



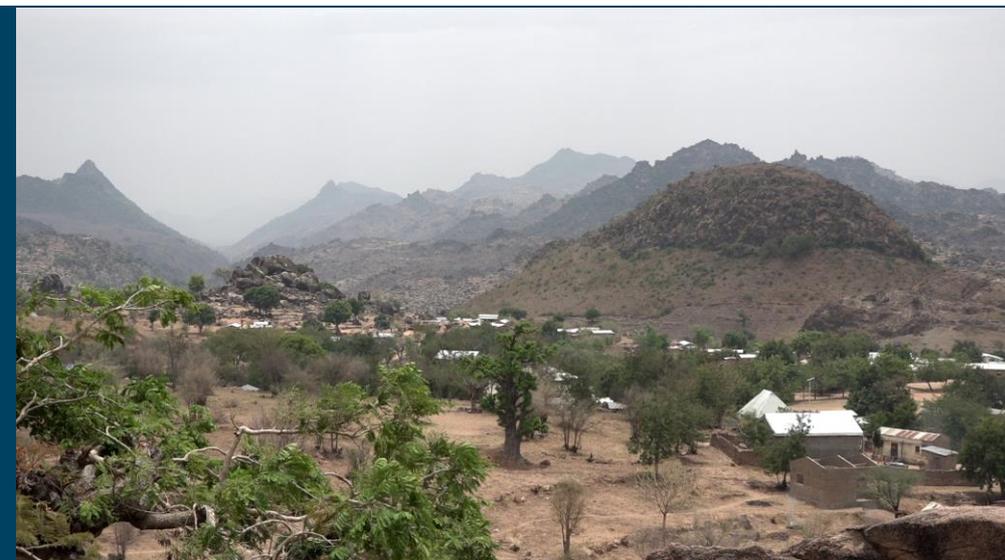
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Biki Music in Kapsiki Society in Northern Cameroon:
Socioeconomic Changes and Redefinition of Kareghé Identity.

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Contents

Contents	i
Kapsiki Vocabulary	iii
Table of figures	v
Acknowledgments.....	vi
Abstract:.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
I. Ethnographic context and historic background.	6
I.1- Generalities and ethnography.....	6
I.2- Kapsiki landscape.....	9
I.3- Foundation Myths in Kapsiki society: Kareghé and Kamelimeu.	11
I.4- Music in Kapsikiland (Rhumzou)	14
II. Methodological Approach.....	16
II.1- I and the fieldwork: from passive to participant observation.	16
II.2- My informants: Kafaché, his family, and the musical group.....	19
II.2.2- Kafaché and his family.	19
II.2.3- Kafaché and his musical group, and other Kareghé informants.	20
II. 2.4 Kamelimeu Informants.....	21
II.3- Fieldwork and the camera.....	21
II.5- A Meleu ethnographer in Kareghé's life.	23
III- Theoretical approaches	25
III.1.1- Michel Crozier and Erhard Friedberg Strategic Analysis.	26
III.2- Ethnicity and boundaries, Fredrick Barth: Kamelimeu and Kareghé.....	27
IV- The music, Biki as an innovative activity for the Kareghé.	29

IV.1- Kareghé and music in today.	29
IV.2- Biki and Amariya.	29
IV.3-The instruments.	32
IV.5- Internal and external organization of the musical group.	34
IV.5- Musician in relationship with other.	35
V- Biki Music and Socioeconomic Changes.	37
V.1- Social and cultural changes	37
V. 2- Economic changes	41
V.3- Biki as a Total Cultural Fact.	43
V.4- Sociocultural and Economic impacts of Music on Kareghé and Kamelimeu.	45
VI- The transformed identities of the Kareghé and the relationships between the two castes.	
47	
VI.1- From Heterogenized to Homogenized or cosmopolitan society?	47
VI.2-What is the impact of the social changes between the Kamelimeu and Kareghé?	51
VI 3- The tradition is what we are, how to live it today?	52
VII. Concluding remarks.	55
References.....	57

Kapsiki Vocabulary

Amariya: is a new wife or marriage in Haoussa culture.

Biki: is the Haoussa word, the music of the wedding celebration and the celebration itself. The Amariya is the whole process of marriage.

Babaganga: is a cylindric drum, the larger size of the drum, which amplifies the sound.

Bah: Is a ritual festival to hunt away the “bad evils” (the spirit of death) of the villages.

Bekeu: is the seasonal night eves during the dry season, a sort of historical school where young people relates tales, myths, and legends, dance, and sing.

CD: Compact Disc, used to record music

Djelva is a medium size of the cylindric drum combined with babaganga.

Djimeu, is the name of the drum, a cylindric form made from some specific tree trunks, and both circles are covered with goat skin.

Ka plural of set people with means those who are part of, define the identity of someone or something.

Ghedagheda, a sort of traditional violin with a single-stringed from a horse’s tail, played with a violin’s bow.

Gueske is any sort of celebration in Kapsiki society.

Guewla is the man’s initiation, transition from teenage hood to warrior (adult).

Franc CFA is the currency for the two subregions of French-speaking, central and western, Africa (14 countries).

Heulape melti is the celebration of marriage in traditional Kapsiki, before the Biki comes from Nigeria.

Heune Lta is the festival of the cow, where rich herders slaughter a big bull and share the meat with their family and relatives.

Kamwe means “people of the hill or people of the rocks” in the Kapsiki dialect of Nigeria.

Kamelimeu (plural) is the superior and “pure” caste, they are farmers and herders. The Ka (melimeu) means the whole caste and indicates plural form to signify belonging to.

Kapsiki, Plural of Nde pseke (one person). And Kapsiki means “Let’s Proust it” (millet for brewing traditional wine). Part of the Kapsiki people who live in Cameroon.

Kareghé, (plural) is the caste of inferior and impure in Kapsiki society, they are multi activities, and the Ka means the plural for the whole caste.

Reghé (*singular*) is someone who belongs to the Impure caste.

Meleu, (*singular*) is a person who belongs to a superior and pure caste.

Làa is the harvest festival during which the makwa and initiated young boys (*giewla*) are confirmed as adults.

Livu. Is a linked and light chain like the jewelry of iron or aluminum brushed against a piece of calabash.

Makwa is the name of the new wife, what the parent-in-law calls their son's wife (*wives*). It is also the name of the wedding celebration of the union.

Mehetechi is a young boy or girl who substitutes the men or women during the initiation (*giewla* or *makwa*). He is in training for *giewla* or *makwa*.

Melemeu is a translation of geographic territory or world, the word *zamane* borrowed from the Fulani language has the same sense, "the world of today."

Megheu, is the chief leader of a specific village, many quarters or maze is a synonym for the King, who rules many villages. The two names are sometimes synonyms.

Mejinheu is the lowest size of the three drums (*babaganga*, *Djelva*), it completes the rhythm of the first ones.

Mele sacrificial jar or the sacrifice for any ritual.

Mpeudli is the traditional white wine made from millet or maize.

Nehwoeneu, which literally means "crying" is the celebration of burial.

Ngouleun is a sort of guitar with one or three strings.

Odji is Haoussa's name, meaning boss or leader.

Pseke or psiki or psekeu the verb to Proust or germinate.

Tchéh is the local red wine, made from millet or maize.

UiT Arctic University of Tromsø, in Norway.

USB key is hardware support to save files, data...

Viscam is an educational, collaborative program, in Visual anthropology between the University of Tromsø and the Universities of Maroua and Ngaoundere in Northern Cameroon.

Table of figures

Figure1: Far-nord Cameroon, Mandara Mountains.....	vii
Figure2: Mandara Mountains, Kapsiki village.....	viii
Figure 3: Biki structure and external organization of the musicians©.....	35
Image 3 Rhumzou mountain, Ntedegheu	13
Image 4: Rhumzou Landscape view,.....	13
Image 1: Rhumzou landscape.....	19
Image 2 Kafaché and his family.....	19
Image 6: Dimeu (drum) the middle size, Djelva.	
Image8: Speakers, modern instrument.....	33
Image 7: Guitar to alternate gagra or Gheda-gheda.....	33

Acknowledgments

Thank you

Remerciement

Me,

Moi,

What can I sow ?

Que puis-je semer

So that you can harvest it,

Pour que vous le récolterez,

How can I not love?

Comment ne puis-je aimer

Which would unite us.

Ce qui nous unirait.

If it's not thanking You,

Si ce n'est vous remercier

Of any of your support,

De vos quelconque soutien,

Still alive, nothing to worry about

Encore vivant, rien de se soucier

Happiness what I remember[...]

Du bonheur, ce que je retiens [...]

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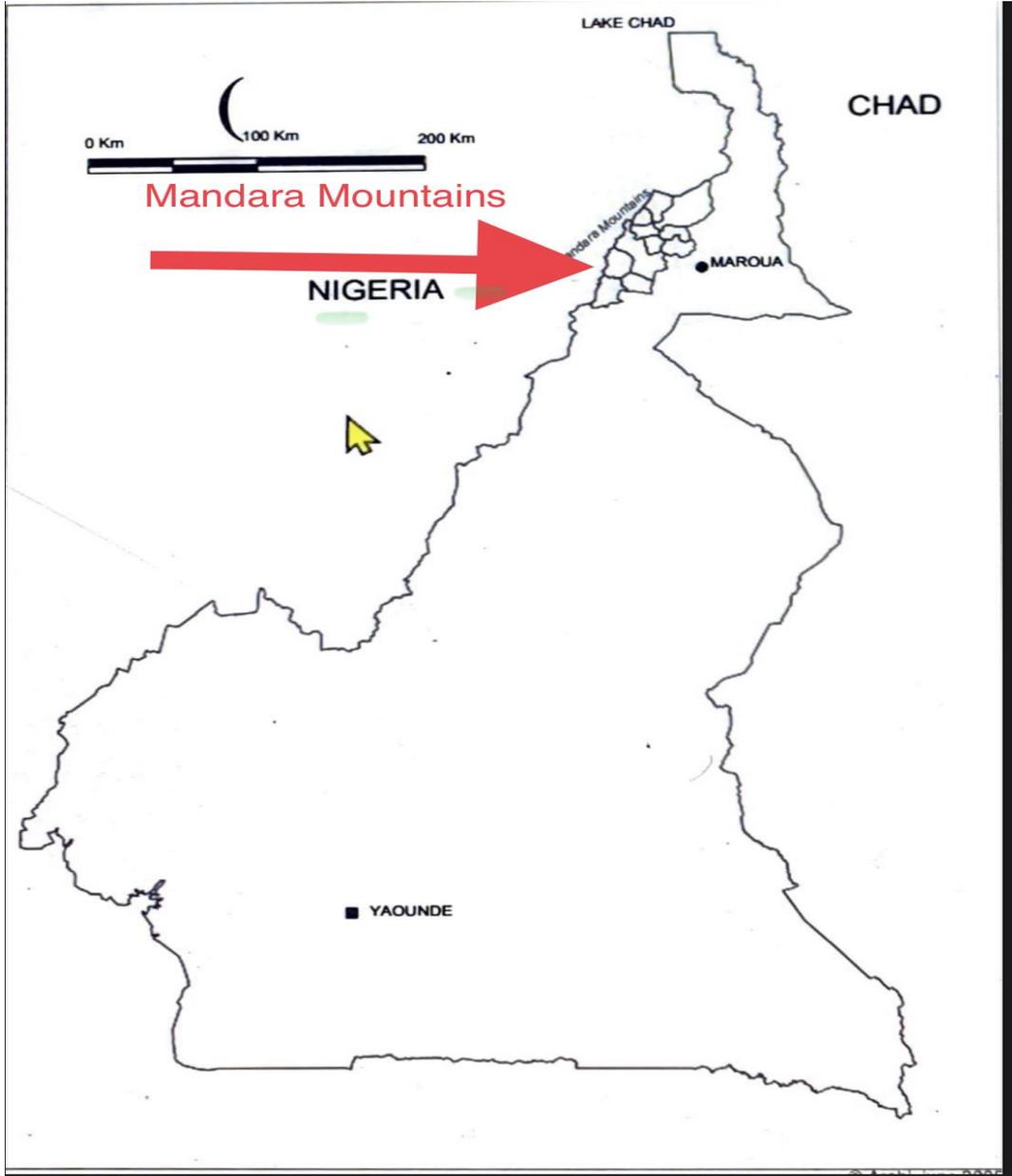


Figure 1, Far-nord Cameroon, Mandara Mountains.

Abstract:

This dissertation addresses the socio-economic changes in Kareghé, life through an ethnographic enterprise using participatory observation and visual data collection techniques. Therefore, as the main subject, I try to understand Biki music, how it has influenced the life of Kareghé, specifically Kafaché Sondag, my informant and his group of music. The main aim of this study is to examine the impact of biki music on social and economic change of the Kareghé, caste in Kapsiki society. From a heterogeneous society across various historical themes, the Kapsiki/Kamwe society appears to be homogenized. Kamelimeu and Kareghé, traditionally opposed and different in some social perceptions (Kamelimeu view), such as dirtiness (buried corpse and unclean food), lazy (not working enough farm to have enough food) and waiting for others, curiosity (gossiping and survey of people's lives), witchcrafts. They are traditionally the structure of the Kapsiki social system. However, one Kamelimeu has a superior and exogamous inter-clan system, while the other Kareghé, has an inferior and endogamous intra-caste marriage. However, it is observed that, the identity of Kareghé changes according to the social status of a member. From wedding celebration, they earn money, they are perceived closer to Kamelimeu than other Kareghé. Various factors, internal and external that impacted to reduce the social oppression of Kareghé. Plus, good income made them less dependent of the other caste, thus their perception has changed, and this impacted on the relationship with Kamelimeu. The social stigma of Kareghé is about to change. However, this acceptance by the other group depends on his behavior or circumstance. Kareghé identity seems to be hybrid and ambivalent.

Keyword: Kapsiki, Kamwe, Kareghé, Kamelimeu, Caste, modernity, Identity, Music, Hybrid Identity, Ambivalent Identity.

Introduction

“In the past We Kareghé stayed far away, where the firewood is kept. During any ceremony or events, we received food leftovers. First to the dog then the Kareghé, that's how it worked in the past. However, by the grace of God, with the job (Biki music celebration), we're doing, we don't say that we are different from what we were. But we are better off than our ancestors.”
(Kafaché, in The catalyst, 2023).

Philippe GELUCK declared famous saying “You don’t choose your parents; you don’t choose your family. We don’t even choose ourselves” (1999) (my translation). Nature decides it. Nature makes the choice.

When nature decides to sow its seed and chooses the Kapsiki society to give a child, and like many other natural determinant (skin color, geographic area, then social and cultural determinants are asked to define his (child) destiny, a child will be from his birth either Kamelimeu or Kareghé. He will be blessed with the social and cultural characteristics of one of these two belongings. When the child grows up, he knows who he is in society and what his place is in relation to another child, whether Kamelimeu or Kareghé. The Kareghé is identified as a group of people, who are reserved and do multiple tasks in society in various social domains. They are blacksmiths, musicians, doctors, sculptors, traditional healer, magicians, copper smelter, organize and conduct funerals, potters (women). Because of the pottery, ashes, and dusts (Duriez,2002:132), and other ingredients from their pottery industry make the house mostly dirty. They are perceived, dirty, too curious, sorcerers and eat all kinds of meat (Van Beek, 2015:2). They are perceived as "impure". They are Kareghé. Because of this "impurity", associated to death, and mostly eat “dirty food” according to Kamelimeu (Van Beek, 1982e:117). They are endogamated, (Van Beek, 1982e:116), they marry even between each other, whether cousins, uncles, or family. They don’t eat from the same vessels as others, they wait for leftovers food. And the other is Kamelimeu. The Kamelimeu describe themselves as “pure”. They are supposed to be "pure" because they have a selective preference for meat or food repertoire. They are landowners, farmers, and herders. They are also economically and politically dominant. There is a strict rule of contact between/ within the group that has been an important taboo."

This is a project about Biki music and how it has contributed to transforming the relationship between the two groups. The Biki music is a form of music performed as wedding celebration

in Kapsiki. By exploring music and the role it plays in their socioeconomic changes, I will demonstrate the place of music in the Kareghé caste life today, such as how it impacts the social and economic situations of the Kareghé. Biki, itself, is a form of wedding celebration developed in Kapsiki community. Like several other Kareghé, constituted in group of musicians, Kafaché and his group of musicians have become in the current decade one of the famous music bands in Kapsikiland. Thus, I will follow Kafaché and his group and explore their activities related to Biki music in this text.

The Kapsiki is an ethnic group that inhabits the North of Cameroon and Nigeria in Central Africa. The Kapsiki live in the southwest of the Mandara Mountains on the south of Lake Chad Basin. Kapsiki and Kamwe (name of Kapsiki in Nigeria) form one ethnic group, split into two countries by colonial borders, between French and English. They are mainly farmers and herders. Their agriculture is horticulturally based, and mostly hand worked in a volcanic chain of mountains. After independence they continued to interact in many ways. They also take advantage of economic opportunities by living at the borders. Kapsiki have their traditional animist religion, believing in their unique God.

During the recent decades, Christians and Muslims mission, the introduction of western school system and globalization have a profound impact on the sociocultural organization of this society. The social and economic situation of have been impacted by previous both internal and external factors. Currently, the Kareghé appear to be less oppressed and take the biki music as strategy to cope with the stigma. This music style is one the principal ways of earning income and benefiting from the traditional system of marriage in Kapsiki society, virilocal polygamy. Because of divorces, marriage is frequent. Therefore, Kafaché and other Kareghé musicians are needed and play an important role in wedding celebration. A such they earn a lot of money from that. This promoted economic independence and changed their social and economic life and self0identities and other perceptions. The Rhumzou village and my informants are illustrative examples of that situation.

Like other children in the village, I know that were Kareghé who celebrate and perform them, whether it is a wedding celebration, funeral, traditional ceremonies and others festivities. When Women need the canaries, jars of conservation drinks, when a child is sick and when a woman gives birth or even for other reasons, people must go to the Kareghé. In any case, whether it is to remedy a good or bad situation, you must go to the closest Kareghé's house. They are the "general specialists" (Van Beek, 1982e). However, as other categorized in the Mandara

Mountains, the Kareghé who are generalized as blacksmiths, are stigmatized and marginalized despite their capital and almost indispensable roles in society, the case of the Kapsiki for example.

I am born and bred as Meleu (singular name to identify the belonging to the two castes), from Kamelimeu. However, I was educated to be different from all the children of the Kareghé, even if my parents did not consider the discriminatory positions of Kareghé, the entourage, the tales and legends taught me. I naturally have a resilient and shy personality; to make what is difference and who is it that you are different from. Yet when I was in school this form of social distinction was different. We were told that we were all "students". Similarly in the church as my parents are Christians, as "believers", we are called brothers and sisters, and finally during national demonstrations and political events, we are all "citizens". When it comes to the traditional Kapsiki activities and ceremonies during the respective calendars, the Kareghé are the main actors and leaders. At first everything seemed normal to me, and nothing changes from the traditional positions of the two castes. We are used to saying their place is '*under the firewood's or behind the meleu*'. In the same vein, Christian Duriez (2003 :134) wrote "The calabash is placed at the foot of the wine Burma* (pot to conserve wine) and drinkers after each tour pour the rest of their own wine into that of the blacksmith. Or they will pour to him a 'rasade', and he will be required to thank by clapping his fingers" (my translation). In other words, Kareghé are not included in a group, they are kept away and wait for leftovers whether food or drinks.

Today, many things have changed. When I was in primary school, two students, a boy, Reghé and a girl Meleu got married. Something that is defended and prohibited by tradition had happened. A traditional violation had been committed; it was considered disrespectful. The parents of the girl in question who had followed "her heart", broke a whole constitution of traditional laws, by marrying a Reghé. The family banished her and denied her. Because this would defile the name of her entire family, her clan and all Kamelimeu caste in general. In 2010, five years after, I am a classmate with Kafaché, a young Reghé who plays Biki music, with his other uncles. Two years later, he began to play independently with his half-siblings. In 2016, Kafaché formed a group with his brothers and other young people from other Kapsiki villages. Including 2 groups of about 13 members. In 2022, more than 40 members formed the group.

Whether in church, school or other situations, Kafaché is perceived differently from other Kareghé children. This is because he is a well-known Biki musician, and he raises a lot of money with his group of musicians. I even heard from people during many casual debates, that he is no longer a “Reghé”, even the Kamelimeu girls can marry him. After long observations, these discussions, and narratives about the identity of being Reghé or not, depending on whether you are rich or educated (western school and religions) attracted my attention. My proximity to Kafaché at school, and in the neighborhood, reinforces the development of my interest in my observations. His social profile, his profitable activity, and the investments he makes seemed important to me to understand this situation. After I thought for a long time about what I observed since my childhood until now, my observations grew a serious attention about that. How people identify ones differently to the other because he is financially secured? At the time, I also didn't know any Kapsiki scholars who wrote about Kapsiki in this field, specifically on Biki music.

In this regard, it's worth examining the diverse external and internal cultural mixtures, as well as other societies, both urban and rural, that seem to be assimilated to western culture. However, this is an important aspect to consider when observing Kapsiki society and specifically the relationship between the two main groups. Addressing the social relationships between the Kareghé and Kamelimeu, and the social division of labor, is the starting point of this dissertation.

This text explores how it has impacted the social and economic lives of the Kareghé musicians as well as how they are perceived by the other group and even by themselves. Contact with others helps a society change and transform. However, it's fascinating that the situation of Kareghé is improving, as they become less oppressed, ostracized (rejection of a group or individual by its society), and economically more autonomous. Yet, it may be frustrating for the elders to find it as an opportunity that some traditional institutions are deteriorating. Considering the impact on the rigor of certain traditions for keeping society stable. But the tradition is challenging to disappear.

This project is both a film and a written thesis. In my film [The catalyst](#) (31min41sec), I follow Kafaché a young reghé and his group of music. The group called: Group of Kafaché Sunday: Thali-tchali, is constituted of forty-six members (2022) all from Kareghé. They are from different villages all around the Kapsiki communities. They stay in Rhumzou my village for the whole dry season, celebrating weddings. From each celebration led by Kafaché, they earn

money, and they invest in several activities. Kafaché is the founder of the group, he has connected many young people of his group together, they get money and which helps them change their economic situation. Kafaché is the catalyst.

This thesis will address the transformation brought along the Biki music economic and social change in Kareghé life and how it contributes to transforming the relationship between the two groups and the self-perception of Kareghé. It is interesting how these changes jeopardize the preservation of the identities, culture, and tradition. From these observations, the following questions are raised. *What has characterized the relationship between the Reghé and Meleu in Kapsiki society? How is Biki music used as a strength and what is its role in the Kareghé socioeconomic changes of the Kapsiki society? How do those transformations affect the cultural identity of the Reghé and the relationship between the two groups?* The questions will guide me in my thesis.

The first chapter of this study outlines the historical, geographical, ecological, demographic, and main activity-related aspects of the Kapsiki society and Rhumzou village. This provides the ethnographic context for the research. It presents the basis of the Kapsiki social structure explained by the three founder myths. The subsequent chapter covers the methodology employed, including access to the fieldwork, contact with participants and the challenges encountered as a member of the society under study - a concept known as "Anthropology at Home". The third chapter focuses on theories that help explain the observed social realities through anthropological and ethnographic methods and techniques. The fourth chapter delves into the social relationships between the Kamelimeu and Kareghé - as well as the social division of work. Overall, the study aims to present a comprehensive and insightful analysis of these complex social structures. The following chapter is appropriate about the enterprise of music of the Kafaché group, their intern (home) organization and extern (During Biki or marriage), their relationships with the other musicians, the cosmopolitanism of the caste, and even their musical instruments it is the chapter five. I will also present some changes in the social and economic plans; this will be in the sixth chapter. And finally, will deal with the question of how the social and economic changes presented above affect the relationship between the two castes.

I. Ethnographic context and historic background.

I.1- Generalities and ethnography.

The Kapsiki people are one of the most known tribes living the southern part of the Mandara mountains in Northern Cameroon. The colonizer seems to call them Kirdis. It is a derogatory name that people converted to Islam called non-Muslim tribes. As many of those tribes, like Mafa, Toupouri, Moundang, Fali etc. The Kapsiki claim their origins from Egypt, from Cuch, and in general from eastern Africa. And because of the lack of written literature, the previous writers about Kapsiki were based on the oral myth (Kwache,2016) related by the elders. According to the previous writing, the displacement of the Kapsiki/ Kamwe people was episodic and has different causes for leaving and moving. First, when they left Cuchland, it was the lack of farmland and other reason, which have not been mentioned. Second, episode of displacement is the and until the actual settlement is Islamo-Fulani invasion, especially in the Kapsiki case of Hama Yajji, high daily activities between 1912 and 1927, (Vaughan; Kirk Greene, 1995) from Madagali (Nigerian local government), “the Mandara mountains made such a defense possible. The mountains area offered more than retreated from slave raiders or hostile neighbors, it is relatively fertile soils and dependable rainfall facilitated a horticultural economy based on sorghum and millet cultivation with some cattle and husbandry” (Van Beek, 1987:6). However, the most common origin claimed by the Kapsiki is from Cuch in actual Sudan. They migrated from Sudan to a location called Mchekili in the Mandara Mountains, then till their actual settlement. After they came from Mchekili, they fled to the mountain the actual settlement, to settle in the mountain to hide from Islamic jihadist.

The Kapsiki precisely live north-eastern Nigeria and North-western Cameroon (Kwache,2016). The one in Cameroon claims to be called *Kapseké or Kapsiki*. And the other known in Nigeria as Higi or Higgi, is a derogatory name ok Kamwe, means squirrel (Hegui), by the neighbored tribes. I use Kamwe instead of Higi, used by previous researcher’s name by the neighboring tribes (Kwache,2016). Both of those people living in two different countries claim themselves as coming from one common ancestor. But the Kapsiki in Cameroon call both communities in general Kapsiki and the Kamwe to generalize all of them as Kamwe. However, those people are still connected socially and culturally despite the long colonial borders. “The Higgi, like other ethnic groups in Nigeria, claims eastern origin. Oral tradition indicates that the people migrated from Nchokyili in the present-day Republic of Cameroon. According to this tradition, it was in Nchokyili that the people moved to settle in their present geographical location. It is said that the Higgi left Nchokyili together with other ethnic groups such as Sukur, Marghi, Fali, Holma and Yungur. In this tradition of

origin, we are not told when the people left Nchokyili, nor are we given the reasons for their migration” (Sylvester, Peter & Ruth, 2022:71).

The separation of these two communities by national borders has not affected their relationships. Many cultural and traditional events shared and borrowed from one another. We have the example of trade, music, marriage rituals, customs, and common clothing (*shingli*) as models to identify a family or clan or kinship during any event that connect the two communities. It is the music that I will focus on in this thesis.

Social organization and demography

“It consists of a loose conglomerate of autarchic villages, each with its own territory and set of village-specific patrilines. Within each of these villages the virilocal polygynous or nuclear family forms the basic unit of society. This family is fully autonomous: a powerful sense of privacy, permeating all aspects of Kapsiki culture, shields each compound from its neighbours.” (Van Beek, 1982e:115).

The Kapsiki society is organized and divided into clans and each clan has its *reghé*. The clan Kamaze is in general the royal clan. However, in many other villages founded by an ancestor who fled war or immigrated from somewhere else, will be a royal clan and the ***Ka Maze/ Mbege*** (king in kamwe language) will be only a king or chief (his village of arginine) (Podwelski, 1965:221) The case of a neighbored village, precisely between Rhumzou and Mogodé, Yellé settled first in Rhumzou with other family members, but when he decided to migrate to Yele he was a founder and consequently a Chief or king. Despite the fact that he is a Kaita Kosneu (‘clan of the father of the king’), in Rhumzou and Mogodé and many other villages the Chief is in **Ka mazeu (royal clan in Rhumzou and some other villages)**. The Kingship’s names aren’t standard, in Kapsiki society, the leadership depends on the context of settlement and the founder of a village is usually the chief. (Kwache, 2016).

“All villages share a similar social and political structure, as well as an important feeling of togetherness as members of the same village, and the village is the most important source of identity. Internally it is divided into wards, clans, and lineages, the descent groups usually being scattered over various wards. Smiths’ compounds are widely dispersed over the village, as people of all wards have to have access to their services; their compounds are similar to those of the melu but for eventual smithy next to the house.” (Van Beek, 2015:7).

Agriculture is almost impossible without Kareghé's skills, as talented artisans. Van Beek wrote, *"a crucial role is played by the blacksmith whose technology makes Kapsiki agriculture possible at the same time, blacksmiths perform many functions which sustain social, as well as economy"* (1987:6) They have also their Chief (*Maze Regé* 'the chief of Reghé). The Kareghé population represents 2009, 5% of the total (Thomas Kodji, 2009:20), and today according to my census 5% of the total population. In the Kareghé, we observe more marriages than in the other caste. One of my reghé informants told me as they are few in the community, they must marry their children soon and a lot to extend their caste.

"In terms of land mass, the Kamwe inhabits an area of about 2714.6 square Kilometres. In diameter, it is approximately 56.32KM from Lassa to Mogodé from the west to the east. It is also about 48.2KM from Koppa/Shuwa to Ghye (Zah)²" (Kwache, 2016).

The Kapsiki population in Cameroon, the Mogodé subdivision is around 134061 (One hundred thirty-four thousand sixty-one) inhabitants (CSI de Rhumzou, 2022). I did not find the earliest census, and the last census in Cameroon was in 2005. I have been at the Mogodé Commune and even at Sous-prefecture, they presented to me the last census for almost two decades. Both communities accounted 634,000 (Six hundred thousand and thirty-four) inhabitants in both countries. (International Mission Board, 20 September 2022).

The Kapsiki language is Psekye. They belong to 195 others in four countries with Chadic language and Afroasiatic origins. *"The Higgi language has about six hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and eighteen thousand (612,380,000) speakers going by the 2006 Nigerian national population census."* (2022:71) The Kapsiki society is divided into autonomous villages and each village is ruled by a Mazeu or Meugheu means 'king'. Each village from one to other has its own language tonality but is understood by all other villagers. In general, *"the language is almost fragmented as the political situation and consists of a cluster of dialects with vague local villages boundaries"* (Van Beek, 1987:10). *"The Kamwe language has about twenty-four recognized dialects in Nigeria and Cameroon"* (Kwache,2016:50). *"The Higgi language belongs to the Biu-Mandara group of the Chadic phyla of the language classification."* (Sylvester, Peter & Ruth, 2022: 71).

The Kapsiki people believe in one unique God called *"Shallah"* and they have the ancestors as an intermediary between the people and the God. Each ancestor represents a clan, Kapsikiland. We also have a common ancestor for each village and for whole the society. And they

communicate through a *mele* which is a holy ritual in which the clan member offers a sacrifice to God at the direction in each family compound (Van Beek, 1982e:115), of the clan leader (*generally the oldest*). Thus, by this *mele* people are liked to each other and this forms a clan. “Tè is the link between the generations of lineage through *mele*” (Van Beek; 2005: 489). The *mele* and the filiation are the base of kinship in the Kapsiki society. However, the *mele* connects automatically the two castes to one another, as each clan has its *mele*, and the responsible members will follow the ritual together with their *oldest reghé*. Indeed, Kareghé have their own leader, as an intermediary with the other Kamelimeu members of the clan.

Kinship is patrilinear, which means the children inherit from their father filiation, but it is important to not forget the undeniable power of the uncle (the brother of the mother “Avuncular relationship”) on the children. So, the latter has considerable respect for their uncle. The brothers and sisters from the father’s lineage are the *yitaa* “fathers or *maa* mothers” of the children. The sisters (aunts) of their mother are their *maa* “mother” and the brothers are their *kwoesegwe* “uncles”, this is for the clan of mother, in the clan of father, any man close to his father age is “father”. And any woman who has almost the same age or more than their mother is their *maa* “mother” and vice versa, any old person at the age of their grandparents is their *chiy* (*grandfather grandmother*). and the equal of the children are his *mandala* (*equal*). “So, or every village has its own history, sacred place, and chiefly lineage, its own smiths and smith chief. The *rerhe* are part of the *melu* lineages by means of social adoption, in ways that maximize the number of their relations with their *melu* clients” (Van Beek, 2015:7). I.e., Kareghé and Kamelimeu from the same clan, are closer and can exchange smithy or pottery product and crops easily than other Kamelimeu from different clan.

I.2- Kapsiki landscape.

The Kapsiki people live in the southwest of the Mandara mountain. They are neighbored by the Mafa in the north, Gawar in the northeast, and Bana in the southeast of Cameroon. The Kapsiki live also in Nigeria, called Kamwe (Kama, by the Kapsiki in Cameroon). They share their neighborhood with the Sukur people in the northeastern part. The Kapsiki occupies a volcanic chain of the Mandara hills, this chain separates the Kapsiki in Cameroon and the Kamwe community in Nigeria. The villages Rhumzou, Kossehonne, Mogodé, Gouria, and Rhumsiki are neighbored by the Kamwe community in Nigeria and are whose interact more than the other villages in the vast plain on the southeastern part of the Kapsikiland (Sir, Gova, Ghoufta, Sirakouti etc.). “About thirty-five villages form the Kapsiki/Higi territory, varying in size from

1,500 to 7,000 inhabitants (relatively large villages are common in this part of the Mandara Mountains). The villages of the Kapsiki/Higi, called *meleme*, are clearly recognizable units and are defined by a demarcated territory, a name, a set of specific patrilines with their migratory histories, and specific religious-political organization” (Van Beek, 2015:6).

Those chain volcanic mountains are sources where they work agriculture and animals herding, like their neighboring ethnic group Mafa, (Ganava, Andre, 2008). Those activities are the main source of survival income for the society. Today, agriculture is become more and more the first place used for food. The bigger part of the harvest is used for commercialization, where the money goes toward school fees for children, and for health and other elementary needs.

For more than two decades, Kapsiki society has been open to the outside world and has adapted to modern society. Yields have been much more affected in recent years due to climate change. For this reason, rainfall is no longer reliable and agricultural activities have not been adapted to that. Because it starts to rain at an unusual time and ends sooner or later, the crops in the fields are handed over, or it ends late and the crops rot. The main consequences are accelerated erosion of fields and uncontrolled use of herbicides and fertilizers. The vulnerability of fields to weeds also destroys them. In addition, new diseases are caused by weakened soil. The agricultural system is a hybrid system. In other words, it is the fusion of multiple cultures in the same field.

Females and males grow almost the same, with changes in growth areas. Women are generally more involved in growing vegetables and grains than men. Today, in the social division of labor, the roles of men and women are mixed. The Kareghé caste was also more involved in farming than just making musical instruments. Kareghé are the tools producers for agriculture; their smithy role is indispensable in food production. Before then, the entire harvest was usually set aside for food and such. However, today only 25% is reserved for families, 70% for other purposes (schools, medical care...) and 5% for internal transfers (Van Beek; 2005: 478). We can observe here how modernity affects Kapsiki society through these statistical changes in economic development. More grain is used for food and local beer production (*mpeuldi and tché*), such as millet, corn, and cowpea. Beans is cultivated both for consumption and commerce is over, production has shifted from self-consumption to commercialization, from microeconomics to macroeconomics (Mouadjamou, 2005).

I.3- Foundation Myths in Kapsiki society: Kareghé and Kamelimeu.

The Kareghé is not allowed to eat with the Kamelimeu. In contrast, in the Kamelimeu, it is not possible to marry a woman in the same clan. They are socially separated, so that Kareghé do not have the same rights and consideration, or power in society. Thus, we have three different myths that could explain the complexity of the social division of castes in Kapsiki society between Kareghé (reghé) and Kamelimeu (meleu). Van Beek wrote “The Kapsiki distinguish between two kinds of people inside their society: the rerhe and the melu. The latter are the “normal” people—the nonsmiths or “farmers”—and comprise 95 percent of the population, while the former—the rerhe—form a 5 percent minority and are called “smiths” in this book. The smiths perform many functions: music, funeral, and divination; but when they perform ironwork, I will call them “blacksmith.” Brass casters are also “smiths.” Often the vernacular terms will be used—rerhe and melu—both in their singular form so as not to confound the issue (the plurals are karerhe and kamelimu).” (2015:3) sometimes cast bronze (Van Beek, 1982e:116). In those words, it is clear that the only activity of ‘smith’ does not define the social position of Kareghé. Vandeu Hwoeu Philippe an old catechist from Kamelimeu caste related to me. *“They accepted to help others, they resigned to others, they are considered as children in the village (Van Beek, 1982e:116). That's why we say if you want to “kill” or eliminate a rival or enemy, sell the mission to a Reghé and it will be done, by magic, or poison”*. The act of help and continual resignation to rescue people made the Kareghé as ‘children of the village’.

a)- The myth of burial and autopsy of the corpses.

Zra Djeghelda the chief of Kareghé in Rhumzou related to me, the story of the base of how his family became reghé and this relates to the other Kareghé but is related differently.

“There was a moment in the community where people died and spent three or more days, and no one wanted to get involved or get their hands dirty. As it smelled so bad and spoiled. So, decided a parent of these modern Kareghé and buried them once, twice, and three times [...] Thus, the name Reghé took on more and more negative and pejorative meanings, although their capital roles in Kapsiki society.”

b. The myth of burial and music

“One day, someone felt sick and slept in the evening. As used, in the morning he did not wake up to go to the farm. Indeed, it was when the first person died in the village, and everybody was

thinking that the person was sleeping. However, they were waiting for him to wake up as they were used to, but this day it took a long time he did not. Family, neighbors and all the villagers were shouting, touching, and shaking him so that hopefully, he can wake up. Thus, worried one man thought to take calabash and play it in an unconscious rhythm hoping that he will wake up. In fact, for everyone, he is still sleeping and just was tired as he seemed not happy and energetic often. The man continued to play the calabash and observed that people were not so stressed as when he did not start to play that. Then, despairingly the idea of the drum used before (celebrating joy, and happiness) came up in the mind as it sounds more powerful than the calabash. The drum is used for the first time “to wake up” the “slept person’ (died) and to celebrate misfortune events (burial). And some of them start to turn and walk at the rhythm of the calabash rhythm. But unfortunately, he did not wake up and they started to cry that they would not hear from or see him again. After a while, walking and following the rhythm of the calabash, they felt less stressed, worried, and more relaxed. Then they said you are so good, and the calabash you were playing helped us, you will play for us, and they give to him a mile acknowledgment. He will now be our comforter, then he will be and his children the celebrant in any kind of event in the village”.

c. The myth of the forge of Kapsiki blacksmiths

See (Thomas Kodji, 2009:30).

Notes and summary of the myths

Kapsiki system of caste, the distinction between Meleu and Reghé, signifies many things, such as feelings of “purity” and “impurity”. Kapsiki people first don't think of "blacksmith" first to define that group. Their definitions tend to lean toward sorcery, burial, and begging. This fits with my own experience, the society I belong to. I illustrate through the cosmogonic myths this with the Kapsiki case, it does not apply to all Mandara Mountain groups. This is not the subject I want to deal with, but when asked about the meaning of ‘reghé’ for Kareghé and Kamelimeu, the words iron and brass were not mentioned (Van Beek, 2015: 2). The activity of smith does not justify the social stigmatization of the Kareghé but the way that they started to eat, *wesseu ke reghé* means ‘**reghé things**’ (*meats*) (donkey, varan monkey, rat, ...) (Van Beek, 1978). Kareghé can practice autopsy on a corpse and then eat and drink at the same place. Although the social stigmatization and oppression, the Kareghé are not excluded from society, society is hierarchized (Heinrich & Frédéric, 1994:1) and their roles are complementary to each other. Of

course, without ignoring the connected involvement of *Iron* in many social layers (Van Beek, 2015).

These conceptions of purity and impurity, have the consequences of “*endogamy to not impurify others, as marriage is a union between two clans, family, on only two people*. Beek relates ‘*dirtiness*’ is more common, the simple fact being smith tend to marry among them “. For instance, Kapsiki smiths have different food habits than the non-smith, called melu, and the two groups do not eat together nor drink from the same vessel”, (2015:4) incest is allowed in the Kareghé caste, but dramatically sanctioned in Kamelimeu caste. “Straight forward endogamy without the notion themselves” (2015:4); “Anyway, the combination of a marriage strategy with notions of pollution as an aspect of professional specialization inevitably evokes the notion of caste.” (Van Beek, 2015:5). For Kapsiki, quality of smell, reinforces the boundaries between the two groups.

The main idea that we get from that myth is that, according to the first, it is focused on burial and the autopsy of the corpses. He is considered a savior and helper because he takes away the spoiled corpse. In the second, the man was creative despite it being involuntary and unconscious, to tap and hit the calabash he was a comforter and people felt less stressed and relaxed. Thomas Kodji wrote “Most of the time ready to help, to plan and to solve problems, these people in another sense are playing an important role and have an influent position in relation to each clan [...]” (2009:2). Kareghé are helpers in general, but it’s not taking in account, maybe because of their association to death?

d. Rhumzou village, and its clans.



Image 1: Rhumzou mountain, Ntedegheu © Sunday 2022



Image 2: Rhumzou Landscape view, © Sunday 2022

As in many African societies, the Kapsiki’s literature is oral. However, the different myths or legends are related orally through the folk tales. Therefore, we work with related tales about the story of settlement of Kapsiki and Rhumzou especially. Scattered from the previous areas, such as Cuch, by various factors such as civil war, the famine they will be once again dislocated

in several few persons (Van Beek, 2005:478) and as a crowd of bees and meet again at the actual settlement. The Kapsiki left Cuch and followed the same road to Mchekili in Northern Cameroon. Rhumzou village is a result of such immigration issues. The different clans came from different other villages, accidental migration.

Rhumzou means in Kapsiki etymologically “*Ghwoemeu mdzeu*”, which takes the signification of ‘*Montagne de miel*’ (in French) “*honey’s mountain, honey’s hill*”. It is one of the largest and most populated villages in Kapsiki society and has in total eight (08) small villages. Rhumzou has 15802 inhabitants (*Fifteen thousand eight hundred two*) (district health center of Rhumzou census 2022). Its population is more than 60 % young [15-45year old]. Rhumzou is neighbored in the north by Kossehonne towards Mokolo, in the south by Mogodé, and Gouria, on the east by Sir, Mouftoum, and on the western part by Dechi, Teka, Sukur, and Houtoumbeu the Nigerian villages in the national borders.

Like other villages in Northern Cameroon and in Kapsiki in particular, the politic is mixed with the tradition (Thomas Kodji, 2009), and each village is politically independent (Van Beek, 2005). Rhumzou has many administrative institutions. It is ruled by a chief, it is a Third-degree Chiefdom and many other small chiefdoms. The chief is the representative of the state in Rhumzou village and at the same time the chief of tradition. He is followed by the notables, who are from different clans. Any clan has a specific role or function in politics.

In Rhumzou we have the Kamazeu clan, (clan of mazeu, Ka’gueuma,), Ka’ytakosneu, kaclayé, kagwegé, Ka’ytakogné (Kaoudawa,), Ka’kouchaffa, Ka’beveu. *Ka* means “***part of or the plural form of the whole clan or caste and whole community*** and the radical is a sense of the origin of the clan and how it has been found.

I.4- Music in Kapsikiland (Rhumzou)

Music and dance are the cultural elements that distinguish Kapsiki in with other societies in northern Cameroon. We cannot talk about music in this society without the specialists, the Kareghé. Music is one of the various activities they lead in that society. Music according to the French dictionary Larousse has many senses.

1-First we can understand music as “art that allows man to express himself through the sounds, productions of this art, the musical work. 2- Secondly it can be understood as the “science of sounds considered in relation to melody and rhythm.

Both meanings of music, whether as social duty or activity, are presented in my master's film. The catalyst, Kafaché and his group are practicing the music during the wedding celebration, it's their duty. They also gain money from wedding celebrations; it is their activity.

However, according to Kapsiki's thoughts and practice of music, is a harmonization of the instruments with complementary roles, slow or quick speeches and praises, and interrupted sound. Music is inherited in the Kareghé's caste. Music is led by the Kareghé caste "Helped by his ministers, the clan leaders, and the blacksmiths he managed the city by organizing all the traditional needs as "làa" (annual harvest), "goula" (rite de passage), "mele" (sacrifices) and the judgment of problems among people in the village or inside the clan." (Thomas Kodji, 2009:26-27). This could be understood on one hand as function and social responsibility or duty for Kareghé and as an activity on other hand.

The music as duty and Activity for Kareghé

We have many forms of music, and each form defines a sort of event. It could be a ceremony, festivities, or event and the sonority of a particular form of music informs and communicates about a particular event that is happening in the village. The music can be taken here as a means of communication, according to the rhythm and melody of the drum and flute. Today, Kareghé celebrate funerals with guitar and other new instruments.

Whether *Nehwoeneu* (funeral), *Gueskeu* (ceremonies), *Makwa* (marriage and wedding celebration), or *Bekeu* (seasonal eves) each genre of music is played in its traditional context. Music is understood as the duty, role, and responsibility of the Kareghé. In fact, they know themselves as playing celebrating *Nehwoeneu*, *Makwa*, *Gueskeu*, or *Bekeu* they consider that, it's traditionally their duty.

After any celebration or animation, the music players receive their salary. They are paid back after their services. They were mainly paid for with goat, clothes, millet, or any other equivalent product. But today Kareghé are taking part even more activities that are duty and responsibility. It becomes more and more difficult to get their service without good negotiation. Despite the music as other roles of the Kareghé is first social responsibilities, they are more oriented to work with people who are riche. Kafaché in an interview defines music as "*first it is 'what' I am, then my job and the music made me famous and well known.*". Today, by celebrating biki, Kafaché is famous and know in every corner of any village.

II. Methodological Approach

II.1- I and the fieldwork: from passive to participant observation.

Talking about my fieldwork and getting access, I had my first step before I came to Norway, two months ago, in June 2021. I discussed the topic of “blacksmiths” in Kapsiki society with one of my lecturers at the University of Maroua. I had a huge thought and idea about what to work on, about the Kareghé caste, but I knew at least with whom I wanted to work. Then I decided to talk about my observation to Kafaché Deli, the musician. In general, we were classmates for four (04) years and had a good relationship, as we were chiefs of our classroom for one year. We know each other. One day, in the evening I met him at *técha* (a public place where people stay and chill) and decided to approach him. I greeted him and started to reveal to him my interest in his activity and his life in general. He was so open with me and told me that I would like to work with him one day, even in a month or two years. And I explained to him that I am using the camera to work and explained more to him about my field of study (visual anthropology).

Then, some months later, I was on the way to go to undertake fieldwork, having a project built on him without any contact for a long time. However, I was afraid when I will arrive to Rhumzou that, whether still agreed to work with me. I was struggling in my mind to think how he would respond to me and think about another topic as a plan B. After the long trip, I was tired and obviously, I needed to relax and take a little rest. As it is music season, I visited some marriages where I found them, but I couldn't contact them (one of Kafaché's music groups) briskly and tell them about my project.

I decided to use one week to follow them in several marriages, coming close to them without talking and asking questions, like other spectators (Spradley,1980:59). I observed that I never see Kafaché in the different Biki (wedding celebration) I visited. So, I decided to take one more week to follow my biki's observation. After I arrived and spent two weeks following them in many marriages to see what I should know physically as new things and how they play and organized and respected by the audiences; to know how I will think as a reghé about their arena (Madden; 2017:34), I was using my phone as many people do in the biki celebration to film and record their music. I was also taking some hours' notes after my observation; and when they are back from the celebration (in the day). After some observation about their organization during the marriage day and how they are treated (*bring food, one goat, beers...*).

And from this, I observed that in each marriage I found a different group every time. In five marriages, different groups celebrated each marriage, I knew most of those group members, but I didn't know if they work independently or are led by one person. This is because I know before, we have only one musician group in Rhumzou, and Kafaché is the main musician and even Nigerian musicians are invited.

And after I visited many time Kafaché's house I always went to see many people (potential informants) asking the same question *how do they perceive the social and economic life of the Kareghé in Rhumzou?* I wanted to have a large and open observation of people of different social scales to have a wide conception of the subject (Spradley, 1980:56). This successive meeting with the old men and women precisely and young allowed me to narrow my focus on which plan will I undertake my research. I also went to see Kafaché's father to get information that could help me to build my research guide and reinforce my research questions and hypothesis evoked in my proposal.

Sandra Kouveu Mha his wife told me this guy is not here, say 'Ewnde'u', (a respectful way to say 'man', the direct translation of 'someone'). That is how women often call their husbands in Kapsiki society. At the beginning of the month of May, after I went many times to Kafaché's house and never found him. Or when I had a chance to find him, he was sleeping.

However, with their permission, I took out the camera and signed the letter of consent. But before signing it, I read and explained it to them, (from English to Kapsiki) and I gave them a copy to the boss. Everything was agreed and there I started to film as I was staying to observe them in the previous days before. The mobile phone has played an important role in my research. I used my smartphone to record many discussions with my informants. Despite having my block note, I ask the informant if I could record his or her voice so that I can listen to it carefully when writing up my field note (Madden,2017), and sometimes, they can refuse and I may be obliged to write. But most of them agreed to be recorded. Then after going home, I play and listen again. By listening one time, two times (Bernard, 2006:388), I can understand and feel what I did not when we were discussing with them. I noted for example, how he breathes, *and how he talks quite fast and fluently*, then it can help to assess the reliability of the information and how he is engaged. And that is what I could not perceive directly when discussing.

For my research in general, as I said previously opted for participant observation as a key of my project enterprise (Madden, 2017:16), and the main tools were my field notes and the camera, my mobile phone. But, before being a participant and using the camera I had some issues that were blocking me. In Madden's words, I had to conjugate at the same time, beyond writing about the Kareghé, being with them, moreover, theorizing about Kareghé musicians (2017:16).

Indeed, I spent time with them, going to the market, in the different streets, eating with them at their house and out, accompanying them to their course. “The participant observer comes to a social situation with two reasons, (1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people and the physical aspect of the situation” (Spradley, 1980:54). I was in general a Reghé, some of my friends told me I became more familiar with my informant “*By the time you will become a reghé, you see most of the Reghé know you*”. One of my informants Kodji Ové said to me when we were eating together with them in a public place, he said “*you know...? I know that I am reghé, but you too with everything you do with us, you eat with us, stay with us even the night either the day or follow us during the different marriage, you are a Reghé*” – For my informant, I became a ‘*reghé*’ because I always stayed with them, by my ethnographer position I have ‘*reghé identity*’. Thus, for two days, people said, “*Hum is you who work here?*” and I answered, “*Yes, as you see*”. And one young girl passed and started to call me “*‘Kafaché’ and said that soon I will start to play music and celebrate marriage.*” People started to tell me or when they wanted to ske me something “*tema belinguayé ché ne way? This means “where are your people ‘Kareghé’”. In sum, I became a “reghé” as I work and stay, live with, and like them.*

When we meet and talk to Kareghé who do not know me, other than my informants, they took themselves as they are *Kareghé, I am their Meleu* and maintain their distance. But the Kareghé with whom, including my main actors, see and think that there is no longer any difference between me being a meleu and Kareghé. For example, Wadang, said to me “*‘come on guy, come we are together and eat’* they asked and invited me to go to eat at their house, drink from the same *kolekwe* (calabash), and go for walk together. Some of them were smoking in front of me without caring about the camera and asked me if it was a problem for me. I also went to weddings with them and stayed waiting when they brought them the food I ate with them, then when they started to play music, I followed them and tried to play the piano, then I had to not be so close to them to not distract them from working. I always thought about how closer or further I should be with them ‘*insider/ outsider*’ (Spradley, 1980:57).

II.2- My informants: Kafaché, his family, and the musical group.

Kafaché's historic profile

Kafaché, like others Kareghé children, has grown up in diversified hand-working activities, such as forging, healing, and playing the drum. He is from an endogamous and polygamous family, with more than twenty siblings. Competition obviously in leading and continuing his father's job is inevitable. Kafaché with his fellow brother were following his father and other uncles to play music at different ceremonies. When earned money or any gift he got from work, he gives to his mother. It is not uninteresting to mention that he is from the royal clan, and their position close to the chief gives them the advantage over the other Kareghé **of the other clans**. However, Zra Djeghelda, Kafaché's was concerned by the long distance that Kapsiki spend to go to kamweland to look for a musician to celebrate their marriage. However, he went to Nigeria and bought his first instruments in 1988 (speaker, microphone, and guitar). Certain Kareghé musicians started to celebrate biki in Rhumzou. A few years later, Kafaché grew up and was following the experimented musician at that time. He was so curious and skillful at playing the guitar, and even though he did not have the height to sing on the microphone on the tripod, one put support to increase his size until the microphone level. Kafaché, with one of his brothers, was going to church and was close to the white priest at that period. His proximity to the priest allowed him to learn guitar and piano, which he borrowed from the church.

After he had some notions in Guitar and piano playing, he went to Nigeria, to Michika the Kamwe capital (Kwache,2016). He subscribed to professional training and then came to Rhumzou to practice his experiences, in 2010. Around 2014, he started to be a bit busy with biki celebrations, he had only one group and was working with his brothers. Two years after, in 2016 he formed his group, constituted of three sub-groups. Finally, in 2022, he has 46 members, and 05 sub-groups. Kafaché got married to two wives earlier, and his permanent absence from home, when working was an opportunity for his wives. His wives were cheating on him with other men. Therefore, he decided to invest himself totally to Christianity live the marriage based on God's fear and confidence, that can fit with his work.

II.2.2- Kafaché and his family.



Image3: Kafaché and his family.

Tchali-tchali, (his public name describes his curious and skillful character when he was a child), by his real name Kafaché Sondag is a young reghé aged 34-year-old. He is married (2017) to Kouveu Mha Sandra, legally through civil monogamic status. Civil marriage celebration is rare in Kapsiki society, and rarer in Kareghé castes. They have two children one, is three (03) years old and the second was born during my fieldwork, he has three months old. Further, Kafaché also has five (05) children with two other wives with whom he had divorced five (05) years ago, on the same day.

II.2.3- Kafaché and his musical group, and other Kareghé informants.



Image3: Kafaché and his music members© sunday 2023.



Images 4: Musicians taking break during the biki © Sunday 2023.

The musical group created by Kafaché called in French ‘*Groupe de Kafaché Sondag dit Tchali-tchali*’. Kafaché Sondag’s group – Tchali-tchali was created in 2016 with two groups of (13 members). After four years, the group has five sub-groups and each of them has (5-7 members), and this year the whole group accounts for forty-six (46) members, 10 less than last year (56). Ten (10) Nigerian members did not come this year, because they are so aggressive with other members and did not respect the group’s requirements. Most of the members came from different villages like Rhumzou (20) Mogodé (13 members), Amsa (03), Rhumsiki (07), Sir (Behali, 02), and Kossehonne (01). This group is known today in all Kapsiki villages, characterized by its mosaic composition. They even go out of kapsikiland to celebrate the Kapsiki event in many towns either in Cameroon (Mokolo, Maroua, Garoua, and even invited to Douala to animate cultural associations and events there). In Nigeria for instance, they go to Mickika (the Kapsiki capital in Nigeria), Madagali, Teka, Dichi, Kamalé, and even in Yola and Kano. Kafaché told me they invited him to Lagos once, and he was afraid to go with many members, because most of them do not have papers to travel so far and out of the country.

In addition to this music group members, I also had visual and formal interviews with other Kareghé. First, we have Kafaché’s father, the pioneer of *biki* music in Rhumzou. He is the chief leader of the Kareghé caste in Rhumzou. He has many activities and could be considered the prototype of the traditional reghé in Kapsiki society. He is a reghé, traditional healer, hunter, burrier, musician, (plays the drums, guitar, and violin,) and sculptor. He is around 65 years old; he is polygamic with four (04) wives). He related to me the myths of Kareghé in his family

(chapter 1) and the story of the biki music in Rhumzou, he also cited his roles as a father (spiritual protection of his children and the whole group, against another musician (Nigerian and in Cameroon). Maître Koda Ghouleu, 59-year-old, is also the leader of Kareghé in Mogodé. He is well known and famous in most of the Kapsiki villages by other Kareghé.

II. 2.4 Kamelimeu Informants.

To understand the perception of both castes, I had to diversify my informants. I decided to choose some Kamelimeu (my caste), some are animists, Christian, and others Muslim. This diversity could help me to explain in different perspectives the social and economic changes of Kareghé. This is because the Kareghé changes can impact the traditional roles and responsibilities of Kareghé and the relationship between the two castes.

Vantché is an animist the chief of the crop's ritual, he is from the Ka'beveu clan. He is around 90 years old. Thus, his age and social rank, in addition to he is experienced in ventures and travels among the whole of Kapsikiland even in Nigeria. Because of those characteristics, I thought that he could teach and provide me about information of myth of formation of the castes. I have also Kodji Henri, 41-year-old. I made my choice of him because he knows how Kareghé was seen and perceived in the church and at school and even during football tournaments. Indeed, he is an intermediary generation between the old and new generation and has experienced the different changes in different non-traditional institutions. Thus, he was playing with Kareghé and explained to me how this situation is changed and even on food, marriage, and economical changes. Moreover, I choose one Muslim Hamza Tige Blama who is 52 years old. He is one of the first to be converted to Islam in Rhumzou village. He provided information about Kareghé perception of socio-economical changes.

II.3- Fieldwork and the camera

The main difficulty I had was financial. Many of my informants when I approach them orally, they did not have a problem, they were engaged and enthusiastic. In contrast, when I talk to them if I could film them, be captured with the camera, for example, one young Meleu, who played football with Kafaché and his elder. He directly rejected: "*No, no... I do not want to be captured*". They said in general what they will get as a benefit if they are filmed and then they would not recognize them after, they would like to be compensated. But others were more opened to me and replied to my questions.

Sandra, Kafaché's wife "and even with my main informants, the camera became their everyday routine they ask when I missed bringing it *"where is your camera today, why you did not bring it yesterday? You could film my action yesterday, when I was going to the hospital, we made a film, but you missed it."* Kafaché's daughters asked me *"why are you always walking your camera, as a soldier, do you have a gun?* I answered them, it is a gun, I am a soldier of the culture, (although they did not understand what I was saying), but my gun does not kill you, it captures and makes you eternal. My gun is not ***destructive but conservator***, *it saves our life of today, for generations.'*"

I almost carried my camera with me, it was a second observer, an '**implicit active participant**'. The camera is implicit because it's taken by collaborators as just a 'tool'. It's also Implicit because the camera doesn't ask question, and active because it records direct realities ones does and impacts on people behavior without talking. But knowing how people are reflective on it, they choose action that they think is filmable, which could not affect them negatively. Sandra, for example, refused to be filmed when she was pregnant. She said that *"I am pregnant and in a bad situation now, I do not want to be filmed, I am every time sad because of my situation. You will wait when I give birth by the grace of God..."*. However, cameras that were taken as a mere tool to record are threatening in some situations. When Sandra and the other women were talking about a familial situation with their family-in-law, and I was filming with my mobile phone, they did not want it and asked me to delete what I filmed, and they were angry with me. My presence did not affect their discussions, but the camera presence made them care about what they were talking about.

In Visual Anthropology studies, film is an exercise which makes me and gives me an intrinsic position. Intrinsic because it gives a heavy responsibility, when you are engaged to follow and gather with an inalterable, sometimes the most hidden secret and routine of a person or people you work with. From the fieldwork to the editing steps, I had a memorable adventure. When I was on the field with my informants, my mind and thoughts were sometimes in the editing process constructing the story according to the reality I was living with them. During the fieldwork I was living by the whole temperament of the society and when editing I got in deep to live again and feel the social realities. However, through the different seminars when presenting the materials we have, I was also continually thinking about the ethical position. In other words, how Kafaché would like to construct the story and my own viewpoint about Kapsiki society in general and his job especially.

II.5- A Meleu ethnographer in Kareghé's life.

Familiarity: Opportunities and Barriers.

Researching in my community and hometown struck me as odd. I was proud of myself for not knowing how to be uninterested in stuff I already knew. You cannot help but be amazed by nature and society when you return to your home after a long journey. 'Since I belong to the Kareghé informant caste, there is a potential that many things will seem weird to me; this was the purpose of the participant observation. Indeed, knowing the language was fundamentally important for me, in the same vein Fatoumata Ouattara argued "*Familiarity confers an advantage to establish the first contacts, after a continual time spent with them a commitment, a blindness and a lack of curiosity made me a barrier*" (2004:190). The only fact to call my main informant "Classmate" was a key to open the door.

In various frequentations or the same experience, we had where a part of my motivation can be a benefit for the researcher so that he or she knows the language, social habits, behaviors and beliefs, customs, and life realities (Madden, 2017:45). When I started to take an ethnographic position and be objective, then suddenly people will see me suspect, it is paradoxical and ambivalent (Madden, 2017:45). I had to make a balance between my background as a son and the other from the other caste.

I was taken as a friend, brother, son, and grandson of the village. This allowed me to get access easily to negotiate and get their consent and ask questions. But close to developing my access it missed the real enthusiasm in them to talk about what they perceive. They did not explain deeply their answer, they said I am supposed to know that I had to provoke some strange feeling in myself. During a casual ceremony, I was with an informant, and I have been asked to serve the local beer as I was the younger among the staff. He said, "*as you are not from this village, and did not grow up here, you do not know how to serve the red wine... Tcheh*" (traditional red wine). Hence, during our discussion before asking him a question, I relate what I know about the subject, and he said *is what you only know? Hum let me tell you....* and I started to use this approach for all my informants. My close position to the Kareghé group in certain places at school, at football, and the church, is an obstacle "from the illusions of immediate knowledge and social transparency" (Lenclud,1992).

In addition, I had this permanent obstacle with my main informant. He sometimes loses his enthusiasm when I pose questions to him. And then I had to find a way to bring him into my

game. I proposed to him to watch an ethnographic documentary for a french channel, "*Rendez-a Terre Inconnue: Thomas Pesquest at the Kogis of Columbia*", a thing that he accepted, and we watched this film. When we were watching the film, I was observing how much he was focusing on that. He was more than fifty per cent distracted. He never knew this kind of film and I decided to explain to him in what my study consist of. He was carefully silent to understand my explanation and then he replied, "*yes classmate, I understand now, I did not know more about that kind of film, but I think where to go now, with our project*". For the rest of the time, he was related to me freely and openly, as the problem of his divorce from his first two wives, on the same day who was teaching him with other men when he is celebrating weddings.

A complex position on the fieldwork.

Reghé was born and bred in the system, educated with ideas and thoughts that Reghé is different. Being an "*ethnographer reghé*", at the same time *Meleu* and feeling as a young Reghé, tasting, smelling, behavior, touch (Madden, 2017:19). Alpa Shah says "befriending stranger", (2017:45), respecting their intimacy and at the same time being curious. They are aware that a meleu behavior in the Kareghé life, 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990). And it is a simple and open way for me to get access, it is right I did not have any harsh obstacles to start work with my participants. For this purpose, I had a triangular position in my fieldwork. In other words, first I was native, secondly, I am a student, but which kind of student? An ethnographer who studies people and live with them, in Madden's words "being there" (2017:16). I am a foreigner, not in a reflexive position, but in the group, I study, in the Kareghé caste, the inferior and impure caste. I am meleu, even though I have never been so close to Kareghé caste. Psychologically, the first complexity I had is how to manage positively, and negatively with my native position.

III- Theoretical approaches

How can scientific theories enlightening and explain the Kareghé socioeconomic change and, how music is used as a strategy, a way to change the social stigma of Kareghé caste and how those changes impact relationships between the two castes?

This chapter deals with the complementary perspectives by which I will try to explain and understand why and how music has become as a transitional tool or activity, by the Kareghé caste to change their lives. The two following theories are complementary in the way that the authors use the concept of “actor” as a rational actor who can act through his “power”, called “strategy” by Crozier and Friedberg (1977). And Barth for his part use the concept of identity to draw and construct the boundaries between “Us” and “Other”, in other words, the self-identity. Whether Crozier and Friedberg, and Barth applied for experience and information’s, which are converted to strategies, then to power to emphasize his position. Power (Strategy) and identity are complementary, in the sense that music is used as strategy by Kareghé to claim their social treatment to be better, but in contrast the valorization of music as a tool to illustrate their identity and to draw and show up the difference between the two castes. The theory of Strategic Analysis is used mainly for studying organizations and bureaucracy, but it can be used on a wider society. The case of Kapsiki society whether the ethnicity theory of Barth is used on ethnic groups, we can also use it for the case of castes system, Kamelimeu and Kareghé. They are from the same community but have different cultural repertoire of behaviors and food preference. In this vein, the concept of caste is important for us to define this distinction of labor and food, that has slight link with the caste concept in India. The concept of pollution, by the impurity of Kareghé by their food preference and their involvement in burial, and death in general. Kamelimeu find also Kareghé dirty, that is what emphasizes the fear of pollution. Usman describes caste as “Status power refers to social prestige and respect accorded to individuals or groups in a society. The existence of status groups can be seen in the form of endogamy, restricted patterns of social interactions, and monopolistic control over certain economic opportunities e.g., land. Political power is about ability of individuals or group to exercise their own will or achieve their goals despite other's resistance and opposition” (2011:2). These different oppositions although the belonging to the same ethnic group, there are some social border and margins, that is what link us to the use of Barth’s theory to this Kapsiki case.

III.1.1- Michel Crozier and Erhard Friedberg Strategic Analysis.

The *Strategic Analysis* is a theory developed by Michel Crozier and Erhard Friedberg, in their book *L'Acteurs et le système* (1977). The authors developed this theory in the frame of bureaucracy or organization and enterprise. The authors emphasize the rationality of the actors with their interactions in the system which is the enterprise, and the power of that rationality how minimum it is. It might be information, technic, or knowledge which is important and may be indispensable for the structure harmony. However, the disposition of this capacity confers its *power*, to impact the rest of the structure. For Crozier and Friedberg that power could be used as a *strategy*, the *zone d'incertitude* (*incertitude zone*). The actor in the system becomes unpredictable, he uses his intuition to calculate that incertitude zone to gain power over the structure. For the authors of *strategic analysis*, the actor in the structure uses the unpredictability and intuitive imagination, to claim his right, his freedom, or get out or at least reduce his stigma, in Kareghé's case. The authors used this theory to analyze the enterprises and organizations, it can be extended to study wider society, how big or small it is. The structure must take in control of the different "*zone d'incertitude*" of each actor. The Kareghé through the important and multiple power of the tradition on their artistic, knowledge, talents, and power.

This idea is inquisitive about the energy members of the family among the actors of an organization and the implicit rules that govern the interactions that they defined as "*game*". In this game, no matter how vulnerable or robust the actor is, at the least of energy and freedom and precise knowledge, information, guidelines, or technics that he's going to use as a *strategy*, making it vital can influence the choice or conduct of the other. According to the authors, *power* does not mean as really physical hierarchy of "*dominant and dominated*", the permanent interactions between the actors, are fed by the knowledge of the lack or insufficient of competence in a particular field. What is the relationship between the Actors, Kamelimeu and Kareghé (description)? Then separate those relationships and analyze their interaction and interpret them.

The authors use the concept of *Power* to define the difference and the autonomy level between the actors. Power is referred to the *strategies* used by the individuals who can have contradictory interests in the disposition of the rights and duties depending on the level of purity of the caste. The Kamelimeu are pure, they have more rights and are a superior caste. The Kareghé are impure, they have more duties, and limited access to the farm, and they are inferior.

The authors add, "The actor does not exist outside the system that defines his freedom and the rationality he can use in his action. But the system exists only for the actor who alone can carry it and give it life, and who alone can change it." (1977:11). The authors explain the relationship between society and the actors in this book. In other words, the different interactions and strategies applied by the social actors will influence society. They fight to get a strategy in one way to another to change their social consideration in the world in which financial power is seen. Moreover, because of the reduction of the forge products. Consequently, the heterogeneous society becomes homogeneous (seems) and cosmopolitan. In *cosmopolitan* we mean extending the *other cultural elements* to one particular society and adapting that *otherness* to juxtapose one to another, without erasing the original order, but rather simplifying it. It could be also understood as a cross cultural coexistence of various cultures, Gustavo Lins Ribeiro the main goal of cosmopolitanism is "*uniting difference and equality, an apparent paradox of wishing to reconcile universal values with a diversity of culturally and historically constructed subject positions*" (Ribeiro, 2014:19).

III.2- Ethnicity and boundaries, Fredrick Barth: Kamelimeu and Kareghé.

Barth defines and explains the concept of race, ethnicity relationships *from the outside, not from the inside*. From a relatively stable and isolated society to one exposed to external influences. It is not the location of cultural traits that makes social groups different, but social interaction with other groups that makes differences visible and socially meaningful. This perspective is used to explain the relationship between the two castes in different "social spheres" (Harold Eidheim), and how they identify from one situation to the other. For Barthes, ethnicity is the domain of belonging and identification. Groups are related to their ethnicity, which is characteristic of the Kareghé caste. This self-identification through caste affiliation separates and demarcates castes (Werner, 1996 :75)

In the introduction of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, emphasizes on the consistency of the bordering self to other despite a permanent encounter Fredrick Barth (1969:10-11). Barth defines the paradox of insistence on the *boundaries and self-identification* of the member belonging to a such or such ethnic group, despite the permanent '*mobility, contact, and information* between particular ethnic groups, races, societies, and languages. Barth's studies are being applied to ethnicity, I will frame mine on the one ethnic group about the two social castes (Kareghé and Kamelimeu) which constitute it. Here I will try to explain despite the permanent contact and interactions between Kamelimeu and Kareghé castes, what was not overtly allowed in the past for behavioral reasons (laziness, dirtiness, sorcerer, and begging).

As opposed to modernism, tradition is a set of Kapsiki's cultural elements, social structure prior to colonialism, and its affluents (Islam, Christianity, western education, health system), We are in the raw Kapsiki culture, of course without ignoring the contact with other neighboring tribes. Modernism according to Bruno Latour, qualifies first as “the passage of the time” a literal translation of “*passage du temps*” (P10), modern and ancient, translated by the Kapsiki word “*zamane*” (borrowed from Fulani) (Duriez, 2008), and “*heutchá*” (ancient or archaic). In Larousse's dictionary, globalization is the development of strategies for a unified global market by multinationals. Through the Church, school, and national events (election, national events), the cosmopolitan relationship seems assimilative, on the two different castes but still complementary in the social division of works. Ended, these behavioral characteristics of Kareghé were transmitted by the culture (Barth, 1969:13), and a minimum of accidental mistakes made by a reghé in the church, for instance, will be referred to as these ancestral behaviors. It is not allowed for them to make a mistake or do something better to not be insulted as a misfortune or sorcerer child, at school, for example, he must be at an average level.

We will try first to explain or clarify some concepts, here to contextualize my case study, by applying them to the theory of ethnic groups. The concept of ethnicity has subjective and objective conceptions (Yang, 2000). Subjective conception is understood as “*ethnic group membership, ethnic affiliation, ethnic identity*” and objectively as physical and perceptible characteristics (Yang, 2000:40), by the geographical, costumes, manner of dressing, of eating. Ethnicity is at the same time the result of individual feeling, proximity, or distance from the groom with which he or she is supposed to be to. Referring to the same schema of analysis of Barth, with the ethnic group of Pakistan (1969). They are all included in the traditional system, not the original tradition, but cosmopolitan (Heinrich & Landy, 1995). Indeed, the external cultural “codes are woven into the same cultural and practical system, which classifies and orders without exclusion and to which all Hindus belong” (Heinrich & Landy, 1995:8). The introduction of external institutions are one way to another woven Kapsiki life, precisely the relationship between Kamelimeu and Kareghé. The traditional codes are mixed and used according to the context, to borrow the Anglo-Saxon concepts it is more than *shifting* than *switching* cosmopolitan cultural codes (Heinrich & Landy, 1995).

The two theories I used here are complementary and helpful for me in the way that they both emphasis the role of actors in the in social or bureaucratic organization. Crozier and Friedberg talk about the power of strategy of individual and Barth about the collective, in order to claim and maintain self-interest or self-image and self-identity.

IV- The music, Biki as an innovative activity for the Kareghé.

IV.1- Kareghé and music in today.

Despite the historical separation and colonial border between the Kamwe and Kapsiki, material and immaterial cultural elements have been shared, and made a permanent exchange, as many other groups living in the borders, such as the example of the people in Northern Greece and Macedonia (Manolopoulou, 2007:15). Going to kamweland became not only to visit their brothers, but also as adventurers in nigerialand. Indeed, in the beginning, Kapsiki people were going to bring the Nigerian traditional musician from the Kamwe. The biki in Kapsiki is imported and celebrated in different ways of music style and wedding ritual according to each cultural context '*un métissage culturel*' in her thesis (*Etre musicien dans la region de Edessa et D'Aridea*, in northern Greece and Macedonia area (Manolopoulou, 2007). Kapsiki's way to celebrate biki music is different to the Nigerians. Biki is celebrated in Nigerian in the day because of the frequent terrorism insecurity, whereas on the Cameroon side it is celebrated at night. The main ambition is to explore the otherness and look for a better place to find income and make their farm in one hand and their other potential needs. The adventurers bring with them both material and immaterial cultural elements. The young who went to Nigeria come with 'the famous *Djalabia*, *gandoura*' of the Haoussa and other stuff.

What the audience wants? This question seems simple and maybe for some and to others, useless. Yet, for Kareghé musicians it seems a main question that the access and use of digital devices show. With multiple audiovisual and artistic instruments. People want humor, ambiance, and Kareghé as traditional musicians play their role. They are adapted and embedded in their traditional realities. Kareghé through praises relate the realities and news that happen.

IV.2- Biki and Amariya.

The Makwa in Kapsiki has the same sense as the *Amariya* word from the Haoussa, which means the (new wife and the whole process of marriage and its celebration). The Biki is included in the general form of Gueske (festival) in Kapsiki society. The *biki* is the *kapsikised* form of "*kamwized Amarya*".

What marriage is meant in Kapsiki society?

Marriage in Kapsiki society has a three-tiered structure. It links people from different villages, clans, and families together. This also links families who live in the same city. When two people from both spouses' part meet, they call each other *mekwoe* (father/mother-in-law, brother,

sister-in-law). Husbands are usually called *madza* and wives are usually called *mekwoe*. People from both families are generally call themselves *mekwoe*, and they call their daughter-in-law *Makwa*. Kapsiki polygamy is associated with honor, power, and economic prosperity. An extra wife is often considered a sign of wealth and social status. A young man with several wives is more powerful than an old man with only one wife. That's because society considers as leader's power can command a community, and the first wife is seen as superior to the second. A man who has one wife is seen as in charge of his life “*te zdeveu nde vaa maleu*”. *The wife* is seen as dominant and ineffective by comparison. When choosing clothes, the bride's friends, and family will often incorporate a few different elements into the groom's attire than the bride's family. This increases their value to the family, who appreciate the uniform and the members who make it up or lack thereof. It's important to note that, is the traditional marriage I am dealing with here. Usually, the Christians and Muslim marriage are not celebrated by Kareghé.

A literal and brief description of Biki: The rite of Biki or Makwa

“Someone projecting to celebrate his Makwa will celebrate the biki as event. Three or more months before, the young man must inform his family, kinship, proxy, friend and neighbor, or others, it is the step of ‘beteu hàa hwoe yemeu’ (Pour the millet into the water to germinate or grow it for beer). Both spouses' friends and family sew uniforms usually distinct from the groom to the bride’s family. This distinction shows the identity of the two families. The quality of the uniform and quantity of the members (groom/bride) will impact how much they are appreciated by their families. When the celebration day comes, the musicians spend the whole night playing and the guests (family, kinship, proxy, friend and neighbor, or others) will scatter money the whole night. Thus, in the morning the assistance will be continued for the whole day, and the audience is careful to hear the amount that the groom harvested. This will be a result of the total of the wedding and other ceremonies he participated in and the quality and quantity of relationship his has with his family, friend, kinship, and neighborhood.”

The biki as ceremony of Praise and Honor.

Walter. H. Van Beek emphasizes “[...], Smiths are present only at the more public performances, accompanying the groom’s party, which calls on the bride—playing their violin or guitar, lauding the groom, and extolling his riches and especially his generosity” (Van Beek, 2015:289).

One of the fuels that feed the biki, in its origin and what distinguishes it from the traditional wedding, *helapeu melti* (traditional wedding) or the *makwa* in general, is the fantastic and brilliant voices and praises of the musicians. Marriage has its own realities, rites, and accommodations. Through the instrumental manipulation, and vocalic harmonization, the musicians lead the guest, the audience. The musicians are the masters of the wedding. They must influence their audience, and not only play for the groom and bride. Whether the biki owner or musicians have a common interest, convincing the audience if possible until the opening of the day. The biki owner must pay well and the musicians must play well. All of them will be satisfied earning money and a good reputation. The groom looks for financial and social assistance and the musicians for financial and popularity. Vantché says in my film, “Some years ago, the musicians came from far away, but today ours have learned to play well. Kafaché’s group plays better than the Nigerians now and sings very well. When Kafaché plays, the groom gets a lot of money. That’s why we like him much more. People like someone who plays well. When the musicians play, they gather information about the guests in order to praise them. The guest who gives a lot of money to the groom gets more praise. And the audience applauds him”. (13th minute, film *The catalyst*, 2023). Moreover, the *facteurs culturels*” **cultural factors** (Bourrier, 1999) as a polygamic system and the intense celebration of the marriages, are favorable for the Kareghé activity, a strategy (skills and knowledge of any family background) used as *praising* and *glorification* the *guests* or *assistants* during the biki. Thus, the Kareghé earn money and the guests or assistants feel powerful and socially popular (the sum of money you gifted, the quality of dressing, the manner of dancing).

The guests are praised and honored by the musicians, they chant positive words to the guest who is dancing, and the guest comes with his group and scatters the money for the musicians. The musicians have the role of griot here. They know all about the people who are dancing, they learn about them, and sometimes in the village where they do not know more about the people, they have someone with them who will make a briefing about the main guest and strategic guest (the rich, royalties, businessmen, and others....). Walter Van Beek argued, “Smiths in Kapsiki are—also—praise singers, musicians at the many occasions that call for music, ranging from funerals to initiation, from the year rituals to weddings” (2015:281). Kafaché for example, according to many informants and even his group’s members “is adaptative to the audience he is facing, whether, young, women, riches men and chiefhood, he knows how to sing and adapts to his audiences.

Traditionally when relating folk tales and ancestry legends, singing most of the time accompanies the stories, and the Kareghé musicians and their wives are more talented. During the *biki*, with a flattering and energetic sound body, and feet juggling there and the atmosphere in a cloudy dust, a whole new world. It is the world of *biki*, the ambiance tries to make you forget the marriage circumstances, but the musicians keep delightedly playing their drum, guitar, *livu*, and others. Praising, singing, dancing, the whole body follows the rhythm. The Naira banknotes that fly in the dusty void, the taste of *biki*, the drumbeats, the melodious whistles of the guitar, *ghedagheda*, or *ngulengue*. And it ended around the circle formed by the groom-bride staff and audiences along the shined night. Continuously, the sellers and their clients relating everyday routing. The dancers in the noisy and dusty crowd of young boys, and girls in couple's *ka da gevaa* (love discussion) preparing secretly their *beleu gevaa* (secret marriage when the boy elopes with the girl). Usually, the boy has already started to invest in any *biki*. It is important to mention that the praises and singing are also in any celebration, and the *Shila* (flute) and other instruments are also involved.

The music is not totally played by the Kareghé (Van Beek, 2015:282), for instance during the *làa* festival, burial and the *guelwa*, and other ceremonies. Kamelimeu whether women, men, girls, and young boys sing and use some instruments like *fengwa*, *kwadinka*, *zevu*, (all forms of flute) during special season and events. However, many of the instruments are not allowed for the Kamelimeu (Van Beek, 2015:282), only the drum called *ltewmbere* (big drum posed on the ground and played by a *meleu*) to use the instruments of Kareghé to not be considered impure instruments. The *Shila* (a flute played by men *reghé*) and the *dimeu* (drum) is especially for the Kareghé caste for example (Duriez,2003:107). Women do not even touch the *dimeu* for example, because, of the menstrual period, considered as 'things of defilement'. However, traditional and modern instruments are emphasized in music celebration today.

IV.3-The instruments.

Traditional instruments and their roles.

Music in Kapsiki society has its first sense in the fact that is for Kareghé and the various traditional instruments Christian Duriez described: "*Almost all music instruments are in the hands of the blacksmith*" (2003:106). Music is therefore defined according to the quality of the instrument and the events. It is important to note that the music gender or the sound of the music is the first function of communication. The information transmitted might have several significations. The sounds of the festival depend on the season, the burial, and other eventual

events. The main instruments in Kapsiki society are the drums and violins of various genders. The famous and most used in most of ceremonies is the drum, (*Djimeu*), a cylindric form that the player carries along his neck supported by his chest linked by a slim rope. We have many types of *dimeu*, *babaganga*, is the biggest one, *kwagineu*.



Image 4: Dimeu (drum) the middle size, Djelva

A small baton with a bow on the top, the player manipulates one circle with the baton and the opposite with his left hand. Other types of drums, we have included, the *djon*, *slumbereu* which are always kept in the *mazeu* house, (Chief leader), *ngwe*. We have also the *ngwuleng*, a small violin used during the *lâa* festival by the Kareghé to accompany the dancers. The *Gheda-gheda* is a violin with a string usually made of a horse's tail wick. Whether the drum or violin, they are most times accompanied by the traditional saxophones the *Shila*, the more used during burial, and other traditional events and *zevu* (Duriez, 2003:107). One decade ago, traditional instruments were dominant, but today Kareghé's repertory of musical instruments became cosmopolitan, with the coming of Christianity and later mundialization.

Modern instruments.



Image 5: Speakers, modern instrument Sunday



Image 6: Guitar to alternate, gagra or Gheda-gheda

Similar to a school, Kapsiki use music to teach, inform stories, secrets and legendary exploits. The traditional instruments *Djon* and *-gheda-gagga*, the musicians walk and play from one bar to another. They record their music praising people along the route. The case of musicians in border of Greece in the Edessa and Aridea region, where music, chants and dance express praise, affinity or rivalry (Manolopoulou, 2007:14). These recordings are then translated as music schools taught through villages. Additionally, many musicians sell their discs and decrease the time spent by selling their music recorded. This new way of recording cards allowed Kapsiki musicians to increase their income and reduce the time spent walking from

one event to another. During casual travel in Nigeria, or in other regions of Cameroon, with their back home, they brought with them new things, such as CDs (compact Disc), and television. However, the era of the hard drive and movable memories card and USB (Universal Serial Bus), offer facility to record and save their sounds. The use of Piano, modern Guitar, and big speakers have crucial roles in the emancipation of the biki.

When going to a farm, going to fetch water or any other activity without biki music, whether Kafaché, Tigé Tiwoe, and other Nigerian musicians Tereu Kwagné, Kodji Kwara, or Saven Kala, is loneliness. At the marked passing on the way, the several call boxes will remind and welcome about biki music. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to find the Kareghé music on YouTube, Tereu Kwagné, the various group on social media, the biki music is played during ceremonies in the Kapsiki diasporic, in other regions of Cameroon. We may admit that social media is nowadays a way of connecting people and all over the world. One can learn about a particular culture. We have many Kapsiki groups on Facebook or other social media for instance. In his callbox, Kafaché recorded many of his sounds and sold them to the villagers. Kafaché has two call boxes, and he employs two young boys from his family and caste to work there.

IV.5- Internal and external organization of the musical group.

Internal organization at the household as a musical enterprise.

Kafaché's musical enterprise emanates from his household. He considers himself a **ndeustawousseu**, (someone who plays music). Kafaché thinks and values music as an inborn traditional responsibility and honor. Kafaché's house is a rectangular structure. During the dry season, Kafaché's house becomes an enterprise and household; it contains a long room divided in three. The first contains musical instruments. The second on the third are the bedroom. The second room is a "salon" decorated with a sofa and TV. The fourth large room is protected by a veranda which the family uses for food storage. Further down the hallway is his older daughter's room. At the other long side, we have a huge villa unfinished, here it is the place where secret things for the members are shared, their harvest (money), the meeting after coming from work, where the group members smoke and drink.

External organization during the biki

The Biki celebration has a basic structure that is followed in Kapsikiland. This structure describes implicitly the relationship and the social structure between Kareghé community and

Kamelimeu. Referring to the ancient position of the Kareghé when they play drums and received the rest of the food and drink, during the *Makwa* celebration.

Contrarily, today the biki celebration, it happens outside. The groom and bride staff are on opposite sides of the musicians. The groom is on the right side and the bride on the left side. At the opposite side, the musicians. The drum player in the middle, and the speaker. The pianist is on the left side, facing the groom’s staff and his family and proxy. And in the middle of the circle of the guests and dancers, it is where the musician (guitarist) recites the name and praises the guests. The audience is around the circle. And the seller behind the musician staff for selling and their clients. A shining lamp in the center of the place and all around the circle, connecting the audience, musicians, and the spouses.

Biki structure and external organization of the musicians

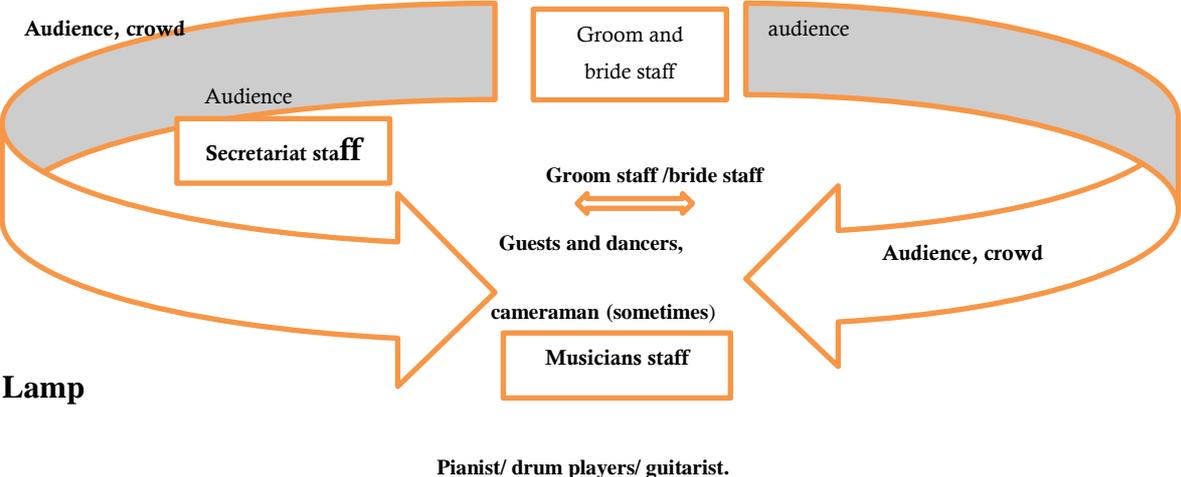


Figure 3: Biki structure and external organization of the musicians

IV.5- Musician in relationship with other.

Kafaché: Relationship with other Kareghé musicians.

All Kareghé relatives wherever they find themselves, they are, “*yepu hé woeu, hé menewoeu*” (they are the same, the parentship). Indeed, wherever a Reghé is from in Kapsiki village, they are ‘brother, sister, mother and father, cousin, uncle....’. However, when it comes to the relationship as Kareghé musicians, complementarity and concurrencies characterize them. A reghé who belongs to the same clan is closer to a any reghé, wherever he is from. When Kafaché misses members to play for example, members from another group can help him and vice versa. However, concurrency is common in music activity in kapsikiland. Musicians are jealous of others and kill “mystically” their rival. Kafaché’s father for example told me during a video

interview “*ka habda aah leu hewoeu*” means I protect them. “Protect” refers to being protected spiritually by “*nde mene ghwe*” a traditional spiritualist (fetishist), to protect his children and others doing the same for fame and protection. Besides playing ghéda-ghéda, playing guitar, or being a reghé, musicians have their own spiritual protection. The most celebrated musicians will be listed in the year, for example. Since 2017, Kafaché has become more famous than the others. I observed also when the Nigerians musicians are invited to Cameroon, they cooperate with Kafaché’s members. They can go and play drums with them and assist them if the need comes. I saw Kafaché’s young brother Kodji Ové and other members playing with Tereu Kwagné (a most famous Kamwe reghé musician) in the village of Houtoumbeu for example.

Music as strategy.

Frequency of marriage, young people get married at a young age and celebrate biki. A married person (man or woman) is respected and considered as responsible and honored in the Kapsiki society. This social consideration leads to frequent marriages. As I mentioned in the theoretical part of Crozier and Friedberg’s theory of Strategic analysis, music is considered as traditional responsibility for Kareghé. In this regard, they have a certain margin of freedom to use it as a source of income. Philippe d’Iribarne cited (Crozier et Friedberg, 1977:14) “...that the structuring of the fields of action and can be relatively formalized and conscious, or it may have been naturalized by history, custom, beliefs, to the point that seeming obvious” (my translation). Although the actor is defined as rational agent who find strategy to claim his own interest from the organization, the system or that tradition such as the Kareghé case can impact both negatively and positively to the actor’s strategy. The fact that Kareghé are mainly use musical instruments, also the master of the artistic skills, they have in one hand, a power and in another hand an advantage to use them to change the structure of the Kapsiki system. That **power** is used as passive and strategic ‘**violence**’ to impose their position, knowing that they are defended by the nondiscriminatory principle of the Cameroonian state, the church or school.

V- Biki Music and Socioeconomic Changes.

V.1- Social and cultural changes

Christian Duriez, a Catholic priest who spent nearly two decades in Kapsiki Society in the village Sir in the southeast of Rhumzou wrote “*More industrious than others, more open to novelty also seeking more or less conscientiously to emancipate themselves from the contempt and ostracism of people, the blacksmiths have all turned to mission*” (Duriez, 2003:132). Some Kareghé who were more opened and have converted first to catholic missions, in Sir village for example, in order to minimize their social ostracization, is a positive sight of the curiosity character of Kareghé on one hand. On the other hand, they ‘gossip a lot’ according to Kamelimeu. In other words, in the tales, or in the everyday life, it is common, to hear when a child, or someone gets in a conversation that doesn’t regard him people say “*why are you doing like Kareghé, talking, or seeking to know what doesn’t concern him or her*”. However, the fact of church has a considerable effect on the Kapsiki people and precisely the Kareghé who were socially oppressed. We can observe this in most of African society whether in rural area. Rachel Asta shows with the Giziga women who belong to the same church, work many activities in group and improve their economic income and be resilient and cope with the heavy familial responsibilities for example (2023:140). Curiosity, open mind is one of the Kareghé’s characteristics, and such behavior consequently had led them to be traditional healers (medically and mystically). They prepare herbal medicines from plants to heal people. The Kareghé in Sir had the opportunity to attend school and are very different from the Kareghé in other villages, and this is due to several factors, including Christianity. (Juvintus,2019:105) Islam is not an exception even though it is not really involved in Kapsiki society.

Towards the acceptance of exogamy between Kamelimeu and Kareghé?

To protect themselves from “Impurity” of Kareghé, the Kamelimeu developed some prohibition according to the myths. The prohibition of marriage between the two castes. A symbolic consequence of the behavioral acts of the Kareghé is the division of society in two. The inter-caste union is prohibited, and incest is allowed and traditionally endorsed in the Kareghé caste. Even though marriage is a union between two families or clans, in the case of the Kareghé and Kamelimeu, it is defined as a misfortune and disappointment for the pure caste. An attempt of any relationship is sanctioned and could be banned from the village, in some other societies (Mafa for instance) (Juvintus, 2019:20) for the Kamelimeu caste, even for the family of the man or woman who committed a taboo of having an intimate relationship with a reghé. For

Kareghé, they know that they are not supposed to have this kind of relationship with Kamelimeu. Even friendship between them, must be measured, and they don't have to show it in public, it can have a negative connotation (they plot something, either a Meleu sends the Reghé to do something, or the Meleu needs remedy or object from forge or pottery or something else etc.). The Kamelimeu think that Kareghé are not well, for them, they are dirty and impure.

Claude Levi-Strauss comprehends the prohibition of incest as “an obligation of exchange” (1949) (*Obligation de changer*). In the Kapsiki case between the two castes, it is seen and felt as contamination or pollution (Deliège,2009) by Kareghé's impurity. Indeed, in the Kareghé, cousins, and siblings can marry each other (from the same clan) and can be married. Nonetheless, this allowance of incest is limited within Kareghé caste, they don't marry in the closest family members (sister and brother).

Incest is according to Claude Levi-Strauss, not a natural or cultural fact, nor a combination between nature and culture, “but the link between both” (1949:28). Here it is a cultural construction of the definition of what and how they perceive dirtiness, work, or intelligence, “relative purity” (Deliège,2009). As it can be inferred from the myth of music and burial discussed under chapter 1, taking care of dead person is dirtier than leaving him there in the Kapsiki society, maybe?

According to Kamelimeu playing music and being paid is considered as begging (before they just wait appropriate moment to receive food or clothes from the Kamelimeu), and not working farm is laziness (avoiding hard work and want easiest way to have food). They decide to marry out of their caste or the Kapsiki community. They do not play music, not eat taboo food, and do not practice Kareghé culture. One of the Kafaché's brothers who went to Mokolo (Subdivision capital of Mayo Stanaga), did not want to be called reghé. Rather, he converted to Islam, married to a Muslim woman, and has lived there ever since.

When I was at primary school in Rhumzou, I remember that two students: a meleu girl and a reghé boy got married and now they have around five children. Since the clan of the girl (ka'clayé) and all the members of this clan are *mekwoe Kareghé* (Kareghé's clan-in-low) and during any traditional event, for example, the Ka'clayé clan's members should refrain from the committing mistakes in order to be insulted or mocked as *mekwoe Kareghé*. Today, with the music, the Kareghé are more and more opened and seen as famous, precisely Kafaché's members. Compared to the other youths, including the Kamelimeu, having a job that brings

money is a wish of any of the young villagers. The girls like the one who can take care of them, and the musicians fit in for this since they have financial incomes.

Dominique Martin said that “At the furthest from the concept of power and relational of power. The actors stage strategies that at their disposal, allow them to impose themselves with others, always without no more resources, can in return can negotiate his participation in traditional knowledge [...]” (2012). The traditional knowledge controlled by the Kareghé is used here as an *unpredictable* strategy to impose their claimed intelligent superiority (Thomas Kodji, 2009) and take in control the reorganization of the society. Economic security gives them a power connected to traditional knowledge, their general specialization.

This permanent income in the dry season only changes their traditional perception by the girls. Tigé Kwoessene Hwoe, a music group member told me “*You see, during the biki and precisely in the other villages out of Rhumzou, in many time Kamelimeu girls asked me and wanted to approach me. The way they see the money we get during work; they like it, and they think that it is the same thing for our whole life. If we want to marry them, we can to that that time, our situation of reghé does not impact a lot now, money replaced it [...]*”. In other words, being a reghé is not for the young girls, but having financial security is necessary, but the weight of the tradition and elders or parents has not neglected. These girls are afraid of being denied and even cursed by the parents even though the sanction have been eased, and they can be banned from the village. The Kamelimeu, even if they want to marry a reghé, would not want to live shame for their whole life, in the village, and in their family. Even in their mother’s kitchen for example the girls can be prohibited from cooking there or touching her vessels during any traditional ceremonies.

The Food: Beza bar Kareghé et Kamelimeu Eat and Drink together.

Vandeu Philippe, an informant and a dean catechist in Rhumzou for 53 years related to me by paraphrasing an extract from the bible saying, “When Christian Duriez came to our country, he said, "God said to Peter, you have all kinds of animals and food for you, you eat. Peter chooses what he wants, and then says the others won't eat, they are not good. Mistakes that come out of the hearth are not good for God. Anything God mad is consumable."

During traditional ceremonies and in any public place a Reghé stays far from the Kamelimeu staff when eating or drinking. The advantage of the Kareghé, musicians than smith for example, is that food and drink are fully prepared for them and yet for their non musicians,

they wait for the rest of the food and drinks. The reghé music player is seen more during the ceremonies, and they got food and drinks as salary. Kafaché, during a video interview related “*elders related to us, the Kareghé were sitting under the tree or far from the others (Kamelimeu), they did not have the right to ask food, but sometime people feel happy and worthy to gift their reghé* (Thomas Kodji,2009). Those who play *ghéda-ghéda or gagra*, “*we do not say that we are extraordinary now, but today we can have the food and claim the food we want, as we work for the whole night and if the groom wants to be celebrated and praised [...]*”. The Kareghé informants I encountered during my fieldwork were often in the same bar or cabaret, sharing the same calabash of *tchéh, mpeuldi* (red or white wine from millet), or a plastic whiskey. A few days ago, I went to Mogodé to meet Maître Koda Ghouleu, one of my informants. Despite many attempts to find him, I was unable to find him. He was always at a Meleu’s bar and drinking with another Kareghé.

At Bar Beza, in Rhumzou, a reghé cabaret, I met Kafaché's (uncle) father, where most young people spend their time. I decided to go there to see what happened there, how it happened, and how far “*the difference between them is visible*”. So, my mom wanted to slaughter her pork (domestic pig) so as not to be seen as a spy I went there and fried the meat for whole day. I asked Vantché, a Kamelimeu informant, what is the difference between Kamelimeu and Kareghé in Beza bar, he replied: “*People eat in the same place, even we Kamelimeu shouldn't go there, young people better stay all day there. In the dry season, they stay up all night, especially roast beef, lamb, they prefer pork.*” I asked what their reaction was, because I know that Kamelimeu eat the forbidden meats (pork, monkey, cat...) from the same plate. He continued, even if Kamelimeu know they eat together with Kareghé, they must be normally called Kareghé. This because someone who eat Kareghé’s food, is seen as a Reghé, and becomes one of them.

We all turn into Kamelimeu or Kareghé, as Kamelimeu eats our food. *But reghé is their chiy (ancestor), and we always call them reghé*”. The boundary is not respected and the impure perception of reghé has penetrated the meleu as they eat and drink together, but the heritage name of “being reghé persists. This permanent interaction happens more between the young, and during the traditional events: *Làa, gewla, bah, or nehwenueu....* The elders are still respecting and the elder Kareghé stay far and wait that them to bring them food and drinks, but their musical performance relates to and describes the economic situation.

V. 2- Economic changes

For Kafaché, music is his life, “Music is my heritage, it’s what I am”. The traditional music in Kapsiki society today is involved as ever in their mind. However, being a *reghé* nowadays is not still visible as in the past. *Kareghé* practice various economic activities.

The Kapsiki who are mainly farmers and herders, and the *Kareghé* who didn’t practice them enough, were dependent on *Kamelimeu*, crops production. Today, they are more farmers than smiths, some are traders, and others well known musicians. After a long night of work, from 5 pm until 6 am, for a whole dry season (7 months), the musicians are in their active season contrary to the farmer and herders. Indeed, in the past, the *Kareghé* did not have enough access to the farmland, so they were working more on artistic activities to exchange the farm products to eat. The musicians for their part follow the market all around and ceremonies playing *djongueu* and *rheda-rheda* collecting money and food, clothes. During the *Makwa*, they stay and play for the whole night as long as the groom needs his service. The symbolic complementary exchange between the musician and the *Kamelimeu* has been converted into a financial form. The groom pays the money instead of the symbolic salary. The relationship became music “**seller and consumer client**”. As Kafaché says “*we have a lot of clients this year. It’s a good year. When it comes to the salary we get, it depends on the relationship we have with the clients.*”. If they are from the same clan or friend with groom for example.

Biki is an important source of income and investment for the *Kareghé* as well as the *Kamelimeu*. According to how the musician has praises the groom, he is regarded and respected by the groom's family. As part of the *Kareghé* identity, music has a powerful impact on society. The Christian religion as an institution which impacted a lot on relationship between the two castes. As such, when *Kareghé* are converted to catholic especially, argues Nanette Liberona Concha in her thesis, about the indigenous communities in northern Greece, “[...] Catholicism did not really penetrate traditional beliefs, but that it superimposed without replacing them” (my translation (2005:35). This explains why Kafaché during the *biki* season (dry season), is less frequent at church because he is busy with the wedding celebration and then the rainy season, music is off.

Relationship with others (audiences) and payment.

During my stay with my informants, as always in *Rhumzou* some years ago and precisely during the dry season, whether from the *Kareghé* musician or the villagers, the repertory of the *biki* is saved as a “memory card”. Talking about *biki* seems exaggerated maybe, but one

imagines that, from the month of December to May, and at least 1 or 4 biki per week, it is an everyday routine for the Kapsiki and Rhumzou people precisely. This plethora of Biki celebrations puts the Kareghé musician and Kafaché as the main leader of this period (Usman, 2011: 3) Kafaché does not only refers to himself as Reghé, but more as a musician “*ghengué kasta wousseu*” (we the musicians), he always emphasizes that when talking about his work or his life. The music is a heritage, but also an activity and they live from it. He considers other musicians as his colleagues. And he considers the Kamelimeu as his clients. Kafaché for each biki celebrated for his proxy and friends is at least fifty thousand (50 000) CFA, but for wealthy persons, he celebrates more than one hundred thousand (100 000) CFA, and they can have more than five biki per week more than 100 in a year (my film *The Catalyst*. However, Kafaché calls them his clients. Kafaché group can collect more than two million during the biki season.

Th e Business Investments: Kafaché.

When the music season starts, from December to May, Kafaché is busy. If he is not celebrating biki in Kapsikiland, he is in kamweland. By the end of April or May, when the biki celebration begun decreasing, he commences to be busier and gets much more money. Kafaché told me for instance. When they finish with work as now, majority of the members who are not from Rhumzou go back home and work the farm, the money we harvested. Some can do something else with their, Ltafteu, for example, work callbox [...] but most of us work farm”. The reason that they mostly work farm is because is the more convenient option for them to invest the money they saved. Most of them do not speak well French whether English, to travel or do other business. As I mentioned in the methodological chapter, Kafaché has been invited in Abuja to celebrate a ceremony, but his member did not have paper and the fact that English is spoken in Abuja, was a barrier for them, although they speak Haoussa. Haoussa is a language spoken in the Borno state in Nigeria, and in that area, they travel well and celebrate ceremonies there.

A few weeks later, one of the members, Tige Kwoessene Hwoe, confessed to me at Kafaché's grounds "*I came to Kafaché because I needed his help, I needed money to buy pesticides for my corn farm,*" I asked him, in the end you When you have money, you said that you want to invest in farms? He replied, "*I used the money to buy a farm, a Gwassa, and if not, I could use it all season.*" The other callboxes were where he employed his nephew. He charges phones and sells (radio) music, even biki music. He sells Biki recorded music. Kafaché also leases a large farm (2 hectares), where he sows peanuts and beans, (The catalyst, 2023), and most (90%) of the

work is done with money. And other members work many other activities, such as moto taxi driver, shoemakers, selling phone data, and hair cutter.

It's important to remember that in the past Kareghé didn't have access and want to farm and they exchanged their products (pots, machetes, axes, hoes, sickles, jewels...) against agricultural products from Kamelimeu. We refer here to a complementary relationship that Kafaché advocates for this purpose: "*If we (Kareghé) do not practice now, no one will give us anything to eat, and even if they give us, it will not be enough, because we have a lot at school. Diseases or other needs that we didn't have before, so we have to go to the farm.*" While the division of labor (agriculture and animal husbandry) used to be sufficient to make money and meet needs, it is no longer sufficient today to produce goods, beg, waiting for Kamelimeu giving them food or make music. But what is a biki in the context of Kapsiki society and Rhumzou?

Big mansion with colorful roofs. For example, today the young women don't want to make a lot of pottery, they sew clothes, cook wine and donuts. In Kafaché's neighborhood, there are around 20 women, and around 08 of them make pottery, and are old women (40–65-year-old). Kafaché's wife, Sandra, for example, doesn't work a lot and even runs a farm, spending most of her time at home cooking for her husband's workers on the farm. She also sews clothes as a business. One of the Kafaché brothers who made music with him was one of the first to use the phone booths in the Rhumzou market to charge phones, stream music and other electronic accessories, and transferring music and other electronic accessories. Sandra stays home and work and sew cloths for people, and her husband doesn't want her to work a lot because he has enough income. During my two-month fieldwork, I observed her supervisory role as workers participated in farm work. Besides, Kafaché built a big villa with a Nigerian form, a new famous house shape as we call locally *Abudja, Abuja ghenké* (his house is Abuja, Abuja).

V.3- Biki as a Total Cultural Fact.

The biki, a kapsikized form of Amariya of the Kamwe, has its first social and cultural function as celebrating marriage. Even though the *beleu maleu* (literally break a wife) means "to get married to a wife without respecting the normal procedure". Today, the power of parents does not still impact enough on the choice of partner for their children and there are frequent marriages. However, biki music has its inevitable role in the plethora of marriages celebrated in the Kapsiki society and Rhumzou and the role of the Kareghé the musician is unforgettable. Romantic love took a huge place in African and Cameroonian societies.

The Biki as a Ceremony of Don Contre-Don: Marcel Mauss.

Basically, during the traditional marriage in Kapsiki society, it is known that kinship, friends, neighbors, and others come and visit the groom-bride union celebration. On that day of the celebration “Makwa”, (marriage and wife) called in the past *Helapeu melti* (09 pots or vessels or plates of food for each clan (09)) the marriage itself. The guests bring gifts in kind or monetary. Whether, the millet, goats etc. brought by the men and vessels, jewelry, and clothes by women. It was symbolic support for the new couple and their presence. Even though the presence of the clan or family member in the marriage and any traditional ceremony is primordial in Kapsiki society, symbolic assistance shapes, and strengthens kinship, and friendships. Thus, biki is a perfect case study of the “Don/Contre-Don” tautologically translated (don/against-don” studied by the French socio-anthropologist Marcel Mauss of a community in Polynesia. For Marcel Mauss, the don/contre-don is “as a social contract based on the reciprocity to belong to a society. But the don/contre-don has an economical logic (Marcel Mauss, 1923-1924. 2002). In his book *Essai sur le don*, Mauss describes the birth ceremony in Samoa society in which the parents of the newborn baby, receive the *oloa* and the *tonga*.

(The male and female goods), in exchange for their newborn child, they receive goods, and the child will be adopted by his uterine uncle. In this exchange in which the uncle adopts his nephew, the parents do not become economically wealthier than before, by receiving the good during the newborn ceremony [...] The biological parents of the son will receive during the whole life of their son from his brother-in-law for the father and uterine brother for the mother, (Mauss, [1923-1924]m2002:13) (My paraphrase). In those words, the rite of the biki described in the previous chapter, is comparable.

In Kapsiki Biki, the groom for his part during previous Biki, he and his parent had to *piisseu makwa*, maybe it is the first marriage in this family. Both parents will receive from their guests the gifts for since maybe (20 years they started to *piisseu makwa*). During the night celebration that goes from evening until morning (biki), some join the groom to assist either by dancing or giving money while those who cannot come for different reasons only send money. Since the exchange isn't obligatory, any gift is fine, but the guest must bring a gift that equals or exceeds that of the first assistant. They scatter money in the air for the whole night. If the current groom brought beer during the biki, the visitor must bring beer, and to save his honor, he must pay (for staying too long without paying back).

Compared to the don/contre-don in the Samoa culture, the exchange is practiced by the symbolic and physical goods. The *assistance* is primordial here, even if the guest does not have the gift for the groom, his presence, dancing, and helping to collect money is important, and it shows the strength and proximity of their relationship (kinship, friendship, neighborhood). The *financial* and the *presence* gift symbolizes *confidence, gratitude, and power*.

And in the morning, of the marriage, everyone will wait how much the groom gathered from his marriage. The amount would explain how much he and his family, are sociable, have good friends and kinship and neighbors' relationships. This will assess the groom's contact and participation in other's ceremonies. Considering that a wedding is permanent, people want to assist as much as possible to the other Biki, to increase their popularity, and power, then one or two years they have "earned" money and "assistance" through successive visit to the other who continue to do the biki. The Biki is here as a wedding celebration and economic and symbolic *épargne* in gifts and presence (assistance). This form of the *commerce of debt of assistance or visit*, through the marriage, has been vulgarized in the Kapsiki society. Kareghé as musicians, the hearth of the celebration, impacted crucially on the other caste which could not gain without the indispensable *Knowledge* of the musicians, "the pipes of actors [...] are the product of relative autonomy and are therefore never completely absorbed by boarder regulations" (Friedberg, 1993:182).

Some who doesn't help but only gives gifts or money will receive what they have brought, and they will be almost alone or *te felehwe tanké* (with only their clan or family, left). In order to become more influential in society, most young people today are waiting for this kind of personal and family interaction in order to invest their biki money in various small businesses. For example, in terms of Kareghé, the village of Rhumzou sometimes has more than a hundred of weddings a year, which is good news for a musician's Kareghé. Some buy motorcycles to go to work, and some buy land or open shops to do business.

V.4- Sociocultural and Economic impacts of Music on Kareghé and Kamelimeu.

The Kamelimeu as the main music consumers and Kareghé as music Producers, self-employment

Kareghé do not claim social power at all, but as an implicit revolt to exert further influence, it completely shifts from traditional law to economic power. Today, playing music is not only Kareghé's job, but even more so for businesses. The social function of music becomes an

economic activity. In the past, music was also sung by Kamelimeu as well Kareghé. During the harvest festival (*làa*), whether it is a *makwa* (wedding) or a *Nehwoeneu* (funeral), women sing and play instruments such as the *livu* and *fengwa* (small flutes made of hard grass). It's difficult to observe Kamelimeu singing today; both male and female performing during *guewla* and *làa*. They have become the leading consumers of music. The Kareghé are the producer.

As I previously mentioned, Kareghé play music and celebrate ceremonies. Kafaché sells his recordings made during the musical event to Kamelimeu. He also offers music players and callboxes featuring the recordings he sells in his passive season (rainy season), which is the rainy season. Indeed, « Structures and rules [...] aren't themselves only the product of previous balance of power and bargaining? They are in a way the temporary and always contingent institutionalization of the solution that relatively free actors with their constraints and resources, in short, with their negotiating capabilities of the moment, have found the difficult problem of their cooperation within a finalized whole'' (Philippe d'Iribarne Crozier et Friedberg, 1997; 92-93). Most people only attend the biki to record its music, moreover, some stay overnight with the musicians.

How many times, Kafaché told me during our discussions, he calls the Kamelimeu “*clients*”? Kafaché is more than the musician. He plays many instruments, traditional and modern, and this allows him to celebrate Christian marriages, which we distinguish from the biki, as “Invitation”. During the season of 2021, the groups had fifty-six (56) members, and in 2022, forty-six (46) members. Kafaché and his group members work as musicians and technicians for their instruments.

In definitive, the ability of Kareghé to transform the opportunities due to various external factors, is a sort of resilience to get out of their social marginalization. Some like Kafaché, he built a big house and even in Mokolo, he has a shop whisky and beers. The development of the music skills and the role that it has in relation, with politic, marriage and power is as the main strength for the Kareghé. Finally, they become independent of the Kamelimeu economically Kafaché declares “*In the past Kareghé depended to others to give them something, or begging, today if you try to beg, you can wait forever. I am obliged to fight for myself and be independent [...]*” (film The catalyst,2023).

VI- The transformed identities of the Kareghé and the relationships between the two castes.

VI.1- From Heterogenized to Homogenized or cosmopolitan society?

In the intern of the Kapsiki social structure and traditional system, marriage and agriculture, and power are linked from each to another. Traditionally, polygamy is valued. The biki music played by Kafaché and his group has become widely requested and an inevitable part of Kapsiki marriages. The popularity of the music and the investment opportunities created is about to change the stigmatized Kareghé's relationship to the majority Kamelimeu.

I can still remember that during my field work, around mid-June, Kafaché's wife gave birth. During the giving name day, as Kafaché and his wife are in the choir group Rhumzou center church, his house was full of people. Number of young Christians there. Two or three years before, during such event, Kafaché or his fellow brothers, when they have ceremony, they choose one Kamelimeu house, ask help and cook and celebrate there, people didn't want to go to their house. However, in 2022, in addition to Kafaché's case two of his brothers who belong to the same choir, celebrated the giving name ceremonies, and one of Kamelimeu friends told me that, people took part in number. And in Kafaché's case where I was there with camera, Kamelimeu women cooked, there and worked with Kareghé, and there were more Kamelimeu than Kareghé. I confess that I was amazed by the number and how people act there without any stereotyped behavior. I asked to Kamelimeu how they feel, some answer *“We are here to celebrate a newborn, God united us, we are happy. We are here to accompany our sister, let's enjoy the celebration”*. In contrast, others replied *“any way, Kafaché is not like other Kareghé, his house is clean first, and second are our girls who cooked, and the meat is slaughtered by a meleu catechist, and what we drink is manufactured drinks (juices, whisky)”*. Hearing these words, from people from my community, and according to what was happening before, we can see how the relationship between Kareghé and Kamelimeu, less rude. One statement to mention that, noted that most of the Kareghé who Christians are not, were shy and seem silent and sat in the corner, a bit afar from the other, while Christian Kareghé were open and relax at from the same plate with other Kamelimeu Christians. And after two hours when the Kamelimeu left, the other Kareghé started to dance, scream and it was much more ambience. They were feeling much better than when the Kamelimeu were there. I noted that Christian religion has an important effect on the barrier between them. This case goes in the same vein with the one of rich young Kareghé whether in Rhumzou or in other village, who buy motorbike to Kamelimeu

to work for them what was not feasible before. These cases studies illustrate an unstable and circumstantial position from one to another situation, accordingly to Kareghé status.

Case studies of social situations.

Being a reghé or Meleu is not a question of choice or belonging to any other religion, it is a destiny, since you are born from Kareghé family, you are reghé by the blood. However, tradition has changed in many ways, this was no longer kept. With a less violent encounter than the Muslim conquerors, Kapsiki has been immersed by the western missionaries and school system, it had a continuous relationship. The Christian religion promotes the *non-distinction* between people, caste or clan, or gender. For this purpose, the worship of Kamelimeu, or the fear of Kareghé, nor the high position of Kamelimeu (Duriez, 2003:131) had some limits, they were called all “*Believers*”. At school, although the Kareghé, for a while did not integrate the school whether the church like others, in Rhumzou village and others, in Sir the Kareghé were the first to be converted to Christianity. In the case of Kareghé in Rhumzou, the catechist Vandeu Hwoeu Philippe, related to me, they were afraid to come to church. According to Vandeu Hwoeu, except the Sir village case, the Kareghé were afraid because they are traditionally reputed to be “spies” and are used to being sent to kill someone (magically, poison), so they were thinking to be seen “badly”. The same at school, they were all “*pupils or students*”, no distinction between Kareghé and Kamelimeu. After the independence of Cameroon, in 1960, officially, we were all called Cameroonians, the “*citizens*’ of one and unique country, with no differences, and if it had, the perpetrators of any verbal or physical action were sanctioned. From day to day, from year to year, naturally human culture is dynamic and changeable, due to numerous encounters, through mutual interactions.

It is a sign of power and richness for a man (father of a family) to have many children and wives (Kwache, 2016:173). Men marry many wives and have many children to serve as a labor on the farm and conquer large lands. One says also that having many children and wives defines the power and capability to rule a society. Population growing, access to farmland becomes more and more difficult, and food becomes though. Urban migration or rural exodus is frequent. The young came from adventure in the towns, at the church, at the mosque, at school, and during the national events, modernization, and globalization throughout the liberal exchanges, (Burhan,1999:266) The traditional customs and laws are no longer strong. No reghé and no meleu, but believers, students, or citizens. Due to those uncontrollable contacts and interactions whether locally or globally, Kapsiki society is assimilated until to not distinguish any difference

between the two castes. Due to the multiple contacts and interactions whether locally or globally, Kapsiki society is assimilated until to not distinguish any difference between the two castes, or can we call it a cosmopolitan society? In other words, the cultural and traditional elements have been switched by the external or shifted with them?

Hybridity and ambivalence of the identity of Kareghé: redefinition of self-identification.

Kapsiki society nowadays? Or what it means to be a Reghé for all fellow Kareghé and Kamelimeu, it may be called a hybrid or ambivalent identity for reghé...?

We agree that the relationship between Kamelimeu and Kareghé has changed. The cosmopolitan status of Kapsiki society on the religious plan that is knotted and intrinsic with tradition in the everyday life. Tradition that was completely hierarchical. Since the arrival of foreign religions, such as Christianity and Islam, the weight of the national political system and globalization with social networks and the free trade market (Juvintus, 2023), which advocate Equality policy and non-distinction between men. Traditional hierarchy relations have softened between Kamelimeu and Kareghé. However, although the principles of neutrality and equality of foreign institutions, traditional identity remains visible. Traditionally, Kareghé are musicians, they usually take this role also in church, celebrate masses, Christmas eves. Unconsciously, whether on the Kareghé's side who just think they are playing music at church, they play a role like any Christian, creates this hierarchy. Although there are Kamelimeu who play the drum in the church, if there is a reghé in this church, he will play music. The Kamelimeu unconsciously say to themselves that music is "the Kareghé thing". It is important to note the cosmopolitan character of Kapsiki society in general and Kareghé. Especially Catholic Christians, because the principles are pragmatic there, compared to Protestantism and Islam, which do not tolerate traditional practices. In this purpose, catholic Kareghé are my main focus in this this analysis. When there are Catholic events, all become faithful and "equal", but as soon as traditional facts are announced, the faithful Kareghé become Kareghé and celebrate mourning, play drum, and bury the corpse for example and the Kamelimeu take their place, (Landy and Heinrich, 1995).

As I noticed above, although Kareghé and Kamelimeu due to the globalizing principle of the modernization, both Kamelimeu and Kareghé crossed to each other the traditional boundaries. For example, eating Kareghé food, marrying Kamelimeu girl. In sharp contrast, although they are in permanent frequentation, which make the society more homogeneous, the advantage that

Kareghé have as buying modern instruments, going to school, teach them unconsciously to value their identity. They want it to be worth it and defend it by valuing as much as possible their activities, which is music. This idea of giving value to their activity, as music is only practiced by them, they strengthen the boundary and the relationship Kareghé-Kamelimeu become more heterogeneous. On this purpose the permanent contact does not erase the border between them and another caste, it is contrary reinforces the '*boundary*' because the music shows their strengthen, and they preserve it (Barth, 1969,). Thus, their connection with mundialization and western society does not reduce the borders but strengthens them.

Or how many times, since my childhood I have observed in church, when Kareghé slip or make a mistake, is "*insulted or corrected*", reminding him that he is reghé and people say "*it is his habit to be too messy*" for example. Fredrik Barth (1969), concept of "inscription and self-inscriptions", take its meaning here. Although the two castes are in contact, share the same principles on several forms, one or the other withdraws and/or is reminded to be this or that, when a character or identity trait is expressed in one way or another. This goes definition of Ethnic group as a group of people composed of "a set of members who identify themselves and are identified by the others as constituting a category of same level" (Barth, 1969:206, cf Naroll, 1964). I remember that Kafaché and his colleagues in the church are always active, they lend their instruments sometimes to the church because they are members. When Kafaché plays and rhythms well the drum, music, or song of the choir for example, he is good, we congratulate him and say that he is a musician. However, when he feels in a good mood and plays forcefully, the sound of the drum louder than the song, he is reminded that he is reghé: "*Look at this Reghé, he thinks it's his traditional drum, hum!*". The reghé identity of Kafaché is "circumstantial", depending on his actions, his behaviors. He is obliged to draw up his behaviors. In any situation, individual is considered and distinguished in term of a group identity (Usman,2011:3). The Kareghé in all these contexts mentioned, must measure their sensation, whether joy or anger, otherwise their mood and reactions will be identified as "Reghé" (Juvintus,2023:96). Christian Duriez says in Sir village, close to Rhumzou case where Kareghé were the first to convert to Christianity, the church was for long time called 'Kareghé Mission. And he was asking himself if that is why it was slowly and with difficulties Christians communities were created (2003:132).

Other situations that are important to focus on also are football and school. During football tournaments, for example, if there is a reghé in a team, the result of the match is stereotyped. When the team in which there is a reghé wins, it is because there is a reghé and it has "magic

or witchcraft" and otherwise if the team loses "it is because the reghé is unlucky". Same thing at school, a reghé child who has Kamelimeu friends, to maintain friendship must be resigning, measure his actions, because at any time his actions can remind him or her of his identity. He or she is not only a student, for the Kamelimeu but "*a reghé student*": A hybrid and ambivalent identity. "Hybrid identity" because he (reghé), at the base was conservative of tradition and participate in many equalities promoting institution. Kareghé are perceived as traditional-Christian as Kafaché for example, to soften his status of marginalization and social stigma, in order to be accepted. Whether at school, in church, in mosques, and in citizen events. "Ambivalent identity", because a reghé in these institutions although they advocate equality, is at risk at any time of being dismissed or reminded that it is "Reghé", has any inappropriate action, or an error.

VI.2-What is the impact of the social changes between the Kamelimeu and Kareghé?

By answering this quite long question, I intend to try describing some situations in which Kamelimeu and Kareghé meet frequently and interact. In these situations, I consider complex case studies in the sense that I followed and observed the Kareghé and Kamelimeu fully, led by a common motor. In other words, at church and other related events, at school and in traditional events, and in everyday lives.

Zra Djeghelda told me "*When a Reghé came to Kamelimeu's house, he knee-down, and clapped his hands. The Kamelimeu say, my reghé is hungry and were used to give millet or others etc.*" However, today things have changed, when we say we can get bush meat such as varan, a wild cat, a donkey, and even a dog, the *melemeu (zamane)* is changing, and the population is growing. Food and normal meat (cow, lamb, or goat) are expensive. And even during organized hunting (*pele*), "*we shout the reghé's name and he ran to pick up and bring back meat, now hum.... Even the python, some around here (Rhumzou), eat dogs. When they travel to Yaoundé, they eat everything, they do not leave anything more*". Then the Kareghé started to go farming, yet in the past, the Kareghé did not want to hear about cultivating anymore, now they must work more for themselves. In contrast, how to pay for school, to bring children to hospital as traditional medicine cannot fight against all diseases, although we can manage with some. The protestant and Muslim rules are more reluctant, putting a rigid distance against the traditional customs, but the social differences between reghé and meleu do not persist. But, in Catholicism, the rules are more tolerant, but the traditional social differences are lightly erased by respecting the principle of equality as believers. Behaviors, rules, and ways of life are mixed, Kapsiki is cosmopolitan.

VI 3- The tradition is what we are, how to live it today?

If I borrow this quotation of the French René Jaouen cited by Christian Duriez (2008), *“you must know where you come from to know where you are going. Otherwise, we no longer know who we are”* (my own translation). It is a risk to not know Who We are. Meeting otherness, sharing with them, and how to make Ours continue to survive. Going on the same sense with Rene Jaouen, how do we do to conserve our tradition, living, and benefit from the modernity without losing the authenticity of our identity?

It is obvious that tradition is changing, the Kareghé caste situation is changing. It's fascinating that their social and economic situation is improving. Less stigmatized and less dependent on the other caste's crop production. They are also farmers and produce their food today. However, the older generation seem conservative of the tradition. Kareghé are responsible for many rituals, rituals, roles, and activities. They are the “general specialists” of the tradition (Van Beek, 1982). They are the guardians of tradition. There are two points of view from the conservators of the tradition.

The first are the Kamelimeu elders who are afraid of the loss of the originality and non-practice of the different rituals. Traditionally rituals are shared between Kareghé and Kamelimeu, but most are performed by Kareghé. The Kamelimeu in general wants to continue with the shared traditional roles. There are some rituals that Kamelimeu don't perform, the corpse and autopsy for example. They find it dirty and is made for Kareghé for a while, it's “impure”. They don't also to perform “mystic”, “sorcery”. In the case of burying for example, Vantché relates *“[...] today it's difficult to have Kareghé to bury and perform the ritual, they don't want to do that if you don't have money. They know that it's their responsibility to do that. Do they want we (Kamelimeu) to bury the corpse?”*. Because of the external influences and the modernity, and the food independence, Kareghé don't accept to resign and assume their traditional duty. They want to be valued and be acknowledged and respected. They are more enthusiastic to perform ceremonies for “wealthy” people. Hamza Tizé adds *“Our fear with our Kareghé is that, in future maybe we couldn't have them to perform the funeral and burial, because the young generation seek money and most of them are not much interested in their traditional role”*. He is afraid that reghé jobs will disappear.

Secondly, we have the Kareghé elders who argue that their children must continue and conserve the tradition. They feel guilty about not being enough strong to protect tradition, it's their duty. They are afraid to not have an heir to their role, responsibilities, and skills. Maître, the leader of Kareghé at Mogodé for himself is confident that reghé identity and roles will never lose in

Kapsikiland. For this purpose, he states *“Our work is hereditary, and none Kamelimeu should practice many of them and don’t even know. My work that I do now, one of my children will do it, he will take my “hand”, this, from generation to generation [...] he has born reghé and he will me reghé, that’s what is the will of Shalla (God)”*. In the same vein Zra Djeghelda the leader of reghé at Rhumzou village continues *“[...] these young generations, they eat all our foods, we can’t still have the bush meats. Moreover, during burial rituals for example, they take the goat meat that they give us. But there are a lot of activities that they can’t do, they don’t know how to forge, divination, for example, it’s advance for us”*. Van Beek, in his article *eating like a blacksmith* wrote *“When someone eats like a blacksmith, he becomes one. People claim that still today this is the way some melimu turn into rerhE by eating this “non-food” (1982e:122). The older generation of Kareghé are jealous to share their traditional power, skills with Kamelimeu. They want their children to inherit them (Juvintus, 2023:96).*

Intrinsically with the previous perspectives, we have a revolutionary perspective of the tradition. Revolutionary in which way? The new generation wants things to change. But how? In which way? For the young Kamelimeu, they want to benefit from some fact that characterize Kareghé but refusing to be identified as a reghé. For instance, most of the young Kamelimeu eat “taboo food” of Kareghé. As the preference of food is one of the facts that defines the qualification of “reghé”, they don’t accept anymore. Vantché argued *“when Kamelimeu have tasted the Kareghé’s food, they found it delicious. They started to eat. Then Kareghé said, as you started to eat our food, we will be all Kareghé or Kamelimeu. Now we became the same, eating bush meats, with don’t accept that injustice”*. Indeed, some Kamelimeu started to eat the taboo food, because of expensiveness of the “normal meat” (cow, sheep, goat). Even in any, social mobility, cross-caste behaviors, “Similarly, while the system of acquired rank appreciates the social mobility through individual efforts, it is not possible to alter the status categories in a system of ascribed rank (Berreman, 1972)” (Usman, 2011:2). Answering my question even though, Kareghé and Kamelimeu eat together, they want to be called Kareghé, Vantché says *“Even if they don’t want or whatever is changing, they will be called “Kareghé”. That’s their identity, what they are, same for us the Kamelimeu”*. According to Vantché and Kareghé, social and economic life can be great, but the identity of “reghé”, is unalterable”.

Another point is, that for some young Kamelimeu I had raised a discussion at Ghoufta village, young Kamelimeu argued to me, Kafaché as he has money, he can be taken as “a meleu” and even Kamelimeu girls can marry him. But Kafaché feels and perceives himself as an unchangeable reghé, despite the social changes, and economic security he has. He feels more

secure and confident to be called “reghé”, rather than to be accepted by Kamelimeu and has a risk of being rejected at any time, in wrong circumstance. Fredrik Barth argues “[...] and being dependents of Baluch commoners cling to an identity which can at least offer them a claim to honorable origin [...]” (1969:125). In these words, we follow the same vein with the fact that Kareghé prefer to continue their traditional activities and roles, in contrast, following other religion which can’t restrict them to their origin, identity. In my film I mentioned that Kafaché has converted to Catholicism continuing to play his traditional roles”.

On the other hand, we have young Kareghé like Kafaché whose are cosmopolitans, some are Christians, Muslims and other are adventurers. They are proud to be reghé and continue to follow what their parents have been doing. They are proud to inherit, they agree with their parents in one point, Kafaché (my film *The catalyst*) argues “*I am reghé, that’s what I’m. Being reghé is natural, I can’t kill myself because I am reghé, same thing if you are meleu. And whether you are sorcerer, vampire, or something else it is natural [...]*”. Being a reghé isn’t a matter for most of the Kareghé I interviewed during my research, they just want their social and economic situation to change. Although, they seek or wish for an alternative identity (Barth, 1969:134) when they are out of traditional core. In other words, participating in holiday football tournament, at school, or the case of the Kafaché older brother who converted to Islam and immigrated to Mokolo, for example, and other situations described above are some illustrations that show ‘a need to be accepted differently. Differently to how they are perceived traditionally, as Barth conclude in the Pathan and Baluch in Pakistan case, it’s “to the advantage of the actors themselves to change their label so as to avoid the costs of failure; and so, where there is an alternative identity within reach the effect is a flow of the personnel from one identity to another an no change in the conventional characteristics of the status” (1969:133). But how to deal with that? Kafaché utilizes one of their activities, performs well and earns money. He invests in businesses and employs his brothers. Kareghé whether in Rhumzou or another village, there are involved in different economical activities, and become less dependent on the Kamelimeu whom where more famers. Kodji Henri argued “*We never ate at their home. Now we go to their house People from Kamelimeu caste didn’t go to Beuza bar (a Kareghé bar), they never eat there. But today, people from our caste slaughter and fry meat there at the same bar. The Kareghé have bars and invested everywhere. They have financial security ... and they want to dominate us.*”(The catalyst, 2023). Henri is surprised by how people go to Kareghé bar eat and drink there, and he is a witness of this change as he is an intermediary generation between young and elders.

VII. Concluding remarks.

Exploring the social and economic changes of the Kareghé caste through Biki music in Kapsiki society was the principal aim of this text and the impact of the economic change on the self-identification and other identification of the Kareghé caste. The music group of Kafaché in Rhumzou village were the main participants. After I have presented the history and ecological context of the Kapsikiland and Rhumzou village precisely. I also emphasised on the use of some concepts. The use of Kapsiki instead of “Kirdi”, the Kamwe instead of “Higgi/Higi” are derogatory names called the neighboured tribes. I used the name “Kapsiki for both communities Kapsiki in Cameroon and Kamwe in Nigeria”. To correct some appellation of the caste in the Kapsiki society, mainly Kamelimeu and Kareghé. Through the three cosmogonic myths of foundation of the two castes, we concluded that, the name “smith or blacksmith” does not give the total meaning of Kareghé or Reghé which explain their stigmatised ostracized position in the society. We used during the whole thesis, the name.

Through qualitative research methods, I gathered data applying for participant observation and audio and video recording as techniques of research. Through the theory of strategic analysis, trying to explain how Kareghé use music one of their activities, to affect the whole social structure. Considering other factors which affected the social and economic changes of Kareghé, such as Christian and Islam religions, western school system and modernisation. Biki music is also a consequence of the effect of these external factors on the traditional activity and duty of Kareghé. Benefiting from the several social responsibilities they have, and serve the other caste, they used it as strength, a strategy to change their social stigma. Then, the theory of ethnicity, used for two or more ethnic groups applied in the context of the two main Kapsiki castes. Barth’s theory is used here to study the complex measurement of the identity and self-identity of the Kareghé and Kamelimeu castes. A permanent, unconscious, and invisible boundaries coexisting between them. It’s important to recall that, although the impact of extern factors that effected the weight of the tradition which is conservative. I, e. despite the permanent contact, in the church, mosque, school, and political events, Kareghé and Kamelimeu, claim permanently their belonging, to show their difference from other, this especially, when happens an agreeable or disagreeable behaviours or circumstances. It is usual to hear Kamelimeu saying, they are the pure, and a reghé does not have his place close to him, he is not “clean and smells bad”. And Kareghé are used to say, that they have many activities and are skilled and talented, we are “naturally more intelligent than Kamelimeu”, they depend on our material productions and rituals. Zra Djeghelda says “...*the advance we have is that there are many activities that*

Kamelimeu don't know how to perform, and they are ours...'. Kareghé ownership of the several activities, is used as a power, to apply their strategy to value their identity and strengthen the boundaries between them. Whereas Kamelimeu show and value their “purity” and superior background to show up the difference and construct the social barrier. Thus, boundaries are maintained through activities ownership of Kareghé and the historical superiority and “purity” of Kamelimeu.

As other number of the artistic activities, music is one of the Kareghé's, first and traditionally role and duty. Second the music is a source of income, today biki music with the numerous of the wedding celebration, influenced by the valorisation of the polygamy in Kapsikiland. Kafaché however, as other musicians have gained from the biki music. He creates and invests in many businesses and employs his colleagues of the same castes from many villages. Wedding celebration like marriage or any event (funerals, initiation etc.) are social facts that emphasis friendship, kinship, and social status in the Kapsiki society. Therefore, the trade of “assistance” during these ceremonies defines the social status, and power of the individual and group in the society. Someone who takes part and assists to many biki for example has assurance to be “assisted” during whether good or bad situation (kindly or notably). Biki as ceremony of praise and worth of the spouses and guest, it manages a lot of money both the Kareghé musicians and Kamelimeu (groom).

Finally, coming from the static and rude position of the tradition of conservator of social structure. It wants that each caste, whether Kamelimeu or Kareghé, continue to play their ancestral roles, despite the dramatic changes' tradition has undergone recent decades. However, from all those social changes through the economic independency of Kareghé and especially Kafaché, their identity germinates different form of perceptions. Referring to the different case studies, in chapter 6, 'Hybrid and ambivalent' identities merged. Kareghé who converted to Christianity and Islam live in distinct positions. It's natural, and no choice to change it, non-social and economic position can change it. The Reghé's identity is ambivalent, in the way that the one who are economically secured are, less reghé than others. I mean by position, identity, precisely if they are Christians (catholic), when they are in the Christian frame, they are believers and equals, and when they go out, they are different for instance.

I worth social and economic changes of the Kareghé situation, is appreciable and valued. But if these changes do not have some limits or well oriented both by Kareghé and Kamelimeu, by respecting each caste roles and social functions, the Kapsiki identity is in danger.

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