

Intertribal Land Conflicts and Implications on Development in Balikumbat Sub-Division, North West Cameroon

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Abstract

The quest for scarce land resources in Balikumbat Sub-Division has created rivalry over abundant borderland resources between some five villages for over four decades (1980s-2020). To diagnose this issue, this paper focuses on inter-tribal land conflicts and its implications on the development of Balikumbat sub division. The study seeks to identify and spatialize the different zones/villages in Balikumbat Sub-Division where inter-tribal land conflicts are inherent in a bid to examine the causes of these conflicts so as to assess its implications on the development of this municipality. The methodology used entailed field observations, questionnaires administration, interviews and focus group discussions. Existing literature provided an important starting point for further analysis of the extent of the problem under consideration. The findings have un-earth the fact that the main inter-tribal land conflicting hot spots constitute areas rich in fertile soils. Besides, economic motives, long historical legacies, political and social motives are the leading causes for the scramble over fertile farmlands across some village boundaries in Balikumbat Sub division over time and space. The implications of these conflicts are felt mainly in the socio-economic sector. The agricultural sector ranks first with about 50% drop in agricultural output as large parcels of land are left idle due to entrenched conflicts. The peasant populations have been displaced with massive destruction of property, crops, livestock and even lives. The efforts made by the government and these local communities in the past to resolve these conflicts have yielded very little success because conflicts have remained a common idiosyncrasy as they resurface often. These findings suggest the need for intensive sensitisation to the natives of Balikumbat on the importance of owning land certificates. This may limit verbal and traditional land ownership opening flood gates for a more sustainable land ownership.

Keywords: Intertribal, Land, Conflicts, Development, Management Balikumbat.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The world has the reputation of being the theatre of land conflicts. Africa is experiencing an increase in the scope and intensity of land conflicts underlined by inter-tribal rivalries (Obioha, 2000). The history and oral traditions of most African societies contain elements of land quarrels or inter-tribal land conflict situations. This has been attributed to the fact that the continent is suffering from tribalism, favouritism, premature democracy (political ills), elites influence, population growth and diseases. The fear of an apparently eminent global environmental disaster provoked by the reckless exploitation of natural wealth (water, forest, soils and minerals) for development has lurked man's existence for a long time now (Ndi, 2009). Fogwe (1997) and Lambi (2001) talked of evolutionary dominance of man through his numerous activities within specific geographical zones cause by population growth. Ndencho and Balgah (2007) supported the fact that population pressure has resulted to land use conflicts. This is certainly true of the turbulent post-

cold war period in which Africa experienced persistent violent conflicts with more of such conflicts related to scarce land resources. Over the past decades, therefore, land conflicts have rapidly grown in Africa. The notorious genocide and ethnic cleansing in Rwanda, civil wars in Liberia and minority uprisings in Nigeria represent reference points of the turbulence on the African continent as Africa has the highest inter-tribal diversity and also the highest incidence of land conflicts. Since the 1990s, societies of traditional stability started experiencing frequent tribal tensions on land with inter-tribal land conflicts becoming a serious challenge of our time. Perhaps, this explains why tribalism or tribal diversity as well as land conflicts are now one of the reigning concepts in African and Cameroonian studies at present.

Cameroon like many other African countries has been going through difficult moments of inter-tribal diversity and land use conflicts. Land disputes are rampant to varying degrees throughout the Savannah

regions of Cameroon where livestock and crop production co-exist in their quest to increase their production and productivity (Nkwi 2007; Mbuagbaw *et al.*, 2003; Mope Simo 1997) cited in Fonteh (2009). Such tribal diversity in Cameroon in general and Balikumbat Sub-division in particular has led to increased tension between tribal groups over the use of particular pieces of land. Due to the diversity and differences of tribal groups within this municipality, inter-tribal land conflicts and tensions are common and difficult to resolve. Inter-tribal division is a source of both land conflict and cooperation in these societies and are more complicated especially in Balikumbat made up of two Tikar tribes (Bafanji and Bamunkumbit) and three Chamber tribes (Baligashu, Baligansin and Balikumbat). Land conflicts erupt and escalate when each of these groups struggle over or encroach into natural and legal boundaries in search of scarce land resources. Tribal identities, alliances and affiliations are thus key aspects behind such land disputes. Land conflicts on inter-tribal grounds have a tendency to grow and become violent, thus, it is no surprise that Balikumbat Sub-division in the North West Region of Cameroon has had similar experiences.

The major land use conflict in Balikumbat Sub-division that has gained a lot of attention is the inter-village land conflicts dominated by the farming population especially during farming seasons. There is an urgent need for these inter-tribal land conflicts between villages to be solved in a sustainable manner, in order to create a peaceful way forward for sustainable development within Balikumbat Sub-division as land conflicts have brought about insecurity, render larger parcels of land idle, a drop in agricultural output and increase level of poverty. This paper, therefore, examines the causes of land use conflicts, their manifestations and implications on the development of Balikumbat sub division of the North West Region of Cameroon.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1 THE STUDY SITE

Balikumbat Sub-division, is one of the three Sub-division in Ngoketunjia Division of the North West Region of Cameroon. it was created by Decree N° 92/187 of 01/09/1992 as one of the youngest Sub-divisions within Ngoketunjia Division. It lies between longitudes 5° 53' 0" and 5° 58' 30" East of the Greenwich meridian and latitudes 10° 18' 0" and 10° 23' 30" North of the Equator (Figure 1). The Sub-division has a surface area of about 434.5Km² with the village of Balikumbat occupying the largest portion. According to the 2005 population and housing census results in Cameroon, Balikumbat sub division had a

population of 68537 inhabitants Today, the population of Balikumbat sub division is projected at about 120000 inhabitants. It is bordered to the south by the Bamboutos Division in the Western Region, to the west by Mezam Division. to the north by Ndop Sub-division and to the east by the Noun Division of the west region of Cameroon (Figure 1). There are five villages in the Sub-division (Bafanji, Bamunkumbit, Baligashu, Baligansin and Balikumbat) whose primary source of income is based on small-scale agriculture.

2.2 METHODS

The research tools employed included semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. These tools were employed to ascertain respondents' perception on the causes, manifestations and effects of landuse conflicts in Balikumbat sub division. The questionnaires were administered using the random sampling technique, a sampling method that allows for the randomization of sample selection. The random sampling technique was chosen because it ensured that results obtained from the sampled population in the different five villages of Balikumbat sub division should approximate what would have been obtained if the entire population of those affected by land conflicts had been consulted (Shadish *et al.*, 2002). Besides, it allows all units within each village to have an equal chance of being selected and thus an avenue for unbiased data collection. Such a method was indispensable as it ensured that the research arrived at unbiased conclusions. From the 100 questionnaires envisaged for the study area, a total of 90 questionnaires were effectively administered giving a return rate of 90%. Through this technique, respondents provided information on causes and manifestations of land conflict. Focus group discussions were conducted and interviews granted for the requisition of secondary information pertaining to the implications of inter-tribal land conflicts on socio-economic development in BS. Considering the fact that everybody in these villages had knowledge on inter-tribal land conflicts, they provided the required information on inter-tribal land conflict and its implications on the development of the Sub-division. Descriptive data was processed through coding, whereby categories of responses were identified, assigned, classified and then recorded on a prepared sheet as per the research questions and corresponding objectives of the study. With regards to quantitative data, tools such as; Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and the Microsoft excel softwares were used to produce mean scores, frequencies and percentages which are illustrated by bar charts, line graphs and percentage tables accompanied by appropriate explanation and discussions.

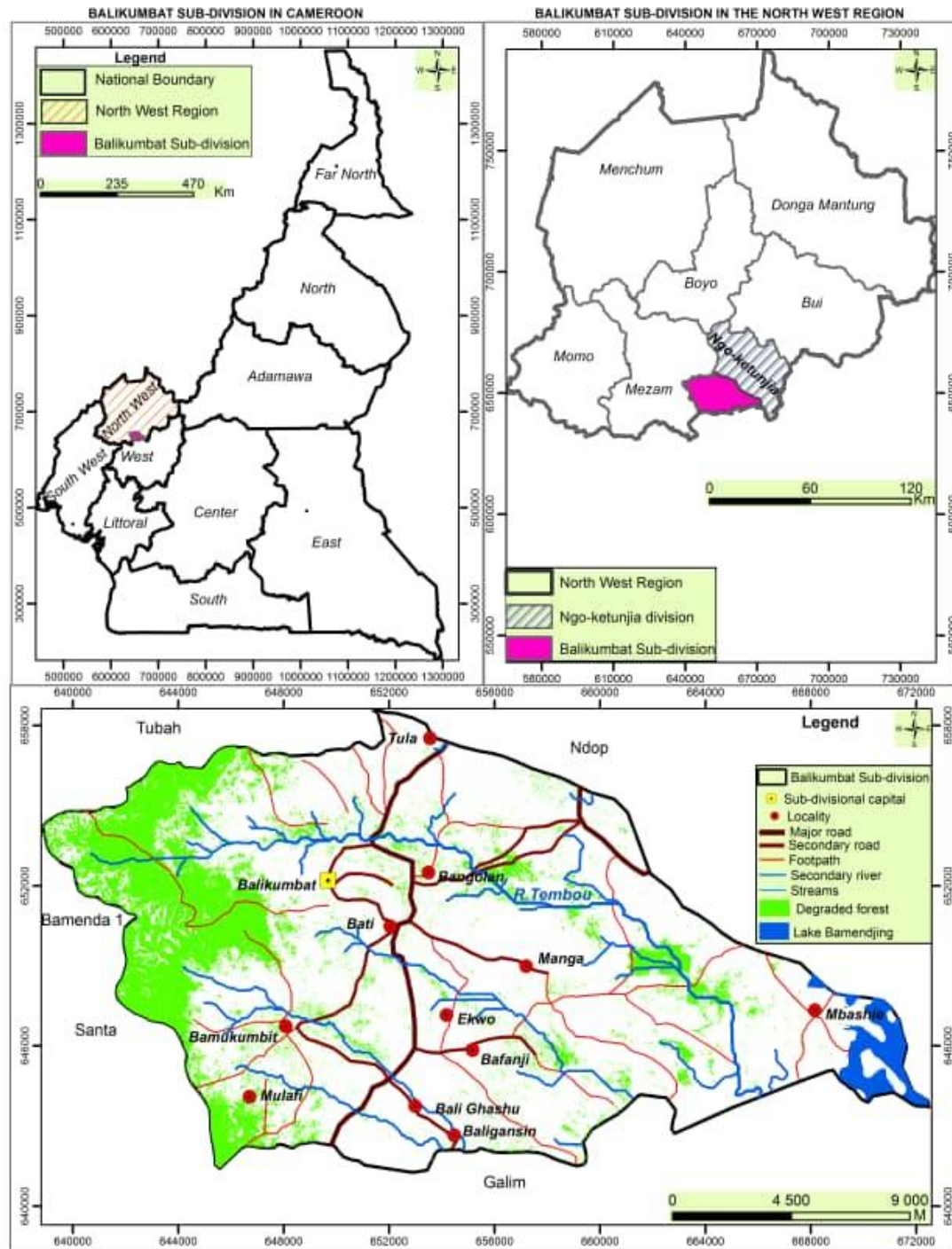


Figure 1: The study area

Source: National Institute of Cartography and field work, 2022

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Identification of conflicting groups and hotspot in Balikumbat Sub-Division

Balikumbat Sub-Division is made up of two tribal groups; Chambas (Balikumbat, Baligashu and Baligasin) and the Tikars (Bafanji and Bamunkumbit). Amongst these groups, conflicts are frequent and intensely violent. Conflicts pairing Balikumbat-Bafanji and Bambalang are the most violent and often end with

inter-tribal wars. The episodes of 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000 witnessed tribal wars in Bafanji and 2001 inter-tribal wars in Bambalang. This was followed by Bamunkumbit-Baligashu/Baligasin which was less intensive and frequent with more instability and threats as the cases of 1960, 2011, 2013 and 2014. The villages and quarters with frequent inter-tribal land-use conflicts are; Bafanji (Mbangang, Njanung and Ekwo quarters), Baligashu and Bamunkumbit (Mbatap and Akumon

quarters), Bamunkumbit, (Mulafi I and II quarters) and Bambalang (Miyhang quarter).

Since the 1980s, tribal groups in Balikumbat sub division have been scrambling and fighting over

land. Competitions over village land resources show several distinctive areas (quarters and villages) where inter-tribal land-use conflicts are frequent. These conflicts that traverses the highlands and lowlands cover about 496 hectares of land (Table 1).

Table 1: Areas prone to Inter-Tribal Land use conflicts in Balikumbat Sub-division

Conflicts villages	Conflicts quarters	Areas in (ha)	Distribution in (%)
Bafanji	Mbangang	150	30.24
Bamunkumbit	Akumon/Mbantap	150	30.24
Bafanji	Njanung	100	20.16
Bamunkumbit	Mulafi I and II	75	15.12
Bafanji	Ekwo	20	4.03
Bambalang	Miyhang	01	0.2
Total		496ha	100%

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 1 shows the areas hit by frequent inter-tribal land-use conflicts. These include Mbangang, Njanung and Ekwo in Bafanji representing (54.43%) Mbatap and Akumon between Baligashu and Bamunkumbit with about (30.24%) Mulafi I and II in Bamunkumbit with about (15.12%,) and Miyhang quarter in Bambalang with (0.2%). These inter-tribal land-use conflicts are determined by land use, place of influence covered and the villages involved.

3.2 Balikumbat (Chambas) versus Bafanji (Tikaris) inter-tribal village land use conflict.

According to field informants, Balikumbat, a Chamba group, confronted Bafanji of the Tikari origin

over agriculture and settlement land. Mbangang also referred to as Kungang and Njanung, located in Bafanji with a surface area of 150 hectares, is very fertile and highly solicited for agriculture and habitation besides a rapidly growing population. Respondents revealed that food crop production attracts 76% of the population and land for settlement 24%. Faced with this challenge, violent conflicts characterised the study space in 1995, 1996, 1998 and 2000, leading to loss of lives and the destruction of valuable property.



Photo 1: Inter-village land conflict hot spot areas between Balikumbat –Bafanji over farming land

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Photo 1 indicates a demarcated boundary zone where Balikumbat farmers trespass to farm on Bafanji lands. This boundary was set by the Germans in 1910, recognised by the British in 1933 and post-colonial settlement in 1969. The vandalisation of this demarcation posts or pillars assumed to have been carried out by Balikumbat indigenes leading to

conflicts. Historically, the land conflicts only came to add to an old internal and silence cold war of domination and uplift of Balikumbat into a Sub-Division with its Capital in Balikumbat. The influence exerted by the political elite for the administrative empowerment of Balikumbat further fueled these conflicts. The impacts of the Balikumbat-Bafanji land

squabble are invaluable. It had more significant implications on development since farmlands were rendered idle (photo1), a drop in agricultural output due to crops and houses destructions, and distortion of peace and stability.

2.2 Bamunkumbit (Tikaris) Against Baligashu (Chambas) conflict

Conflicts between Bamunkumbit and Baligashu resulted from disputes over a piece of land at a road junction and wetland zone (150ha) at Akumon exploited for swamp rice cultivation. The land was also used for commercial activities, and the construction of houses for habitation and other land uses. The conflict began in the 1960s, marked by minor non-violent

skirmishes between the working parties. Recently, the conflict resulted in confrontations resulting from frequent provocative activities carried out by Baligashu rural residents on the disputed land. Field evidence revealed that the land in question was given to the inhabitants of Baligashu by the Bamunkumbits for exploitation. Following the creation of the main road connecting Baligashu and Bamunkumbit, trouble began. Indigenes of Baligashu, realising that this road would not pass across their territory due to the land leased out to Bamunkumbit, launched claims for recovery. Unfortunately, the land had been occupied permanently for agriculture. Severe tension between Baligashu and Bamunkumbit led to conflict (Photo 2).

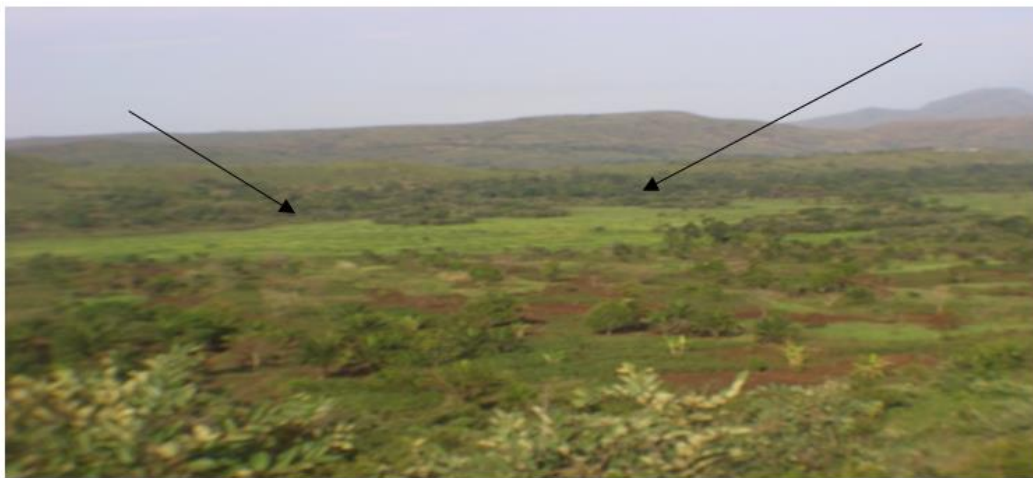


Photo 2: Rice swamp in Akumon quarter under Conflict between Baligashu and Bamunkumbit
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

As seen on photo 2 Baligashu encroached from the West while Bamunkumbit encroached from the East into the contested swampy area for rice cultivation under the control of Upper Noun Valley Development Authority (UNVDA). This led to trouble between the two parties and the case forwarded to the court of first instance in Ndop. After the verdict, Balumkumbit was asked to pay 14.3 million Francs CFA to Baligashu for the land transfer deal. This did not resolve the problem as the Baligashu people refused to release the land, and Bamunkumbit refused to get back the money they paid through the court into the Ndop treasury. Baligashu went ahead to construct a Government Technical College (G.T.C) in 2013 and 2014 and other investments on the disputed land. This provoked frequent clashes and petitions between these two villages.

3.4 Bamunkumbit (Tikaris) and Baligansin (Chambas) land conflict

The Bamunkumbit and Baligansin conflict erupted over a piece of land at Mulafi I and II in

Bamunkumbit measuring 75 hectares (Table 1). The main activity fuelling the land conflict was farming, grazing and settlement (Figure 2). The inter-village land conflict between Bamunkumbit and Baligansin can be traced as far back as 1915, following the migration of Baligashu and Baligansin into Balikumbat Sub-Division. Unlike the people of Baligashu who settled in Bafanji along the limits of the disputed area, the Baligansins settled around Mulafi quarter in Bamunkumbit, where they now live. During this period, disputes were not common between these communities until the Baligashu's trespassed into the Bamunkumbit land and carried out subversive activities at Mulafi area. This led to the eruption of the Bamunkumbit-Baligansin land conflict on the 6th of March 2014. In these conflicts, two Bamunkumbit men working on their farms were tortured by Baligansin and taken to the Baligansin Fon's palace where the Fon handed them to the Gendarmerie Brigade in Balikumbat. Figure 2 shows zones of inter-tribal conflict in Balikumbat Sub-division.

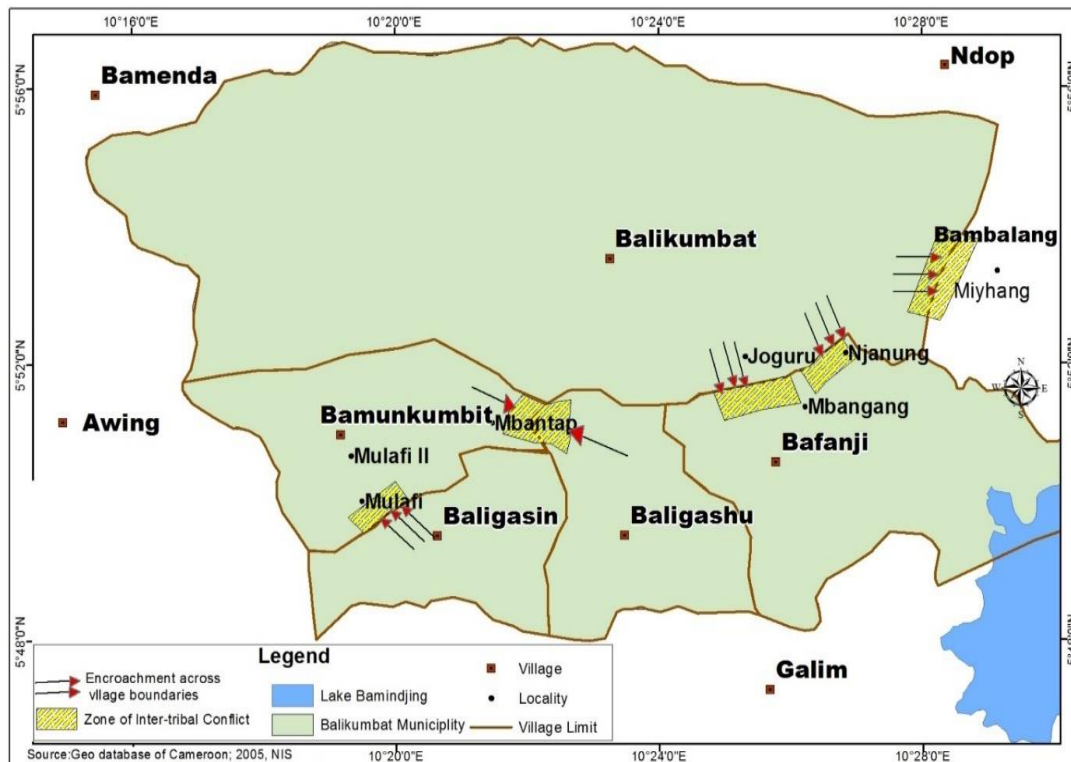


Figure 2: Land use in the conflicting areas of Balikumbat Sub-Division

Source: Geo database of Cameroon (NIC) [National Institute of Cartographie], Fieldwork, 2022

3.5 Balikumbat (Chambas)-Bambalang(Tikaris) land use conflict

In 2011, conflicts pairing Balikumbat and Bambalang resulted from a dispute over Mighang a small area of about 1hectare in Bambalang (Figure 2). The clash between these villages was the first violent conflict between the two entities. The dispute had a long historical perspective. Its genesis stemmed from discontent propounded by the Balikumbat people that Bambalang village is a quarter under their territory. The villages under dispute are independent with their traditional leader and distinct culture. Unfortunately, tension erupted in 2011 when Balikumbat organised a funeral service at Mighang against the will of the Bambalang people. This led to an inter-tribal war between Balikumbat and Bambalang in 2011 with the

burnt down houses, destroyed crops and livestock, with hundreds of people displaced to neighbouring villages.

3. CAUSES OF INTER-TRIBAL LAND USE CONFLICTS IN BSD

The frequency of inter-tribal land-use conflicts is attributed to the search for farmland due to population growth and improvement in sources of livelihood. Also, the conflicts for land use have a long history with economic, social and political motives. The diversity of Balikumbat Sub-Division has made it a potential terrain for land-use conflicts. Inter-tribal land-use conflicts, and intra-village land-use conflicts include farmer-farmer, farmers-grazers, farmers-residential, and stray animal problems.

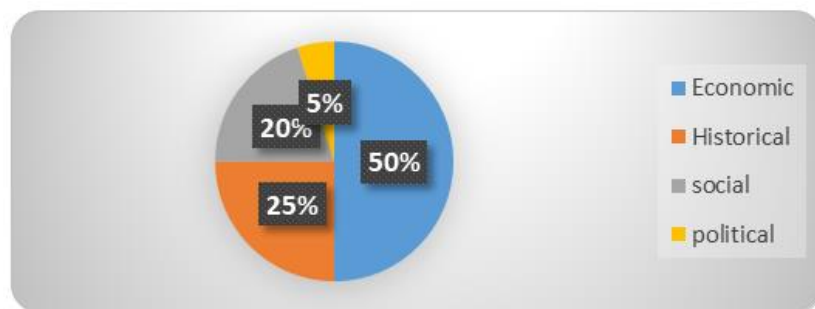


Figure 3: Causes of inter-tribal land conflicts in Balikumbat Sub-Division

Source: Fieldwork, 2021

As shown on Figure 3, the economic motive is first leading cause of inter-tribal conflicts, because the people are poor, and economically 80% of the population depends on land for agriculture which is the backbone of their economy. Historical factors (25%) take the second stage while social and political motives respectively occupy the third (20) and fourth positions (5%) according to respondent's perception.

4.1 ECONOMIC CAUSES

The economic specificities that instigate inter-tribal land-use conflicts in BS range from the need for agricultural extension, changing land tenure, land-use change, money value attributed to land and increase in food prices. All these have contributed significantly to land-use conflicts of inter-tribal origin.

4.1.1: Agricultural domination and extension

Pinyinchu, (2002). Attested that about 70% of the population of BSD is highly involved in the primary sector activities. An increase in population requires much land for agriculture to feed the growing population. The quest for agricultural land uses has pushed the population to cross boundaries and invade neighbouring lands. Examples include the wars between Balikumbat-Bafanji in 1995, 1996, 1998 and Bamunkumbit, Baligashu and Baligasin in 2013 and 2014. Given that the land is fixed and the farming

population is growing, there will be competition amongst land users and land users.

4.1.2: Land use types and land tenure

Balgah, (2005) ascertained that change in land tenure adds more value to land. In the past, in BS, the land was more of a gift of nature. Today, it is a vital economic resource for man's existence. Land is unevenly distributed with large proportion of local population going on landless today due to land scarcity. In Cameroon in general and BS in particular, the right to the ownership of land legally over time and space have changed since the 1980s still date. The imbalances in land tenure distribution have made land not considered a gift of nature in BS, as the population has increased following the recent census statistics. People in BS do not see land as something free to acquire by those in need of it for different uses. Land to them has been more of a commodity than a gift. The land has become a valuable commodity with very high economic potential. These disparities in land tenure or right to own land in BS has pushed people into frequent land use conflict of inter-tribal origin as tribal groups or strong individuals' occupy lands with no legal barking. Conflicts today in BS result from the changes in acquiring land which is not the same as before as shown in Figure 3.

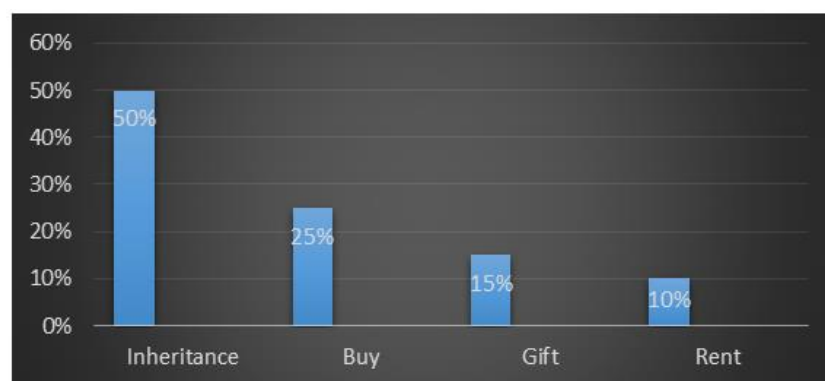


Figure 3: Changing Land Tenure in BS and inter-tribal land-use conflicts

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 3 shows an imbalance between inland distribution and land ownership in BS. The majority of the population (50%) have inherited lands under conflicts with no legal proof and barking leading to conflicts. At present land is no longer acquired through gifts and rent which respondents (15% and 10%) respectively confirmed. Today, it is acquired through buying (25%) due to the economic value attributed to land. Hence, most poor peasants who inherited lands sell and at times remain landless. The sale of family lands has also resulted to quarrels amongst families. Most of the respondents made it clear that land is not

freely available, and it is difficult to acquire land for the different land-use base on the changing land tenure system. Another economic motive is the predominant land use types in Balikumbat. The demand for land for different uses has led to conflicts. Despite the medium of land acquisition, all lands are however primarily for agriculture. Also, evidence from the land use map of Balikumbat (Figure 4) shows that farming and residential are the most critical and dominant land-use types that have caused people in the Sub-Division to conflict over land.

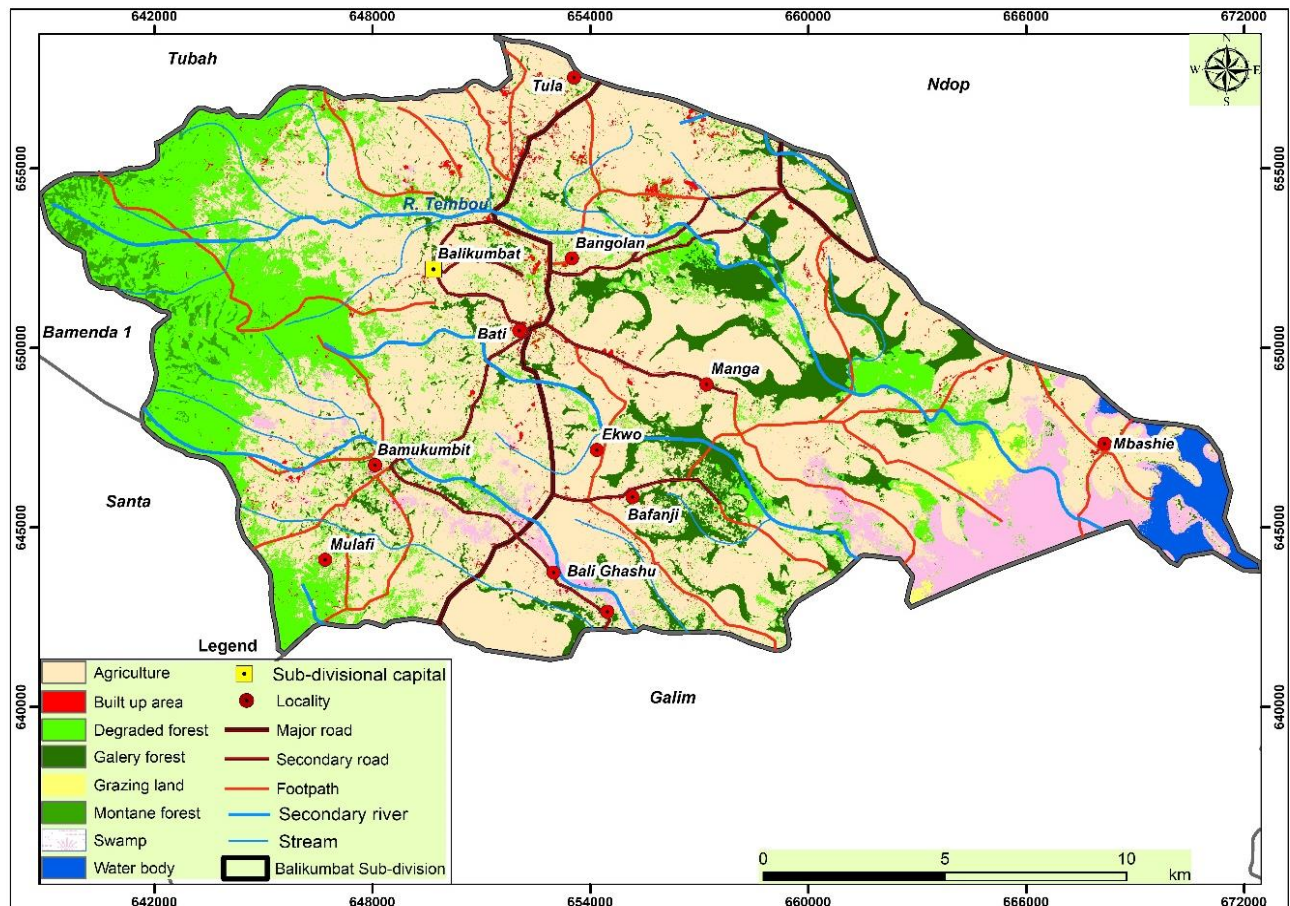


Figure 4: The main Land use types in BS which result in frequent inter-tribal land use conflicts
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4 substantiated with field findings revealed that 75% of sample population is engaged in farming within BS, thus indicating pressure on scarce farmland hence the desire to fetch for farming lands result in dispute. The findings from the field also revealed that early marriages and large family sizes necessitate a population increase in BS. This has led to increased demand for settlement and agricultural activities to feed the increasing population, resulting in frequent land use inter-tribal land conflicts.

4.1.3: Increase food crops Prices and inter-tribal land use conflicts

An increase in food crop prices and a constant drop in the prices of cash crops have increased the demand for land for food crop production (F. A. O. 1992). This has made most farmers to be at the mercy of landlords who often refuse to sell their lands but prefer to rent them out to the highest bidder. Food crops such as groundnuts, maize, beans, and tomatoes generate income for families involved in their cultivation. The economic importance of land has necessitated a change in the previous land use pattern

where food crops presently dominate. Field findings show that the demand for food and the increasing price of food crops have increased tremendously with inter-tribal land use quarrels like around Mbangang in Bafanji with Balikumbat. Presently, much importance is attached to cultivating market gardening crops around compounds due to their high demand in the markets and their value in generating much more income for the families, such trigger inter-tribal land encroachment.

4.2 HISTORICAL CAUSES

The study area has moved from a purely traditional and ancestral administration under the German and the British to a post-colonial administrative unit. Such historical diversities and transitions have contributed to the frequent land conflicts inherent in the study area. The historical specificities in land conflicts in the past and present are pre and post-colonial administrative influences, migration movements, ancestral influence, and long historical supremacy from dominant ethnic groups such as the Chambas and Tikars (Table 2).

Table 2: Historical causes contributing to inter-tribal land use conflicts

Historical Specificies	Percentage contributed (%)
Pre- and post-colonial Influence	40
Ethnic Supremacy	30
Migration and first settlers	20
Ancestral influence and beliefs	10

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 2 shows some of the historical specificities that support the fact that the history of the study area has contributed significantly to these land-use conflicts.

4.2.1: Pre and Post-Colonial influence

The first specificity is the pre and post-colonial influence on boundary demarcations in 1910 by the Germans, 1933 by the British and 1969 by the post-colonial government. This significantly pushed these villages into tribal wars, especially as some villages feel cheated, like the case between Bafanji-Balikumbat in 1995, 1998 and 2000.

4.2.2: Migration and claims of being the first settlers

The second historical issue responsible for the land conflict can be traced from the history of the population movement in Cameroon in general and BS in particular. Some villages considered themselves as original or first settlers on the land. The Tikars in the study area consider themselves the first and original settlers of this region and would not allow any village to overtake them hence, any trespassing by another ethnic clans leads to conflicts.

4.2.3: Ethnic Supremacy, ancestral influence and beliefs

Other historical causes include language, cultures, and ancestral beliefs that have brought about division and long historical supremacy from dominant ethnic groups or chiefdoms such as the Chambas, Tikars, Fulanis, and others. Today, the ethnic diversities and supremacy in BSD have triggered these frequent inter-tribal land conflicts cited by (Mbanga, 2002). BSD is made up of three main ethnic groups with different historical traditional background, Tikaris (Bafanji, Bamunkumbit), the Chambas (Balikumbat, Baligansin and Baligashu) and the Fulanis (Bororos). Their social

and demographic indications show that the Tikaris by history are said to be peaceful and welcoming and migrated from the Adamoua Province (Plaine Tikar). In contrast, the Chambas who came from Northern Nigeria are whimsical warriors by nature, as seen in their massive dominance in the area in all walks of life. At the same time, the Fulanis are wanderers in nature. Mbanga, (2004) held that the Chambas domination in the grass field is not only seen at their chieftaincy ranking but concerning population and surface area supremacy which is predominant as one of the causes of inter-tribal land-use conflicts. Hongie, (2015) supported this view and noted that Balikumbat invaded the Bamunkumbits, who were first settlers at the present Balikumbat plateau (Fon's palace) and forced them to retreat where they are settling today. Baligashu was settled on a piece of land over a stretch by Bafanji, while Bamunkumbit settled the Baligansins around Mulafi.

4.3: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CAUSES

The socio-demographic causes of these conflicts in Balikumbat can be attributed to population growth, educational level and age distribution.

4.3.1: Population growth and demand for land uses

Population growth in BS have evolved rapidly. The population stood at 37,684 in 1987, 36304 in 2001, 37763 in 2005, 58374 in 2010, 60000 in 2012 and is projected to 91000 in 2021 (Balikumbat council, 2018). The fixed land surface area of about 434.5km² with an average population density of 8.7persons per/km² indicates a limited demand for land. According to the Balikumbat council (2011/2012), highly populated villages in the study area are villages of frequent inter-tribal land-use conflicts such as Balikumbat and Bafanji.

Table 3: Population of Balikumbat Sub-division from 2001, 2005, 2011 and 2021

Villages	Population in 2001	Population in 2005	Population in 2011	Projection for 2021
Balikumbat	17789	18504	21,000	31,000
Bafanji	10953	11386	21,000	28,000
Bamunkumbit	5776	6008	9,000	14,000
Baligashu	1263	1314	5,000	10,000
Baligasins	523	544	4,000	8000
Total	36304	37763	60,000	91,000

Source: Extrapolated from 2001, 2005, 2011 population census figures by Bucrep.

The population increase as illustrated on table 3 within an interval period from 2001, 2005, 2011 and 2021 has been a motivated steamer to agriculture in the Sub-division.

4.3.2 Educational level and Age distribution

The education level for BS has also contributed much to inter-tribal land-use conflicts. From, field findings, most local inhabitants' level of education is low to understand and handle complicated issues such as land conflicts across village boundaries. Land use conflicts is trigger by the low level of education of the inhabitants of BS. In years of intense land use conflicts, the majority of the inhabitants of the study site were illiterate and consequently were zealous about wars without consideration of the implications. Today, its population have acquired knowledge on the ills of conflicts and this have significantly contributed to reduce inter-tribal land use conflicts. Field investigation revealed that the population of BS is dominated by an active age group of 30-39. These youthful age is characterised with smoking, alcoholism, and drugs addict which influence them to fight against their neighbours on the ground that they want to test their strength. Such a harmful zeal, coupled with illiteracy, has always triggered most land-use conflicts in the Sub-Division.

4.4: POLITICAL CAUSES

Like any other cause, politics and

administration have a role in these frequent land-use conflicts in BS. This is judged from societal disparity and selfish political ambition of some powerful elites. The political doctrine holds that the most powerful is he that dominate and instigate fear on the antagonists (Ngwogeh, 2022). Field investigation revealed that in order to gain prestige for political backings, some elites and traditional authorities embarked on land use conflict in order to subjugate their neighbours.

4.4.1: Administrative neglects and laws regulating land use

The failure of the civil administration and the state to retrace and replant inter-village boundaries despite the increasing number of inter-village disputes has triggered their recurrences. It is true that the increase in population results in the expansion towards frontiers into neighbouring village lands. It is also true that there are laws guiding and regulating land use and expansion. These are the civil administration and traditional laws available in the sub-division. From Figure 5, according to field findings, some of the methods governing land ownership are; injunctions, land title and land certificates, and complete occupation. It was also revealed that some of them like administrative injunction solve conflicts while others such as complete occupation without legal claims cause inter-tribal land use conflict (Figure 5).

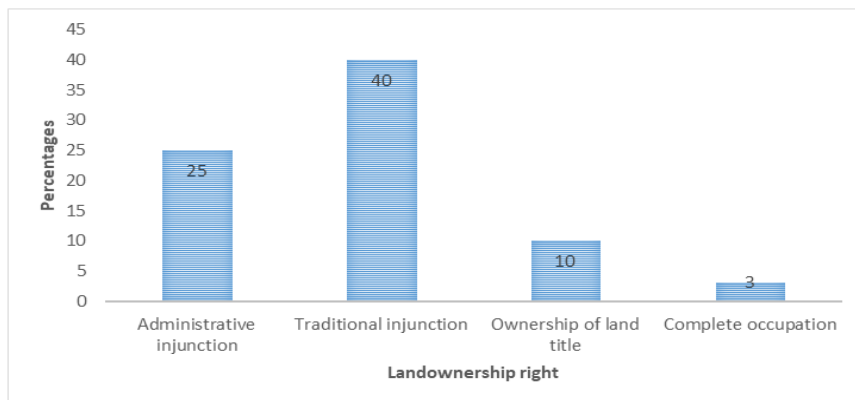


Figure 5: Methods regulating land ownership by household in BS

Source: Field work 2022

Result from the field confirmed the findings of Amungwa (2009), who proved that peasants have little or no knowledge about the Cameroon 1974 and 1994 laws governing the acquisition and use of land. They are vested with traditional and administrative injunctions regulations, which are not sustainable in conflict resolution. This situation has led to numerous land-use conflicts in the Sub-division. Those aware of laws governing land use however testified that some of these laws cause more conflicts than solutions (traditional laws). This is because traditional regulations on land use top the chart with 40% and clash with the

administrative laws 25% (Figure 5). For instance, most traditional laws regulating land use are not sustainable because they are based on trust and traditional lineage while the administrative laws are based on proves of ownership such as a land certificate or title for an occupied piece of land if only administrative bottlenecks are wiped out in the Sub-Division. With this confusion between traditional and administrative laws on land use, there is bound to be inter-tribal land-use conflicts in the BS.

4.4.2 Political ambitions of some elites in instigating these inter-tribal land conflicts.

The political map of BS has identified the administrative aspects of the area and the political landscape of the sub-division with two dominant legalised political parties that coexist in the region, that is the ruling and opposition parties. The selfishness and the leadership quarrels that occur between politicians from different villages and the different ethnic groups with Chambas more of ruling party and Tikaris more opposition incline as of the 1990s with the birth of multiparty in the Sub-Division has resulted most especially to the 1995/1996/1998 land conflicts between Balikumbat-Bafanji.

Fogwe, (1997) established that the 1990s was a significant period in Cameroon's political history; BS was not exempted as it grappled with the changing dynamics with many political parties springing up alongside the ruling party in the name of multiparty. The opposition was not only the dominant opposition party but also had its influence in Cameroon's North West Region and BS in particular. Indeed, in the early multiparty parliamentary and municipal elections held in 1992, the opposition swept 95% of the 20 seats and 80% of the Councils in the region with a landslide victory in Bafanji and Bamunkumbit stronghold of opposition as of that time. These results singled out the area as the opposition bastion and a threat to the ruling party headed by late Fon Gagwanyin III of Balikumbat who in vengeance used land use conflict as a stepping stone to conflict with the opposed villages.

According to field findings, politics has brought about unpredictable behaviour from whimsical and selfish political elites who bring division by sponsoring and initiating inter-village land-use conflicts like the 1995 Balikumbat-Bafanji land conflict that was initiated and sponsored by influential politicians from the ruling party in the name of punishing villages such as Bafanji for not voting for the ruling party. Besides, these politicians' mix-ups of politics and inter-village relationships have always maintained a permanent climate of uncertainty and fear, so much so that the Sub-division had been nicknamed '*small bagdad*' because of frequent inter-tribal wars resulting from inter-tribal land conflicts due to political manipulations.

4. IMPLICATIONS OF INTER-TRIBAL LAND-USE CONFLICT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALIKUMBAT SUB-DIVISION

Balikumbat Sub-Division, like any other sub-division in the North West region, has encountered many inter-tribal land-use conflicts from 1990-to 2000 with severe havoc and horrors on life and property. Field survey indicates that Bafanji recorded a total of about 372 victims that were affected by the 1995 violent boundary conflict against only 7 victims for Balikumbat with evaluation damage amounting to 1,233.519.300 million (houses and crops destroyed) for Bafanji village and 1,27.000.000 billion just for a single individual (evaluation report from the Senior Divisional Officer, Ngoketunjia in 1995 and 1998).

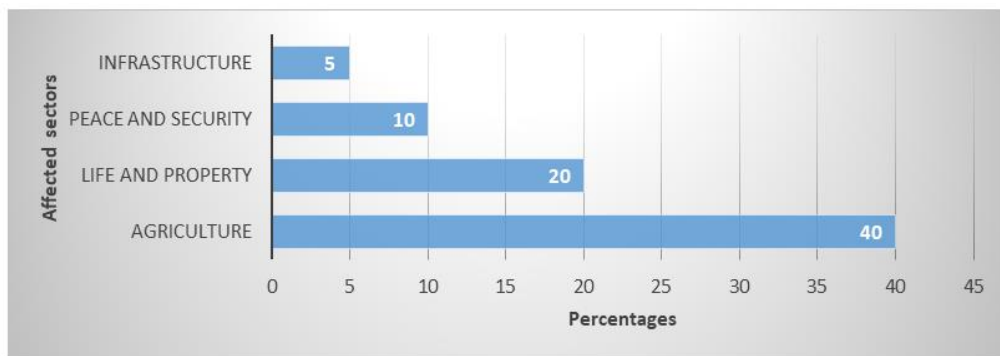


Figure 6: Developmental Aspects affected by Inter-tribal land-use conflicts in BS

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Some of the recent inter-tribal land use conflicts include the Balikumbat-Bafanji, Balikumbat-Bambalang, Bamunkumbit-Baligashu, and Bamunkumbit-Baligansin wars. One could rank the implications in order of the most affected activities from the findings. According to Figure 6, agriculture constitutes the highest and most affected sector because it is the backbone of the economy of BS.

5.1. IMPACT ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Inter-tribal land-use conflicts have significantly hampered the development of agriculture

in BS which constitutes the backbone of the economy as over 80% of the population is engaged in agriculture. The leading indicators are that not all farms are cultivated; some farms and Agric-posts or offices are abandoned and idle for years in the bush due to the absence of agricultural activities. This affects productivity on a large scale, considering that they depend on the environment and agriculture for their livelihoods. This affects productivity on a large scale, considering that most fertile cultivable lands are destroyed and some abandoned. The result has been low

agricultural output, food insecurity and a rapid increase in prices amidst poverty.

In most years of conflicts, not all farmlands are cultivated because farmers are afraid that they will end up not harvesting the crop cultivated. In the same light, some farmlands remain idle. A case in point is the fertile land in Kungang in Bafanji, with over 150 hectares of farmlands abandoned. Agricultural institutions like the Agric-posts abandoned their warehouses in Bafanji since 1995. The most glaring conflicting quarters where agricultural lands have been

abandoned includes; Mbangang, Njanung, Akumon, Mulafi I and II. Over 496 hectares of land have remained idle since the conflicts years (1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2013 and 2014). A projection on data obtained from the Sub-Divisional Delegation of the Ministry Agriculture and Rural Development in BS from 1999-2000 shows that 494 hectares of cultivable land can produce estimated tons of food crop of over 157764.4 tons (table 4). This projection indicate that BS is a food basket and so, inter-tribal land use conflicts result to food insecurity as the agricultural sector is at stand still due to violence.

Table 4: Projected food crop losses during years of conflict in BSD

Estimated Types of Food Crop Cultivated	Some quarters under land conflicts	Estimated hectares cultivated 1999-2000	Quantity produced in Tons 1999-2000	Projected loss in years of conflicts 1993-2000(7yrs)	Hectares in %
Maize	Mbangang	150	49,820.4	348,742.8	30.24%
Groundnuts	Akumon	150	49,820.4	348,742.8	30.24%
Okra	Njanung	100	33,213.6	232,495.2	20.16%
Cassava	Mulafi I and II	75	24,910.2	174,371.4	15.12%
Beans	Total	495	157,764.4	110,4352.2	100%
Rice					

Source: Sub-Divisional Delegation of the Ministry Agriculture and Rural Development in BS, Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4 indicates that such loss is because most conflicting farmland areas are usually left idle. Most farmlands are not cultivated because they may not harvest most food crops because of inter-tribal wars usually resurface. These idle lands have slowed down economic activities related to agriculture. This is typical of the 1995 war. Some administration injunction orders led to the abandonment of agricultural lands. The problem of agriculture is intensified by injunctions orders placed on land to forbid either party from cultivating the land. This explains why 496 hectares of land have remained idle. The drop in agricultural activities in such conflict-prone zone has also led to the abandonment of some vital agricultural institutions that fostered agriculture and rural development. This includes the abandoned old Bafanji Agric post office at Mbangang quarter in Bafanji (Photo 3). This Agric post in the past served as the North West Regional cooperative society for over decades but now abandoned in the bush in Bafanji as a result of land-use conflicts.



Photo 3: Abandoned old Bafanji Agric post office
Source: Ngwogeh, Field work 2022

Nkwi (2011), held that aggravated land disputes from farmer-grazer often result in attacks, demolition, burning of houses or enclosures, the destruction of crops, killing or poisoning livestock, and even casualties in human lives. This assertion is true with the numerous inter-tribal land conflicts which have led to a drop in agricultural output in BS. The continuous destruction of crops during such violent land conflicts has also brought about the displacement of poor peasant farmers to flee from these conflict-prone zones. This displacement also leads to the scramble of farmlands in quarters without land-use conflicts. Such displacement has led to other intra-village quarrels over land, such as farmer-farmer conflicts. This displacement has also reduced farm sizes and drop in agricultural outputs in most of these areas. Leading to increased poverty and hunger in the Sub-Division and rural development. The time and money spent buying local guns and fighting would have been spent on agricultural input to generate more output. Therefore, it is evident from the discussion that there has been a drop in agricultural production in BS from the 1990s to the present.

5.2: Impact on trade and exchange

Inter-tribal land-use conflicts have affected the agricultural sector of the economy in BS and other sectors of the study area's economy, such as trade and exchange. The meltdown of these sectors had brought about general hardship in the Sub-Division since the 1990s till date. The main field negative indicator affecting trade is the disruption of goods circulation due to fear and disruption of exchange. The above

indicators also generate secondary consequences such as a drop in market activities, a drop in inter-village visits and inter-marriage break-up. As cited by Kwi (1997), inter-village trade has equally been disrupted. For example, the war between Bafanji-Balikumbat in 1995 disrupted trading activities as the Bafanji main market, which constituted the busiest in the Sub-Division, was burnt down. This led to a drop in the council revenue. According to Pinyinchu (1995), inter-village wars have brought economic malaise as trade between villages is disrupted. Some of these inter-tribal confrontations affect inter-village visits and some inter-village marriages between natives. Trade is needed to ensure easy circulation of goods to promote development. As a result, the Bafanji people did not allow Balikumbat people to trade in their markets. From field investigations after the post-conflict, the atmosphere of the Sub-Division was characterised by tensions. Trade that was necessary for fast economic recovery. Hence, development in these villages and its surrounding affected. In addition to the economic melt-down of trade, circulation within important trade axes in the Sub-Division stopped. For instance, public circulation stopped from Balikumbat to Bamenda, Bafanji to Baligashu and the Sub-Division to Mbouda in the West Region. Conflicting villages could not travel through others villages. Field respondents indicated that a road was dug overnight from Bafanji through Bambalang to reach Ndop, a distance that cost twice the one covered through Balikumbat. Balikumbat, on the other side, had to travel through Bamenda to Mbouda to sell their products, which tripled their cost of transportation. As stated by Hongie, (2015),

resources that could be used to reconstruct villages were simply wasted. Also, perishable goods could not get to the market on time leading to a lot of wastage of agricultural products due to wars.

5.3. Effects on Life and infrastructures

Inter-tribal land-use conflicts have greatly hampered human life and property in BS. This constitutes about 20% second most affected aspect in the development of the study area, as presented in Figure 6. This is manifested through the number of lives lost, and the quantity of property looted. After inter-tribal wars, it was realised that there was a drop in inter-marriages, an increase in refugees and increased rural exodus especially the youth. In local indigenous warfare, there exists no professional army, trained to meet the challenges of combat battles. In this light, no code of conduct guided them on the battlefields. Most local inhabitants lost their lives during inter-tribal conflicts especially when the war intensified and became violent. Although some customary codes such as avoidance of pregnant women do exist but with the use of arms like the case of the 1995/ 1998 and the recent 2011 between Balikumbat-Bafanji and Balikumbat-Bambalang respectively the killing of human beings especially the male by opposite parties was very rampant. Nganyewo, (1995) estimated death toll as 5 for Balikumbat and 18 for Bafanji. Bambalang-Balikumbat land conflict in 2011 recorded about 9 deaths with several others wounded. One person was alleged to be killed by Baligasin fighters in the case between Bamunkumbit-Baligasin in 2014. as presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Death and wounded persons in the 1995, 1998 and 2011 Balikumbat and Bafanji/Bambalang inter-tribal land conflict

Conflicting Villages	Deaths recorded	N ^o Wounded Victims	Total Affected
Bafanji	18	50	68
Balikumbat	5	10	15
Bambalang	9	30	39
Total	32	90	122

Source: War victims and field respondents

In most cases the active male youths who are the economic backbone of these villages driven by forces of tribal patriotism and youthful excitement were killed, living behind many widows and orphans who were forced to drop out of schools after the wars. Since many of them lost their loved ones, parents, brothers and guidance in these conflicts. Another cause of the high death toll was the burning of houses since most of the attacks were surprises to catch targeted villages in their high degree of unpreparedness.

Whenever an inter-tribal war occurs, there are usually untold effects on property destruction, such as buildings and crops, animals, bridges, and roads. The fact is that during inter-tribal land use conflicts key services are usually targeted depriving some villages

from these services according to Hongie, (2013). According to Pinyinchu, (1995), the Balikumbat invasion of Bafanji in 1995 was not for land. If this was the reason, the war would have been limited at the border. For example, during the land use conflict between Balikumbat-Bafanji in 1995, Bafanji was almost razed out with critical services such as Bafanji main market, the Cooperative buildings and the Regional Agricultural Post destroyed. Apart from these services, more than 500 houses were destroyed or burnt in Bafanji and about 150 from Balikumbat. All the shops and stores in the Bafanji main market were reduced to ruins, rendering the owners homeless and hopeless. Angry retreating fighters completely burnt down border quarters in both villages. Mbagang, Njanung and part of Ekwo quarters of Bafanji were

reduced to ashes and part of Juguro quarter in Balikumbat, which was also destroyed. Portable items were looted while plants or crops and animals suffered unprecedented annihilation in Bafanji. From Table 5, 500 houses were destroyed in Bafanji against 11 for

Balikumbat. Whenever inter-tribal wars occur, there is usually untold effects on property destruction such as house, lives and animals, which are also an essential devastating effects.

Table 5: Number of property destroyed and quarters/victims affected in Balikumbat-Bafanji during the 1995 land conflict

Contesting Villages	Destruction on Buildings	Destruction on Crops/Animals	Looted or Damaged	Quarters/Victims affected
Bafanji	500	209	297	3quarters (Mbagang, Njanung and Ekwo) with 372victims
Balikumbat	150	6	5	1quarter(Juguru) with 7victims
TOTAL	650	215	302	4quarters and 379victims

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

The magnitude of this destruction could be testified following the court case between Peter Ngufor of Bafanji and the late Fon Gagwanyin III of Balikumbat. The former sued the latter for the singular destruction of his property worth 550.000.000frs CFA

as presented in Table 5 following the evaluation report of 3rd June 1995 on damage recorded during the Balikumbat-Bafanji war in 1995 and the judgement passed at the High Court of Bamenda.

Table 6: Evaluation of property destroyed (in monetary term) between Bafanji and Balikumbat after 1995 war over land conflict

Items destroyed in Monetary term	Money value in Bafanji (FCFA)	Money value for Singular Individual in Bafanji, Peter Ngufor (FCFA)	Money value for Balikumbat
Buildings	411,225,528	550,000,000	1,007,421Frances CFA
Crops/Animals	105,273,457		1,943,530Frances CFA
Looted or damaged	717,020,315		5,584,150Frances CFA
Total cost	1,233,519,300	172,000,000 following the high court of Bamenda Judgment by late Fon Doh of Balikumbat	8,776,101Frances CFA

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

In fact, the magnitude of the destruction has made the people of Bafanji raise eyebrows as many accused the government of complicity and as a punitive measure for her pro-opposition stance. According to Nformi (1995), judgment in his article entitled “S.D.O Accused of Fanning the Bafanji–Balikumbat Conflict” while the magnitude of the destruction could be deduced from Chris (1998) in an article captioned “Balikumbat Wipes out Bafanji”. Other land-use conflicts in BS like the Bamunkumbit-Baligashu/Baligasin and Balikumbat-Bambalang have brought about a lot of property destructions on both parties as they lost millions of Frances CFA lost. For example, Bambalang-Balikumbat registered a big loss according to the Sub-Divisional Officer record sheet in 2011 on the following; houses 84.236.235frs CFA, crops 3.003.350, animals 2.221000frsCFA and others 1.004.900frs CFA and after the conflict, they are forced to use a considerable sum of money to open up new farms, cooperative societies groups (CIGs) as well as

the construction of new buildings with money that would have been shifted for other developmental projects thus limiting on development in all its dimensions in the sub-division. According to field investigations, the sick, disabled, children and some adults, were burnt in some houses. Also the high death toll was also fallout of suffering by the conflict victims in the forests and neighbouring villages as refugees who harboured by border quarters, those whose houses were burnt, women and children who could not go to the war fronts died of diseases and hunger. The most devastating effect was that most youthful population at the war fronts died. Thus, it was not only quantitative but also qualitative death incurred as killing these populations has reduced human development in the study area. Bambalang victims of 2011 were harboured in Ndop and Bafanji victims of 1995 took refuge in the West Region as refugee. This is presented in plate 1 below.



Plate 1: A and B, Displaced villagers from Bambalang
Source: Photo by Plan Cameroon, fieldwork 2022.

Plate 1 shows homeless people in Mighang quarter **in Bambalang** (Plan Cameroon, 2011). Worse of all, the burning and destruction of local farmers' homes and farms in Bafanji and Bambalang did encourage environmental displacement of indigenes, and environmental degradation by homeless and landless farmers who later were in search of new farmlands. This search for new avenues led to intra-village land-use conflicts such as farmer-grazer, farmer-farmers and stray animal problems. This phenomenon brought about accelerated soil erosion because of the diverse landscape. This hinders agricultural growth and development in BS. The active agricultural population are lost to other regions of agricultural importance in the country such as South West Region for the cultivation of cocoa living behind their village as some of the cultivable lands remain idle and consequently underdevelopment.

5.4: Disruption of community peace and insecurity

From field investigations after any post-conflict, the atmosphere of the sub-division is characterized by tensions, fear (insecurity) and ostracism (banishment). This did not only disrupt trade that was necessary for fast economic recovery and development in BS but it also disrupted the peace, security and stability of the study area. The negative descriptive indicators for the disruption of community peace and security are mutual suspicion, hatred, slow poisoning, deviant and lawbreakers, quarters deserted, uncertainty and fear, as well as crime waves.

5.5: POSITIVE EFFECTS ON DEVELOPMENT

According to field findings, the negative implications of inter-tribal land-use conflicts on the development of BS outnumber the positive side. There are some positive aspects to the state and some village's concern. The state and the administration of the Sub-Division have confiscated parts of these conflicting lands to develop necessities such as schools to benefit the state and tribal villages. The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization under the Republic of Cameroon through the secretary of state in charge of National Gendarmerie in 1998 and 1999 respectively carried an evaluation visit to the disputed area of 110 metres and enjoined the two Fons and their subjects to scrupulously respect the boundary based on the 1969

demarcation and the 1971 judgement [¹]. The Senior Divisional Officer for Ngoketunjia, on the 01/02/1996 made administrative order No. 288/E/31/045/MB of 17/04/97 as a supervisory authority, supporting an earlier and similar order of his predecessor, Mr Joseph Mbasengoh. The aim of the orders was to compromise the chances of contacts and possible friction between the respective peoples of Balikumbat and Bafanji. The order No. E31/049/517 of 02/04/96 and letter of reference No. E31/C24/20 of 27/03/96 introduced the creation of (centre d'éducation et d'action communautaire) intended to separate the two villages of Balikumbat and Bafanji. The intention of the administrator was to locate the Community Development Education Centre in the much-disputed portion of land between Balikumbat and Bafanji, stretching to Bambalang and Bamunkumbit. According to paragraph three of the letter ref. E31/C24/20 of 27/03/96 a stretch of land worth 110 metres, free from all claims of the villages was created as a buffer zone to host the structures of the community development education centre which acted as a way forward for the location of GBHS [²] Bafanji today.



Photo 3: GBHS Bafanji located on a confiscated disputed portion of land by the state to limit the conflict over the land between Balikumbat-Bafanji
Source: Ngwogeh, 2022

¹ Cameroon's primary land law, ordinance No. 74-1 of 6 July 1971, established land tenure rules.

² Government Bilingual High School Bafanji

The ministry of National Education too on the 03/08/2001 created Government Bilingual Secondary School Bafanji based on a technical report signed by a site board appointed by the Divisional Delegate for National Education Ngohketunjia. The site was chosen for a careful examination of the quality and quantity of the land sufficient to accommodate creation of the Community Development Centre in 1996. Therefore, the government was transformed the disputed area of 110 metres into a veritable state land and property to avoid unnecessary confrontation between the two rival villages. It is hoped that creating and establishing more administrative structures in the area would permanently solve the long-standing land dispute problem. Buffer zone created by the state in the conflicting areas was used to construct government schools. This limit or control the frequent inter-tribal land conflicts between villages. These schools have contributed to increasing the level of literacy in the Sub-Division. Hence, the educated youths are sensitised on the negative consequences of wars. By this act, the government gained a special status in conflict resolution as they intended to benefit the communities of Balikumbat, Bafanji, Bamunkumbit, Baligansin, Baligashu and Bambalang. Therefore, it was not only a state structure to be located in a piece of national land but a basic necessity that has benefited these five communities since 2001. This school acts as a unified centre to a certain extent because students from these conflicting villages do school together and work assignments as a group. This goes a long way to reduce the ideology of separation.

5. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

Generally, findings show that land-use conflicts have seriously affected the development on development of BS. Findings show that the main conflict areas were the borders and areas with fertile soils. It was revealed that five villages and six quarters were highly involved in intertribal conflicts. Hypothesis one, which states that high fertile soil areas are the main reason for intertribal land-use conflicts, is validated.

The study revealed many causes triggering intertribal conflicts in BS. The major were population growth and the demand for land. Other factors included historical, economic and political reasons. This implies that hypothesis two, which stated that population growth and increased demand for land are the main causes of inter-tribal land use conflicts is validated.

An assessment of the implication of intertribal land-use conflicts on the development of BS reveals that these conflicts have negatively affected agricultural development, lives and properties, trade and exchange, peace and security. Findings show that the agricultural sector is the most affected. Therefore, the hypothesis that inter-tribal conflicts negatively affect development is validated. Finally, this study succeeded in identifying

the areas of inter-tribal land-use conflicts and their implications on development in BS.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

Residents should be aware of the importance of obtaining a land certificate, as it limits verbal ownership of land. This can be effectively done by creating a radio station, as the area is void of one and a door-to-door sensitisation so that illiterates are not left out. Implementing these recommendations can reduce the rate of land-use conflicts and boost growth and development in the sub-division. This will limit verbal ownership of land and makes land ownership more sustainable. This will help in land conflicts management within the Subdivision on the part of the state because it will prove that a particular village owns the area under conflict. This can be effectively done through an open campaign offered to them by the D.O of Balikumbat through a door-to-door sensitisation so that the poor peasants can be aware and benefit from such a campaign.

The council should map out all the inter-tribal land conflicting areas and try to control growth and subversive activities around this zone of conflicts using the notion of buffer zone or hand the area under the supervision of government developmental agencies that control all activities. Mapping out this area by the council will help these land conflicts. Such buffer zones could be used as prison and military camps and experimental farms under the control of the government agencies with royalties paid to rightful village owners, as well as prison grounds and military camps. The council can also identify, map, and allocate only developmental activities in these areas that will benefit a particular group of people and the parties involved in land-use conflicts such as schools, markets, community playing complex ground for cultural activities, and other recreational activities.

The state should evaluate the rural council map on the conflicting area and the council land use map and allocate activities to these conflict-prone lands. After adopting the area's land use and conflict map, the state should ensure their quick implementation through their developmental agencies depending on the activities sited for the area. The zone could be used as experimental farms in the agricultural sector, for instance, under the supervision of agencies such as MEDINO ^[3] and UNVDA ^[4] Ndop. This will further redistribution to the local inhabitants by the developmental agencies.

The state should retrace the existing boundaries from 1910 by the German, 1933 by the British and the 1969 boundary demarcations by the

³ UNVDA-Upper Nun Valley Development Authority

⁴ North West Development Authority

post-colonial administration for the Sub-Division and update the pillars numbers by replanting to ensure territorial sovereignty and limits.

The government should emphasise the bottom-top approach with more privilege given to local inhabitants in drawing conflict management resolutions cutting across all cultural backgrounds. In farming and construction, the government should recommend the maximum use of the little land available. In construction, discussions on vertical construction of houses should be encouraged in seminars to avoid residential-farmer land use conflict. Though, this is conditioned by the availability of funds as only the well to do will be able to undertake such constructions in situations of conflict. Implementing the above recommendations can go a long way not only to mediate the rate of inter-tribal land use conflicts but also to boost sustainable growth and the development of BS in general, especially if they do the more significant part of the implementations as recommended above.

The local administration and the traditional authorities should encourage judicious use of both Administrative and traditional injunctions with no interest. That injunction should act as a short term remedy to inter-tribal land use conflict and not a long term remedy solution because one party might be benefiting more than the other or the land may lie wasted with no agricultural activity. The local Population of the Subdivision should form Common Initiative Groups (CIGs) to ease their acquisition of a piece of land, loans, and subsidies from the government, foreign bodies, banks, and NGO s [⁵].

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⁵ NGO- Non Governmental Organization

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