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Initiale (s) du Prénom ou des Prénoms de l'auteur. Nom de l'Auteur (année de publication, pages citées).

Exemples : - En effet, le but poursuivi par M. Ascher (1998, p. 223), est « d'élargir l'histoire des mathématiques de telle sorte qu'elle acquière une perspective multiculturelle et globale ( ), d'accroitre le domaine des mathématiques : alors qu'elle s'est pour l'essentiel occupé du groupe professionnel occidental que l'on appelle les mathématiciens ( )».

- Pour dire plus amplement ce qu'est cette capacité de la société civile, qui dans son déploiement effectif, atteste qu'elle peut porter le développement et l'histoire, S. B. Diagne (1991, p. 2) écrit :

> « Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas : de toute manière, les populations ont toujours su opposer à la philosophie de l'encadrement et à son volontarisme leurs propres stratégies de contournements. Celles-là, par exemple, sont lisibles dans le dynamisme, ou à tout le moins, dans la créativité dont sait preuve ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de secteur informel et à qui il faudra donner l'appellation positive d'économie populaire ».

- Le philosophe ivoirien a raison, dans une certaine mesure, de lire, dans ce choc déstabilisateur, le processus du sous-développement. Ainsi qu'il le dit :

> « le processus du sous-développement résultant de ce choc est vécu concrètement par les populations concernées comme une crise globale : crise socio-économique (exploitation brutale, chômage permanent, exode accéléré et douloureux), mais aussi crise socio-culturelle et de civilisation traduisant une impréparation sociohistorique et une inadaptation des cultures et des comportements humains aux formes de vie imposées par les technologies étrangères ». (S. Diakité, 1985, p. 105).

Les notes de bas de page

Les sources historiques (archives, sources imp et sources orales), les références d'informations orales et les notes explicatives sont numérotées en série continue et présentées en bas de page.

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BERGER Gaston, 1967, *L'homme moderne et son éducation*, Paris, PUF.

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AVANT-PROPOS

La RAHES, revue spécialisée en histoire économique et sociale, est un outil de vulgarisation des travaux de recherche de l'élite universitaire, plus spécifiquement ceux des historiens d'horizon divers. Malgré les nombreux travaux publiés pas de brillants historiens à travers les siècles, de nombreux pans de l'histoire sociale et économique renferment encore de nombreux mystères non encore élucidés. Les travaux présentés par les contributeurs du deuxième numéro s'articulent autour de trois principaux axes.

Le premier axe « question socioéconomique coloniale et pratique sanitaire » regroupe cinq articles. N'goran Alphonse Brou analyse la contribution de la main d'œuvre immigrée dans le développement du pays Agba (Côte d'Ivoire). L'auteure Félicité Paho Nya s'est intéressée à la désorganisation du travail agricole dans les sociétés traditionnelles au Cameroun, cas du village Banganté. L'enjeu commercial du marché du textile de l'Afrique Occidentale Française constitue l'objet de l'étude de Boubacar Sambaré. Enfin, Ange Priva Zouho nous plonge dans l'univers de la pratique des soins psychiatriques en Côte d'Ivoire entre 1912 et 1938.

Le second axe, se rapportant aux questions militaires, contient deux publications. Le premier qui est l'œuvre de Kouamé Kossonou Sécré, présente les expéditions militaires Ashanti sur la côte en Gold Coast entre 1813 et 1816. Le deuxième est une co-production de Bahima Diakité, Ali Doumbia et Issa Koné. Il analyse les enjeux de la présence militaire chinoise en Afrique entre 2004 et 2024.

Le troisième axe traite des questions commerciales, de distribution et de la coopération et des entreprises, regroupent quatre articles. Le duo Hervé Landry Coulibaly et Sita Porogo s'est intéressé à la reconstruction et à la gestion du marché central de Ouahigouya (Burkina Faso). Aboukar Abba Tchellou révèle que les échanges commerciaux dans le bassin du lac Tchad étaient basés sur le troc et l'usage des objets monétaires. La coopération économique Nord-Sud a été l'objet d'analyse de Stéphie Laeticia Bekono Ndongo. Elle a mis l'accent sur l'importance du FED dans la programmation budgétaire au Cameroun de 2007 à 2011. Au niveau de la Côte d'Ivoire, Ignace Koffi démontre que l'avènement des NTIC a influencé négativement la Poste, l'une des rares sociétés de l'État non encore privatisées. Quant à Ibrahima Khalilou Diagne, il a abordé la question de la distribution des poteries en milieu Wolof.

Le quatrième axe « crises sociopolitiques » propose trois publications. La première produite par Joseph Yannick Mbatchou décrit les enjeux et les perspectives de la montée des discours de haines et de violence pendant les élections présidentielles au Cameroun. La seconde est l'œuvre de Rokia Alexandra Konaté. Elle montre les effets sociaux, politiques et symboliques des modèles de protection des réfugiés libériens en Côte d'Ivoire. Enfin, Prince Appia compare l'éducation naturelle et l'IA éducative.

Tangible and intangible cultural heritage and development in northern Cameroon

AMADOU BELLO[1]

Abstract:

The study on the proximity between tangible and intangible cultural heritage and development in Northern Cameroon aims at questioning the contribution of this heritage to the economic transformation of production structures and the societies that house it. For a long time, the economic side of cultural heritage has been overlooked, while it has a significant contribution to cognitive development, the creation of wealth through the income-generating activities that it generates. Despite the Law No. 2013/003 of April 18, 2013 governing cultural heritage in the Republic of Cameroon which aims at promoting knowledge, conservation, protection, enhancement, promotion and transmission of cultural heritage, in the public interest and in the perspective of sustainable development, the populations of Northern Cameroon have little interest in their cultural heritage. They are influenced by modernism, snobbery, and globalization which make them fail to appreciate the contribution of these values in the improvement of their living conditions. To better understand this paradox, field data collection, enhanced by documentary analysis, is conducted. Thus, Aubry and Rau's heritage theory is used to further understand the outlines of the problem. This approach made it possible to present, on one hand, the most visible tangible cultural heritages and, on the other hand, the intangible cultural heritages existing in Northern Cameroon, while simultaneously clarifying their contribution to local development.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, Development, Intangible, Tangible, Northern Cameroon.

Résumé :

L'étude sur le rapprochement entre le patrimoine culturel matériel et immatériel et le développement au Nord-Cameroun vise à questionner la contribution dudit patrimoine sur la transformation économique des structures de production et les sociétés qui l'abritent. Pendant longtemps, le côté économique des patrimoines culturels a été occulté, alors qu'il a un apport significatif sur le développement cognitif, la création des richesses à travers les activités génératrices de revenu qu'il engendre. Malgré la loi N° 2013/003 du 18 avril 2013 régissant le patrimoine culturel en République du Cameroun, visant à favoriser la connaissance, la conservation, la protection, la valorisation, la promotion et la transmission du patrimoine culturel, dans l'intérêt public et dans la perspective du développement durable, les populations du Cameroun septentrional s'intéressent peu à leurs patrimoines culturels. Elles subissent l'influence du modernisme, du snobisme, de la globalisation et ne mesurent pas la contribution de ces valeurs dans l'amélioration de leurs conditions de vie. Afin de mieux comprendre ce paradoxe, la collecte des données de terrain, enrichie de l'exploitation et de l'analyse documentaires, a été opérée. Ainsi, la théorie du patrimoine d'Aubry et Rau est convoquée pour appréhender davantage les contours de la problématique. Cette démarche a permis de présenter d'une part, les patrimoines culturels matériels les plus perceptibles et d'autre part, ceux immatériels existants dans notre bassin de recherche tout en précisant concomitamment leur contribution au développement local.

Mots clés : Développement, Immatériel, Matériel, Nord-Cameroun, Patrimoine culturel.

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Introduction

Natural and artificial cultural values have always shaped the way of life of population around the world. In sub-Saharan Africa, this reality is still perceptible. The same is true in northern Cameroon, which is subject to this obvious fact. However, the degree of consideration is not the same everywhere. In northern Cameroon, for instance, young people in particular are less inclined to local culture and are more attached to Western values, the full contours and consequences of which they still do not fully understand. In principle, development always draws its origins from local cultural values, which can be strengthened by adapting to different contexts. It is the case of China, which is one of the world powers. China has been able to be developed while maintaining its ancestral values. The tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Northern Cameroon is very rich and diversified. So, it deserves special attention to ensure sustainable contribution to the development of this part of the country. If northern youth do not attach much importance to local cultural values, it is simply because they do not perceive the financial possibilities that these values offer to them. They only observe the visible part, which they often describe as folkloric under Western influence. Therefore, what assets do cultural heritages present for the development of Northern Cameroon? The answer to this question requires highlighting respectively the contribution of the tangible and intangible cultural heritages of Northern Cameroon to local development.

1.Contribution of Tangible Cultural heritage to socio-economic development in Northern Cameroon

The natural or physical cultural heritage of the northern regions of Cameroon is made up of several elements. The most representative of these are the peaks of Rhumsiki and Mindif, the Kola Gorges, the Tello Falls, Lake Mbalang, Mount Djim and the shell huts of Mousgoum. The first part of our reflection is devoted to the presentation of these natural resources and the qualitative even quantitative analysis of their contribution to local development.

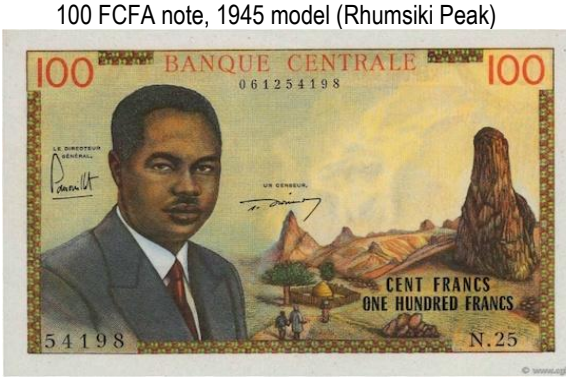
1.1.The Peaks of Rhumsiki and Mindif

Located in the western part of the Far North Administrative Region, more precisely in the Mayo-Tsanaga Division, Mogodé Sub-Division, Rhumsiki Peak is the pride of Kapsiki people and Cameroonian as a whole. It rises majestically above the entire area, offering tourists and local residents a magnificent panoramic view. For a long time, the Rhumsiki Peak photo has appeared as a national reference image on some banknotes of the Republic of Cameroon. Its natural beauty and border position give Cameroon the constant covetousness of Nigeria, which unsuccessfully claims its ownership according to F. Wassouni, (2015).

Mindif Peak, meanwhile, is located in the eponymous Sub-division, Division of Mayo-Kani, Far North Region and about twenty kilometers from Maroua city. Like Rhumsiki Peak, Mindif Peak attracts many tourists especially in the dry season due to its poor accessibility during the rainy season. Made of granite mass, it is the highest mountain in the Division of Mayo-Kani, imposing an attractive natural beauty for years. The images below allow the illustration of these analyses.

Plate 1: Banknotes bearing images of the Rhumsiki and Mindif peaks

100 FCFA note, 1945 model (Rhumsiki Peak)



Source: BEAC Garoua Album photos, 2025.

1000 FCFA note, 1974 model (Mindif Peak)

Source: BEAC Garoua Album photos, 2025.

The charm of these two peaks gives them the inscription of their images on Cameroonian banknotes. The circulation of which began before independence, in the case of Rhumsiki appearing on the 100 FCFA note on the left. It was in 1974 that the Mindif peak appeared on the 1000 FCFA note as shown in the photo on the right, clearly revealing the inestimable value of this natural heritage of national and international importance. The curious, using these banknotes, sought to see these picturesque realities on the ground, thus resulting in expenses in terms of transport, accommodation and catering for the benefit of developing the local economy.

1.2.The Kola Gorges

The Kola Gorges are another tourist site of sparkling beauty, located in the Guider Sub-division, Mayo-Louti Division, North Region. It is a watercourse that has carved its way between the stones of a captivating color, attracting thousands of local, national and international tourists. This site is undoubtedly the pride of the local population in particular and all the Cameroonians in general. The security and natural calm of the said site accompanied by the melodious cries of wild birds without forgetting of course the gentle, relaxing sound of water flowing between the rocks, make this place a marvel. These approximate descriptions can be seen in the following images:

Plate 2: The Kola Gorges

Source :https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/20/Les_Gorges_de_Kola4.jpg/500px-Les_Gorges_de_Kola4.jpg, accessed August 17, 2025.

Located 5.2 km from Guider town, capital of the Mayo-Louti Division, the Kola Gorges are a natural heritage that attracts anyone with a clear love for nature. However, its visit is only open during the dry season due to the danger of the current and the depth of water which can reach 30 m. The length of the Kola Gorges is estimated at 04 km and ends with a cave whose visit is prohibited. According to a popular legend, this cave would house the residence of the spirits or guinnadgji[2].

1.3.Tello Falls

Tello Falls are located in the Belel Sub-Division, Vina Division, Adamaoua Region. They are situated 50 km from Ngaoundéré on the road leading to Belel and 2 km from the main railway junction. They are the most spectacular in the study setting. Furthermore, they have undergone several developments by the Ministry of Tourism to attract as many national and international tourists as possible. Thus, access from the summit to the base has been facilitated by the Ministry's investments, which also include the installation of public benches to better admire the beauty of the falls. The following image shows an aerial view of Tello Falls.

[2] Enterview with Oumarou Daway at Guider, April 12, 2025.

Photo 1: Tello Falls

Source : Vicam (Visiter le Cameroun avec moi), 2025 June.

Snapped from above, the Tello Falls offer an amazing panoramic view. The Tello River, in its normal course, is struck by the rupture of a gigantic rock, which generates a steep drop, consequently creating the waterfalls that pour into a surface that was initially flat and is now deepened by the force of water. The height of the falls is estimated at 45 m, which constitutes a danger for those who do not know the area. The summit is not protected, hence the need for a guide to allow an easy movement for a good exploration of this important tourist site. The economic activities that develop around these falls include tourist guidance, transportation, catering and accommodation for tourists, not to mention, of course, the sale of local handicrafts. Several people have based their lives through the execution of these socio-economic activities.

1.4.Mbalang Lake

Mbalang Lake, not to be confused with Baleng Lake, is another tourist site of magical beauty. Located 28 km from Ngaoundéré on the road to Belel, in the eponymous village of the Ngaoundéré 2nd Sub-Divion, Vina Division, Adamaoua Region, the crater lake of Mbalang is a tourist destination that is the pride of Cameroon as a whole. President Ahmadou Ahidjo built one of his residences on the shores of this tourist site for his private stays. Below is a picture of Mbalang Lake.

Photo 2: Mbalang Lake

Source : Vicam (visiter le Cameroun avec moi), 2025 jun.

Perched atop a mountain, as seen in the picture above, Mbalang Lake offers visitors a spectacular view that amply proves that it is a crater lake. The lush green landscape surrounding this lake enhances the beauty of this natural treasure, which never dries up, even during the dry season. A visit to Mbalang Lake is an opportunity to rest and recharge, allowing local people to earn some income.

1.5.Djim Mount

In the Faro and Déo Division, Adamaoua Region, lies Djim Mount, more precisely in the Galim-Tignère council. Another natural and historical amazement that has shaped the lives of the people of Galim-Tignère is Djim Mount, which has a cave that allowed the Nyem-Nyem people to take refuge there to avoid the hostilities of German colonists and the jihadist invasion of the Fulani said Assana Bello & A. Tatsikou (2021, p. 59). Djim Mount is the origin of the Nyem-Nyem festival, which is held each two years in Galim-Tignère and constitutes the epicenter of this celebration. The visits to its caves open to tourists who come from all over the world to learn how the people of this area were protected from various historical attacks. The following image illustrates the enthusiasm of the locals to visit the mountain and its caves.

Photo 3 : Djim Mount

Source: Parfait Tabapsi, 2019.

Djim Mount is made up of a cave and other natural features, such as its unique entrance, which, according to local legend, make it a natural miracle, a gift from the gods[3]. The excitement observed during the Nyem-Nyem festival on Djim Mount is ample evidence of its vitality and historical significance. During the period of hiding in the cave, agricultural activities developed around the mountain, allowing those who took refuge there to feed themselves and remain there for at least a year according to Assana Bello & A. Tatsikou (2021, p. 60).

1.6.The Mousgoums' shell huts

Mousgoum are people located along the Logone River in the Far-North Region. They are most present in Logone and Chari and Mayo-Danay Divisions of Cameroon. They are also present in Chad in the same way as in Cameroon, that is, along Logone River. Mousgoum's main activities are fishing and farming which justifies their position on the banks of this river. Architecturally, they have adopted the construction of oval-shaped earthen huts, which is not only the pride of these people, but also the one of all Cameroonians, as it can be seen in the picture below.

[3] Enterview with Hayatou Hamadina, Lamido of Galim-Tignère, July 26, 2024.

Photo 4: The Mousgoums' shell huts

Source: Amadou Bello, September 2025.

Built inside the Lamido Yaya Dahirou stadium in Maroua, during the commemoration of the 2024 edition of Ziba di Mousgoum festival, these oval-shaped Mousgoums' huts are special and reflect the architectural ingenuity of this African people. According to explanations received from the field, these earthen huts have the advantage of regulating the temperature[4]. It should be noted that their living environment is very hot and experiences temperatures that can reach 50°C at certain times of the year and at others, the coolness can drop to 16°C. The construction of this type of hut allows its inhabitants to have a moderate temperature while it is hot or cold. These huts are waterproof during the rains and have an architecture that also allows the Mousgoum to escape through the top, which has an opening in case of an attack[5]. These huts are more reserved for elderly people whose bodies have difficulty to scope with sudden changes in temperature. Today, the construction of Mousgoums' huts requires expertise that deserves to be preserved and documented. Its current implementation provides financial resources to its architects. They can even make a career out of it.

It emerges from this first general analysis that all the physical cultural heritage studied have a considerable contribution to local development in terms of employment, creation of wealth and stability. For Barillet & al. (2006, p. 26), Breton (2010) and Nassima Driss (2012), physical heritage is a tool that can give a real boost to development through the construction of roads and health facilities and the

[4] Enterview with Asta Ousmane at Maroua, August 19, 2025.
[5] Enterview with Mamoudou Ousmane at Maroua, September 22, 2024.

creation of businesses or even industries among others. Beyond tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage also has a significant contribution to local development that deserves to be analyzed.

2. Contribution of Intangible Cultural Heritage to the Development of the Northern Localities That Host It

Several intangible cultural heritages have made a significant contribution to the development of various localities in Northern Cameroon. This study focuses on those that are most expressive. They are Fantazia of the Lamidat of Banyo; Nyem-Nyem Festival; Tokna-Massana; Gurna Toupouri; traditional medicinal know-how; and cattle breeding among the Fulani.

2.1.The Fantasia of the Lamidat of Banyo

The celebration of Islamic religious festivals known as Eid al-Fitr (end-of-Ramadan) and Eid al-Adha (Tabaski) in Arabic features three successive days of festivities enhanced by the fantasia. It always takes place at the esplanade of the Lamidat of Banyo by seasoned and professional horsemen. The cavalry of this Lamidat, led by the Sarki Yayi[6], served during the jihad of the formidable army that succeeded in crystallizing Islam throughout the southern part of Adamaoua, covering the entire Division of Mayo-Banyo and part of Noun.

Photo 5: Fantasia of the Banyo Lamidat

Source: Osidimbea, Living Memory of Cameroon, consulted on September 15, 2025.

The alignment of adorned riders or warriors as seen in the photo above shows the beauty of this cultural activity of Northern Cameroon. The majority of Northern Cameroon lamidats have the similar cavalry. The one of Banyo is among the most organized. Locally made, the style of clothing, the saber, the lance and the horse ornament are an undeniable source of income for those who produce to put

[6] Hausa expression which means the Minister of Defense within the Lamidat.

them on the market. A rough estimate of this set is made at around 500,000 FCFA by Yerima Koulagna, prince of the lamidat of Banyo. Moreover, the purchase of a normal horse that can be used for the fantasia is sold for more than one million FCFA[7]. Its feeding, prophylactic and curative follow-up constitute other expenditure items that allow several other actors to make money. Every day that a fantasia is organized, young street vendors distribute water, biscuits, sweets and other mass consumption products. Although informal, this activity provides its followers with significant income. All of these income-generating activities inexorably illustrate the contribution of this important intangible cultural heritage to local development.

1.2.Nyem-Nyem Festival

The Nyem-Nyem Festival is a biennial event which is organised in the town of Galim-Tignère, Faro and Déo Division, Adamaoua Region. Organised by Nyem-Nyem people under the enlightened leadership of their chiefs, otherwise known as Nizaà. With the financial and material support of their partners, this festival attracts thousands of people. The Nyem-Nyem moved from Bibemi in the Northern Region due to a non-peaceful cohabitation with the Fulani to settle in Galim-Tignère as clarified by E. Mohamadou (2004, p. 48). The Nyem-Nyem Festival aims at commemorating the Nyem-Nyem people's resistance movement against German rule and the Fulani jihad as precised by Hassimi Sambo (2014). During the exhibitions, local sections come out in force to demonstrate their loyalty for those who fought for the independence of Nyem-Nyem people. The occasion is marked by cultural dances with rather original traditional costumes, visits to the caves of Djim Mount and other exhibitions of traditional handicraft products.

[7] Enterview with Yerima Koulagna at Banyo, August 29, 2025.

Photo 6: Nyem-Nyem festival demonstration

Source: Dream Tours, 2020.

2.3.Tokna Massana

It is the International Festival of Massa Arts and Culture. This festival is a traditional and ritual celebration of Massa people of Chad and Cameroon. It was first organised in Yaoundé in 2003 by Massa cultural group from the Cameroonian capital. Since then, every two years, the Tokna Massana festival has been held on a rotating basis in Yagoua, Cameroon, and in Bongor, Chad, where the Massa people are more concentrated on either side of Logone River. Therefore, the festival is seen as an excellent tool for bringing this ethnic group together according to D. Mokam (2000, p. 24).

Photo 7: Exhibition of Massa heritage dance in Yagoua

Source: Jean Gaoussoumou, 2019.

To differentiate between Cameroonian and Chadian Massa dancers, the pants used represent the national colours. Here, it is clear that the Cameroonian dancers wear pants in green, red and yellow

representing the Cameroonian flag. This mobilisation and dressing for the needs of the cause also requires the deployment of financial resources to provide income-generating activities.

2.4.Gurna Toupouri

Like their Massa fellow citizens, the Toupouri also have an international cultural festival called Gurna which brings together this people who live in Cameroon and Chad. In Cameroon, this people are present in the Far-North and North Regions and in a less representation in Adamaoua Region. This festival was organised for the first time in 2009 in Goundaye under the impulsion of the late Senator Dakolé Daïsala, also founder of the MDR[8] political party. Later, for both political and cultural reasons, the Gurna festival was extended to Kéra and Wina who share a broad culture with Toupouri people. This is how it became the "international Gurna festival" bringing together the Toupouri, Kéra, and Wina people. It is biennial and organised on a rotating basis in Cameroon and Chad. Through songs, dances and other exhibitions, the Gurna is a cultural tool for excellency which unites Toupouri regardless of the borders drawn by Western colonisers.

Photo 8: Gurna heritage dance

Source: Opencivic Media, 2025.

Physical strength, resilience and warrior spirit have always characterised Toupouri people in comparison to the other ethnic groups with whom they coexist. The above demonstration illustrates these Toupouri character traits, this time recognised by the colours of the Cameroonian flag worn on large drums, sticks and bare torsos. The Gurna celebration often takes place in the town of Doukoula, in Mayo-Danay Division, Far-North Region. Doukoula is the gathering and reference center of Toupouri people.

[8] Republic Defense Movement.

2.5.Traditional Medicinal Know-how

In Sub-Saharan Africa in general, traditional medicine is much more based on the use of medicinal plants which have therapeutic virtues. Indeed, medicinal plants constitute precious resources for the majority of rural and even urban population in Africa because more than 80% use them to provide basic care, said Amadou Bello (2023, p. 159). Modern medicine also uses medicinal plants whose active substances are extracted in order to produce pharmaceutical products that respect international norms and standards in this domain, as demonstrated by Awono & al. (2009). As in modern science, traditional medicine is practiced by people who possess immense, often unwritten, know-how that is transmitted from generation to generation. Elderly people are mostly the custodians of this know-how. Sometimes, there is the problem of transmitting it to the next generation if they disappear without documenting the process. In all the cities of northern Cameroon, there is a market dedicated to traditional pharmacopoeia products, classified as informal by the public authorities, even though this activity generates sometimes considerable income and involves several stakeholders.

Plate 3: Sales area for traditional pharmacopoeia products in Ngaoundéré

Source : Amadou Bello, 2022

We can clearly see the distinction between the different natural products of the traditional pharmacopoeia placed along the roadside in the above image on the left. A customer and her child are

waiting for a service. This justifies the interest that the population have in this traditional medicine. In the photo on the right, these products are rather well arranged in a shop still at the same site reserved for this purpose at the place called "l'homme propose" in Ngaoundéré. Made from dried or crushed roots, leaves or tree trunks, these products constitute a source of well-being and health for the population, generally from the lower class, who are interested in them. These products are often kept in bags or any other device that can help them to be preserved for a long time. Traditional healers who use these products are the pride of many of their customers, hence the proliferation of this activity in the city of Ngaoundéré for years. On this subject, Babarou (2018, p. 134) states that "the power of traditional healers and their know-how act invisibly and give satisfaction to the patient who comes to them". The belief in this practice by the population of northern Cameroon gives value, consideration and money to those involved in the traditional medicine profession.

2.6.Cattle Breeding

Cattle breeding in Northern Cameroon is an income-generating activity practiced primarily by Fulani people and recognised as part of their cultural heritage and identity. Beyond the traditional value of cattle breeding for Fulani people, this activity provides them with significant financial resources, which they rely on to live. They only need to sell a bull for between 400,000 and 500,000 FCFA to marry off their daughter or effectively address their health or nutritional issues[9].

Cattle breeding is the largest pastoral activity in the studied area. It is at the origin of the creation and establishment of periodic markets for the selling of cattle. While cattle selling is more or less organised by breeders' unions, which collect taxes of 1,000 FCFA, according to Amadou Bello (2023, p. 161), from the seller and the same amount from the buyer for any animal sold at tiké[10] in the village of Tello for example, livestock breeding is generally informal.

Photo 9: 500 FCFA note showing the head of oxen

Source: Photo BEAC Garoua, 2025.

[9] Enterview with Abbo Fodoué at Ngaoundéré, July 14, 2025.
[10] Cattle market in Fulani language.

The cultural and economic importance of cattle breeding in Cameroon has given its inclusion on banknotes as seen in the photo above. This activity contributes significantly to Cameroon's Gross Domestic Product in terms of the volume of financial transactions. In addition to its contribution in improving the living conditions and standards of the population concerned, cattle breeding absolutely improves food self-sufficiency through the production of meat, milk and skin.

Conclusion

The physical and intangible cultural heritage of Northern Cameroon definitely contributes to local development through the income earned by stakeholders in this sector. The Decentralised Territorial Communities of Northern Cameroon are gradually realising that while timber, oil, sugarcane, and other resources are lacking in their regions, another valuable resource exists: heritage, a powerful factor in the development of tourism and a generator of significant revenue according to F. Wassouni (2015, p. 27). Unfortunately, many young people in this part of Cameroon, who essentially constitute the productive force of this wealth, tend to neglect this indestructible opportunity. This reflection is a constructive contribution to improving this unproductive view that young people have towards the tourist and financial values of Northern Cameroon's cultural heritage. With the ongoing of decentralisation process, each region of Cameroon that wants to develop must imperatively strengthen its cultural wealth in order to have an original anchor and build a strong future like the one of China.

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