands, most of which were seized from the natives and placed under the control of the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), a huge agro-plantation complex established during German colonialization. Recently, the CDC has embarked on ceding portions of native lands to local communities, often surrendered to chiefs on behalf of their communities. Since land is the main source of livelihood and a medium for wealth generation, chiefs have the enviable position, as custodians of community land, to amass huge chunks and dispose of them for their personal benefit. Most chiefs in the Division have amassed wealth and affluence, which have led to increased interest in the office, provoking contesting claims to the position.

Unsurprisingly, aspirants have sought to acquire the position through all conceivable methods, some unconnected with the customs and traditions of the

local communities. Others have misrepresented customs in complicity with the administration, rendering abortive the application of customary succession rules. These scenarios, accounting for the birth of alternate succession rules, are best illustrated through documenting couple of chieftaincy disputes that afflicted the Division sometime ago.

Several years back, the village of Batoke, situated at the west coast of Limbe, Cameroon, had a protracted chieftaincy dispute that commenced in 2002. At the demise of Chief Lucas Longonje 1 in 1995, he was succeeded by his son, Chief David Longonje 11, in 1998. Following resistance to his appointment, the new chief was dethroned in favour of Chief Otto Molive in 2002. Following the intervention of the Minister in Charge of Territorial Administration and Decentralization, Chief Otto Molive was in turn suspended in December 2004 and fresh consultative talks were conducted between the administration and the people of Batoke. The talks were contentious and acrimonious as both contesting camps articulated different recollections of Batoke chieftaincy succession rules (Manga *et al*, 2020). Upon the findings from the consultative talks, Chief Otto Molive was re-instated as Chief.

David Longonge's claim to the throne was based on the fact that he was the heir apparent to his father, Chief Lucas Longonge 1, whom he alleged ruled the village for 36 years. He averred that his rival, Chief Otto Molive, does not have royal blood. Contrarily, Chief Otto Molive argued that David Longonge was a stranger, whose grandfather was a native of another village who had settled in Botoke, where his father, Chief Lucas Longonje 1, was born. His claim to the throne was based on the allegation that Chief Lucas Longonge 1 was a regent chief, who assumed the position only when Chief Otto Molive's grandfather, Chief Malomba Mokoto died, closely followed by the demise of Otto Molive's uncle, Chief Mbua Ngoto, who had succeeded Chief Malomba Mokoto as chief. Upon Chief Mbua Ngoto's death, the next in line to the throne was Otto Molive's father whom, because he was only 20 years old and deemed too young to be chief, was relegated to the background and authority was temporarily transferred to Chief Lucas Longonje 1 who was then the oldest man in the village. Therefore, the throne was only conferred to Chief Lucas Longonge 1 not on the basis of merit but as caretaker chief, a regent chief, whose mission was to prepare the stool for Otto Molive's father when he came of age. Chief Otto Molive stated that he succeeded his late grand father, Chief Malomba Mokoto, the founder of the village, as the ninth chief of Batoke and the Mbomboko clan.

Another chieftaincy stool contested on varied recollections of succession rules was that of Bonadikombo village, in the outskirts of Limbe. On the death of Chief Hansen Njie Mondo, Chief Samuel Njie Ekwalla, purporting to be the deceased's son, was made Chief in 2002 following consultative talks conducted by the administration. In 2010, following contestations made by the Nanyowe family that Chief Ekwalla was never the son of the deceased chief and had no ties with the Royal House, among others, the Minister in Charge of Territorial Administration suspended the chieftaincy of Njie Ekwalla, requesting fresh consultative talks to be conducted. Following the consultative talks, on September 24, 2010, the administration designated Chief David Nanyowe as Chief of Bonadikombo, ending Chief Ekwalla's eight-year reign.

The new chief then filed a case against the previous chief, Chief Samuel Ekwalla Njie before the Court of First Instance, Limbe. The Court found that Ekwalla had no legal right to the Bonadikombo throne as his deceased father, late Chief Hansen Mondo and Ekwalla's mother were never legally married and Ekwalla was therefore an illegitimate child. The Court also found that the subsequent birth certificate that Ekwalla had procured which, unlike the initial birth certificate, mentioned the name of the deceased chief as his father was a forgery. Ekwalla was also charged for having misled the Fako administration in 2002 that ended up designating and crowning him as Chief of Bonadikombo (Mbom 2020).

This decision appointing Chief Nanyowe was polarising. Chiefs of Fako Division, who boycotted the consultative talks, condemned the ministerial order suspending the chieftaincy of Chief Njie Samuel Ekwalla as well as the designation of David Nanyowe as chief. Petitioning against the decision, they alleged the misdirection of the administration by some personalities in Government for having influenced the administration to taking the wrong decision because of selfish reasons. Some Fako chiefs also alleged the violation by the administration of the hereditary succession rule of the people and the verdict of the Royal House and King Makers of Bonadikombo that had nominated Chief Njie Samuel Ekwalla as the rightful heir to the throne. The local administrative authority averred that the administration had the right to dismiss any chief who does not collaborate effectively with it and who does not carry out his functions appropriately.

Justifying his decision, the local administrator stated that past records have proven that chieftaincy has always been in the Nanyowe family and opined that if the chieftaincy went to the Njie family, it was because some past administrators in Limbe Sub-Division misled the Minister in charge of

Territorial Administration. He therefore urged the population of Bonadikombo to accept the ministerial decision for the sake of peace, stating as well that it could be reversed if other findings prove that what has been done is wrong.

Several other villages, including Mukundange and Botaland, have had chieftaincy succession disputes, which is also evident in the Limbe and Buea First Class Chieftaincy stools.

General Discussion: Evolving Chieftaincy Succession Rules as Product of Politics

The prevalence of chieftaincy disputes in Fako Division reflects what obtains throughout Cameroon. These disputes are mostly fuelled by selfish interests and are manifested, as demonstrated above, by varied recollections of succession rules in the implementation of sections 8 and 10 of the 1977 decree. Chieftaincy disputes of this nature are difficult for the administration to resolve due, in part, to the unwritten nature of customary succession rules.

Because of increased interest in chieftaincy stools in Fako Division, it is not unusual for such recollections of customs to be biased. This view was re-echoed by the Governor of the South West Region, Mr. Okalia Bilai, when commissioning the new Senior Divisional Officer for Fako Division, Mr. Emmanuel Engamba Ledoux. The Governor cautioned his subordinate to use his sense of wisdom and spirit of good judgment to hold consultative talks with the Kingmakers of the Buea and Limbe Paramount Chiefdoms so that new chiefs should be found to occupy these long vacant and contested stools. He told his subordinate:

Your Division is also known as a village where chieftaincy disputes or ascending to chieftaincy stools baffles all reasons. Potentially, everyone here is ready to mislead you and to make of you, after attaining their objectives, their scapegoat (Mbom 2021).

According to the Governor, the problem of chieftaincy in Fako Division has been made more complex by the fact that almost everyone wants to be a chief and they are always ready to mislead any administrator with just the wrong information. These remarks address one of the main reasons for the distortion of succession rules in the Division. Since customs are unwritten, false recollection of succession rules if approved, potentially creates a new line of succession to the throne, inevitably modifying the previously existing rule. The new rule, a product of egoistic interests, may subsequently become entrenched in the community.

The administration has also contributed, perhaps inadvertently, in the distortion of chieftaincy succession rules by introducing processes during consultation with kingmakers that are inconsistent with traditional values. In some villages, designation of chiefs is done by voting conducted by supposed kingmakers in the presence of the local administrator, which is inconsistent with the customs of the people. Elections, reflexive of democratic governance, are unknown in traditional societies, especially in the designation of chiefs which is mostly hereditary and couched in superstitious beliefs. Election of chiefs has led to influence peddling in the process as many royal families have lost their right to succession to influential and administratively favoured individuals. Unfortunately, this measure has circumvented traditional practices.

Section 8 of the 1977 decree does not compel the administration to rely essentially on the verdict of Kingmakers during the consultation process. It enjoins the administration to designate individuals from among families called upon to exercise customary authority provided they satisfy physical, moral, and literacy requirements. Therefore, chieftaincy succession is not only guided by traditional values but also require candidates to fulfill conditions beyond those dictated by tradition. Although most candidates fulfil these non-customary requirements, in practice, they are liable to disqualify a genuine candidate in favour of someone remotely connected to the throne. These non-customary requirements are trump cards employed by administrators to bypass customary succession rules for their selfish interests.

Section 16(1) of the decree gives the competent administrator the final decision in disputes arising from the homologation process. The decree does not countenance any other form of redress available to dissatisfied candidates including legal action. In correlation, section 29(1) empowers the administration with the power to sanction chiefs, including deposition, for those that fall short of their responsibilities. For instance, in the implementation of this provision, Chief Jomo Motale Otte of Big Bekondo, Meme Division of the South West Region was dethroned for alleged engagement in cheating, corruption and extortion of funds from his subjects (Fokwen 2021). This threat of sanctions has often been used against uncooperative chiefs or those suspected of opposition loyalty. Unsurprisingly, at the appointment of Chief Nanyowe of Bonadikombo, the administrator warned the opposing Kingmakers and their subjects that the administration reserves the right to dismiss uncooperative and incompetent chiefs. Similarly, on the basis of this authority, the Minister of Territorial Administration issued a warning to some chiefs of the Western Region for writing an open letter to the President of the Republic which replicated the demands made by an opposition party, the MRC, to the

government. It was alleged that the chiefs were articulating for an opposition party and could face sanctions, including deposition, for lack of collaboration with the administration. The argument often advanced is that the ruling party expect all chiefs to give it unflinching support during elections as scapegoats were sometimes dethroned (Takor 2017: 103).

Cumulatively, sections 8, 16(1) and 29(1) of the decree has led to volatility in chiefdoms and in customary succession rules. In addition to the role played by customs, the administration is at the forefront of the creation of chiefs, retaining the power of adjudication and that of sanctions. In principle, the administration is reluctant to ignore customs during the homologation process, however, in reality the application of sections 8 and 10 of the decree has distorted customary succession rules. The homologation process aims at ensuring orderly transition of traditional authority, contrarily it has led to chaos, antagonism, and tensions in communities. Resistance against the designation process in Fako Division prompted the Minister of Territorial Administration to suspend the homologation of consultative talks for chieftaincy issues in the Division in April 2019 until further notice (Azohnwi 2019). The suspension of consultations is an implicit recognition by the administration that mistakes are being made during the process, provoking social discontent.

Evidently, the emerging chieftaincy succession rules in Fako Division are not neutral recollections of customs. Some are consciously distorted for selfish reasons and, others, due to genuine misrepresentation of customs. The benefits of chieftaincy stools in this era of land concessions by the CDC has rekindled interests in this ageing institution, leading to distortion in the evolving chieftaincy succession rules. This aspect of succession rules, reflexive of power relations rather than cultural practices, is a hallmark of customary law itself (Snyder 1981: 49-90; Chanock 1995: 171-187; Nyamu 2000: 405-406). Chieftaincy conflicts have therefore arisen mostly because of disputed claims to the stool fermented by families quarrelling over succession rights, corruption propagated by some wealthy individuals who use money in buying their way to the throne or their clients, politicization, and the enthroning of some individuals by political authorities. Most strikingly, the dethroning of some chiefs by the authorities have been one of the greatest features that have facilitated chieftaincy conflicts (Tem 2007: 3).

Conclusion

Chieftaincy succession rules are susceptible to change mostly influenced by behavioural changes within the communities based on customs. Prior to European colonialism, most Cameroonian customs dictated hereditary chieftaincy stools from father to son, with some flexibility in the absence of a male heir in the line of succession. The colonial and post colonial periods saw the reinforcement of succession rules in centralized communities, and the creation of chiefdoms in 'chiefless' communities, leading to politicization of the office. The 1977 decree recognizing chiefdoms has inadvertently infused non-customary requirements in the designation of chiefs, evident in the Fako Division where customs have been distorted to serve selfish and political interests. This has led to emergence of new succession rules based on power relations and divorced from customary practices.

References

- Awinsong, A. M. (2017) "The Colonial and Post Colonial Transformation of African Chieftaincy: A Historiography" in *Historia*, Vol. 26, pp. 121-128.
- Azohnwi, T. A. (2019) "Atangi Nji Suspends Approval of Chieftaincy Consultations in Fako as Petitions Flood Yaounde" in *Cameroon-Info.Net*, 17 April 2019.
- Chanock, M. (1995) "Neither customary nor legal: African customary law in an era of family law reform". In *African Law and Legal Theory*. Ed. Woodman, G. R. and Obilade, A. O. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Ltd, pp. 171-187.
- Fokwen, M. (2014) "Corrupt Chief Dethroned" in *Cameroon Post Online*, 19 July 2014.
- Geschiere, P. (1993). "Chiefs and Colonial Rule in Cameroon: Inventing Chieftaincy, French and British Style" in *African Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 63(2), pp. 151-175.
- Manga, P., Mbom T, F. & Atem A, O. (2004) "Administration Drags Batoke Chieftaincy Dispute" in *Post Newslines Online* 26 August 2004. <https://www.postnewslines.com/2004/08/strongadministr.html> (Retrieved 12 November 2020).
- Mbom, T. F. (2017) "New Fako SDO to Tackle Deadly Limbe, Buea Chieftaincy Crisis" in *Cameroon Post Online*, 21 July 2017.

- Mbom, T. F. (2013) "Dethroned Chief Jailed for Forgery" in *Cameroon Post Online*, 20 July 2013. <https://cameroonpostline.com/dethroned-chief-jailed-for-forgery/> (Retrieved 15 November 2020).
- Mutia, B. (2005) "Performer, Audience, and Performance Context of Bakweri Pregnancy Rituals and Incantations" in *Cahiers d' études africaines*, Vol. 1, pp. 218-237.
- Nyamu, C. (2000) "How should human rights and development respond to cultural legitimization of gender hierarchy in developing countries" in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 41(2), pp. 381-418.
- Snyder, F. (1981). "Colonialism and legal form: The creation of "customary law" in Senegal" in *Journal of Legal Pluralism and unofficial law*, Vol. 13(19), pp. 49-90.
- Takor T. (2017) "The Chieftaincy Institution Among the Bayaing and Ejagham Ethnic groups of Cameroon (1884-1990): An Intersection of Flexibility, Partiality and Interference" in *International Journal of Advanced Research and Publications*, Vol. 1(2), pp. 76-81.
- Takor, T. (2017) "The Traditional Institution of Manyu Division, Cameroon (1990-2011): An interaction of Chiefs and Party Politics" in *International Journal of Scientific and Technological Research*, Vol. 6 (6), pp. 102-108.
- Tem, P. (2007) "Bad Governance as Basis for Chieftaincy Conflicts and the Transposition of Customs and Traditions Governing Chieftaincy Succession in Bamessing, Southern Cameroons, 1953-1961" in *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, Vol. viii (8.3), 111, pp. 1-28.
- Tignor, L, R. (1971) "Colonial Chiefs in Chiefless Societies" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 9(3), pp. 339-359.