Urbanization and the Politics of Identity in Buea: A Sociological Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Urbanization plays a distinct and important role in producing political relationships. Identity politics which is strongly linked to sense of belonging is an important dimension of political relationships in urban areas. This study examines the relationship between urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea. The research is a descriptive documentary research with data collected from secondary sources (former studies and reports, newspapers, archival records and internet publications) with few interviews. Data collection procedures included reading and note-taking. Data was analyzed using thematic content analysis whereby concepts and ideas were grouped together under umbrella key words to appreciate the trends in them. The Instrumentalist Theory of Ethnicity was the framework that guided the study. The themes were geared towards outlining how ethnicity has been a tool of political control. Data was gathered from the different epochs that have marked urbanization in Buea, from the Native Authority to the present Buea Rural Council, demonstrating how this has influenced relationships between natives and non-natives. Results show that, starting as a colonial town, and most especially with her changing status as the capital successively of German Cameroon, British Southern Cameroons, and West Cameroon, coupled with the fact that she has had to harbour several institutions, Buea has experienced rapid urbanization. It also reveals that, just as colonialism is responsible for rapid urbanization in Buea, it has constructed differences between "us" and the "other" aimed at protecting indigenous minorities. In essence, the thesis demonstrates how the transition of Buea from a rural to an urban settlement has led to several types of relations across identity division, especially between insiders and outsiders as well as among native segments as each strives to dominate the political milieu. Although the non-natives are in a demographic majority, they occupy a minority position within the Council. Most especially, the recruitment policy of the Councilfavours natives, to the detriment of non-natives. Land restitution and re-alienation has ushered in a paradigm shift from tensions between natives and non-natives to an era of peaceful co-existence.

KEYWORDS: Urbanization, Politics, Identity, Buea, Sociology

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization refers to the process by which rural areas become urbanized as a result of economic development and industrialization. Demographically, urbanization denotes the redistribution of populations from rural to urban settlements over time. However, it is important to acknowledge that the criteria for defining what is urban may vary from country to country, which cautions us against a strict comparison of urbanization cross-nationally.

Over the past 20years, many urban areas have experienced dramatic growth as a result of rapid population growth and as the world economy has been transformed by a combination of rapid technological and political changes (Cohan, 2006). At the beginning of the 20th century, they were just 16 cities in the world. Today there are almost 400 cities, with 70 of them found in Africa. For the first time in history, by 2017, more people will be living in cities and towns than in rural areas, and developing countries will become more urban than rural (ibid). Our concern as sociologists is not to focus on urban growth, but to analyze some of the social and political intricacies that arise as a result of urban growth or urbanization.

As cities grow, managing them becomes increasingly complex. This is because rapid urbanization throughout Africa has seriously outstripped the capacity of most cities to cope with challenges, especially political challenges. Yet each year cities or towns attract new migrants who together with the increasing native population exacerbate problems such as the problem of coexistence, the 'who' dichotomy, the stranger/native conflict, all of which can be subsumed in what has become known as the politics of identity.

Historically, the second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of large-scale political movements: ethnic movements, second wave feminism, Black Civil Rights in the

U.S., gay and lesbian liberation, and the American Indian movements, for example, based in claims about the marginalization done to particular social groups. These social movements were undergirded by and fostered a philosophical body of literature that takes up questions about the nature, origin and futures of the identities being defended. Identity politics as a mode of organizing is intimately connected to the idea that some social groups are oppressed; that is, that one's identity as a woman or as a native, for example, makes one peculiarly vulnerable to cultural imperialism (including stereotyping, erasure, or appropriation of one's group identity), violence, exploitation, marginalization, or powerlessness (Young, 1990). Identity politics starts from analyses of oppression to recommending, variously, the reclaiming, re-description, or transformation of previously stigmatized accounts of group individuals with a common identity. Rather than accepting the negative scripts offered by a dominant culture about one's own inferiority, one transforms one's own sense of self and community, often through consciousness-raising.

Identity politics or what might be called the *demand for recognition* is thus, at its core, essentially the *politics of equal dignity* and the *politics of difference* (or authenticity). It has emerged both in the developing and developed world, and has roots in gender politics, sexual politics, ethnic politics, and religious dimension of politics, or some combination thereof. This work will be focused on ethnic politics.

Urbanization and the politics of identity, as far as Africa is concerned, are linked to colonialism. Analyzing the three different trends (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial) will expose just how far urbanization has affected the political pattern in Africa. Macionis (2009) argues that urbanization is not only an evolutionary process of redistributing human population within a given society, but also a way of transforming many patterns of social, economic and most especially political life toward satisfying the development of the needs of man.

In Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular, sociologists, anthropologists and even political scientists have tried to assess the way in which urban revolutions and forces have impacted upon the political development of Africa, Cameroon and Buea to be specific. The three trends are: pre-colonial, that is, prior to colonialism, the colonial era with the development of industrial cities, and the explosive growth of cities in the post-colonial period or the era of globalization.

Unlike the popular misconception that urbanization in Africa is the result of European civilization, urbanization was widespread in Africa for centuries before the arrival of Europeans. According to Chandler (1994), urbanization is not a new development or phenomenon in Africa but existed in Northern African as early as 3200 B.C, and later extended to the rest of the continent. These urban centuries were located along the trade routes used by Arab traders. Some of these urban centers include Cairo and Alexandra in Egypt, Tripoli in Libya, Fez in Morocco, Timbuktu in Mali, Kumasi in Ghana and Kano in Nigeria. Hence in pre-colonial Africa, trade, economic activities was the stimulating variable that stirred urban growth.

However, in the fifteen and sixteen centuries, the pattern of urbanization of African was balkanized and weakened by the expansion of mercantilism which stagnated political and economic development in the existing urban centers. The flourishing African trade system was balkanized and replaced with the slave trade which had devastating consequences on the political development of urban centers. In order to prevent the emergence of powerful urban centers and to destroy existing ones, the Europeans played one kingdom off against another; hence the Asante kingdom asserted control over the West African coastal states to gain monopoly over the regional slave trade. This divide and rule policy continued in the colonial era and was inherited by leaders of the post-colonial era.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the expansion of European mercantilism to colonialism. This process was inspired by the development of Capitalism in Europe which gave rise to the quest and search for cheap raw materials, agricultural produce, as well as markets. To acquire cheap labour for purposes of agriculture and manufacturing, lands were expropriated, tax imposed. The Europeans therefore restructured the political system. This restructuring of Africa and its pattern of urbanization was triggered more extensively by political competition brought about by the Belgian and German annexation of territories in Africa. This upset the balance of power and reinforced the quest and scramble for the partition and control of Africa. As a result, the policies of Assimilation and Indirect Ruled were introduced in the urban centers of Africa. These methods of political control used by the Europeans in the administration of Africa's urban territories brought a new wave of political development of urbanization in Africa.

Contextually, one cannot talk about urbanization in Cameroon in the colonial area without mentioning Buea. This is because Buea did not only serve as the administrative head quarter of colonial rule, but plantation agriculture in the area also served as a pull factor for migrants, making it one of the first urbanized towns in Cameroon. These changes were accompanied by political changes that will continue to affect the current political trends in Buea.

The era of globalization is marked by extraordinary growth in Africa (Macionis, op.cit). This is also referred to as the post-colonial period when most countries in Africa gained independence from European colonization. During this era, the rate of urban growth increased because in addition to the natural increase, millions of people left the countryside each year in search of jobs, health care and education. Education most especially played a vital role as far as the political transition from colonial rule to independence was concerned. This educated class became known as the elite. They championed the course of independence, independence that was characterized by ethnicity implanted by the colonialist. It is rather unfortunate that in present-day Africa and in Cameroon especially, the ruling elite continue to manipulate ethnicity as an approach to politicking.

As the wave of urbanization kept spreading, new programs were invented to suit the growing world population, such as globalization. However, since the 1980s, the globalization phenomenon of political liberation seems to have led to an increased obsession with ethnicity, autochthony and the politics of belonging in Africa and elsewhere. The wave of liberal democracy was introduced in Cameroon in the early 1990s; meanwhile the urbanized towns became multi-ethnic,

multi-religious and multi-linguistic. The question that arises here is, since democracy stressed the fact that the people should rule, who are the people? It is against this backdrop that the concept of natives and non-natives started occupying a dominant role in the political arena.

Buea has been described as the third fastest growing town in Cameroon; however, it is made up of migrants, many of whom are migrants not only from throughout Cameroon but also from other parts of the world, especially Nigeria. The questions here is: how do these migrants survive in the urban area politically? As Buea is growing rapidly, she is filling up old boundaries, and with increased infrastructural development, the central city is absorbing villages on the peripheries into the urban mass; example: Muea, Mile 16 Bolifamba, WonyaMavio, Bokwaoungo. In this work, we will analyze the problem of co-existence in Buea, the dichotomy between "native" and ''non-natives'', the metaphor of the homeland, the role of the elite, and land re-alienation.

BACKGROUND

Urbanization is the process by which a number of people become permanently concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities. Long (1998) contended that rural to urban migration means that people move from rural areas to urban areas; in this process the number of people living in cities increases, compared to the number of people living in the rural areas.

Urbanization is a population shift from rural to urban areas, "the gradual increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas", and the ways in which each society adapts to the change. It is predominantly the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas. Reisse (1964) held that urbanization is a process of population concentration in which the ratio of urban people to the total population increases.

Urbanization in its demographic sense can be defined as the movement of people from small settlements scattered across the countryside into areas of concentration. It is predominantly the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas (Cohen, 1969). The most plausible history of urbanization can be traced as far back in the 19th and early 20th century, with the industrial revolution that took place in Britain. Davis (1969) argued that urbanization is undoubtedly the most striking specific aspect of modern civilization. Modern growth started in the 18th century following the industrial revolution when only 3% of the total population lived in towns of more than 5000 inhabitants. The United Nations projected that half of the world's population would live in urban areas at the end of 2008. It is predicted that by 2050 about 64% of the developing world and 86% of the developed world will be urbanized. That is equivalent to approximately 3 billion urbanites by 2050, much of which will occur in Africa and Asia. Notably, the United Nations has also recently projected that nearly all global population growth from 2016 to 2030 will be absorbed by cities, about 1.1 billion new urbanites over the next 14 years (Reba *et al.,* 2016).

One of the most lasting features of the industrial revolution was the rise of cities spurred by industrialization. Breeze (1966) defined urbanization as a process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits that are common to cities and corresponding changes of behaviour patterns. This definition explains the African urban population which has been rapid due to the rural-urban migration process which continuously adds to the number of inhabitants in the urban centers. Therefore, the word 'urban' is often used for such terms as town, city, suburbs and metropolitan area. It is a general term associated with population size, population densities, economic functions or the life in a city including the context of political behavior and socialization.

From Great Britain, industrialization accompanied by urbanization spread to Europe, America and other parts of the world at different times and speed during the 19th century. Unlike popular opinion, urbanization in Africa is not as a result of European influence. According to Tolba (1981), the history of urbanization indicates that the first cities in the surface of the earth occurred in the region of Mesopotamia and the Nile valley in Egypt ground 3500BC and later extended to the rest of the continent.

However, one cannot refuse the fact that urbanization also created an impact as far as Africa is concerned. According to Kunda (1999), the process of urbanization and the creation of cities in colonial countries can be described as a breaking of the continuum. This discontinuity happened in two significant ways, one being the growth of cities determined by exogenous factors like the setting up of a giant trading centre or a massive public sector project or a multi-national company.

According to Sumuyeh (1993), urbanization has been the greatest in developing countries especially those within the inter-tropical areas. Now more than ever, developing countries are experiencing more rapid growth and are thus suffering from urban problem. Among the common problems of urbanization in African countries like Cameroon is indigenous identity eradication. Africa remains the world's poorest continent and such a massive population shift will confront the continent's 56 governments with gargantuan problems: how to feed such an enormous number of people; how to provide safe drinking, healthcare, jobs and shelter and most especially the problem of co-existence. This is because the rate of urban growth is by far higher than the rural capacity to plan and cope with the outcomes of urbanization.

In 1950 less than 15% of Africans lived in cities. By 2030, for the first time in history, more of the continent's people will be living in urban areas than in rural regionsand by 2050 an estimated 1.23 billion people, or 60% of all Africans will by city dwellers (UN Report, 2008).There was relatively little growth of tropical Africa until the Second World War. Since then, an increasing expansion of towns and cities has occurred in western, southern, and eastern African countries. Most of these towns originated from colonization and have developed and expanded as they were necessary centers of control and administration. Such towns were thus situated at the coast (Sumuyeh, 1993). To support this,Mofor (2009) argued that most of the towns created by the colonial administration were designed for the colonial administration and trading centers rather than for commercial centers equipped to support large populations.

In Cameroon, in spite of the pre-colonial towns that have existed such as Foumban, Ngoundere, Mora, Kousseri, urban growth started during the colonial period (1884-1960), mainly along the coast, that form the immediate link with the metropolitan power. Most of these towns were created to serve as a source of raw materials for the metropolitan powers as plantations were located along the coast. Among such towns were Douala, Victoria, Kribi. After independence the growth of these towns accelerated ad later developed into urban centers (Sumuyeh and Mbunwe, 1993).

According to Neba (1987), before independence most Cameroonian towns grew rapidly due to an adequate infrastructure. This situation changed drastically with the dissolution of the federal system of government and the creation of a unitary state in 1972. After this period, most Cameroonian towns expanded rapidly.

There are different criteria used to determine a town or an urban area. In Cameroon both the numerical and administrative criteria are used in defining an urban area. Hence an urban area in Cameroon refers to an agglomeration of 5000 people engaged mainly in non- rural activities, or an area which is built up with buildings, roads and other urban land use (Neba, 1987; Sumuyeh and Mbunwe ,1993) In Cameroon all administrative areas are considered urban. Looking at the above criteria, Buea is an urban area.

The history of urbanization in Buea started as early as 1901 when the Germans selected it as the capital of the German colony of Kamerun (Ngwa, 1986). Buea has since then served successfully as the seat of the British protectorate of the Southern Cameroons and of West Cameroon within the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Buea is presently the Regional Headquarter of the Southwest Region. Buea as a very fast growing town is not exempted from some of the headaches of urbanization, given that it was once under colonial administration and since then is more of an administrative and commercial town. Apart from its administrative functions, Buea equally serves as a touristic site and an international sporting town. Most especially, Buea is now the seat of education as far as higher education in Cameroon is concerned.

Mofor (op.cit), writing to the Recorder Newline, argued that, with the advent of the University of Buea in 1993, the town has witnessed a tremendous influx of people. Apart from students who come every year in their thousands, job seekers, businesses and other commercial activities have flooded the municipality. Today, with the rapid increase in population, the social amenities in the municipality are unable to keep up with the explosive growth of squatter communities and shanty towns. Presently, the town is facing housing problems; water is rationed, voltage is low, and sanitation is poor, and the Bakweri traditional system and identity are being undermined.

Colonialism and the Politics of Identity

That colonization left a legacy of instability in Africa is an established thought among many African writers. For them, the contemporary crisis in post-colonial Africa is primarily one of identity carved out by the colonialists. Commenting on this, Kortright (2003) argued that the present stratification and make-up in Africa has been dictated in totality by the colonization and conquest of European nations. Although direct colonization has largely ended, we can see that the ideology of colonization has lingered in the identity of people within the general cultural sphere and in economic, social and most especially political practices.

Marger (2000) added that colonization began with a forceful involuntary entry; the colonizing power altered or destroyed the indigenous political culture. To support this fact, Frederick Barth (1969) argued that the identity of a group emerges when a social group interacts with other social groups and this cultural difference results in the formation of boundaries, distinguishing "us" from "them". A group maintains its identity when members interact with others. For Barth, one's perception of "us" and "them" is a subjective reality based on subjective ethnic boundaries.

Politically, the policy of Indirect Rule instituted by the British required among other things the designation of chiefs through whom it could control members of their community. The first step of the British administration was to secure the confidence, loyalty and support from the most influential chiefs and construct the system of indirect rule accorded them (Yenshu, 2006). Hence, such a policy was to have grave effects as communities, especially those in Cameroon, were diverse in the form of their socio-political organization, ranging from an acephalous group in the forest region to semi state-like structures in some parts of the grassland. The sociological analysis of this policy is that domination between prominent and less prominent chiefs becomes imminent as prominent groups were elevated to the level of paramount chiefs over less prominent ones (Eyoh, 1998). Marger (op.cit), in this direction, argued that members of the colonized group tend to be governed by representatives of the dominant group. This system of dominant/subordinate relationship is buttressed by a racist ideology.

This process has created the identity of the colonized people with pathological effects that has influenced the present dichotomy we face. In contemporary African society, the issue of paramountcy has become problematic. In this light, Yenshu and Ngwa (2001) argued that the issue of less prominent and prominent chiefs has influenced the relationship between traditional rulers in Northern Mezam. The Fon of Bafut was attempting to play a leadership role through the North West FonsUnion (NOWEFU) which has tried to federate some of the most prominent traditional rulers in the Region. They further argue that politics of identity which often fluctuates between ethnicity and tribalism, even resulting in armed conflict and genocide in some cases, can be traced to colonial attempts to reorganize peoples who accommodated themselves in the pre-colonial past. Their study shows how relations based on accommodation in pre-colonial times have been modified to competing relations in colonial times and how this has affected postcolonial politics in the Northern Mezam area of Cameroon. They however conclude that colonial regimes sowed the seeds of discord, division and tension that have given birth to divisive politics that does not serve the interest of national integration even at local level.

According to Fanon (1963), colonialism also separated the community in native and settler villages. During the era of colonialism in Africa, the natives were considered as indigenes, while the settlers were the white people or foreigners. This knowledge offers us a way out of the

stratification that we face today. According to Mamdani (2005), even though the colonial powers are gone, we keep defining every citizen as either native or settler. In this light, conservative African regimes have succeeded in dividing yesterday's natives into post-colonial settlers and post-colonial indigenes. This concept of settler, presumed by the colonialist to refer to foreigners or white people, has been translated in contemporary African society to mean non-native; hence citizens are now "settlers" in their own countries.

To further illustrate this fact, Peter Ekeh (1975), using Nigeria as an example, argued that the Nigerian constitution is ethnic in character; that is, the key Federal Institution must reflect a "Federal Character" in which entrance into state universities, the civil service and the army is quota driven. Only indigenes of a state are qualified for a quota. This means that all Nigerians outside their ancestral home are considered as non-indigenes or settlers in the state in which they reside. It is in this light that Mamdani (op.cit) concluded that once the law makes cultural identity the basis of political identity, it inevitably turns ethnicity into a political identity. Relating to this research topic, we realize that Buea has been politically transformed in such a way that the concepts "settlers" and "strangers" have been institutionalized to mean non-indigenes who, ironically, constitute the bulk of the population in Buea.

Colonization, according to Peter Ekeh (op.cit), created two publics that he called primordial and civic publics, whose dialectical relationships accounted for the political problems in post-colonial Africa. The first is associated with primordial groupings, sentiments and activities; the second is associated with colonial administration lacking the moral imperatives operative in the private sphere and the primordial public. The two publics emerged because of colonial ideologies legitimating and denigrating African society and cultures, and glorifying European colonial rule. Mamdani (op.cit), throwing more light, added that the colonial civil society was characterized by bifurcation of the public realm, which accounts for the centrality of ethnicity in African politics and the disjunction between the state and the civil society that has bedeviled post-colonial Africa

To justify the colonization of people, Kortright (2003) argued that myths and images need to be created so that the subjugation makes sense. These images and myths become the identity of the colonized. One universal image is that the native people are lazy. This image is a useful myth because it subjugates and humbles the colonized while justifying the colonizer's privileged position. This is very vital to this research work because during colonization in Cameroon, the colonial masters using the policy of divide and rule branded the coastal people (Douala and Bakweri) as lazy and those from the hinterland (Grass field) as hard working. The sociological impact is that this has not only created a psychological impact amongst the coastal people that keeps affecting their lives till date, but has continued to strain relationships between the two opposing sides, be it economically, socially or most especially politically.

Post-1945 saw the rise of nationalism spearheaded by African elite who have legitimately accepted colonial ideas and principles to justify the leadership of the elites in the fight against colonialism (Ekeh, op.cit). At the down of

independence, colonialism had already instituted strong regionalism and tribalism. Parties were created based on regional lines. In Nigeria, it was between the North, East and South; in the Southern Cameroons it was between J.NguFoncha the "Bamenda man" and E.M.L.Endeley the "Buea man" (Ngoh,1999). In Kenya it was between the dominant Kikuyu ethnic group and the Luo ethnic group. This has currently led to ethno-regional conflict, each fighting to protect its own ethnic identity.

Adding to this, Claude Ake (1997) argued that the process of decolonization has contributed to political ethnicity. To begin with, the nationalist movements had mobilized ethnic groups into politics. Politicization changed to identity politics when the nationalist movements which were united by common grievances started to disintegrate on the verge of independence as their leaders maneuvered power. Those leaders who came from large ethnic groups could not resist the temptation of using an ethnic identity to consolidate a substantial political base. Just like Nigeria, this is evident in Cameroon when at the dawn of independence French Cameroon had two dominant ethnic groups, the Betis and the Northerners, while in the British Southern Cameroons, it was between J.N Foncha from the North West and Endeley from the South West. At the end of the day, because of the demographic majority of the North West, Foncha was able to beat Endeley in the 1959 elections. This defeat has continued to hamper relations between the two Anglophone regions as far as politics of identity is concerned.

At independence, major challenges of African leaders were to foster national integration disintegrated by colonialism, but it became problematic because many of the leaders saw national integration as a threat to their political aspiration and resorted to national disintegration just like their colonial counterparts. Going by the multi-ethnic component of most African states, many leaders saw ethnicity as the most reliable method of maintaining their stay in power by creating division, separation, suspicion, tension, antagonism between ethnic groups. It was against this backdrop that most, if not all, African leaders began instrumenting or instituting ethnicity in the political domain (Ake,op.cit.)

French Cameroon secured independence from France long ago but prevailing socio-political turmoil is attributed to colonialism and the forced amalgamation of diverse ethnic units constituting Cameroon. According to Eteng (2004), Lugard's forced amalgamation of 1914 and subsequent British colonial policy of divide and rule instigated inter-ethnic suspicion, residential segregation and antagonism among communal groups. Cameroon is made up of numerous ethnic groups and the politics of divide and rule inherited from the colonialists is mainly responsible for the propagation of ethnicity and ethnic rivalry in Cameroons politics as ethnic groups play against each other over state resources.

French Cameroon gained independence from France in 1960. Monga (2000) argued that as a new head of state Ahidjo faced the challenge of developing a new national consciousness among a group of people with different ethnic, colonial and political experiences. Confronted with the task of promoting harmonious national consciousness, Ahidjo adopted the policy of regional equilibrium whereby quotas were allocated to different ethnic groups or regions so as to

achieve social justice. This emphasis on regional and ethnic identities resulted in the creation of acute, sustained awareness of ethnic belonging and regional affiliation. Cameroon as a geographical entity began to be perceived and represented in terms that conveyed ethnic messages; "the country was nothing but an aggregation of resources, a gigantic 'pie' to be fairly distributed among ethnic groups.

Kofele-Kale (1986) pointed out that this patronage system for distributing political power in Cameroon according to ethnic groups led to the establishment of "several tiers of ethnic baron" down the political hierarchy. These rewards both material and symbolic transcended established legal and administrative procedures and, instead, ethnic or regional channels were used.

Ahidjo resigned in 1982.His ethnic agenda was carried out by his successor Paul Biya who perfected it using the slogan of "national integration". Fonchingong (2005) argued that the logic of national integration is an alchemy that has characterized socio-political life in Cameroon since Ahidjo's reign.

However the situation may be, this historical disjunction which began with the repressive colonial regime in Cameroon and continued with its successor's post-colonial government explains the inability of the civil society to make an impact on the political scene. Because this was never achieved in Cameroon's immediate post-independence political evolution, the civil society is now struggling to emerge, this time not in a form of federated interest meant to defend certain social and political ideals, but as forces for ethnic and communal rivalries and as objects of intra-state mobilization (Mbuagbo and Akoko, 2002). It is in this light that Nkrumah declared that, unless Africans work toward some form of constitutional union of Africa, our continent will remain what it is today, a balkanized mass of individual units used as a political and economic pawn by those external forces which seek to keep us divided and backward. The external forces are the colonial masters.

Scholarly interest in identity politics has been wide spread in recent years, ranging over a wide variety of disciplines, and analyzed in a number of ways including the meaning of, types, as well as the concentration, practice and the deployment of identity politics. Within the discipline of Political Science and Sociology, analysis of identity politics has been employed in studies of ethnic conflicts and mobilization, democratic stability, votes turn out, symbolic and descriptive representative social movements and collective actions, political tolerance, nationalist movement and nation building (Tilli, 2001).

Identity politics, also called politics of belonging, refers to political positions based on the interests and perspectives of social groups with which people identify. In other words, identity politics includes the ways in which people's politics may be shaped by aspects of their identity through loosely correlated social organizations. Examples include social organizations based on race, class, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, culture, language and dialect. Not all members of any given group are necessarily involved in identity politics.

Identity politics is a more recent concept. The Combahee River Collective, a black feminist group that operated out of Boston in the late 70s claimed to have coined the term identity politics (Combahee River, 1977). This group affirms that the most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggle against racial, ethnic, sexual, and classes operation and see as our particular task, the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major system of oppressions are interlocking. Combahee later notes, "this focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics".

This is similar to Guttman's (2003) viewed that the laden phrase "identity politics" has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination. The term 'identity politics came into being during the latter part of the 20th century, during the Civil Rights Era.During this time period, identity politics was used by a minority group to form a coalition with members of the majority. Now the term is popularly used when referring to nationalist movements.

For many proponents of identity politics this demand for authenticity includes appeals to a time before oppression, or a culture or way of life damaged by colonialism, imperialism, or even genocide. Some proponents argue that:

Indigenous governance systems embody distinctive political values radically different from those of the mainstream. Western notions of domination (human and natural) are noticeably absent; in their place we find harmony, autonomy, and respect. We have a responsibility to recover, understand, and preserve these values, not only because they represent a unique contribution to the history of ideas, but because renewal of respect for traditional values is the only lasting solution to the political, economic, and social problems that beset our people Taiake (1999).

From this view of Taiake above, identity represents people or persons with something in common. Identity or more accurately identities are generated in response to the specific political and social context in which groups or individuals are located. These identities are usually easily negotiated by their owners and are context specific. Still, there is an aspect of identity that is permanent and enduring regardless of the situation and which identity is most prevalent at any particular time. These are typically the embedded identities that often form the stuff of politics of identity (Tilli, 2002).

In the end, these are the aspects of identity that form the trump card around which everything else must be negotiated. This understanding is reflected in Bhargava (1995) who argues that the idea of negotiation is central to

the conception of politics of identity as a collective process. That is, identity is not only or even mostly subjected to the whims of the person who inhabit it; instead, identity is determined by forces outside of the entity that embodies it, namely society.

Like identity, the concept of politics of identity is left undefined by many because of the sense that it is a fairly explanatory term. According to Kaufman (1990), identity politics is the belief that identity itself, its elaboration, expression, and affirmation should be a fundamental process of its political work. It can also be seen as the coalescence of a group of individuals whose focus and goal is the creation and expansion of a formalized and cohesive identity and a politics and political strategy based on that collective identity (Guttman, 2003).

According to Harris et al. (2013), identities, whether personal or collective, are inherently political. The politics of identity involves the construction, reconstruction or disruption of notions about what it means to claim a particular identity, or the creation or re-creation of meaning attached to them especially if these efforts are attempts to shift power relation within or between groups.

In Africa, the concept politics of identity has been used synonymously with politics of belonging (Antonsich, 2010). Here he describes it as the political arenas related to different notions of belonging, be it ethnic, national, cultural, or religious. Davis (2011) organized the question of politics of belonging around three main issues: the nation and nation state, homeland and the construction of national boundaries, and autochthonic politics.

Gellner (1983) described nationalism as a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state, a contingency already formally executed by the principle, its formulation, should not separate the power holder from the rest. This interpretation according to Davis (op.cit) linked social and ethnic diversity under the banner of a nation and create a new but even stronger political demarcation. The nation state is a political project of nationalism and this is where the allocation of citizenship and citizenship rights meet imagination of national belonging and a feeling of loyalty within national boundaries.

Homeland is described by Davis as an inscription of a physical nature, as the special locations on which the boundaries of a nation state are based. Within the political project, different ethnic groupings are or can be involved, through a rudimentary commitment of ethnic and/or cultural diversity. However, conviviality of difference does not apply for autochthonic politics described and analyzed by Peter Geschiere in the African and European case.

According to Geschiere (2011), the notion of autochthony plays a crucial role in the formation of belonging within a globalizing structure as some sort of primordial claim. In his view, the recent upsurge of autochthony and the related notion of belonging is rooted in extended neoliberal reforms worldwide. In this light, it is concluded that identity politics has its own genealogy in liberal capitalism that relentlessly reinforces "the wounded attachment" it claims to sense.

Statement of the Problem

In recent years, sub-Saharan Africa has experienced rapid urbanization and this has made all African cities multi-ethnic. Cameroon for example has more than 200 ethnic groups. This multiplicity of ethnic groups in cities has been an obstacle to national unity and integration that Africans strove for during the independence struggle. Politics in the urban space has been replaced by ethnic jingoism as regional elites, traditional rulers, ethnic associations and individuals are all struggling to dominate political space, hence leading to the proliferation of ethnic regional cleavages. As Cohen (1969) has maintained that, unlike in the rural areas, ethnicity serves economic and most especially political interests in an urban context.

This is similar to what is happening in Buea as identity politics remains primarily internally crafted and driven. The indigenes of Buea, predominantly the Bakweriansdesire to maintain their political hegemony remains quite firmly internally planted. Despite the enormous contributions of non-indigenes, they still feel like outsiders even though they have lived in Buea for a long time. Whereas the constitution of Cameroon says that everybody shall have the right to settle in any place and to move about freely. Even article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. But when it comes to political control, ethnic identities are now powerful weapons to motivate behavior within Cameroon and Buea in particular. Since politics is all about competition, ethnicity serves as a useful tool for mobilizing people, policing boundaries and building coalitions that can be deployed in the struggle for power. This becomes stronger during elections as it has become a resource that the elite manipulate for political gain.

In Buea for example prior to the 2002 twin elections, the Divisional Officer blatantly told non-indigenes who complained of lack of voters' cards to go and register in their province of origin. Likewise, the then Governor of the Southwest Province, the late Oben Peter Ashu, did not only instruct non-indigenes in Kumba to produce residence permits before they could vote, but he also come up with the "Came-no-go"(permanent residents in Buea who hails from the Western grassfields of Cameroon) slogan against strangers(Fonchingong, 2005). Such derogatory remarks coming from government officials who were supposed to promote peaceful co-existence, unity and national integration is a call for concern. These stereotypes have been borrowed especially by political elites who continuously used it against non-natives especially those from the grass field regions. How then do migrant survive politically in a city like Buea?

We are not limiting ourselves to Buea because its situation is similar to those in other parts of Cameroon. Ideas such as rigor and moralization (Biya, 1987) and national integration have become mere slogans considering the heightened atmosphere of ethnic consciousness in the country. This bifurcation syndrome has marred relations between the two English-speaking regions that are continually turned against each other by the divisive politics of the regime in place. This scenario therefore makes this present study absolutely necessary.

Objective
➢ To establish a relationship between urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea

Research Question
➢ What is the relationship between urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea?

METHODOLOGY
This study is focused in the Buea Municipality. Buea is one of the sub-divisions of Fako Division and has acted as the political capital of the South West Region since the Region was created. Located at the foot of Mount Cameroon, the highest mountain in Central Africa, the town covers approximately 870 km^2 and is made up of 85 villages (Monono, 2001). Buea as a sub-division was created in 1986 and is bordered to the east by Muyuka, to the north, by Mt Fako, to the west by Idenau, to the south-east by Tiko, and to the south-west by Limbe.

Politically, Buea has served as the Capital of Kamerun during the German colonial era from 1909-1919, the Capital of the United Nations Trust Territory under British mandate from 919-1961, and Capital of the seat of government of West Cameroon from 1961-1972 (Ngoh, 1996).

With respect to urbanization in Buea, in 1976, the population of Buea stood at 24,000; in 1986 it was 62,000; in 1993 it was 65,853; and in 2001 it stood at 80,000. Today the population is estimated at over 200000 inhabitants (Monono, op.cit). The position of the town as a university town since 1993 and as regional capital has led to a significant influx of people from other parts of Cameroon, and even out of Cameroon. It has been rated as one of the fastest growing towns in Cameroon.

The original indigenes of Buea are the Bakweri. Despite the fact that the Bakweri constitute the largest group, Buea is represented by a broad range of ethnic groups from Cameroon and beyond.

As regional headquarter, the town is home to a vast array of both governmental and non-governmental bodies. Many private tertiary institutions also operate in the area, making Buea "the place to be". However, as the population keeps changing, so too does the economic, social, cultural, and most especially political pattern.

The documentary research design was used for this study. According to Nana (2008), a research design is a blue print which gives a procedural outline on how data relating to a particular investigation should be collected. The documentary research methodology and few interviews were used in keeping with the objectives that the study seeks to achieve. The object of the study, urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea, is a social reality that the researcher seeks to describe, interpret and give meaning to that will enhance understanding.The qualitative approach was the most suitable for the study considering the fact that the topic required the researcher to collect and express results in words with the aim to understanding the meaning people give to urbanization, identity politics and the relationship between the two in Buea.

Qualitative method of research constitutes the research approach of this study. Creswell (2003) explains qualitative procedure to be centered on comprehending a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction. This method will help in providing a description of urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea. Creswell further explains it to be an investigative process whereby the researcher steadily and gradually understands a social phenomenon. The premise behind the qualitative approach is that it gives the researcher the opportunity to utilize multiple methods of data collection such as observation, interviews and documents. In this study the researcher makes use of just a few interviews and published and unpublished documents to obtain relevant data for the study. The motive for the use of interviews in data collection and documents was based on the objective of the study which needed an in-depth content and thematic analysis of the phenomenon of urbanization and the politics of identity. Also, the researcher ensured that the questions met the research objective. Data was drawn from documents that had directly or indirectly addressed work on the main variables of the problem under study; documents such as government records, especially archival records, newspapers and magazines, internet publications and reports.

The bulk of this research work was focused on documentary sources, supplemented by a few interviews. The researcher targeted only Mayors, past and present, to get firsthand information on how far urbanization in Buea is affecting politics of identity. Four respondents were interviewed. All had good educational backing, were 50years and above, and above all, mastered the politics of Buea even though they differed in political ideology. Thanks to these qualities, respondents were able to analyze, interpret, criticize and appreciate urbanization and political trends in Buea.

A sample is said to be a replica of the population under investigation with respect to certain characteristics that fit the investigation. It is often advisable to ensure that the population sampled is usually an accurate representation of the general population. Sampling is particularly to eliminate bias, cost and to gain time within which the research is carried out. This study made use of the purposive sampling technique given that the researcher chose just those who could give the necessary information. The criteria for choosing respondents had to do with the fact that such persons must have been a Mayor or must have had a long-standing working experience in the Buea Council. This ensured that the respondents had good appraisal of the intrigues of urbanization and politics of identity in Buea.

The search for empirical data in the analysis of this research was made based on the objectives of the study as well as the arguments raised in the literature review and the theoretical section. The search for data was characterized by looking for documents that have addressed issues on urbanization and identity politics. The researcher read through documents while taking down notes. These notes were further grouped under themes and sub-themes. Regarding the field procedure, the researcher booked appointments with respondents at their convenient time. Interviews were conducted face to face in respondents' offices, residences or other places convenient to them.

The documents and interviews (qualitative data) were analyzed using the process of thematic content analysis whereby concept and ideas are grouped together under an umbrella key word to appreciate the trend of ideas.

To research any phenomenon, one has to find empirical indicators of it. Politics of identity is a complex phenomenon. The task of the researcher is to outline at least what can be the essential dimension of this phenomenon, and to indicate the direction of their possible variations. Politics of identity often fluctuates between ethnicity and tribalism; hence the theoretical framework was drawn from the concept of ethnicity and the focus here is on the instrumentalist theory of ethnicity.

The Instrumentalist Theory
Proponents of this theory view ethnicity as something that can be changed, constructed or even manipulated to gain specific political and economic ends. According to them, ethnicity is an instrument or strategic tool for gaining resources. This theoretical framework holds that people become ethnic and remain ethnic when their ethnicity yields significant returns. In other words, ethnicity exists and persists because it is useful. According to Brass (1991), ethnicity is a "strategic instrument" of a particular community for enforcing its interest. The functional advantages of ethnicity range from "the moral and material support provided by ethnic networks to political gains made through ethnic bloc voting" (Portes and Bach, 1985). To Glazer and Moyniham (1975) who are among the pioneers in this school, ethnicity is not simply a mix of affective sentiments but, like class and nationality, it is a means of political mobilization for advancing group interests.

The most extreme version of instrumentalism attributes the acquisition and retention of ethnic membership or identity solely to the motivation of wanting to obtain comparative advantage. In this light, Peterson (1975) argued that the strength, scope and viability of ethnic identity are determined by, and are used to serve, the economic and general interests of individuals. Hence interest is the sole determinant of ethnic identity, and ethnic affiliation tends to be transient and situational as the benefits of ethnicity shift.

A more variant form of instrumentalism combines advantages of ethnicity with affective ties. Bell (1975) states that ethnicity has become more salient because it can combine an interest with an affective tie. Cohen (1969) suggested that cultural homogeneity of people facilitates their effective organization as an interest group and boosts ethnic solidarity and identity.

Relating instrumentalism to the modern state, Eriksen (1991) argued that leaders in a modern state (the elite) use and manipulate perceptions of ethnic identity to further their own ends and stay in power. In this same direction, Cohen (op.cit) argued that ethnicity operates within the contemporary political context and is not an archaic survival arrangement carried over into the present by conservative people. To him, people manipulate values, norms, beliefs, symbols as weapons in the struggle for power with other groups within the contemporary situation. Most especially, he argues that ethnic elites mask divergent interests, erect ideological screens of shared sentiment and are driven by calculations of profit.

"Ethnicity is created in a dynamics of elite competition within the boundaries determined by political and economic realities, and ethnic groups are to be seen as a product of political myths, created and manipulated by culture elites in their pursuit of advantage and power" (ibid).

In Cameroon, access to resources within the state is distributed according to ethnic lines. In other words, people lay claim to the state through their ethnic groups represented by elites such as asking for state protection against ethnic minorities, asking for social facilities like university, asking for ministerial positions, etc.

FINDINGS
Buea has experienced rapid urbanization over the years. This has resulted in the change of life style associated to values, attitude and behavior. However, the coming together of different ethnic groups in Buea per se did not usher in ethnicity. Ethnicity occurs only when cultural differences become the source of identification, resource allocation, action and manipulation. This chapter traces the different stages of urbanization in Buea and brings out the instances where urbanization has promoted ethnicity in Buea. Two themes are analyzed: major trends of urbanization in Buea and the relationship between urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea.

Major Trends of Urbanization in Buea
Oral tradition reports that the founder of Buea, EyehNjieTamaLifanje, who came from the Bomboko area, established his settlement at Buea because of the successes that he usually made from hunting expeditions in the area. Thus, he named the place "ligbea" (meaning place of work) from which the name "Gbea" is derived (Njomo, 1985). However, although hunting was the primary motive behind the Bomboko migration to Buea, the fertility of the soil on the slopes of the mountain was an inviting factor. Subsequently, other migrants from Bomboko established villages which were named by the names of their founders. Migration into the area was encouraged by the potentials of the area, mainly fertile soil and abundant game. These same economic potentials which attracted the first migrants were later to attract the Europeans.

The first migrants settled around the present Governor's Office, Synod Office, and Parliamentarian Flat. As the population grew, the settlement moved downwards towards Soppo, Bonduma, Molyko. With the arrival of the Germans, they discovered that the best place for them to live was where the village was. Hence in 1894, Germans under Von Puttkamer successfully occupied Buea after two severe expeditions, forcing the natives to move out of their previous site to present-day Buea town. It was on the ruins of the old lovely place where the Buea town had been situated that the Germans under Governor VonPuttkamer established a German Station (Ardeneretal., 1968). Where the natives previously settled became known as Buea station while the new settlement of the native was known as Buea Town because it became a settlement strictly for the natives (interview with Becke Samuel, former Diplomat, Sept 7th2016). The 1894 Buea – German war in essence marked a new chapter not only in the town's settlement history but most especially, the town's urbanization. Modern Buea, just like other towns in Africa, started as a colonial town

Buea has played a major role as far as the history of Cameroon is concerned. It has occupied different political positions in the different epochs in Cameroon's history leading to high immigration and subsequent urbanization. Social scientists have argued that migration is the primary component of demographic change that drives urbanization (Geist and Lambin, 2001). Let us examine the different epochs and see how they affected urbanization in Buea

Buea as the Capital of German Kamerun (1894- 1916)
Prior to German occupation, the Buea people lived in adis organized environment of poorly constructed houses either with wood (popularly called caraboard) or with leaves (thatched house). Their choice of building was influenced by the fact that Buea was situated in a tropical rain forest zone, made up of thick forests. At that time, there were no specific roads; only bush paths were available, with little or no communication between the different villages. Everybody in the village was engaged in the same task; that is, farming and hunting. The main native settlements in Gbea were Wonyalyonga, Mukunda, Wonyamongo, Wasingi and Ewonda (Njomo, 1985).

Motivated by its fertile land and cool climate, the Germans under von Puttkamer did not only transfer the capital from Douala to Buea in 1986, but also had grand designs to transform Buea from an ordinary mountain station to the capital of German West Africa (Monono, 2015). Von Puttkamer started by building a German house, a mission school and a hospital. Modern Buea started around the current Mountain Hotel road, uphill to the lodge, across the Governor's office and the Presbyterian mission, curving behind the magistrates' courts, through Federal Quarters, down the catholic mission and back to mountain hotel (ibid). The Germans started by naming the area Buea and called where the villagers settled, native Buea while white settlement was called "stations" (Becke, op.cit)

Considering themselves as superior, the Germans made a distinction between the white settlement and native settlements. That was why they began by forcefully moving natives from their previous settlement. To restrict interaction between the white settlement and native settlement, native areas were fenced to prevent the natives with their animals from going to the station. The Buea people who previously lived in complete freedom on the extensive pasture lands were contained in native reserves (Ngoh, 1996). This racial division did not end with the Germans as the natives, on their part, made further distinction between native residential areas and "stranger quarters". Being a German station, Buea attracted migrants from other areas. These migrants were termed native strangers, also known in "mokpwe" as "wajeli" (i.e. those who have come). These persons were perceived as being in the group but not of the group; that is why they could not live and farm in the village land but could only live on reserve land, thus the origin of the name "stranger's quarters". These strangers lived according to their tribes along the market road going down towards the Catholic Church. The Hausa were the first non-indigenous people to arrive in the area and their settlement became the nucleus of the first stranger settlement in Buea and their presence

attracted other immigrants notably the Islamized Bamum, Babungo, and Bamileke who came as traders and butchers. It is against this backdrop that we still have "stranger's quarters" in all, if not most villages in Buea.

Being the administrative headquarter of German Kamerun, Buea attracted development that fostered urbanization. Between 1905 and 1910, the German administration constructed a number of buildings in the Government Station to serve as offices or social services, notably schools, hospitals, postal services, police stations, most of them centered around the Bismarck Fountain (Ardener, 1968).

To connect Buea to other villages, seasonal roads were constructed linking the capital to other villages around Buea and other economic centers through roads such as the Buea-Soppo road, Buea-Bonjongo road, Buea-Tiko road, Buea-Victoria road and the Buea -Mpundu road. This fostered the mobility of persons from one place to the other (Monono, op.cit).

A modern telecommunication system was introduced which led to the construction of not only the Bonakunda and Woteke communication centers but also the construction of the post office which is presently opposite the Provincial Archives office. This promoted interconnectedness within Kamerun and out of Kamerun. Such development in the capital of German Kamerun attracted a number of first generation civil servants from all over the colony serving as clerks, policemen, teachers, interpreters, cooks, and messengers, as well as traders and businessmen. This modified the nature of relation between the German and the native and shifted the natives from agricultural production to salaried jobs. As the area became populated, there was need for housing facilities. This led to the development of the German Residential Area in the Upper Farm area while native/ nonnative workers resided at Lower Farms.

German land alienation was also initiated with the introduction of plantation agriculture with plantations created in Lysoka, Maumu, Sexenhof, Molyko, Tole, and Ekona. The sociological impact of plantation agriculture is that, not only did it increase the population as it acted as a pull factor for migrants, it also influenced the modernization of Buea with the construction of roads, railways, camps and rest houses. A case in point is the Mekongi railway constructed by the Germans that passed through Mekongi (Sandpit) to Victoria. Camps were constructed to house plantation workers, with demarcations and distinctions between senior service camps (white workers), intermediary camps (junior staff), and lastly what is popularly called "costain" for labourers.

This urbanization was accompanied by racial differentiation. The Germans tapped pipe-borne water from the waterfall at Upper Farms as part of their development scheme, but this development was limited to the German residential quarters, while the natives used wells or streams (Becke, op.cit). Whatever the case, the racial division during the German era was bi-polar; that is, between the Germans and the natives, what Frank Fanon emphasized as the differences between the "Us" and the "Other".

Fig. 1: Map showing urban Buea as Capital of German Kamerun
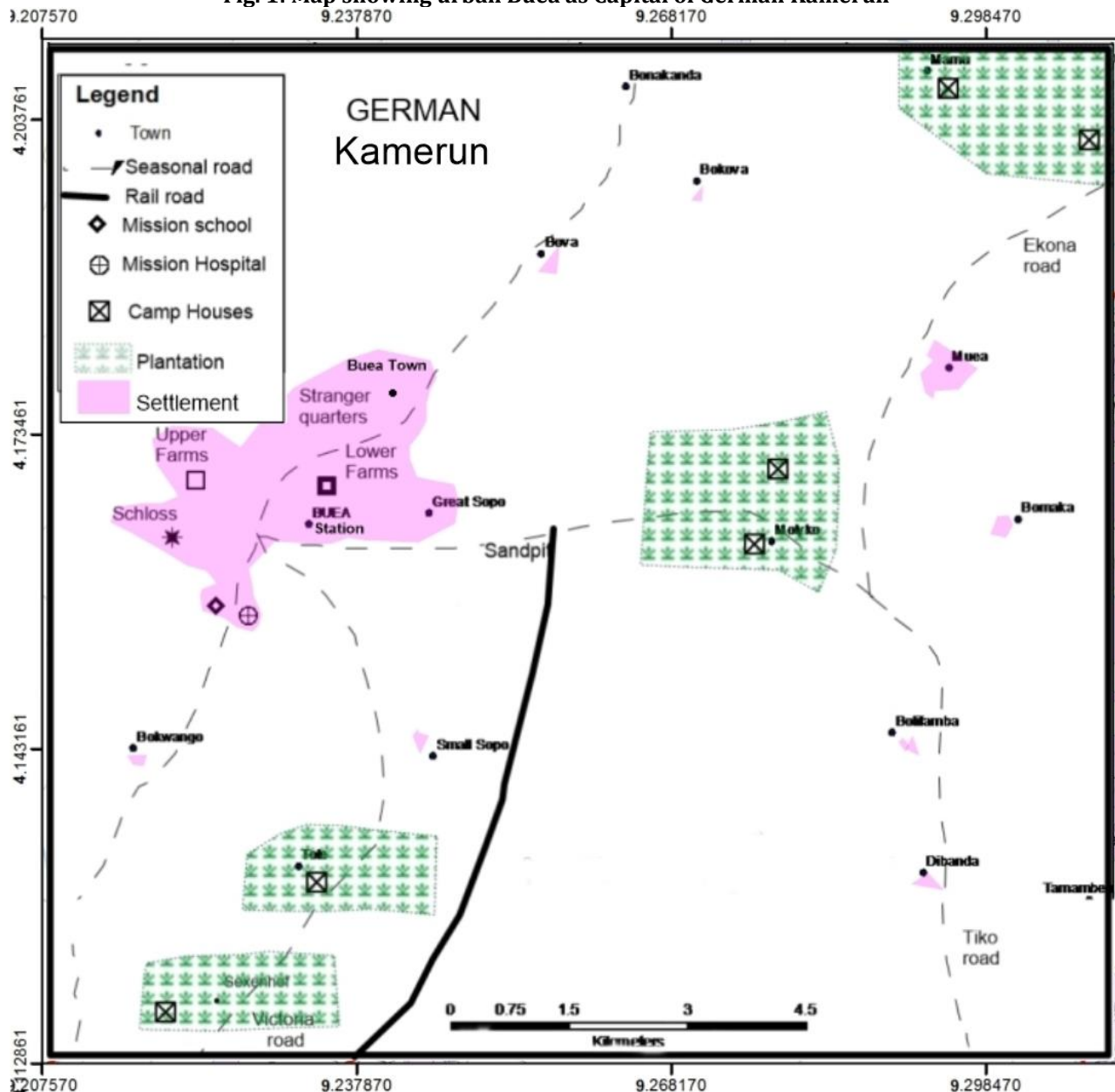
Buea as Headquarters of British Southern Cameroons (1916-1961)

The British took over Buea after the Germans were defeated during the First World War and administered the territory as part of its colony of Nigeria. From the capital of the colony of German Kamerun, Buea became the capital of the much reduced territory of Southern Cameroons. At that time, the name Buea ceased to be just a village, but a British administrative center. According to Ngwa (1986), Buea began evolving from a "native urban center" to a politico-administrative one. As an administrative headquarter, it meant that more jobs were created for people given that Buea harbored a number of services such as the Prison, Police, Economic Affairs, Information and Culture, Agriculture and Forestry (Balgah,2007)

Such developments were to go a long way to attract people not only from other parts of Cameroon but also Nigerians, mostly from the Eastern Region (Ibo, Ibibio, Calabar, Ijaw) who were brought to work both in the colonial services as clerks, teachers, policemen, warders, cooks, and messengers as well as traders and farmers. The British Colonial era in Buea also marked the influx of Bassa, Bakoko, and Bamelike people to Buea, who came either as traders or were escaping from political persecution in the French Cameroons. These newcomers created new stranger quarters such as the Bonaberi and Mbo quarters in Buea town. Others settled either in Muea, which became major Bamileke and Ibo centers, or along the Sasse-Wotutu road, where large Bassa, Bokoko and Beti communities existed (Monono, 2015). It is at this point that the town moved from a native town to a cosmopolitan town. The problem of coexistence between different communities increasingly became a reality from this point onward.

The British colonial administration used local chiefs who served as Native Authority (NA) with a court and a council. It was within this scheme that Buea became the center of Bakweri Native Authority (NA) and hosted the NA Court of Appeal, NA Council, the Central Treasury, Health and Educational facilities and other facilities. The main Native Authority in Buea in the British colonial periods devolved on Mathias Endeley who was succeeded by his brother GervasiusMbellaEndeley.

As head of the Bakweri NA, Chief G. M. Endeley carried out a number of developmental projects that furthered urbanization in Buea. He constructed the Buea, Bojongo, Lysoka, Muea Court Halls, the former Buea Rural Council administrative building, the Buea Slaughter House, the Bojongo and Muea Health Centers. He embarked on road construction leading to the Buea Town-Bokwaongo- Likombe- Sasse roads and the Buea-Soppo roads. He opened schools like the Buea, Muea and Bova NA Primary schools and constructed the Buea town market in the Old Motor Park. Thanks to his land grants, the Catholic Mission was able to construct schools in Buea Town and Muea while the government also constructed schools in Buea town (Moudji, 1982).

One cannot talk about urbanization trends in Buea during the British Colonial era without demonstrating the role played by the Missionaries. Apart from its political functions, Buea served as a Mission Station and ecclesiastical capital for the Catholic, Presbyterian and Baptist churches in Southern Cameroons. The activities of the missionaries also enhanced the urbanization process in Buea ranging from the construction of beautiful structures hosting their churches and headquarters, to the opening of schools, hospitals and seminaries. One cannot forget the part played by St Joseph's College Sasse created in 1939 which, due to its renowned academic output, attracted students from all over Cameroon. Thanks to this institution, Cameroonians were able to acquire the necessary skills to take over from the Nigerians after Southern Cameroons gained independence.

The idea behind new layouts which is one of the variables of urbanization in Buea started with the British. As administrative headquarter, coupled with the creation of the Cameroon Development Corporation in 1947, Buea was attracting many people. However, the plantations created a limit to the town's growth as it continued to be defined by them. To compensate the natives for expropriated land, the British allocated new layouts. On the part of the British, these layouts were aimed at removing the villagers from their unhealthy and unplanned environment to a clean and planned environment with well-defined structures. Also, there was need to resettle retirees from government residential areas. The first layout allocated by the British was in Great Soppo which is presently Campaign Street. It is against this backdrop that subsequently, especially from the 90s, layouts would play a vital role in the continuous transformation in Buea.

Fig. 2: Map showing urbanBuea as Capitalof British Southern Cameroon

Buea during the Self-Governing Administration within the British Cameroons 1954-1961
With the coming of quasi rule of self-government under the British, E.M.L Endeley in 1954 carried out a number of social infrastructural projects which were either constructed or programmed. As first Southern Cameroons Head of Government, he initiated the construction of the Government Residential Area (GRA), with six Senior Service Quarters and 10 Junior Service Quarters (clerk quarters) in Buea between 1954 and 1959. He constructed the new Police Headquarters, Buea Mountain Hotel,

and Centenary Hall in 1959 to serve as a national hall for Southern Cameroons. He also constructed the Soppo-Buea road, a three-storey Ministerial Block which currently harbors the Ministry of Secondary Education. He also brought in Shell and Texaco petrol distribution points. These boosted the town's urbanization trends (Monono, 2015).

Buea as Federated Capital of West Cameroon (1961- 1972)
After the plebiscite and subsequent reunification in 1961, Buea was maintained as capital of the Federated State of West Cameroon. The town was essentially an administrative centre and the seat of the State institutions of the West Cameroon Government which included The House of Assembly, House of Chiefs, and the Supreme Court of West Cameroon. The town was also the regional headquarters for several Federated services such as Commerce and Industries, Labour, Post and Telecommunications, Statistics, Culture, Information, Youth and Sport, Judiciary as well as Armed Forces. As West Cameroon capital, Buea was also an international city as it hosted a number of consular posts and economic and foreign missions. Hence a number of territorial, local, administrative and military reforms were undertaken, so as to create an enabling environment for social, economic, and infrastructural development of the town. Buea became not only an administrative town but also a commercial town as it attracted civil servants, contract workers, skilled and unskilled workers, businessmen and farmers.

When most Nigerians went away after the plebiscite, causing a drop in the population, most especially in the civil service, the Federal Government reacted by creating the 13th company of the Cameroon Armed Forces to accommodate some 132 Cameroonians from the Nigerian Army and established an Army Training School in Buea, and launched recruitment offers in Buea to fill the vacuum created by the departure of Nigerians (Monono,2015).

As capital of the Federated State of West Cameroon, making Buea a befitting capital was paramount. Consequently, the successive premiers, J.N.Foncha, A.N.Jua and S.T.Muna and their governments in West Cameroon provided the town each with urbanization plans between 1961 and 1972. Being the first Head of Government after independence, Foncha provided the town with a number of social infrastructural facilities. He completed the Post Office, set up the Government Printing Press and extended the Mount Cameroon Hotel in 1961. He opened the Buea District hospital, Texaco Petrol Station and the Buea National Hall in 1962. He constructed the Cameroon Bank Building (now SOWEDA office) and opened the Government Nursery School. He also constructed the Reunification Hotel. He initiated the construction of a number of building projects to house the Federal services in Buea such as the Presidency, the Federal Residential Quarters in the GRA, and the residence of the Federal Inspector of Administration. His government also saw the creation of ENAP in 1963 for the training of prison staff (Monono, 2015). Under him there was marked increase of primary and secondary schools, most significantly Bilingual Grammar School (BGS) Molyko in 1963. As first bilingual school in West Cameroon, the Bilingual Grammar School did not only transform Buea into a centre of education; it also projected Molyko as a seat of learning in Buea which in the later years will change the story of urbanization in Buea (see above, Sept 7th 2016). All these innovations improved not only on the infrastructural development of Buea but also increased the number of salaried workers and student population, and boosted the commercial life of the town.

The main innovation in urban development during the Federation was the introduction of the planning approach. According to the 1964 decree, local authorities had the responsibility to prepare an urban development plan showing zones reserved for any of the following purposes: residential and trading areas, fuel and forest areas, agricultural holding, communal grazing areas, reservoirs, catchments and other works, and areas for any future development. Between 1964 and 1975 there were 83 planning areas in West Cameroon, nine of which were in Buea. Under Jua's government social infrastructure such as the Council School Buea town, the Cooperative Training School, the Linguistic Centre were constructed. Most significantly, he constructed and opened Radio Buea Transmitting Centre (ibid).

Mr. S.T.Muna, the last Premier of West Cameroon, started his urbanization plan in Buea by summoning the senior architect of West Cameroon, P.C. Inglis, in 1968 to be briefed on the town plan and re-development scheme for Buea. He created an inter-departmental committee under the Secretary of Lands and Surveys, Hon S.N.Kindo, to implement the re-development of Buea. As part of his urbanization plan, Muna's government created 10 new layouts covering 703 plots for senior and junior service staff. The Senior service layout included the GRA Layout, GRA Extension Layout, Federal Quarters Layout, Lower Farm House Layout, Lower Farm Layout (Clerks Quarters), the Sick Bay Layout (P&T School) and Buea Town Layout. The Junior service Layout comprised the Great Soppo Layout, the Great Soppo Extension Layout, Mokonjo Layout, Likoko Layout, and the Muea mile 18 Camp Layout (ibid).

The implication of Muna's urban plan fostered Buea's urbanization as most civil servants, CDC workers, and other salaried workers and businessmen were able to buy land to construct retirement homes and even houses for commercial purposes. It was based on these allocated layouts that towns such as Wokoko (Bunduma), Mekongi (Sandpit), Great Soppo, Bokwaongo flourished. By 1972 the rapidity in the urbanization of Buea was reflected in the presence of 20 major migrant communities, mostly from the North West, Littoral, West, Center and the North Provinces.

Fig. 3: Map showing urbanBuea as capital of West Cameroon
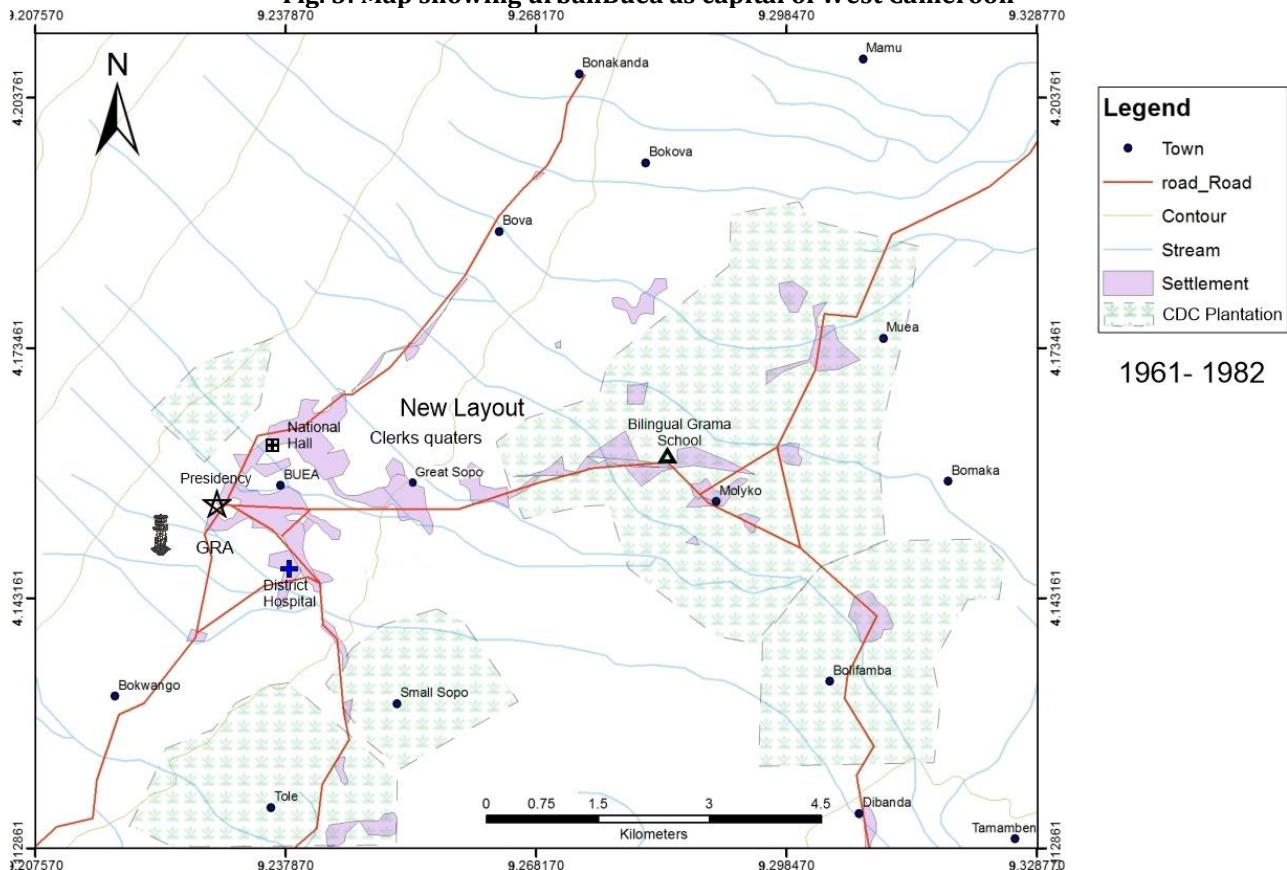
Buea under the United Republic of Cameroon (1972-1982)
During the era of the United Republic of Cameroon, Buea urbanization declined because the federation was abolished. This implies that its status as administrative capital was deflated as Yaoundé was maintained as the sole capital of the United Republic of Cameroon. HenceBuea's federated services no longer existed. Consequently, during the unitary state, the former capital of the State of West Cameroon suffered from a series of decrees which hampered its urbanization drive. Firstly the administrative status of Buea was reduced from the state capital of the former West Cameroon to the provincial headquarters of the administrative set-up of the present Republic of Cameroon (Balgah, op.cit). Buea was given the least category of administrative units as it was made a district in 1975. Moreover, a decree creating municipal councils in 1977 officially classified Buea as a rural council area under an appointed municipal administration. Worse still, despite its high political and economic profile, the headquarters of Fako Division was sent to Victoria instead of Buea. It was maintained only as a provincial capital. This implies that Buea depended administratively on Victoria. The result was that it halted the ongoing urbanization process in Buea as not only did the population decrease as salaried workers were transferred from Buea to Yaoundé or Victoria, but public buildings and services were abandoned. For this reason, private businesses experienced stagnation or were closed down. Buea therefore underwent official ruralization which lasted close to a decade.

Buea from 1983 till Present
Buea today has earned the title of the fastest growing town in Cameroon thanks to a number of presidential visits, the creation of the University of Buea in 1993, the active contribution of people in the diaspora, the surrender of land to the indigenes by the CDC and, lastly, the recent 50th anniversary celebration of Cameroon's reunification in February 2014.

Each of President Biya's visits to Buea is accompanied by mile-stonedevelopments in the town's urbanization process. In each visit, he has made specific promises that have subsequently changed the face of the town. For instance, he promised the creation of a sub-division and the construction of roads in 1986. He fulfilled this promise by raising Buea to a sub-division and tarring 5kms of road that gave an impetus to the town's urban development. These roads were in Independence Square, Guinness Street, Bokwaongo, and the Government Residential Area (GRA). In 1991 he promised to create an Anglo-Saxon university which he fulfilled in 1993. During his visit to Buea after the Mount Cameroon eruption in 2000, he promised 18kms of tarred roads that was realized. The Campaign Street- Bakweri Town-Bokova roads were constructed.

Urbanization in Buea reached its climax in 1993 when the University of Buea (UB) opened its gates as a fully-fledged Anglo-Saxon institute of higher learning. The creation of UB changed the face of Buea as it has become the nodal point for Buea's urbanization. As an institution, the university is hosting hundreds of teaching staff, thousands of students, and hundreds of non-academic staff. Buea has suddenly exploded, driven by the high demand for housing driven by the fact that the university does not have on-campus accommodation. This has led to competition over available space for the construction of living spaces for off-campus housing. Since its creation, the University of Buea has become the soul of the town and an important pole of development that has changed the social, economic, cultural and political development of Buea as a whole.

The University of Buea has therefore pushed urbanization toward the depressed Molyko, Bomaka, Wonamavio, Muea, Loingo, Lysoka ,Bolifambaareas and eastward on the road toward Mutengene as new residential quarters, student hostel, hotels, cyber cafés, banks, hospitals, bakeries, snacks and restaurants are scattered all over. Buea is now a large building site and according to CEMENCAM statistics, Buea is the second consumer of cement in Cameroon. Being a university town, Molyko is hosting private institutions of higher education which has increased the student population. Sociologists have identified education as a likely determinant of migration and urbanization. Education is a form of human capital that leads an individual to expect better outcomesfrom migration as knowledge and skills gained from school may increase the ability of an individual to complete a journey and cope in a new place (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

Increase in urbanization in Buea has led to the struggle to get back more land from the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC).The return of expropriated land by the CDC has also led to a new trend of urbanization. These lands were handed to the natives as compensation for land expropriation for plantation agriculture, the clamor for more land to meet the needs of rapid population growth as well as to decongest Buea. Since 2010, CDC has thus been surrendering Bakweri lands to various villages. By 2015, over 700 hectares of land had been surrendered to some villages of Buea (Monono, op.cit). This has transformed many rural communities into urban areas. This is the case of Bokwai, Koke, Bolifamba, Muea and Lysoka areas. This has increased the urban rim of the municipality with far-reaching effects on the town's urbanization.

Sociologically, the return of land once alienated under the Germans led to the resurfacing of many extinct Bakwerivillages with new chiefs who have neither people nor modern history. The effect is that these new chiefs invite non-natives and provide them with land to build in the name of development aimed at attracting people and amenities. This has led to a new form of re-alienation of land, this time not by the whites but by the natives. According to Tacoli (1998), lands surrendered are reshaping urban areas and leading to urban expansion or sprawl. This urban expansion is an inevitable outcome of metropolitan population growth.

The Reunification 50th anniversary celebrations also marked a turning point in the urbanization of Buea. Ahead of the celebration marking the 50th anniversary of the country's reunification, the Buea Council decided on some form of urban renewal by demolishing most of the houses without plans that had lined the main road into Buea (Ngamdamoun, 2016). This paved the way automatically for the construction of modern houses which have helped in making the town as Cardinal Tumi described it "one of the most beautiful towns in the country". As if this was not enough, some 43kms of roads in the municipality were rehabilitated.

Fig. 5: Map showingBuea urban area 2016
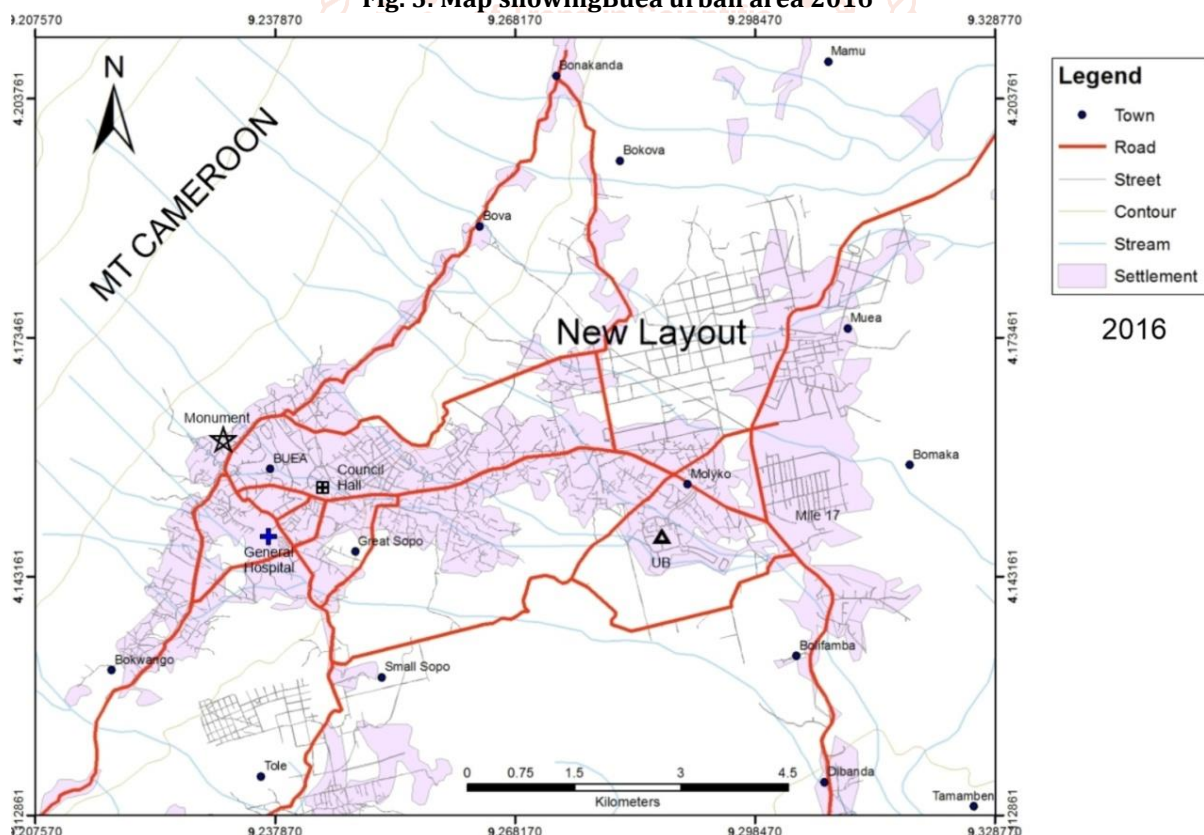
Following the different urbanization trends in Buea, one can say that urbanization in Buea has been a continuous process. Buea has become cosmopolitan and heterogeneous. This is reflected by the presence of different ethnic groups, new religious groups and socio-economic and socio-professional groups. A mixture of people of different backgrounds in terms of class, religion, and ethnic origin has developed. Besides a middle class, one can also notice an apparent upper class of bankers, lawyers, accountants, doctors, lecturers, magistrates and administrators who constitute an elite class. A lower class has also developed out of peasants, labourers, service providers, and informal sector actors.

In conclusion, based on the trends of urbanization of Buea above, one can say that Buea today is growing in growth poles. According to French social scientist Francios Perroux who coined the term, urbanization takes place first at key nodes from which developmental impulses spread to the periphery. He stressed the fact that these key nodes adopt innovations, new ideas, and new processes that act as driving forces of urbanization. These nodes, because of their large size, high degree of connectivity, high rate of innovation, and high rate of growth, dominate areas with which they are linked. The dominant nodes effectively control the other rates of development. To Perroux, urban growth does not appear everywhere at once, but on dominant nodes which he termed growth poles then spreads through different channels (Wojnicka, 2014).

Relating this theory to urbanization in Buea, one can say that being a colonial town founded by the Germans, modern Buea started as an administrative centre (Buea Station). This was the first node that gave birth to other dominant nodes or growth poles. Being a colonial station and capital of West Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon, there was need in Buea for housing facilities for workers. It was against this background that the GRA, Federal Quarters and Clerks Quarters became important variables as far as urbanization of Buea was concerned. Hence, prior to the 1990s, dominant growth poles in Buea were residential areas such as GRA, Federal Quarters, and Clerks Quarters. However, the post-1990 ushered in a new dominant node, the Molykoneigh bourhood, with the creation of the University of Buea. What used to be plantation land and the forest which surrounded Molyko have been cleared and the land used for residential, institutional and commercial purposes. Subsequently, new layouts also become major growth poles in Buea. Because of these new layouts, scattered settlements are slowly merging (Molyko, Bomaka, Bolifamba, Wonyamavio, Muea), forming an urban agglomeration. This has extended Buea to surrounding villages and non-Buea villages such as Mutengene. This expansion of the urban area is known as urban sprawl. Social scientists have viewed urban sprawl as an inevitable outcome of metropolitan population growth. As Buea is growing, people, especially middle-class workers, are moving from the center to the new layouts. In fact, all old boundaries have disappeared as surrounding villages have been absorbed into the urban mass of Buea.

An important outcome of urbanization in Buea has been its cosmopolitanism, cultural diversity, differentiation and social inclusiveness manifested in the proliferation of different ethnic and tribal groups. The subsequent themes will focus on the social and political organization of Buea and argue that the transition of Buea from a rural to urban settlement and the accompanying political organization has altered human relationships and hence the politics of identity.

The Relationship Between Urbanization and the Politics of Identity.

This section looks at the relationship between urbanization and ethnicity. Five categories analyzed; namely, the evolution of ethnic politics in the colonial management of diversity in representation of the council, incidence of frictions within the council, recruitment policies, the management of ethnicity, and Local Authorities and the problem of land re-alienation.

The Evolution of Ethnic Politics in the Colonial Management of Diversity: Colonial Segregation.

Modern Buea started as a German protectorate in the 18th century. The German defeat marked a turning point in colonial domination, segregation and discrimination of the Buea people in their own "homeland". To maintain their superiority over the natives, the Germans promoted racism by demarcating themselves from the natives. The German station and its environs were reserved only for white settlement. To set up boundaries between the colonial people and the indigenes, native areas were fenced to prevent them from having access to the station. Fanon (1983) argued that residential segregation was a racially-based policy. The colonial world was divided into compartments, one section for the whites and another for the Africans. The European section was a well-placed area with spacious and ventilated houses, meanwhile the African sections were poorly planned and the inhabitants wallowed in the mire. Implicit in this segregation was European superiority, a higher civilization which could not co-habit with the inferior African civilization; hence the relegation of the Africans to an inferior position (Mamdami, 1996).

Such demarcation introduced by the colonialists was to go a long way to influence relationship between the natives and non-natives who were termed Wajeli" (those who have come). This was reflected by the fact that the non- indigenes could only live of native areas, what became known as "strangers' quarter". In Buea, "strangers" were non-indigenous to their places of residence. The creation of stranger's quarters was in line with the colonial policy of segregation. Otherness in the strangers' quarters was further intensified by the division of the settlement along ethnic lines such as Metta quarters, Hausa quarters, Bameleki quarters, Babute quarters along the market road in native Buea. The creation of residential areas according to ethnic lines was in line with the colonial vision to create differences among the colonial subjects and made them incompatible thus constructing ethnicity. Thus the German management of difference was a three-fold segregation into white colonialist, local natives and non-native Africans. Central to the British colonial policy was the policy of Indirect Rule, a system of governance under which traditional rulers were given the power to rule their subjects under the guidance of the British authorities (Ngoh, 1996). Central to this policy was the establishment of Native Authorities (NA). The Indirect Rule system was used to create demarcations through the creation of Native Authority Areas. The Africans were denied their specific identities as the British created 'tribes', brought different ethnic groups under one tribal authority. Each ruler ruled over his own subjects thereby solidifying their identification in opposition to others. Buea was the centre of Bakweri Native Authority, with four court areas (Muea, Buea, Bonjongo and Mutengene).

Native Authorities were headed by paramount rulers. Yenshu and Ngwa (2001) argue that the British identified prominent groups and elevated them to the level of paramount chiefs. When the British appointed Chief Endeley as Paramount Ruler of the Bakweri, the Buewongo family of Upper Buea contested the paramountcy of Endeley by arguing that it was wrong for them to be under Chief Endeley because they were the original Bakweri. By virtue of this argument, the Buewongo family in their opinion reserved

the right to be chiefs of all the Bakweri. Their argument was based in the right of first settlers.

This otherness as a result of the British policy of indirect rule was further concretized by British administrative reforms of dividing Southern Cameroons into the Cameroon Province and the Bamenda Province. This division was further widened when provinces were further carved out into administrative divisions which were further divided into Native Authority Areas. Buea was a Native Authority in the Victoria Division under the Cameroon Province. These illusory divisions and demarcations represented dynamics which encouraged a heightened sense of awareness about similarities and differences as well as the construction of ethno-territorial identities (ibid).

The British desire was to bring people of similar characteristics together into "tribes" to facilitate administration and minimize cost. The introduction of Native Authorities marked also the early beginning of political exclusion of non-natives from local political participation. Inherent to it was the fear of domination of the insider by the outsiders, thus leading to the division between "wonja" and "wajeli". Also, the demarcation into Provinces, Divisions and finally Native Authorities led to ethnic consciousness as each saw itself as different from the other and was not willing to cooperate with one another but rather defended the interest of the fellow ethnic citizens.

Council Representation: 1949- 1966
What today is considered as councils was introduced by the British Colonial policy of indirect rule. The appellation then was the Native Authority Council and was headed by the chiefs. At that time, the Native Authority were strictly an affair of indigenes; thus the appellation "native". In other words, the Bakweri Native Authority was represented solely be indigenes who represented the four Court Areas of Buea, Muea, Lysoka, Mutengene, and Bonjongo (Monono, 2001). However, with the presence of non-natives in the area, there was a clamour for representation in the Native Authorities. For this reason, some non-natives were appointed and in some cases elected as quarter heads in the stranger quarters according to their ethnic origin. The creation of strangers' quarters was in line with the British policy of indirect rule. In this context, the colonial authority sought to protect the ethnic insider and to separate the outsider from the insider.

1949 Bakweri Clan Council
Headed by Chief GervaciusMbellaEndeley, theBakweri Clan Council was sub-divided into four Court Areas with the following council representatives:

Buea Court Area: D. H Mome , F. EkoMotinda, F. NjiaWojue, L. I Nyoki, LokaLifaki Oscar Makunde, F. Ngao, JokaMfende, J. E Motome, KuluEsongami, NjonjeEfungani, VevanjeEfimbe, M. Youdou, W. Jongo.

Muea Court Area: Mogombe Elvis, NjakoNgale, LyongaKombe, EtutuNake and E. Veke.

Lysoka Court Area: NganjeMalongo, Mbua Lyonge, Monika Ekwa, NganjeNamange.

Bonjongo Court Area: Lucas Woka, W. Ngomba, J. M Likine, M. N EfufeMosaso

Mutengene Court Area: Oscar Esombe, EsembeSume, LifakaNgeve, S. Masung and A. N Moka.

From the above, it is clear that the composition of the council as earlier mentioned was in the hands of the traditional rulers under the colonial policy of Indirect Rule.In sociological terms, it was the transfer of the cultural sphere to the political sphere. Despite the outcry of non-natives to be represented, they were only made quarter heads in their respective quarters (strangers' quarters) in accordance with the British policy of protecting minority groups.

By 1958, the Bakweri Native Authority was replaced by the Bakweri District Council headed by a chairperson and no longer by the chiefs. As one of the most urbanized areas at the time, Buea was transformed into a local council. The reason behind this change was to make local representatives more democratic and relevant to the needs of the people and also to reduce the participation of traditional rulers in the running of the town. However, this new development did not change the status quo as the Buea Local Council was limited only to the indigenes and did not extend to the non-natives regarded as strangers.

The 1960s saw the birth of multiparty and nationalistic activities in Southern Cameroons that subsequently led to the granting of a quasi-regional status prior to the final granting of independence. With the coming of J. N. Foncha to power and his Kameroon National Democratic Party (KNDP), his first political task was the enactment of a new reform increasing non-indigene representation to an equal footing with that of the indigenes. Thanks to Foncha's Government policy, for the first time in the history of Buea Council, non-indigenes started participating actively in the running of the affairs of the town in which they too were part. Despite the competition between indigenes and non-indigenes, the position of chairman and other executive positions were reserved for the indigenes.

1962 – 1966 Bakweri District Council
Chairperson: Samuel MokaLifafaEndeley
Councilors : Samuel Singe, Francis Esoke, Ferdinand Esembe, NjieIsose, Johnson Ekike, ApoloMobea, Mbua Mokombe, Molombe J. N, S. E Longonje, Wokama, Otto Messena, Mongombe, Andrea N. Teke, Molombe H. L, Thompson Kombe, Wole, Andreas Ngando, Musinga Smith Molonge, Siegfried Eliva, and Ikoma.

Non-Natives: Gabriel Njimuni, Benjamin Tapong, Sam G. Atabong, Thomas Enokoh, N.S Anyah, Joshua Waah, LambeKonsike, Jacob Nguhuh, Edward Noah, Isaiah Njah, Jonas Akuo, John Ebuaw, Asoh, Thomas Ali, and NguhCanteh.

1968 Bakweri Council
Chairman: GervaciusMbellaEndeley
Councilors: Paul M Njie, Simon N. Fende, Phillip Ewusi, Rose Eko, David Esoa, Lucas P. Namme, Adolf Esembe, Samuel Ngale, Africa Musenga, Nicodemus Singe, Isaac Messoso, Thomas Lisinge, Jacob Effoe, Augustine Etema, Paul Messe, Martin Mbonde, , John Elali, and Shadrack Muyemge,

Non-natives: George MbanyaminFongang, Simon Fokum, Williams Makia Isaac N. Robert Mbole,

The above representation shows that the request for strangers' representation was taken into consideration as in the 1962-1966 representation there were 15 non-natives against 21 natives, while in the 1968 representation the non-native representation declined to 4 as against 18 natives. This change was influenced by the birth of multiparty politics in British Southern Cameroons which brought about the policy of equal representation within the Buea Council. It has been argued that the motives behind the policy of equal representation were based on the clamour of non-natives for representation, and partly because of the enormous role of the non-native population in the development and urbanization of Buea, especially in the collection of taxes and in infrastructural development.

4:2:3 One-Party Rule and Council Representation
From multiparty politics to the one-party system under the umbrella of the Cameroon National Union (CNU), Prime Ministerial order of February 1978 renewed the Buea Council, with the abolition of the chairmanship position and its replacement by a Municipal Administrator who doubled as Divisional officer (D.O.). Oyono (2004) notes that before the launching of political pluralism in 1990, the appointment of Mayors was commonplace. This saw the appointment of a non-indigenes as Municipal Administrators of the Buea Council in the person of Mua Joseph Zuzeko. However, all deputies were Bakwerians, precisely from Buea Town and Muea Court Area.

In 1985 the CNU party was transformed into the CPDM party with President Biya as chairperson. This change ushered in the process of political liberalism beginning with legislative and presidential elections. As the sole party at the time, competition for the post of Mayor was within the party. The first party to be represented in the council through democratic election was the CPDM under the first democratically elected Mayor, Ray Ikundi. Although executive positions were reserved for natives, councilors were drawn from different geographical backgrounds though the natives still constituted a majority.

The CPDM party represented the council for close to a decade under the mayor ship of Becke Smith and Gladys Endeley. However, despite non-native representation as councilors, they were disgruntled with the fact that they were not represented in the executive body of the council, hence there was constant clamouring for their representation within the executive.

1977-1982 Buea Rural Council
Municipal Administrator: Mua Joseph Zuzeko,
Councillors: Chief G. M Endeley, George NjieLitumbe, , J. M Mosonge, Mrs Rose Eko, MrsSerahMokake, Martin EkekeMaeno, Africa Fritz Musenja, J.M Mbwende, S.F Njie, D. M Kinge, Mr. DorahEwusi, Godfrey Wose, P. R Ikundi, G. K Lyonga, G. B Mofoke, J TondoEffoe , J. M Esuka, Paul Mbonde, Bernard WokaniLyonga, M. C Eko, E. T Lysinge, EfosiNdive, Madam Nalowa Helen, FindiEsongo Joshua, and NgandoElali.
Non-natives: Ewane Joseph Ewane, Mallam Musa. M.N Bah, M., MrsDimitte Alice Enow, S. D Fokum, and E. K Lottin

This period marked the abolition of the post of chairman of the council and its replacement by a Municipal Administrator appointed by Government under the one-party system (CNU). Here, Divisional Officers had dual functions; that is, as administrative heads and as municipal administrators. Because of this policy, for the first time in the Buea Council history, a non-indigene was head of the council. The legitimacy of the post of head of council was transferred from the people to the state. However, but for the Municipal Administrator, other executives of the council were natives. There were 24 indigenes as against 8 non-indigenes.

1982- 1987 Buea Rural Council
Mayor – Ikundi Ray Lyonga
Councilors: DorahEwusi, MbwangeIkwille, Liteke Otto Njonje, Nyunde Stephen, EyambeMolua Paul, Eko Rose Limunga, NajemeKinge, MaenoEkeke Martin, Ikome Mathias Njoku, MbwanyeMoanga Emmanuel, Mosuka Martin Ndive, Chief Kange Moses, Mokenge Tobias, Esuka Mathias John, MokakeEposiSerah, Musima Isaac Muake, EfuganiMbella, Dr LyongaNgale Simon, Kinge M. Joseph,

Non-natives: FokumDinga Sama, EbahNgome Isaac, Enow Offa Fred, and Degrando Ernest.

This era saw the rise of President Biya to power and the birth of the Cameroon People's Democratic Party (CPDM) replacing the old order. The position of Municipal Administration was abolished and replaced by an elected Mayor, a native from Buea town with minimal non-native composition; just 4 non-natives, as against 22 natives.

1987 -1996 Buea Rural Council
Mayor – Becke Smith Molua
Councilors :Litumbe John Njie, Najeme Sammy Njumbe, EwumbueMonono Jacob, EsungeElonge James, EfoeEsimbue Samuel, Mosoke Maurice, Kale John, Mafany Maurice Efange, Mrs Wole Efeti, MrsNayongoMotombyWoleta, Ngomba Martin Gerald, MuamboKombe, Namando Kale Comfort, MrsWollason Gladys, Ndoko Thomas Mbua, Toni John Monangai, Esselle John, Ndiva Jasper Elama, Kale Kale John, Njoh Gabriel Ikome, Linonge Samuel Ndombe, Lyonga Edward Zeno, Luma David Ngombe, EvakiseDabuju, Becke Smith Molua, Essembe Pius Titus, MrsLitumbeEfosiSerah, Ndombe William Efungani, Enie Thomas John, Thomas Njoke, and Namange George Likie.

Non-natives: YoupaCly-Leo, Nguina Moise, NjawoMaifor Charles, Sampsin Patrick MbemNkuogo, Bate Takang Abraham, MrsElad Theresia, and MbumeBeneven Anthony

This era witnessed the increase in the composition of the council list to 41. Though Becke was later voted as Mayor, the list was headed and presented by John Litumbe. This list is famous for the fact that it was the most indigene-sensitive list ever presented after independence, as out of the 40 councilors 32 were indigenes while 8 were non-natives (1 Bayangi, 1 Bassa and 6 Bamelikes). Strangely enough, no North-Westerner was among them. One wonders if it was a revenge tactic against North-Westerner's in the face of their continuous competition for representation in the Buea Council. This however split the grassfields indigenes into two: the Bamelikes, and the North-Westerners, the latter being left with no representation. This split became a problem when the SDF took over the Council in Buea as many Bamileke people were rejected from the SDF list for fear of suspicion of internal domination within a party which most Bamenda Grassfields considered their party. The irony of it is that, despite the North West demographic majority,

the John Litumbe list which was an indigene-sensitive list still won; a clear indication that winning in an election is not necessarily determined by ethnic demographic superiority but by the idea that sells best.

Multiparty Rule and Council Representation

The birth of multiparty democracy in Cameroon in the 1990s saw the birth of opposition parties such as the Social Democratic Front (SDF), the Liberal Democratic Alliance (LDA), and the Cameroon Peoples Union (UPC). New political actors were on stage, each competing to control the political space. Following the 1996 elections, the SDF won Council elections in Buea. Though represented by a native, John MokakeEndeley, precisely from Buea Town, the success of the SDF party which happens to have a strong North West Region support, saw the nomination and election of a non-native, precisely from the NWR, into the Buea Council Executive as Deputy Mayor. There was also an increase in the number of non-natives as Councilors of the Buea Council. In fact, since the inception of the council, this era recorded the highest rate of non-native representation in Buea Council.

The control of the council by the SDF Party brought a lot of controversial issues to the forefront, ranging from protests, blackmail and other political maneuvers by political elites. It was during this era that ethnicity became a major weapon used by elites to promote division, hatred, antagonism and difference. Political propaganda, slogans, and derogatory remarks were deployed as a means of politicking. The CPDM Party was therefore presented as a medium through which natives' political rights will be guaranteed, through which the natives could counter "graffi" and SDF hegemony. Against this backdrop, the SDF lost in the subsequent elections. Since then the CPDM has been dominating council representation in Buea with MbellaMoki as Mayor from 2002 to 2007 and presently with Ekema Patrick as Mayor. However, based on the list system that was introduced by the government following the growing urbanization trends, and the persistent claims from non-natives for representation, all lists must reflect national integration and the cosmopolitan structure of the society. Hence, even though the Mayoral position in Buea is strictly for natives, one Deputy Mayor and a host of councilors are drawn from all parts of Cameroon.

1996 Buea Rural Council
Mayor: John MokakeEndeley
Councilors: WokambeMolulu Andreas, EnjemaKange Frida, Ndoko Mbua Thomas, MbomeIta Maurice, OsumiMofoke Paul, EwomeLutEfande, Likini George Ngeka, Hans EkemaNjoh, Mafany Ernest Lysinge, EfemeLikine Manfred, Netongo Emmanuel Njie, Lyonga Zacharia Luma, NajemeKingeLyonga, Lyonga Douala Paul, EsukaMbome Andreas, EwusiNakoNangolo, Ngonja Oscar, EpieEndeley Andrew, Joseph MonieMbwangai, MolombeSegfried, Lifongo Martin Moki, NjieMokoto Joseph, and Julius MonangiaIkome,
Non-natives: Bridget Lilo Tanjong, MbutomNdon John, Nsang Emilia Ngeh, AkuhGodfred, TumentaSimbo Joseph. EnyandumCripus, NdezsehNgassa Emma, MbahMatinMudoh, MengaNgassi Zacharia, Takang William Enow, ChiakamNjam Emmanuel, Elizabeth NkukuNwigwe, Bongwa Fai Sylvester, Fombo John Aboki, Chinanga Rita Shira, Mbian Henry Ankia, and Amamuki Moni Jacob,

This election was the first election after the introduction of liberal democracy and multiparty politics that led to the birth of the SDF party, a time when the SDF party was at its peak, as people were clamouring for change. The SDF party became the first opposition party to win council elections in Buea after multiparty rule. However, this era saw a drop in indigene representation in the council and an increase in the non- indigene representation: 24 natives as against 17 non-natives. For the first time also, a North-westerner became part of the executive body of the council: Madam Lilo Tanjong Bridget was made 3rd Deputy Mayor.

2002 Election Buea Rural Council
Mayor: MbellaMoki Charles
Councilors: Chief MolingeIkome David, Endeley Gladys Silo, Effoe Johnson, Anthony Mbume, Collins Sam Mbella, NgaleEffange Isaac, Absalom WoloaMonono, Esunge Peter Charles, NjieGobina Franz, Mbua Esther Limunga, Ekiti Awan Eugene, LifongoLifande Bernard, Molive Fanny Namondo, Mbua Clara nee Keka, KingeNamanga Thomas, Emmanuel NdongoMolonge, Esseke David Ekema, Thomas Mbome, LyongaMokoko Stephen, Edward NjieNangombo, Mosongo Adele, KangeOegenElinge, Samba AlivsEsoe, MosokoNgando Clement, Simon Mongombe,

Non-natives: Youdjeu Joseph, NemboAkwangaMenkem, AgborTambeMatina , Andrew AbimbiAkonembo, Peter Forgap, Uriel Fuda Ivo Ngino, Hopewell ItoeAyamba, Nyembnee Ngo Bikoy, KemaTabe Frida, EmefuaNkofu Anthonia, Francis FokoboAtud, Goumgnie Moise, Nkong William Fonjong, Kamga George, Gabriel Njemini

From the above, there was a change from SDF to the CPDM representation. Though there were 15 non-natives as against 26 natives, the composition of the council was in line with the list system that was introduced by the government, whereby party lists must necessarily portray national integration and the cosmopolitan structure of the society. Therefore, looking at the composition of the council under MbellaMoki, one would realize that though the indigene constitute the majority, the non-indigene councilors were drawn from different ethnic groups in Cameroon.

2013 Elections Buea Rural Council
Mayor: Ekema Patrick Esunge
Councillors: MotombiMbome Emmanuel, Lyonga John Efande, Mosoko Edward Motuwe, LyongaNganje Marcus, Lyonga John Nganele, Thomas EwondeElive, Chief. Njoke Johnson Njombe, Isuma Otto Endeley, Dr. NgangeLyonga Kingsley, Hon. Ikundi Peter Ray Lyonga, Dr NgongiNamanga Amos George, EveleLifambe Emmanuel Sako, WokomaNgange Edward, Susan Nan Mbua, JoffieBavoh Elisabeth Ekambi, Raymond Kale Matute, Tabu Cecilia Menbonde, Ngenye Henry Kulu, Ikome William Lifange, Max EfoeNjohNganje, Paul MondoaNgomba, Chief Molinge David Ikome, ChekeChangoNtogwoua, Kenneth Ndumbe, Kinge Thompson Molonge, Nang Ebanda Ruth, Mosongo Ursula Wase, Enanga Lydia Efeme, Etonde Hannah Mbua, Chief. NjieMandenge,

Non-natives: OjongnkpotOben Comfort, Kedju Johnson, Pelagho Caroline Konlak, TchontaGembuRose, Prof. Victor Julius Ngoh, AsokwiEndum Martin, DopgimaStella Guelleu, Sitchui John Kameni, Fomungum Francisca Fri, EwanzangEmerenciaMbulle,

Just like MbellaMoki's list, this list too reflects ethnic diversity.Out of the 41 councilors, 10 are non-indigenes, with one as Fourth Deputy Mayor. However, the majority, 31, are indigenes.

Following this composition trend, one can conclude that in Buea council representation was 100% indigenous during colonial rule under Native Authority, and dropped during self-government to 58%indigenous.It then rose to 82% under Jua's administration before dropping again to 77% under Muna's administration. In the one-party state, it stabilized between 85% and 82% during the 1977 and 1987 elections. The introduction of political pluralism affected indigene representation in Buea Council area adversely. In 1996 SDF representation shows 58% indigene composition, the lowest in the history of Buea after the birth of liberal democracy. It has however increased to 63% under MbellaMoki and is 75% presently.

On the other hand, since colonial rule in Buea, there has been a persistent cry for non-natives to be represented in the council. Despite their efforts, they have been enjoying but a minority representation, starting with 0% representation under Native Authority, to 15%, and 4% under the Federation, then to 7%, 4%, and 8% under the one-party state. With multiparty rule, their representation increased to 17% under the SDF ticket and declined to 15% and to 10% under the CPDM ticket.

Table 1: **Evolution of indigene/non-indigene composition in theBuea council 1948- 2013**

Specification	Indigene	Non-indigene	Total	% Indigene	%Non-indigene
1948	32	_	32	100	_
1962	21	15	36	58	42
1968	18	4	22	82	18
1977	24	7	31	77	33
1982	23	4	27	85	15
1987	32	8	40	82	18
1996	24	17	41	58	42
2002	26	15	41	63	37
2013	31	10	41	75	25

4:2:5 Incidents of Friction
Being a cosmopolitan Council, Buea, from inception, has always been torn between tension arising from the competition between natives and non-natives, each fighting for political rights and space. There is also internal tension among the indigenes themselves and caused by struggle for control of the politics of given areas.

With regard to internal crisis, the issues of the "Buea Town Mafia" as described by Churchill Monono (op.cit.) is very important in understanding the dynamics of local politics in Buea Council. He argues that for over 50 years, local leadership of the council has been in the hands of Buea town and Muea Court Areas, most especially within the Endeley dynasty. This implies that the Endeleys occupy a hegemonic position as far as the running of the council is concerned. Efforts have always been made through blackmail and threats to exclude people from Soppo, Bokwaongo and Bonjongo. This has led to the formation of factions aimed at challenging the Buea town hegemony, which finally succeeded following the revolution between 1987 and 1997 when Becke Smith from Soppo was elected Mayor and Hon John Litumbe from Bokwango as Parliamentarian.

This victory was not received favourably by Buea Town as barely a few years after Becke's Mayoral position, he was set up and dismissed from the CPDM party, an act that put Becke's political career on the balance. This act was perceived as the expression of a desire for political revenge against Becke Smith by some people who had lost the 1987 election, especially the Buea town people. According to Monono (op.cit), the political exclusion of indigenes with leadership potential is well- known within the Fako leadership class and has accounted for premature exit or carpet-crossing of resourceful political elites to other parties. Examples could be illustrated when half of Becke's Councilors including deputy Mayors went to the SDF party while another fraction went to the LDA party of NjohLitumbe. Such wrangling within the CPDM party under the Becke leadership became an important political tool used by the SDF during the first multiparty election in 1996.

Though the Buea town people may have succeeded in implanting one of theirs, John Endeley, as the Mayor under the SDF ticket, however, there were disagreements between party policies and council policies. The instability in the SDF-controlled Buea came as a result of the indigenous Mayor wanting to implement programmes which would address the interests of the local people and not those of the party. This was a move by the Mayor to promote development and win support from the people he represented. This caused friction between the Mayor and the SDF party as John Endeley was constantly accused of council mismanagement; i.e., using council resources for communal development (Monono,op.cit). Not only were there internal crises but the SDF leadership also faced enormous conflicts with the government administration in carrying out its developmental projects. This was a move by the CPDM government to sabotage the SDF party. This ranged from the D.O. refusing to sign contracts or to sign out council money. According to the then SDF Mayor, John Endeley, "I was in continuous battle with the Governor, Oben Peter Ashu, but I told him off.NgambiDikome Robert (S.D.O.) even drove me out of his office one day" (Interview with John Endeley, 7th Nov, 2016). The failure of the SDF representative to deliver the goods which was caused partly by the SDF party itself and partly by the government officials was already a winning campaign slogan for the CPDM.

The history of crisis within the council reached its climax when the CPDM defeated the SDF. However, the subsequent defeat of Arthur Lysinge, the CPDM sub-section president, by MbellaMoki Charles in the Mayoral election in the Buea Council in the 2002 legislative election created the gravest tension ever recorded in Buea Council history. This divided the CPDM party into two opposing camps. It also exposed the

part played by the "Buea Town Mafia" and political elite in influencing political choices. Lysinge had support from the elite both at local and national levels, especially those from Buea town. Popular opinion holds that they could not afford to see somebody from Bokwaongo become Mayor. Arthur Lysinge is reported to have hired thugs (Buea town boys) to disrupt the election of the Deputy Mayor after his defeat. MbellaMoki and his supporters received threats, intimidation and harassment from Arthur Lysinge and his supporters. It took the influence of the then Minister of Territorial Administration for Lysinge and the Buea town elite to accept defeat (The Post No 0391, 22 July 2002.p.1-2).

4:2:6 Recruitment Policies
Anyone who has visited the Buea council will be quick to notice that almost all the workers are natives. As far as recruitment is concerned, the Buea council offers long and short-term employment opportunities to the Buea people. Long-term job offers concern those that are given on permanent basis, whereas short-term jobs are granted to students on vacation. However, the first important point to note is that municipal workers change when power changes.

Article 4 of 2009 decree Nº 00136/A /MINATD states that "recruitment to job positions shall be authorized by deliberation of the Board of the City Council or the Municipal Council in accordance with the profile adapted in the list of occupation". This is an indication that each council has the exclusive prerogative to recruit its workers.

The first important recruitment requirement is that one must belong to the party in leadership. That is why 90% of council workers belong to the same party except for those working on detachment, such as the Secretary General and the Council Treasurer. This is obvious because to ensure smooth functioning of the council, members must share the same political ideology.

Every mayor has his/her vision and plan of action for a particular council institution. In the case of Buea, history has it that the indigenes felt threatened and there was an outright request for protection. The Buea council therefore carved out a policy of greater consideration for the indigenous people but which was largely based on merit. This gave opportunity for native Bakweri people to compete alongside other residents within the municipality without jeopardizing the cosmopolitan character of the town (Interview with MbellaMoki, former Mayor 14th Sept, 2016). According to the secretary General of the Buea Rural Council, ethnic affiliation is one of the criteria in selecting workers, though competence is also important. If two candidates are contesting for a position and one is a native and the other a non-native, the native is more likely to be recruited because, as opined by the Secretary General, "they have to benefit from their council, if they are not granted jobs in their own council, where will they go and benefit?" This has been inspired by the constitutional clause on the protection of minorities.

The presence of some non-indigenes in the Council was blamed on the SDF government. When questioned on recruitment policy, the then SDF Mayor John Endeley said "government policy had it that you must have representation of communities that are resident within, hence my policy was geared toward representation. For example, to employ

ticket sellers who needed to meet different categories of people, I got different people". However, he acknowledged the fact that the number of non-indigenes he employed were few as compared to the number of indigenes, after all, "the interest of the natives was paramount".

Projected Administration of the Town
The non-indigenous population in Buea has come to accept the fact that, based on the political scenario of the country characterized by ethnicity, it is difficult for them to play any leading political role in Buea. Hence recent political trends prove that political tension in Buea has not been between indigenes and non-indigenes but between indigenous communities, each struggling to control political space. The Buea town people have dominated the council since its inception. While others are struggling to counter this hegemony, areas such as Bomaka, Wonyamavio, Bolifamba seem to be creating no direct impact in the council. Some areas, especially rural areas,are marginalized in the provision of council services and allocation of resources. That is why people are anticipating that the Buea Rural Council be carved out into three new councils; namely,

➢ The Buea Urban Council, covering urban areas such as Buea Town, Soppo, Tole, Muea, Bolifamba;
➢ Buea Rural Council, covering the villages from Ewonda, Bonakanda, Bova, Bokwai, Bokova and villages in the former Lysoka Court Areas;
➢ The Bonjongo Rural Council, covering the former Bonjongo court Area.

The Management of Ethnicity within the Council
To solve the problem between natives and non-natives in the struggle for political space in most urban areas in Cameroon, the government has instituted the list system. The constitution requires that parties running for pluralistic election take into consideration the sociological composition of the community when compiling lists in order to ensure that certain people are not under-represented at the level of decentralized organs of the state which are the Municipal Council and Regional Council (Yenshu, 2006).

To produce a mayor for the council area, Buea uses the list system. There are three stages under the list system. The first stage is producing the list of contestants. At this stage, and following the Constitution, if the list does not reflect ethnic diversity, it is rejected. Hence, those who want to be ethnically biased or indigene-sensitive will end up not running for council elections. The second stage is facing elections with other political parties who are qualified, and the last stage is the winner gets to choose a Mayor from the list of contestants. This implies that every member of the list is a potential Mayor. However, it is at this stage that ethnicity comes into play. It becomes difficult for a non- indigene to win because even article 57/3 of 1972 requires that chairpersons of regional councils to be indigenes.

The Buea Council has tried to manage ethnicity by electing non-indigenes at the executive position of the council. Since the leadership of Gladys Endeley, one Deputy Mayor has always come from the non-indigenous population: Mbume Anthony from Beti as first Deputy under Gladys Silo Endeley, Mrs. Lilo Bridget Tanjong from Nso as Third Deputy under John Endeleyand MadamOjongnpot Comfort Oben from Manyu as Fourth Deputy under Ekema Patrick. This strategy by the Buea Council is to ensure non-indigene participation

in Council decision-making. The councilors are 40 in number and are drawn from different ethnic groups in Cameroon.

The award of contracts in the Buea council is open to all interested persons depending on who can do the job properly and on time. The natives have continuously criticized the Mayors for giving contracts to non-natives. This is evident when the contract of building Buea Town market and the Central market was given to Nigerians by the MbellaMoki and EkemaPatrick administrations respectively. The construction of the Mile 17 shopping mall was given to non-indigenes.

The Problem of Land Restitution and Re-alienation.
The growth of Buea into a cosmopolitan administrative, commercial, agro-industrial growth poles, and later the seat of the university has gone to alleviate the crisis of coexistence and the clamouring for land. There have been persistent claims from indigenes for the Government of Cameroon to give back ancestral land that was alienated from the Buea people for plantation agriculture. Following the growing trends of urbanization in Buea, it should be noted that, as far back as in the colonial days, the British started handing out layouts for the construction of houses to solve urban congestion. With the creation of the University, Buea changed drastically. This caused the natives of Buea, through their Chiefs, to intensify their demand for the return of their land. It was against this background that layouts were handed to Buea Chiefs as a means of solving the urbanization crisis in the area. The chief is the highest political authority in the village and he acts as auxiliary to the administration. Hectares of land were handed to the natives, but looking at the course of events, one is tempted to ask the question, who has control over land in Buea? Is it the natives who claim it is their communal right or the non-natives?

The above question takes us to the problem of the commodification and re-alienation of once tribal land, which started during the colonial days but has now reached dramatic proportions as this is actively promoted by local chiefs who happen to be the custodians of native land. Yenshu (2006) in this light argued that, while the majority of local people are clamouring for the return of once tribal lands, the chiefs are busy selling land returned to local communities. This is evident in the Lysoka Court Area where chiefs in the area are selling out land returned to the community by the CDC. This is a failure on the part of the chiefs to protect their tribal landed interests.

Chieftaincy has become an instrument people use to enrich themselves through the sale of land. That is why in Buea, we have chiefs with chiefdoms that have no people or history;chiefs without an identity related to the place in question.

Even the political elites have joined the "mafia" of the commodification of land in Buea and some are struggling to be chiefs with land grabbing as their prime motive. As revealed by The Post News Paper concerning conflicts between the Chief of Bova II and the Mayor, Ekema Patrick, the Chief argued that "since the ascension of Ekemato the Buea Mayoralty, he has been fighting to impose himself as a chief in one of the neighborhoods in my village when he is not even from Bova II,reasons being that he wants to cover

up for the up to 35 hecters of land which he grabbed from the state under the name of Wonjuka, a village behind Bulu Blind Centre in Buea and sold indiscriminately." According to the Chief, IsumeNyoki, in 1996, although the President signed a decree banning the creation of new villages, he wondered if the constitution has been amended to give Mayor Ekema the right to transform a locality within his village into a new village (The Post, 2015).

The invention of new villages for land has brought in a new idea geared towards development, which is rebuilding of villages which are more inclusive in nature. Since some of the chiefs in Buea are chiefs without "a people," they now invite non-natives and give them free land to construct houses. This kind of invitation is warmly welcomed by non-indigenes. These villages are therefore cosmopolitan rather than local in composition.

The sale of village land has escalated new forms of conflict as it is no more an identity problem between natives and non-natives but a problem between chiefs and natives and chiefs themselves. According to Monono (2001), as custodians of the community land, most FakoChiefs and Mayors have disappointed their folks because of the manner in which they liquidate native and communal lands to non-natives. However, the issue here is, with urbanization there is high demand for land; that is why the liquidation of land is justified.

DISCUSSIONSAND CONCLUSION
Colonial Construction of Difference in Buea
The findings show that ethnicity in Buea can be attributed to colonial rule. Being the capital of both the German colony and the British mandate, it is obvious that the remnants of colonialism can still be seen, most especially in the politics of Buea which breeds ethnicity. Colonial rule in Buea was noted for introducing racism not only between the whites and blacks but also between the natives and non-natives, calling the non-natives "strangers". Simmel (1971) defines a stranger as a member of the group in which he lives and operates, yet is not part of the native population. The distance of the stranger has to do with his origins. The stranger is perceived as being in the group but not of the group. This dichotomy between natives and non-natives has become problematic in the social, economic, and most especially political milieu.

From a political perspective, the compelling claims between natives and non-natives which is central to the recent authority-based politics of exclusion can be traced to the formation of "strangers' quarters" or residential segregation. This is in line with Fanon (1963) who argued that colonialism separated communities into "native" and "settler" villages. The effect in Buea was the separation of residential areas according to ethnic identities. According to Kemper (2015), residential segregation is the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another in different parts of the same urban space. This organization facilitated and enhanced identity formation and ethnicity group consciousness. The creation of residential areas according to ethnic belonging was in line with the colonial vision of the world that created difference among colonial subjects and made them incompatible, thus constructing ethnicity. From the analysis, non-natives are continuously termed strangers, settlers, come-no-go. That is why Mandani

(2005) concludes that, even though the colonial powers have gone, we keep defining citizens as either natives or settlers; hence citizens are now "settlers" in their own country.

Secondly, the colonial policy of Indirect Rule introduced by the British instituted ethnicity not only in Buea but elsewhere in Africa. Indirect rule professed to preserve the traditional structure of the African society, creating a framework developed in a native and not a European milieu. This led to the creation of Native Authorities as each native area was to rule or control its own area to the exclusion of the others. This led to the tribal consciousness between "US" and the "others".

The Hegemony of the Endeleys and Buea Town in Buea Politics

In trying to answer the question in relation to the impact urbanization has on the politics of identity in Buea, the findings show that ethnicity is not an issue exclusive to the division between natives and non-natives but also within natives themselves. Thanks to the British policy of Indirect Rule, the political history of Buea started with the Endeley dynasty. First with the first chief KuvaLikenye who is honoured for organizing a fierce resistance against the Germans that ended with the latter's defeat and the death of the German military commanderGravenreuth. Despite his final defeat and execution, Kuva Likenye is noted for his bravery, courage, and readiness to protect his identity and heritage, a trait that would be inherited by his descendants, the Endeleys. Ever since the death of the great warrior Kuva Likenye, the politics of Buea has been dominated by the Endeleys who happen to be the descendants of Likenye. Their prominence became eminent with the introduction of the Native Authority under the British colonial policy of Indirect Rule introduced in the 1920s.

The creation of Native Authorities saw the blend of the traditional and the modern political spheres. This thus marked the continuous domination of the political sphere in Buea by the Endeley dynasty. Data presentation shows that the Endeleys dominated the Council from the 1920s, with the creation of the Bakweri Native Council, till 1977 when new reforms appointing Divisional Officers as Heads of Councils were introduced. Their prominence started with Mathias LifafaEndeley as District Head, followed by GervasiusMbellaEndeley who was made paramount ruler and culminated in the position of President of the Bakweri Native Court Area. Justice Samuel MokaEndeley also served asChairperson of the Bakweri Local Council and his wife Gladys Silo Endeley also served as mayor under the CPDM ticket before the birth of multiparty party politics in the 1990s.Lastly, John MokakeEndeley served as Mayoron the SDF ticket.

The fact that the Endeleys being indigenes of Buea Town monopolized the leadership position in Buea both in the traditional and political sphere was translated by the Buea town people to mean leadership in the Council was their "personal thing". Data presentation shows that most of the Council Heads and Mayors in Buea Council have come from Buea Town: Mathias Endeley, Samuel Endeley, Ray LyongaIkundi, Gladys Silo Endeley and John MokakeEndeley. Mayors that have come from elsewhere, such as Becke Smith from Soppo and MbellaMoki from Bokwaoungo, were not well received by the Buea Town indigenes. That is why, as

shown in chapter four, their leadership recorded the highest friction and tension with the Buea Town elites bent on ousting them from the Mayoral position.

Minority Problems
The main objective of this study was to establish the relationship between urbanization and the politics of identity. In answering the second research question, that is how urbanization has led to the politics of identity in Buea, data presentation in chapter four reveals that the history of local government in Buea has been one of long friction between the indigenous people and clamouring for representation by non-indigenous residents. To protect their interest in Buea, the British protected the indigenous minority. In the 1950s, for example, pressure groups were formed in Buea to protect the natives by ensuring their control over their area as were non-native associations formed to clamour for representation.

Data in chapter four shows that there has been constant friction between natives and non-natives for representation in the Council. Despite resistance from the natives, the Buea Council for example cannot do without the presence of non-native representation because the latter have outnumbered the natives demographically. The trends of Buea Council representation show that non-natives have struggled their way from councilors to deputies. Maybe in the future Buea will have a non-native Mayor. If this happens, it will surely be blamed on the demographic minority status of the natives. However despite the fact that the natives are of demographic minority, they have always occupy a hegemonic position in the council. The problem of the minority has been an issue in political representation. Some people hold that the term 'minority' has been used only for political propaganda. SWELA for example has been complaining about the political domination of the North West people in the South West Region. They claim that 30% of the local members of the 18 South West local councils came from the North West. Their disgruntlement is heightened by the fact that they claim there are no South Westernersas councilors in the North West (Monono, 2011).

Buea however is not the only place in Cameroon where indigenes protest against the political plastering of non-indigenes. Following the introduction of legislative elections, in Bamenda Jeremiah Pefok appointment as Government Delegate was contested in Bamenda by the Ngemba people because he was Bali. In Nkongsamba, Jean Tchouaffe, a Bamelike, was elected Chairman of the Urban Council against the interests of the Mbos. In YaoundeII, David Djomo, a Bamelike, was elected Mayor. In Douala, there have been continuous conflicts between the Douala minority and the Bameleki majority over political control. This demonstrates the link between urbanization and political control because urbanization leads to a heterogeneous society and in such a society anybody can achieve political control.

The Role of Elites
The answer to the second objective of the study is that the emergence of a strong anti-non-native political representation in Buea has been the interest of the Buea elites and not ethnic interest and solidarity based on socio-cultural identities as indigenous people. It is clear that politics in most African countries today is a mere bargaining process among the elite or the ruling class for greater control

of public authorities and public resources. To increase their bargaining position within the ruling class, ethnicity is mostly used by the various ruling elites as a bargaining chip. Studies have shown that the masses are more conscious of their ethnic affiliations and identities aselements of power than the elites and could easily be manipulated and mobilized for an ethnic cause than the bourgeoisie class. This explains why it is easy for elites to use ethnicity to mobilize the masses as to who to vote and who not to vote, a situation they are the ones to benefit the most from; thus confirming the instrumentalist theory of ethnicity which holds that elites manipulate ethnicity for their own benefits. Data from representation of the council showed how the elite are brain behind incidents of friction within the council. They were instrumental towards the dismissal of Becke Smith from the CNU party so as to destabilize his political career. Theelites of Buea were also blamed for the fierce tension and conflict that existed between MbellaMoki and Arthur Lysinge, because they choose to support Lysinge who happened to hail from Buea Town at the detriment of MbellaMoki. They also branded the SDF party a "graffi" party during the reign of John Endeley thereby discouraging the natives from voting for the party.

Even the non-native politicians also merely manipulate ethnicity and their non-native identities to enhance their personal access to and control of public authorities and resources in Buea. Whether one is dealing with indigenous or non-indigenous elites, the interest in the local communities has been subjected to a mere bargaining process by the elite class on both sides of the board, using ethnicity as an instrument for personal interests. Skylar (2000) supports this fact when the argues that "tribal" movements may be created and instigated to action by the new men in power in furtherance of their own special interests which time and again clash with the constitutive interests of emerging social classes. Tribalism thus becomes a mask for class privilege.

The perception of local governance as the manipulation of ethnicity by the ruling class of local elite has also confirmed the view of scholars like Cohen who holds that urban political conflict in Africa is based on situation interests and class struggle and not on ethnic struggle for power. It is about social origin and not ethnic origin. He argues that successful elites, both indigenes and non-indigenes, have made their wealth from exploitation of council resources through contracts, communal land resources and council funds.

Land Restitution and Re-alienation
Urbanization has led to the drastic change in the social and economic organization of local communities, putting pressure on indigenous land that is appropriated by non-indigenes who happen to dominate the local economy. We are living in a capitalist world where the economy influences the social, cultural and even the political. Today, ethnicity is out of question as far as land is concerned because what matters is economic viability. The re-invention of new villages, the rise of artificial chiefs, and the scramble for land has shifted the dichotomy of insider and outsider, the distinction between native and non-natives, indigene and settlers, to the problems between native and chiefs and between chiefs themselves.

Conclusion
The study was set to distil information that would provide a better understanding of urbanization and the politics of identity in Buea. It has as main objective analyzing how urbanization has led to the politics of identity in Buea. To achieve this, the problem was examined from theories of ethnicity, specifically from the instrumentalist perspective. From the study, urbanization in Buea is influenced by colonial rule, especially in terms of the administrative function of Buea and plantation agriculture. Urbanization in Buea reached its apex with the creation of the University of Buea. These two important variables have changed the demographic, ethnic and socio-economic composition of Buea making it one of the most heterogeneous societies in Cameroon. Being a multi-ethnic society, Buea is faced with the problem of co-existence. However, co-existence is not an issue in itself; it becomes one only when it comes to political participation. Ethnicity in Buea found a fertile ground in the British Indirect Rule policy with residential demarcations. The coming of different groups of people led to political competition with the use of ethnicity as a vehicle of resource control. The increased competition for political space in Buea has created cleavages between natives and non-natives and between natives themselves. However, land re-alienation has ushered in a new era of peaceful co-existence.

Recommendations
Policy Recommendations
Urbanization is a social reality that has ushered in a heterogeneous society in Buea. The main effect of urbanization in Buea has been the competition in representation between the insiders and the outsider. It is therefore recommended that inclusion and participation of all members is necessary as this will enhance the political debate and enrich the democratic culture of the community with their varying opinions and critical minds.

Secondly, land re-alienation has shifted the tension between natives and non-native to tensions between natives and chiefs. It is therefore recommended that the state ensures a check on the allocation and commodification of lands in Buea.

Recommendations for further Studies
The findings of this studyhave been analysed based on the documentary research method. The question is whether one can still have these same findings using a different research method. It is for this reason that the researcher recommends that this research work be conducted using another research methodology that may either blend the quantitative and qualitative methodologies or then use the quantitative methodology strictly. Such a study will go a long way to improve on this present study by providing more comprehensive findings.

Furthermore, this study is limited to Buea. It would be of great interest for the same study to be conducted in another urbanized town in the country, such as Douala, Bamenda or Yaounde. This will be good for comparative purposes, to bring out the similarities and differences in findings between Bueaand the other areas. This will enhance the knowledge and understanding of the nature and dynamics of urbanization and the politics of identity in Cameroon as a whole.

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Interviews

1. Senator MbellaMoki Charles (Former Mayor), 14th September, 2016.

2. John EndeleyMokake (Former Mayor), 7th November, 2016

3. Njie Wone (Secretary General Buea Rural Council). 14th November, 2016

4. Pa Becke Samuel (Retired Diplomat) 7th September, 2016.

5. NgamdamounInoussa, Chief of Service Town Planning Buea, 24th August, 2016.

APPENDIX 1
INTERVIEW GUIDES FORMAYORS
1. What is your name, age, and occupation.

2. In what year were you elected the Mayor of Buea and under which political party?

3. Which part of Buea are you from?

4. How can you describe Buea as compared to years back?

5. What are some of the political advantages being an indigene and living in your home town?

6. What criteria did you use in recruiting Council workers during your reign?

7. What are some of the challenges you faced being a Mayor in Buea Council?

8. Being a cosmopolitan town, how did you manage ethnicity within Buea Municipality?

9. Are non-indigenes supposed to campaign for political positions in Buea?

10. Why do you think non- indigenes have not been able to occupy the position of a Mayor in Buea?

11. How can you appreciate the political atmosphere in Buea?

12. Do you see ethnicity manifesting in the politics of Buea?

13. How do you reconcile democracy with what is going on in Buea?

14. Does your ethnicity influence your political choice?

15. What can be done to maintain an ethic-free society?