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THE CIVIL WAR CONFLICT BETWEEN ANGLOPHONES/FRANCOPHONES
IN THE NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST REGIONS OF CAMEROON

by

Myriam Jeter
B.A. May 2021, Old Dominion University

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Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

THE CIVIL WAR CONFLICT BETWEEN ANGLOPHONES/FRANCOPHONES IN THE NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST REGIONS OF CAMEROON

Myriam Jeter
Old Dominion University, 2023
Director: Dr. Schulman Peter

The Civil War conflict between Anglophones and Francophones, also known as the Ambazonia war, is a long-standing issue that continues to plague the people living in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. This paper explores the colonial history of the nation, the cause of the ongoing conflict, the reasons for its escalation, and how it gave rise to the Ambazonian separatists who want to have a separate nation called the Ambazonia Republic.

This study contributes to conflict understanding in two ways. First, it sheds light on the cultural and economic impacts of internally generated crises in a country. Second, it identifies perspectives on the conflict in order to provide possible solutions to this conflict. This paper explores the causes of and the core reasons behind the Anglophone and the Francophone crisis by investigating both sides of the dispute through a dual perspective approach from both the Anglophone and Francophone factions, with the aim of conflict resolution.

This research uses a historical methodology to examine the past through a qualitative analysis approach. The causes of the civil conflict will be determined with the aid of interviews, narratives, and personal experiences. Interviews conducted on both sides of the conflict using selected questions will highlight the contributing factors and barriers preventing resolution, the individuals, groups, or key actors/politicians capable of resolving the conflict, as well as those perpetuating the conflict, and their motivations.

Based on the findings, both parties involved in the conflict are open to dialogue and

restitution for the marginalized party, in this case, the Anglophones.

The future implications of this work include opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue that may help ease tensions and foster communication among the Francophone and Anglophone communities. This work provides an alternative to governmental approaches to crises and protests while highlighting the need for dialogue to create space for listening and understanding. It demonstrates the importance of negotiation toward reaching a middle ground and compromise, including the necessity for restitution to attain conflict resolution.

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“Peace and Unity are Important for a human being.”

This thesis is dedicated to all my Anglophone and Francophone brothers and sisters, to all the soldiers who are still fighting, including the ones who died since the Anglophone/Francophone crisis started. We are all Cameroonian; it doesn't matter whether you speak French or English.

We are united and love our country.

We stand together for Peace and Unity.

Cette thèse est dédiée à tous nos frères et sœurs anglophones et francophones à tous les soldats qui sont encore entraînés de combattre, avec ceux qui sont morts depuis que la crise Anglophone et Francophone a commencé. Nous sommes tous Camerounais, peu importe si tu parles français

ou anglais Nous sommes unis et aimons notre pays.

Ensemble, nous luttons pour la paix et l'unité.

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NOMENCLATURE

DEFINITIONS

Anglophone Crisis: is an ongoing conflict between the Anglophone separatists in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon and the government of the country.

Ambazonia: Ambazonia is a term derived from the word Amba Bay, a bay considered to be the natural boundary of the former République du Cameroun and Southern people of Cameroons.

The name was created in 1984 by a group led by FonGorji Dinka, who declared the Republic of Ambazonia an independent state that would have comprised all Anglophone Cameroon regions, Northwest and Southwest Cameroon.

Restitution: The restoration of the Anglophone lost land and properties from the ongoing crisis.

Suppression: The action when English language plus culture are feeling oppressed because the government uses force to impose French into their educational system, court, and work environment.

Identity: The act of being, especially in regard to what a person or thing is. The Anglophone societies feel that their government is trying to classify them based on identity.

Colonial Legacy: This is the influences and outcomes of colonialism after a strong country takes control of a weaker country at its will, and though the era may be over, yet contemporary economic, political and social structures across regions in Africa continue to be shaped by their distinctive

experiences from the period.

Culture-Value: The root principles and ideals on which all communities protect and rely on to protect existence and harmonious relations.

KEY ABBREVIATIONS

<i>SDF</i>	Social Democratic Front
<i>PDM</i>	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement
<i>SCNC</i>	Southern Cameroon National Council
<i>MRC</i>	Movement Pour la Renaissance Du Cameroon
<i>KNDP</i>	Kamerun National Democratic Party
<i>CEF</i>	Cameroon Education Forum
<i>CATTU</i>	Cameroon Anglophone Teachers Trade Union
<i>SNMWOT</i>	Southwest and Northwest Women's Task Force
<i>WFAC</i>	Women for a Change Cameroon.
<i>UPC</i>	Union des Populations du Cameroon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 THE HISTORY OF CAMEROON	6
1.2 THE NAME OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE COLONIZATION	6
1.3 ROLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION	7
1.4 DISCUSSIONS ON THE NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST CAMEROON UNIFICATION.....	7
1.5 SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS: THE INDICATION BY THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE OF MANY POLITICAL PARTIES & ASSOCIATIONS.....	9
1.6 THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS.....	9
1.7 REUNIFICATION SYSTEM BETWEEN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE.....	13
1.8 THE REFERENDUM.....	14
1.9 THE RISE OF OPPOSITION GROUPS.....	16
1.10 INFLUENCE OF THE COLD WAR	18
1.11 CAMEROON BETWEEN 1972-2016	19
2. MAJOR POINT OF CONFLICT/CRISIS -2016.....	24
2.1 THE NAME CHANGE/LANGUAGE MONOLOGY.....	25
2.2 THE ROLE OF DIASPORA IN ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT.....	28
2.3 THE ECONOMIC IMPACT ON THE REGIONS	30
2.3.1 THE IMPACT OF HUMAN-INDUCED DISASTERS.....	31
2.3.2 ECONOMIC IMPACT ON BOTH REGIONS OF ANGLOPHONE.....	34
2.4 GENDER	37
2.5 CONCLUSION.....	44
3. PERSPECTIVE ON THE CONTEMPORARY CRISIS	46
3.1 LANGUAGE DIFFERENTIATION	52
3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	63
3.3 CONCLUSION.....	65
4. RESEARCH DESIGN	67
4.1 METHODS	67
4.2 INTERVIEWS/ PARTICIPANTS AND DESIGN, PROCEDURE & MEASURES	67
4.3 RESEARCHER ROLE	68

Chapter		Page
	4.4 FINDINGS	69
	4.5 QUESTIONS	69
	4.6 RESULTS	70
	4.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FROM RESULTS ANALYSIS	71
	4.8 THEMES.....	71
	4.9 DISCUSSION.....	77
	4.10 LIMITATIONS.....	78
5.	CONCLUSION	79
	5.1 RECOMMENDATION	80
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	82
	APPENDIX: INTERVIEWS	89
	VITA.....	90

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
3.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK SHOWING CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO CONFLICTS	65
4.7.1 DIAGRAM OF THE THEMES EMERGING FROM THE INTERVIEWS	71

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1953, Nelson Mandela ended his Presidential speech to the Transvaal African National Congress with the words: “You can see that there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow again and again before we reach the mountaintops of our desires. Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past. They will not frighten us now.” (“The words of Nelson Mandela”, 2013). These words by Mandela went on to trigger an investigation by the ruling National Party Government. In the same way Anglophone Cameroonians are going through this same “walk” to economic freedom and independence, which is so sorely desired. Anglophone Cameroonians have been marginalized through an ongoing struggle and a subsequent civil war. In this thesis, I will demonstrate the pathway through which they are trying to work toward attaining a resolution.

The Anglophone-Francophone conflict, also known as the Ambazonia War, is an ongoing civil war instigated by Ambazonian separatists in the Anglophone territories of the Northwest and Southwest Region collectively known as Southern Cameroon. Ambazonian separatists are armed locals, from both the Northwest and Southwest regions, who want to have a separate nation called Ambazonia. In 2016, English-speaking civil servants began a protest against Francophones, who they felt were siphoning political and economic power for to themselves. This caused the Ambazonian separatists to launch a guerrilla campaign against Cameroonian security forces and later unilaterally proclaim the restoration of independence. In November 2017, the government of Cameroon declared war on the separatists and sent its army into the Anglophone regions.

The Anglophone crisis can be traced back to Cameroon’s troubled colonial history of bilingual heritage (Anglophone and Francophone). On July 14, 1884, Cameroon became a German

colony, which Germany surrendered after the first World War during the negotiation to the Versailles Treaty in 1919. The surrender of the colony led to a new administration of this region called the mandate system. Under Britain and France, the region was carved into two parts: 20% to Britain and 80% to France. This meant that with colonization, the Francophone speakers were of a higher population than the Anglophone speakers. On January 1, 1960, the French section (Francophone) gained independence and took on the name La Republique du Cameroun. But the English-speaking section (Anglophone) in present-day Northwest and Southwest Regions under the British administration (Southern Cameroons Trustee Territory) had the option to merge with either the Republic of Cameroon or Nigeria. British-administered Southern Cameroon voted to reunite with the Francophone section at a United Nations organized plebiscite on February 11, 1961.

President Ahmadou Ahidjo was elected as the first President of Cameroon in May 1960. On March 23, 1970, Ahidjo was reelected, although he was the only candidate of the country's single party called the Cameroon National Union (CNU). Ahidjo changed the country's federal structure and approved the vote that was passed in the plebiscite for both states to unite in 1961, and he called the united country United Republic of Cameroon, which is in English. On February 4, 1984, the current President Paul Biya, his successor, moved to change the name from English to Francophone, which he called La République du Cameroun. Due to this union, the Anglophones complained of being treated as second-class citizens (Konings and Nyamnich, 1997). The name change further aggravated the Anglophones who felt it was a move to wipe out the minority Anglophones, and this gave rise to a protest to which the government employed the use of force to repress protesters.

In October 2016, the country saw a peaceful demonstration by lawyers' and teachers' trade

unions, who were upset about the unfair treatment and the enforcement of the French language in schools and law courts in the English-speaking regions. The response by the government was to send the protesters to prison. As a result of the ongoing crisis, Anglophone Cameroon has complained about the limited presence of any significant developmental projects in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. They insisted that these regions are in tremendous need of infrastructure: including hospitals, schools, roads, and market centers. They insisted that even though there is significant wealth, the government restricts the award of projects to these regions, and as a result the people suffer economically (Nyadera, 2020). Not only are Anglophone Cameroonians being marginalized in employment, but with the Anglophone war at its height, it becomes difficult for people to have reliable jobs because of them having to constantly move from place to place or region to avoid conflict. In January 2018, there was an insurgence of armed secessionist groups demanding the independence of the Anglophone region on a new country that would be called the Ambazonia Republic. This demand gave rise to many violent armed confrontations between the secessionist groups and the regular military.

Since the commencement of the war, thousands of people have been killed and more than half a million have been forced to leave their homes. According to a February 2022 report by the International Crisis Group, at least 6,000 people have died in the conflict while another 765,000 have been displaced, of whom more than 7,000 are refugees in neighboring Nigeria (Mutah, 2022). Organized national dialogue between separatists and the government resulted in no compromises, and the country's conflict status remained the same in the Anglophone region. With the granting of special status to the Francophone regions, the war continued to intensify later that year, on 2016.

The purpose of this study is to explore the cause of and the core reasons behind the Anglophone and the Francophone crisis by investigating both sides of the story through a dual

perspective approach from both the Anglophone and Francophone fractions, with the aim of conflict resolution. I will specifically analyze cases of the crisis impact with the primary goal of adding qualitative evidence that advances knowledge about the underlying causes of civil conflict. While there is a significant amount of research that has been and is being conducted about the ongoing civil conflict war between Anglophones and Francophones, there is very little of that we know about its adverse effects on the crisis region's, which could allow understanding of its political, historical, and social impact, as well proposing finding a middle ground for resolution. When people are displaced, they find themselves not having a place to live and other associated economic troubles. Critically, this crisis impacts date back to nearly 61 years ago and focuses on President Ahidjo's marginalization of Anglophone persons politically, socially, and economically (Mougoue, 2019, p. 30). Additionally, some have discussed the effects of the crisis on the local population, including many challenges that these regions have faced due to the killings, military presence, and lack of safety. However, current research agendas have been known to center around the theme of economic impacts (Washington Post, 2019).

The Anglophones represent around 20% of the Cameroonian population according to the World Bank report (Holzbauer, 2018), and the population of Anglophones in Northwest and Southwest regions is about 5 million ("Crisis at the Crossroads", 2017). These minorities have argued that the Francophones have treated them as second-class citizens. In late 2016, this frustration metamorphosed into violence and civil war. The Anglophones are agitating for a breakaway from the Francophones to create their new nation called Ambazonia (Washington Post, 2019).

The Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon are particularly interesting sites for this study, since the locals have been historically known to turn on residents in the regions as a

way of protesting and voicing their opposition to the government regulations and policies. Since the end of 2016, it has been estimated that more than 6,000 people have died and millions have been forced to flee to different regions and cities in Cameroon. According to the NGO International Crisis Group, factions might want stability and progress in the regions and believe that cultural tolerance can benefit both sides.

This study will contribute to our understanding in two ways. First, it will attempt to shed light on the cultural and economic impacts of internally generated crises in a country. Second, it seeks to show how those cultural and economic impacts shape the environment through the interview of selected representations of both sides of the warring parties. All of these are representations of the people and their feelings of oppression through their civil war. In other words, when the culture of the community shifts towards resentment of differences, this affects the people's understanding, progression, and democracy.

Qualitative research with people experiencing the crisis will add to the knowledge of political and/or historical methodological approaches from the past, to uncover the origins and implications of the crisis. I will use an interview guide since the nature of people's understanding of the causes of civil conflict may be different, and I believe that these can be uncovered from narratives and personal experiences. I will offer the following questions to guide the feedback toward my topic of interest but allow the participants' room to deviate or expand upon certain questions they find particularly important to them. My research seeks to understand the causes of the conflict in order to proffer solutions for resolution by targeting to answer questions such as, what are the contributing factors that led to war? What are the main barriers preventing the resolution? Who are the individuals, groups, or key actors/politicians capable of resolving the conflict? Who are those perpetuating the conflict and their motivations?

The goal of this work is to provide an overview of the cause of the crises and to present a new perspective through interviews and research methods including interactions involving educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or the observation of public behavior. The subjects will be chosen for the study based on snowball sampling. The significance of this project in terms of social importance is conflict resolution, and the reunification of warring parties in order to improve the economic condition in regions affected by the crisis. The aim is to improve collective understanding of conflict and real-world application of resolution in overall political structure.

1.1 The History of Cameroon

The Anglophone and Francophone crisis dates back to Cameroon's troubled colonial history. Cameroon was once a colony "and we know what colonialism means: the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to the governed, whatever the continent, the class, the color" (Kennedy, 1961, pp. 9-25). The country's 77 years of history under colonial power has made it vulnerable to administrators who continue to run the country under a colonial structure.

1.2 The Name of the Country Before Colonization

The end of the 1400s brought a more centralized state that appeared in Cameroon's northern part around the Mandara mountains. The state was known as the Mandara Kingdom and occasionally called Wandala. In the 15th century, European traders arrived in the region. Cameroon is the name given by the Portuguese to the Wouri River, otherwise known as Rio dos Camaroes or "River of Prawns or shrimps" in Portuguese and from this, the territory derived its name which is now spelled in different forms. The Spanish spelling is Cameron; Germans called it Kamerun; for the English it is Cameroon, and to the French it is Cameroun. Cameroon was a major slaves

outlet for the slave trade. During this time, Northern Cameroon was influenced by Islamic kingdoms in the Chad basin and the Sahel, while the South was ruled by small kings, chieftains, and Fons.

1.3 Role of Other Countries in the Region

On July 14, 1884, Cameroon became a German colony. Germany surrendered the colony after World War I according to the Versailles Treaty in 1919. Prior to this, Britain and France joined forces to attack Kamerun, and the administration of the territory was in disarray. Those areas were still under German control and hardly managed. The period of hostilities in Kamerun was, at best, an interregnum (Elango, 1985, pp. 657-73). The conditions began to change when the Germans were defeated and forced out of Kamerun. Then came the proclamation of the partition of the territory into the British and French regions. These two regions became an official order of the League of Nations and became United Nations trust territories after the Second World War. The French region was governed by the French Equatorial African colonies. The British region was divided into two parts, called the Northern and Southern Cameroons. The former was managed as an integral part of the Northern region of Nigeria, while the latter was governed as an integral part of the Eastern region of Nigeria when it transformed into the complete region of the Federal of Nigeria in 1959.

1.4 Discussions on the Northwest and Southwest Cameroon Unification

Several political discussions had already occurred before 1959 about the unification of both regions. A proposition was put forward for the Northwest and Southwest Cameroon unification, demanding a single administration either within or outside the Nigerian political system. The integration proposal sought the Northwest and Southwest Cameroons' emergence as autonomous regions or states of the Federation of Nigeria, whether individually or as a unit. This demanded

that Northwest and Southwest Cameroons separate from Nigeria and then exist as dual provinces or solo units. Unification, integration, and secession were supported in Northwest and Southwest Cameroons. Eventually, there was the choice of reunification that called for all sectors of former Kamerun to reunite into one independent state. The Northwest and the Southwest Cameroons preferred an evolutionary path to reunification on federal grounds, and a lot of support for this unification came mostly from people who have a political sense of self (Chem-Langhee & Njeuma, 1980, pp. 25-64); see also Njeuma's discussion on reunification in this volume "Consciousness reflects the political economy" (Karl Marx, political consciousness).

1.5 Southern Cameroonians: The Indication by the Political Initiative of Many Political Parties & Associations

A lot of the indigenous inhabitants opted for the integration of different political parties and associations. However, another majority of indigenous inhabitants of Mamfe, Bamenda, Wum, and Nkambe chose secession. Mamfe, or Mamfé, is a city in and is the capital of Manyu, a division of the Southwest Region in Cameroon. Wum is a town and commune located in Cameroon. It is the capital of the **Menchum division** in the Northwest Province. There was enormous support from all parties, including activists in Bamenda and Kumba for Reunification. There was an intensification of the dilemma at the UN due to the Cold War. Those advocates of integration who called for a vote for both Interaction and Reunification were tagged anti-communists, while those canvassing for immediate Reunification were considered Communists and had massive support of the Soviet bloc. Advocates of integration and secession had no ideal enemies. Though in 1959 they lost the massive support of the third-world countries after the UN membership considered an independent Southwest Cameroon economically non-viable. Since the anti-communists and communists both raised the same plebiscite questions, the UN had no difficulty in reaching a

decision. The conclusion was to make Integration and Reunification the plebiscite question. (1980, pp. 51-52). Events took off quickly afterward towards a unitary state of Cameroon.

However, in the plebiscites that were proposed and eventually supervised, the UN issued an invitation to the Northwest and Southwest Cameroonians asking them to choose between Cameroon and Nigeria, between Integration and Reunification. Furthermore, most of the Northwest Cameroonians opted for Nigeria, while many of the Southwest Cameroonians voted in favor of Cameroon. Northwest Cameroon became the Saradauna Provinces of Northwest Nigeria. The Saradauna Local Government Area is in the extreme southeast of Taraba State in Nigeria. Southwest Cameroon became the state of West Cameroon, and Cameroon became the state of East Cameroon. Both the West and East Cameroon states are what is now known as the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Later, in the national referendum organized by the Cameroon National Union (CNU), the sole political party in the Republic, many of the electors voted in favor of the United Republic of Cameroon (URC).

1.6 The Different Opinions

In 1959, the Premier of Southwest Cameroon and the Prime Minister of Cameroon arrived with differing views at the UN. Addressing the General Assembly, Premier Foncha of Southwest Cameroon suggested he preferred a federal system of Government for reunification. On the same occasion, the Prime Minister of Cameroon, Ahmadou Ahidjo, stated the people he guided wanted Reunification, not federal, and they had noted Foncha's statement. However, the people of Cameroon did not wish to inflict a unitary system called integration on their people (brothers and sisters) under British administration by mere votes. If Northwest and Southwest Cameroonians desired Reunification, the people of Cameroon were prepared to talk about the road to reach it with them with the condition that both will have an equal chance. Augustin Ngom Jua, who is also

Foncha's Deputy, held views representing the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) as a complete unit. Foncha thought, Southwest Cameroons should first sever its connection with Nigeria and become an independent state before the window of negotiations for Reunification on a Federal basis. In his view, Foncha was set on making Integration and Secession the key issues in the plebiscite, but he was pressured by the UN to replace Reunification with Secession in the plebiscite.

The UN's decision to prevent Secession from the plebiscite was not well received in Southwest Cameroon. Many of the petitioners expressed complete disapproval of the restriction of the plebiscite propositions to Integration and Reunification and wanted a third choice that would give a separate Southwest Cameroons state, with Commonwealth membership. Others threatened to obstruct the plebiscite if Secession was not included, or if it was canceled, in favor of a separate Southwest Cameroons state. The disagreement did not really accomplish anything at the UN. But the protests became broader. The pressure was so immense that Endeley asked to return to his own party: the Cameroon people's National Convention (CPNC) and the KNDP and should discard the plebiscite and solicited for the UN to grant Southwest Cameroon their independence. Politicians could not agree on the politics and future of the country.

Negotiations began in Yaoundé in early 1960. Foncha championed a loose form of the federation that Ahidjo turned down (Le Vine, 1961, p. 4). When Foncha flew back to the country, he faced accusations leveled against him by the CPNC of agreeing that the current state would assimilate as a member of the French community in the event of reunification. It was extremely unacceptable to the Southwest Cameroonians and even the strong supporters of the Reunification. Only the One Kamerun Party (OK) did not shift on their stand. They insisted that an emerging Republic should be devoid of any colonial political ties. With this posing a new challenge to

Foncha, he arranged another meeting with Ahidjo. While in the meeting in Douala, Foncha supported the setting up of a Cameroon Federation “outside the Commonwealth and French Community”. This was acceptable to Ahidjo and both parties agreed to form a United Democratic Federal Republic of Cameroon, which meant they would not be a part of the French Community or the Commonwealth. That was a “No” for the Southwest Cameroonians. For them, it was missing information about the actual nature of the would-be federation and the CPNC charge that the federation would have a strong central government.

In November 1960, another conference was organized by Foncha with the collaboration of the British in London. There was a lot of tension, and the hope of coming to an agreement flew out of the window (Kale, 1967, p. 70). The talks concentrated on the second choice in the plebiscite. Foncha attempted to convince the British to interpret a vote in favor of “Reunification as one which implied a preparatory period of independence “ (Rubin, 1971, p. 108) It was turned down by the British government, partly because it contradicted the spirit of the UN plebiscite, also it was constitutionally impossible. This meant that if the plebiscite preferred the Cameroon proposition, putting it in order would have to be done before the termination of trusteeship. The talks ended without any constructive compromise.

Some voters felt that voting to break away from Nigeria meant they would exist as an independent state, hence they thought integration versus reunification meant integration versus secession. This meant they mistook the second choice of reunification in the plebiscite to mean secession. A situation, Chief Stephen E. Nyenti of Manfe had brought up just a few days before the plebiscite occurred. According to him, many believed voting for the white box [reunification] indicated that Southern Cameroon is breaking away from Nigeria in order to be a separate sovereign State “ (Chem-Langhee, 1976, p. 3).

In the private correspondence with E.M. Chilver, some Southwest Cameroonians further indicated they were convinced the process of reunification was “an enduring alliance between states rather than a political union, something even less than a true confederation and more like the Commonwealth” (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). Foncha was again aware of the situation and arranged to meet with Ahidjo in Buea in December 1960. That meeting was successful, because, after the meeting, a joint declaration was issued which expressed their “full agreement” where the UN General Assembly had stated with clarity the two plebiscite questions and asserted that they agreed with the interpretation of the Cameroun alternative as defined in London in November 1960. Also stated in the event of a vote in favor of reunification, a conference of the representatives of the territories concerned, the UN, and the administering authorities would be held immediately after the vote to fix the time limit and conditions for the transfer of sovereign powers to an organization representing the future Federation.

Foncha played down the terms and conditions following the matter, because numerous voters became convinced that in the event of reunification, Southwest Cameroon would be governed directly from Buea without any interference from Yaoundé. For that reason, they voted for Reunification anticipating a fragile central, in which the governments of the federated states would be stronger than the federal government (Chem-Langhee, 1976, pp. 303-33; Chem-Langhee & Njeuma, 1980, p. 54). The expectation with Foncha was mutual because he also had the same assumption as his people, hence he stated that “he seeks a Cameroons Federation in which the Southwest Cameroons would remain the same as it is now, with the powers presently held by the administering authority to be vested in the central government of the Federation” (Le Vine, 1961, p. 4). According to Article 38(1) of the Constitution, “any subject not listed in Articles 5 and 6, and whose regulation is not specifically entrusted by the Constitution to a federal law shall be the

exclusive jurisdiction of Federated states within which these limits may adopt their own Constitution” (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). However, the articles were an exception for only the West Cameroon House of Chiefs and the customary courts to be excluded from the Federal jurisdiction, with no other subject under the jurisdiction of the federal states mentioned in the Federal Constitution. West Cameroon states demanded to own the local government, social welfare, education, agriculture, cooperatives, antiquities, archives, and other small businesses. As Edwin Ardener (1967, p. 309) pointed out, except for primary education, none of these items would have had any constitutional validity if claimed by either of the states. By allocating the major sources of revenue with foreign aid to itself and leaving the governments of the federated states with little financial freedom, the federal government made the government of the federated states financially dependent.

1.7 Reunification System Between Anglophone and Francophone

Shortly after the Federal Constitution came to power in October 1961, the federation began to move quickly through the unitary system. The following year, the pound sterling was removed from circulation and replaced with the Cameroon Financière Africaine (CFA) franc across the whole country. After three years, everyone in the trade union in the country came together to form one federation that is connected to a single party. All the political parties in the Republic came together to form the Cameroon National Union (CNU). In the middle of this, there was a political struggle for leadership of West Cameroon which had been developed between Jua and Solomon Tandeng Muna from the time constitutionally, which put Foncha in a situation where he could not be both Prime Minister of West Cameroon and Vice President of the Republic. The fight became intense. However, it led to the expulsion of Muna and his supporters from the KNDP after Jua’s victory (Johnson, 1970, pp. 274-275). Muna did not go for good, but he ended up forming a new

political party, and his group, the Cameroon United Congress (CUC), pledged to back the Federal Constitution and at the same time champion the creation of a single political party and a unitary system for the entire country. He created a slogan “One country, One government, One flag, One currency” (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). His popularity was so immense that President Ahidjo discovered the program matched his policy. Then in 1968, he appointed Muna Prime Minister of West Cameroon in place of Jua. A section in the Federal Constitution prohibited the same person from occupying the posts of Prime Minister of West Cameroon and Vice-President of the Republic at the same time, but this was overridden and Muna was appointed Vice-President of Cameroon on top of his position as Prime Minister of West Cameroon. The position of Vice-President was occupied by Foncha before he was removed from office before the Muna appointment, this allowed Muna to create a crystal vision to introduce a unitary system in Cameroon (Ngoh, 1987, p. 257). That was followed by the announcement by President Ahidjo that the National Assembly intended to transform the Federal Republic into a unitary state, provided the electorate supported the idea in a referendum May 20th 1972.

1.8 The Referendum

Ahidjo believed that he wanted development for the nation, but the only thing he did was to propose and give the nation his proposition to vote for it. He felt that the Republic's weighty and costly federal structures were holding back the nation's developmental efforts. Bilingualism and multiculturalism were encouraged at the federal-state level only after there were no evolutionary attempts after the federal-level state. Moreover, agricultural production and urban development were being hindered by the inadequately rationalized and harmonized public and town planning policies resulting from the federal structures of the Republic (Chem-Langhëë, 1995).

The President elaborated his plan for the nation, in which he mentioned some important points that would be beneficial for the nation's support and specified the nature of the items. The question of the referendum and the draft constitution for the plan was called to a vote. The plan was then to make a serious urgent request for voters to cast their votes for the draft constitution that would automatically put in place a Republic, "one and in-divisible," with "one Government and one Assembly" (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). The question for the referendum was, "Do you approve, with a view to consolidating National Unity and accelerating the economic, social, and cultural development of the Nation, the draft Constitution instituting Republic One, and indivisible, to be styled, under or as, the United Republic of Cameroon?" (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). That draft of the constitution eventually became English and French, the official languages of the nation, and was written in both languages in case of any conflict of interpretation. The French version of the Constitution would be the original. Also, the draft stated with no procedure to amend the Constitution, if it tended to weaken the republican character, unity, or territorial integrity of the state, or the democratic principle by whom the Republic was governed, changes would be accepted.

The President's appeal was very successful with Members from different political leaders' schools, workers, and students. Under President Ahidjo there was no public debate, and the political climate was a dictatorship. It was unsafe to express opinions, especially if it was different from the government. This explains why they voted immensely because the people could not publicly oppose the unitary state. Nobody tried to inspect or contradict the proposition of a unitary state and what it would contribute to the future political integration, unity, and stability of Cameroon. Bilingualism and multiculturalism were served by it, whether federalism is inconsistent with national integration, and stability. It was not a surprising fact that the Cameroonians voted

overwhelmingly for the President during the referendum, some people felt like it was a dictatorship (Chem-Langhëë, 1995). Not many of the people were going to go against the regime, and this acceptance showed in the vote. After the results were signed, history was made, and the birth of the United Republic of Cameroon was declared. The sacred pact was forever protected, and indicated the deep unity of the nation.

The pact of unity has never been easy for the unitary state of Cameroon because of different views on politics, interests, desires, and experiences. However, the Southwest Cameroonians and their leaders want to preserve their colonial heritage because they are a minority due to their decentralized system. It is also one of the reasons they would rather have a loose federation in the occurrence of Reunification. Ahidjo, the Prime Minister of Cameroon, after becoming President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, preferred a strong centralized unitary system. Following his objectives, the President saw the chance to further his interests and used every opportunity to push his goal. On the 6th of May 1972, President Ahidjo declared the federal structures would be adopted in the event of a reunification. This was to assure the Southwest Cameroonians the heritage, which they were contributing to the nation, would not be ignored, “but would be taken into consideration within the framework of a bilingual multicultural state” (Chem-Langhëë, 1995).

In the end, he succeeded in bringing it to the Unitary States of Cameroon on June 2, 1972. He accomplished the goal he set many years ago, although there was earlier opposition from the Southern Cameroonians and their leaders, and would later come back after being more decisive.

1.9 The Rise of Opposition Groups

Amidst mounting discontent in Anglophone Cameroon, the Social Democratic Front (SDF) arose as the primary opposition party in 1990, advocating for a move towards liberal political reform (Krieger, 2008, p. 36). However, the party's emergence was overshadowed by the death of

six Anglophone youths in clashes with the police (Krieger, 2008, p. 36). The government accused SDF supporters of promoting the integration of Anglophone Cameroon with Nigeria, citing their singing of the Nigerian national anthem and carrying of its flag (Konings, 2004, p. 185). The Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement (CPDM), the ruling party, condemned the SDF and branded its members and followers as 'Biafrans' or secessionists, demanding a strong government reaction. Domestic and international pressure for democratization ultimately pushed President Biya to introduce multiparty politics and greater human rights and liberties through the Law of Association in 1990 (Law No. 90/056) (Ayuk, 2018, p. 47). This change facilitated the organization of public rallies and protests and enabled information dissemination through newspapers. As a result, other political parties, civil society groups, and associations emerged, actively representing the interests of the Anglophone minority communities both within Cameroon and abroad.

In 1990, Foncha and Muna resigned from the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM), which was the name adopted by the single party in 1985. Despite their past rivalry, they both resigned from the consultative committee in 1994 and openly criticized the assimilation of Anglophones. The same year, Bamenda hosted the second All Anglophone Conference (AAC2), where some attendees advocated for a two-state federal system or secession. The crisis escalated after violent clashes erupted in Buea on November 28th and in Bamenda on December 8th, which received widespread media coverage. The dissemination of images depicting security forces' abuses quickly spread on the internet and international television channels, significantly influencing public opinion and sparking a heated debate on the Anglophone issue.

In 1993, with the prospect of a constitutional review to adapt it to the multiparty system, Anglophones organized the All-Anglophone Conference (AAC) and demanded a return to

federalism. However, the Consultative Committee for Review of the Constitution rejected federalism in favor of decentralization. To resist their assimilation, Anglophones formed movements and associations. Despite protests in 1994, the government, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), went ahead with the privatization of the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), which played a crucial economic and social role in the Anglophone region. The government's move to standardize the Anglophone and Francophone education systems also faced strong resistance from teachers' unions and parents, ultimately leading to the creation of an independent General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board by presidential decree.

Anglophones established movements and associations to resist their assimilation, but their efforts were largely unsuccessful. In 1994, they protested the government's announcement of the privatization of the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), a crucial economic and social institution in the Anglophone region, but to no avail due to pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The government also faced strong resistance from teachers' unions and parents when it tried to standardize the Anglophone and Francophone education systems, leading to the creation of an independent General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board by presidential decree. Despite these actions, SCNC militants continued to organize protests in the Anglophone regions every October 1st, and other dramatic events, such as the proclamation of the Ambazonia Republic's independence on radio Buea in 1999 and 2009, occurred. Nevertheless, centralization persisted, and Anglophones continued to lose political representation at the national level. As of 2017, only one of the 36 ministers held a portfolio and was Anglophone.

1.10 Influence of the Cold War

The end of the Cold War played a crucial role in reducing intrastate conflicts by eliminating

ideological polarization, cutting off the flow of financial and material resources to armed groups in developing countries, and restoring the UN's role in dealing with global security issues. In the context of the Anglophone crisis, changes in the international system influenced the preference for pursuing the Anglophone agenda through diplomatic means within the country. For instance, Anglophone leaders requested UN intervention in 1995 to address the issue of independence. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War inspired a new wave of democratization in the global south. Cameroon introduced multipartyism in the 1990s, resulting in increased freedom of communication and association. As a result, political parties and civil society groups embraced the Anglophone agenda.

1.11 Cameroon Between 1972-2016

The arrival of President Paul Biya succeeded Ahidjo in November 1982, he continued to centralized power. On 22 August 1983, and divided the Anglophone region into two provinces: Northwest and Southwest. In 1984, then changed the country's official name to the Republic of Cameroon (the name of the former Francophone territory) also, removed the second star from the flag, which represented the Anglophone part of the country.

After the restoration of the multiparty system in the 1990s, the Anglophones take the opportunity to make their grievances heard. On 26 May 1990, the Social Democratic Front, a new pro-federalism opposition party, with a national vocation but with a strong contingent of Anglophones, was created in Bamenda. It gained ground in the Anglophone part of the country before expanding its influence into Francophone provinces. It then participated in the October 1992 presidential elections and almost win.

The political assimilation of the Anglophone region is hotly contested. In 1994, an All-Anglophone Conference was convened to implore the central government to either revert to the

federal system or accept the demand for secession (Awasom, 2007, p. 155). This conference came up with resolutions in the form of the Buea Declaration that highlighted the stance of the territory by declaring that: *'The common values, vision, and goals which we share as a people and those of our Francophone partners in the Union are different, and clearly cannot blend within the framework of a Unitary state such as was imposed on us in 1972. We are by nature pacifist, patient and tolerant and have demonstrated those qualities since we came into this Union. Our Francophone brothers believe in brutalizing, torturing, maiming, and assassinating dissenters. They have raped our women and daughters and used hand and rifle grenades against peaceful demonstrators. We find such barbarism alien to us and short of the civilized standards of all democratic societies'* (All-Anglophone Conference Standing Committee, 1993, pp. 4–5).

This Conference was clearly the start of a new approach to the struggle for secession or federalism. And was encouraged by different groups in the 1990s and marked a period of re-enlightenment in the Anglophone territory. That was because one of the focus points of the Anglophone leadership, political grouping, and civil societies was to metamorphose. The predicament of the region anguishes the lower-class treatment of the collective group. The strategy was meant to prepare and galvanize the masses through sensitization campaigns to chase secession or federalism. The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) became prominent for its agenda for secession or federalism.

During that time, Muna and Foncha begin diplomatic attacks on the UN, claiming independence for Southern Cameroons. And the position of the Social Democratic Front push back against secession and suggested another proposition, in the conditions of Francophone opposition to the two-state federal system and was decided to be uncertain by a few Anglophone militants, who shaped movements calling for two-state federalism or secession in 1995. The most popular

and well know was the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), the youth wing of the position of the Social Democratic Front, which rejected secession and proposed, in the context of Francophone opposition to a two-state federal system, a four-state federal system, was judged to be ambiguous by some Anglophone militants, who in 1995, formed movements calling. Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) resorted to low-intensity violence. Therefore, in 1996, the SCNC has taken further diplomatic initiatives at the UN, the African Court of Banjul, the Commonwealth, and national embassies.

President Paul Biya, who succeeded Ahidjo in November 1982, continued to centralize power during his tenure. He went on to divide the Anglophone region into two provinces, the Northwest and the Southwest, on August 22, 1983. In 1984, he changed the official name of the country to the Republic of Cameroon, the former name of the Francophone territory. Furthermore, he removed the second star from the flag, which symbolized the Anglophone region. With the reintroduction of the multiparty system in the 1990s, the Anglophones seized the opportunity to air their grievances. On May 26, 1990, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), an opposition party that advocated for federalism and had a strong support base among the Anglophones, was founded in Bamenda. The SDF gained momentum in the Anglophone region and expanded its influence into Francophone provinces. It also participated in the October 1992 presidential elections and came close to victory.

The political assimilation of the Anglophone region is hotly contested. In 1994, an All-Anglophone Conference was convened to implore the central government to either revert to the federal system or accept the demand for secession (Awasom, 2007, p. 155). This conference came up with resolutions in the form of the Buea Declaration that highlighted the stance of the territory by declaring that: *'The common values, vision, and goals which we share as a people and those of*

our Francophone partners in the Union are different, and clearly cannot blend within the framework of a Unitary state such as was imposed on us in 1972. We are by nature pacifist, patient and tolerant and have demonstrated those qualities since we came into this Union. Our Francophone brothers believe in brutalizing, torturing, maiming, and assassinating dissenters. They have raped our women and daughters and used hand and rifle grenades against peaceful demonstrators. We find such barbarism alien to us and short of the civilized standards of all democratic societies' (All-Anglophone Conference Standing Committee, 1993, pp. 4–5).

The All-Anglophone Conference marked a new approach to the push for secession or federalism, and various groups in the 1990s supported and encouraged it, leading to a period of enlightenment in the Anglophone region. The focus of the Anglophone leadership, political groups, and civil society, was to transform the region's plight and address the marginalization experienced by its people. This involved sensitization campaigns to mobilize support for secession or federalism. The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) emerged as a leading voice advocating for secession or federalism. During this time, Muna and Foncha launched diplomatic efforts at the UN to secure independence for Southern Cameroons. The Social Democratic Front rejected secession and proposed an alternative, a four-state federal system, in response to Francophone opposition to a two-state federal system. Some Anglophone militants found this proposition ambiguous and formed movements advocating for two-state federalism or secession in 1995. The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), which was the youth wing of the Social Democratic Front, rejected secession and proposed a four-state federal system. The Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) resorted to low-intensity violence. In 1996, the SCNC embarked on diplomatic initiatives at the UN, the African Court of Banjul, the Commonwealth, and national embassies.

On March 23, 1997, a raid on a gendarmerie camp in Bamenda resulted in the deaths of approximately 10 people. As a result, around 200 to 300 individuals were arrested, most of whom were supporters of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), with some members of the opposition Social Democratic Front also being arrested. Subsequent trials revealed evidence of torture and forced admissions, leading to a suspension of SCNC activities. In April 1998, a faction within the SCNC elected Esoka Ndoki Mukete, a prominent member of the Social Democratic Front, as its new chair. Following the guilty verdicts of many of the accused in the 1997 trial in October 1999, the Mukete-led faction became more aggressive.

On October 1, 1999, militants attempted to declare the independence of Southern Cameroons through a takeover of Radio Buea, but were unsuccessful before being halted by security forces. The SCNC leadership and numerous members were subsequently detained, and the organization was declared illegal by Cameroonian authorities after clashes with the police in 2001. In 2006, a faction of the SCNC again proclaimed the independence of Ambazonia. On October 6, 2016, the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium, a group composed of lawyer and teacher trade unions in the Anglophone regions, initiated a strike. Led by Barrister Agbor Balla, Fontem Neba, and Tassang Wilfred, the group protested against the appointment of Francophone judges in the Anglophone regions, which they perceived as a threat to the common law system in those areas and part of the broader marginalization of Anglophones. Peaceful demonstrations in Bamenda, Buea, and Limbe followed. The activists demanded the safeguarding of the common law system in Anglophone regions, opposed the use of the civil law system by Francophone magistrates, called for the translation of numerous laws into English, and advocated for the teaching of the common law system at the universities of Buea and Bamenda.

CHAPTER 2

MAJOR POINT OF CONFLICT/CRISIS-2016

“It is better to be violent if there is violence in our hearts than to put on the cloak of nonviolence to cover impotence.” (Ghandi, n.d.)

This chapter investigates the events that led to the October 2016 incident in Cameroon's Northwest and Southwest regions and why the Anglophone population feels marginalized. It also evokes the economic aspect, women, and culture and how these variables impacted the ongoing Francophone and Anglophone Civil War in Cameroon. Before addressing the 2016 incident, we will first explore a brief history to shape the understanding of the problem.

As explained in the previous chapter, European powers largely determine present-day Cameroon's borders. In 1916, Britain and France seized the territory from Germany. Britain controlled part of the country and France controlled the rest. In 1960, French-speaking Cameroon won its independence, and the following year the British-controlled regions were given the option to join Cameroon or Nigeria. The Northwest and Southwest regions (English territory) opted to join Cameroon Francophone, to form a bilingual country. (Kongho, 2019). During the Fouban Conference of 1961, the two independent territories with two different colonial legacies agreed to unite into one state.

President Ahidjo changed the country's federal structure, approved both states to unite, and called this united territory *United Republic of Cameroon*. On February 4, 1984, the current president Paul Biya, his predecessor, moved to change the name to *La République du Cameroon*, a move that made the Anglophones complain of being marginalized (Konings & Nyamnich, 1997). These criticisms made by the Northwest and Southwest regions were suppressed by Ahidjo. In the 1990s, the Anglophones were urging for their assertion for multipartyism be heard by no

Francophones and this effort was led by John Fru Ndi of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), who gave a visible form to the opposition to one-party rule of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). They classified the 1992 presidential elections as a "stolen victory." This caused SDF to rally different groups: lawyers much as teachers, and unions who believed in their cause.

"In 1993 and 1994, Anglophone groups held the All-Anglophone conferences to prepare for the revision of the Constitution" (Pommerolle, Marie-Emmanuelle; Heungoup, Hans De Marie, 2017, p. 529), where the SDF settled in the middle position on federalism to keep a Francophone base. Automatically, these conferences birthed the radical reactions and defenders of the Anglophone origin, which included the Free West Cameroon Movement, the Southern Cameroons Restoration Movement, the Cameroon Anglophone Movement, the Ambazonia Movement, and Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) in Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. Since then, the English-speaking minority has complained about being treated as secondary-class citizens and what they see as forced assimilation. They believed that the Francophones consolidated power by excluding the Anglophones from the government and cutting them off from economic development. This led to a demonstration that snowballed into a large movement.

2.1 The Name Change/Language Monology

When President Paul Biya took power, he changed the country's name from United Republic of Cameroon to Republic of Cameroon. The country's flag of green, red, and yellow, and a central yellow Star was substituted for the two stars, as a symbol of national unity. These changes in name and flag further aggravated the disgruntlement as the English section felt it was a move to wipe out the minority Anglophones, and this brought a surge of violence that eventually escalated out of control. In the 1990s, teachers and lawyers took matters into their own hands and

were at the front of the protest movement. Political representation and constitutional reform were also a big part of that year's with a marginalization claim.

In October 2016, lawyers and teachers' trade unions were upset about the unfair treatment and the forceful use of the French language in schools and law courts. So, the English-speaking regions participated in a peaceful demonstration. The response by the government was the forceful punishment of the protesters and sending them to prison. These federal actions cracked down on protest leaders and also led to the killing of some protesters. Due to the arrest of the movement's core leaders, the movement now fell into the hands of extremists (Pommerolle and Heungoup, 2017, p. 532). This hybrid union was not only clamoring for their rights but also wanted independence within their own country, which worsened the already heated situation. A lot of members of this new movement with modern views were radicalized. According to Daniel, an Anglophone civilian who fled to Dschang, which is a French-speaking region, "I don't want Cameroon anymore. I want to fight for a new country" (O'Grady, 2019). He made this statement after the government forces of his country attacked his village and killed an old woman. He asked for his last name to be kept secret for fear of retribution for his comments.

After studying the situation that made majority of people in the Northwest and Southwest regions hostages of separatists, Issa Tchiroma Bakary, the communication minister, said: "a person with his assault weapon can impose his dictation on thousands of people who do not have weapons" (O'Grady, 2019). These secessionists locally called "Amba Boys" are mostly young, civilian men fighting in the bush, often having hunter rifles and spirit. The English-speaking regions accused the military of committing human rights abuses against civilians since the violence started. They claimed that the military is burning villages and killing innocent people indiscriminately. The government, on the other hand, accused the separatists of attacking security

forces and maltreating civilians. These are the words of Col. Didier Badject, Ministry of Defense spokesman: “We cannot fight there if we don’t have a population on our side” (O’Grady, 2019). In strategy and initiative, this would be complete suicide. The Cameroonian army burned down Ambazonian houses. However, a complaint was made between Ambazonian and Cameroonian armies. Ambazonian armies accused the Cameroonian army of killing innocent civilians for no reason, other than the fact that they are Anglophone. The army’s defense was that “The enemy is inside the population. They get into one door pretending they are normal citizens and exit through the back doors with weapons. They are secessionists that make the fight difficult” (Joyce Lee and Siobhan O’Grady, 2019). The population, little by little, started to understand what was going on, who was on their side, and the need for their well-being. Cameroon is experiencing two major violent conflicts as we speak and is faced with ethnic-political tensions.

The larger conflict involving the government and separatists from the Anglophone started in 2017. This conflict has already killed over 6,000 people and displaced 765,000 people, of which 70,000 Cameroonian refugees are in Nigeria. According to the UN, 2.2 million of the Anglophone region’s four million people need humanitarian support, while 600,000 children have been deprived of effective schooling because of the ongoing conflict. While this conflict is ongoing in the Southwest and Northwest Cameroon, there is an acceleration and insurgency of jihadists with deadly attacks in the Lake Chad area, which has a boundary with Cameroon, hence placing Cameroon in multiple wars. The war with Boko Haram in the far North of Cameroon killed over 3,000 Cameroonians near the Chad area and the Nigerian border and displaced roughly 250,000 Cameroonians. Advocating with the government along with national and international stakeholders, crisis groups worked to de-escalate conflict and promote a peaceful resolution in the Anglophone regions and the far North, as well as stop ethnopolitical tensions from drifting into

violence. However, many accusations were made that the human rights reporters were denied access to English territory. (Joyce Lee and Siobhan O’Grady, 2019). With military checkpoints established in the regions, the disinformation campaigns from the separatists and the government did not make it easy for them.

Due to the insurgence of armed secessionist groups that have been demanding the independence of the Anglophone region, aka the Ambazonia Republic, since January 2018 there have been a lot of violent confrontations between the secessionist groups and the regular military. The protests progressed into an interrupting of the population that ensued in ghost towns (referred to as *villes mortes* in French) in Anglophone communities, in the northwest and southwest regions. Absence of movement and activities, including everything closing down in cities, towns, and villages in the Anglophone regions. On Mondays, the streets looked like a ghost town, but would appear normal on Thursday. Schools, banks, and shops were closed, and transportation services were not operational. The government used force to repress these protestors and went to the extreme by cutting access to the internet in both regions, which was not well received around the world and brought a lot of attention at the same time. In the ghost towns, the early protests were peaceful. Now, civilians do not want to leave their homes for fear of retaliation from both separatists and the military. According to Tchiroma Bakary (2016), “If people stick to your vision, there is no need for violence.” These acts of demonstration show terror and intimidation through which they imposed their doctrine of secessionists.

2.2 The Role of Diaspora in the Anglophone Movement

Diaspora is at the nucleus of the Anglophone movement. The movement has been a part of the historic divides in Anglophone society. Since the arrest of the Consortium leaders and their exile to Nigeria, the United States, and South Africa, the diaspora seems to be influencing a leading

financial role in the ongoing conflict and the government has responded by shutting down the Internet. The earlier generation of diaspora was led by the younger, former students of the university of Buea, Tapang Ivo in the USA, and Mark Bareta in Belgium. They have been rallying people via a system of instant messaging on mobile phones to encourage the movement and cause the spread of “ghost towns” to intimidate the people who do not want to be part of it.

Due to the involvement of different groups and the growing popular anger, the movement’s political agenda changed quickly. Teachers and lawyers were pushed by the diaspora for the secessionist agenda. Several op-eds in francophone newspapers backed the movement until the dynamics of repression/ radicalization took over (Le Jour, “La question Cameroonians”, 2017, p. 3). However, these divisions did not obstruct the movement, instead, each opposition left space for cooperation. There have been some divisions taking shape since 2017. The first division is between the Consortium, whose line is still federalist, and the diaspora. The second division stands up within the different diaspora groups on whether adherence to secession should be non-negotiable or whether they should use violent actions. However, the complete call for federalism and secession limited the scope of mobilization (The “Anglophone Crisis”: A Tale of the Cameroonian Postcolony, 2017, p. 532). According to the Anglophone side, the movement opened the wound caused by a country ruled by the same party and the same president for many decades, especially by President Biya’s regime. The distinct accusation of the anglophone regions is about the unfair distribution of resources and the holding of some political elites onto power and resources. They see president Biya as an old man still vying to run again, and that doesn’t fix the problem. According to the Anglophone, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) still has a long way to win the local and general elections because Biya won 77 percent of the votes in 2011 and the ruling party won 148 out of 180 parliamentary seats in 2013.

This anger toward the regime was expressed at the beginning of the 1990s and also in 2008, with a further build-up by the political and bureaucratic presence. They also manipulated repression and shared imageries of nationalism. Viewing the context of transition with an aged president leads to uncertainty regarding the future leadership in the country. The divided opposition within the SDF supported the President, with the exception of the Northwest. It added 13 out of 20 of the parliamentary seats, and the newcomers (the Movement pour la renaissance du Cameroun, MRC, and Cameron's People's Party, CPP) are still low on the polls. A reality faction for the divided CPDM, competing to take power in anticipation of the time and when the new presidential candidate will be needed, was also created. However, the government has not hesitated to use repression in the form of interrupting the country's internet and the use of military force and a combination of small concessions to speak to the movement. This way has been successful and inhibited the movement from increasing its initial zone. It's now six years since the Cameroonian military and separatist fighters tried to resolve the conflict. A national dialogue was called by President Paul Biya in 2019. They still do not have any resolution from either side.

2.3 The Economic Impact on the Regions

The framework for complex emergencies developed by the Robert Strauss Centre assesses the interplay between diverse factors such as underlying reasons, primary outcomes, possible reactions, and indications of different instabilities (including political, economic, demographic, and environmental) to identify four specific complex emergencies (namely acute, chronic, urban, and protracted) occurring in various regions of Africa. It will be applied as a benchmark to examine the origin, causes of the ongoing conflict in Cameroon in order to determine evidence of distinct uncertainty affecting political, economic, demographic, and environmental aspects of affected regions in the country.

2.3.1 The Impact of Human-Induced Disasters

This refers to emergencies that disrupt livelihoods through varieties of natural causative such as political, economic, social, and environmental factors as well as internal armed conflict (Anderson & Gerber, 2018; Culver et al., 2017). In the past decade, the expansion of the magnitude of complex emergencies has brought the socio-economic and political problems that have affected and challenged humanitarian and emergency response stakeholders (Macias, 2013). For instance, Africa has had an outpouring of complex emergencies in the past three decades (Culver et al., 2017). The volume and capability of many developing countries to respond to emergencies and crises have not progressed at the same pace (Fraser et al., 2017). Anglophone regions have experienced many natural hazards: volcanic eruption, landslides, food scarcity, insecurity, earth tremors, storms, lightning, and toxic gas emission from crater lakes. These are major topographical features of geological roots in Cameroon. (Marzoli et al., 2000). The Northwest is a disaster viewed as the worst natural hazard-induced disaster in anglophone regions because of the high number of fatalities. Poisonous gasses from Lake Nyos have killed 1,746 people, and 8,500 livestock. 4,500 internally displaced persons, as well as 20,000 people, have been affected (Bang, 2012). Not only was the Northwest affected, but the Southwest was as well.

The other hotspot facing the division was the hosting of Mt. Cameroon. Every year the competition attracts many athletes from around the world to come, compete and view the beautiful Mountain of Cameroon. It is the most active and largest volcano in Cameroon volcanic line in West/Central Africa. An immense elliptical stratovolcano with a height of 4,095 m above sea level and an area of about 3,000 km² bestride the continental edge at the Gulf of Guinea in the Southwest region. The volcanic structure has a volume of 1,200 km³, with over 100 craters and cones on its summit and flanks, and may have had a continuous eruption sequence over the past 10 million

years, which is most active in the last 3 million years (Marzoli et al., 2000).

Political instability, natural hazards, and internal conflicts can negatively impact the economy of the country, especially in the Southwest and Northwest regions. The lack of preparedness, response, and recovery from natural hazard-induced disasters causes additional economic stress for both regions. The Southwest and Northwest regions of Cameroon are being dually impacted by conflict and natural hazard because of a weak government that is unable to act on the repeated flood and drought (Ferris, 2010).

Complex emergencies sometimes originate from diverse factors associated with war, internal conflict, and terrorism (Abdallah and Burnham, 2000); and these are vital humanitarian crises of multi-causal nature demanding a system-wide response. These actions can destroy the cultural, civil, political, and economic integrity of established societies (Dufeld, 1994), as a result of conflict, violence, political instability, social inequities, and hidden poverty. The question is how local and national resources could meet their relief requirement without international humanitarian assistance (Anderson and Gerber, 2018) that can aggravate the situation regarding the cultural, civil, political, stability, and economic stability of societies and inflame the undermining of livelihoods, diseases, and increase poverty (FAO, 2019). It can be a severe problem or crisis that aligns with war and strife to create a good number of fatalities, a shortage of basic human needs, and large population displacement (Salama et al., 2004).

The Anglophone crisis has caused a situation of over 900,000 internally displaced persons and 60,000 refugees (Graig, 2020; ICG, 2019). Thousands of people have fled to the French-speaking region and all over the border, especially to the Nigerian border. An estimated 80% of the inhabitants in villages in dangerous conflict zones have fled and sought refuge in the bush. Amongst the villages, Boyo and Meme Divisions of the Northwest and Southwest regions were

the most affected, and dozens of other villages have become almost ghost towns because of the need to escape from the conflicts (Unocha, 2018; UNHCR, 2019; GRID, 2019). The conflict became dangerous, and the population is at risk of serious health consequences, especially for some who have fled and sought refuge in the bush. The living conditions are not helpful due to the spread of diseases from being overcrowded, lack of proper sanitary, and poor hygiene. Diseases like Covid- 19 will be catastrophic for those living in these conditions with no hospitals, medicine, or proper care because of the attack on healthcare workers.

The kidnapping of healthcare workers has consequently caused desertion in their facilities (Unocha, 2018; Egeland, 2019). This has made people vulnerable and faced with another battle on how to get treated when sick. They have become hopeless, especially pregnant women, the elderly, and children. That brought an estimated 34% of health facilities in both regions that were not operated (Graig, 2020). The facilities that were left open were ill-equipped, and it was difficult to treat serious cases. Diseases like the Covid-19 pandemic exposed the delicate state of Cameroon's healthcare system. The website of Cameroon's Ministry of public health reported 21,430 cases of Coronavirus on October 22, 2020, with 424 deaths. That caused a big problem for the people of the Anglophone region, especially since the data was underreported due to the crisis in these two regions. Covid-19 in that part of the region has left many people jobless with a high poverty rate, the inability to feed their families, and 34% of the health facilities in the middle of conflict were not really functioning (Graig, 2020).

Consequently, education has been suffering. Education has been the root of the Anglophone problem. The teachers of the Anglophone trade unions have started a campaign to put an end to the unfair treatment of the English and Anglo-Saxon education sub-system in Cameroon. However, the conflict brought dire consequences on education because of the separatists demands

for the educational establishments in the region to be closed until all education and the injustice that is leading to the problem had been concluded. For the most part, schools have been subjected to violence and destruction, and the teachers and students have been threatened with abduction or killing. These teachers and students mostly have no choice, but to abandon their schools for lack of protection on their behalf. Over 780,000 children are out of school. That means 80% of schools in the combat region are closed (UNICEF, 2019) causing a big drop in both primary school and university enrollment. This has caused students to move to other regions to study. With no schools open, it became problematic for the region, even for the country of Cameroon because the students are at home unoccupied. The result is that teenagers are consuming alcohol, excessive drug use, stealing, and robbery. Child exploitation and child labor, early marriages, teenage pregnancies, and juvenile delinquencies are all on the rise (Unocha, 2018; Egeland, 2019; JournalduCameroun, 2019a; ICG, 2019; Graig, 2020; Ludovica, 2016; UNICEF, 2019). These problems are the causes of most poverty, and high illiteracy is not helpful for the economy of both regions and the country at large. In the year 2019, the Institute for International Education Scholar Rescue Fund in the USA received a high number of applications from Anglophone Cameroon scholars citing threats to their lives and academic careers amidst the ongoing Anglophone crisis (IIE, 2020).

2.3.2 Economic Impact on Both Regions of Anglophone

The Anglophone crisis is a big economic and financial problem not only in the Northwest but also in Southwest Cameroon, and also a threat to the whole country. All of these issues are hazards causing political instability in the regions. Displacement due to the crisis has repercussions on public health besides Covid-19, and has aggravated the already existing health issues. The consequences of no education have left children, who are the future of the country, in a perilous situation. This will have an enormous impact on the future economy. Cameroon's Gross Domestic

Growth rate was 5.8 in the year 2015 before the crisis and lowered to 3.9% in 2019 (World Bank, 2017; IMF, 2019). The crisis in the Anglophone regions caused losses in Cameroon's economy, also across Africa.

The internet shutdown tremendously affected economic growth, with an estimated loss of Franc CFA 499 billion (US\$ 846 million) (Mboumien, 2018). The weekly "ghost towns", restrictions on movement, and insecurity played negatively on business transactions through the slow flow of goods, people, and services. All who did not follow the "ghost town" request are classified as targets; and the threat was also extended to businesses and transport vehicles. The Anglophones made many accusations regarding the security forces. The Anglophones accused the military of vandalizing and burning business premises, markets, and handicapped hundreds of businesses. The region saw a big drop in major export products such as: palm oil, banana, rice, and coffee. Without good security supervision, it forced the drop in the production and operational activities of the big companies such as: Cameroon Tea Estate, Upper Nun Valley Development Authority, and Cameroon Development Corporation. This also caused the reduction of operation capacity to 26% and a net loss of Franc CFA 32 billion (around \$55.3 million) for the 2018 fiscal year (Mbodiam, 2020; Kindzeka, 2019). This has also had an immense implication for employment since the Cameroon Development Cooperation is located on the ramp of Mount Cameroon, the second-largest employer that employs people from all over the country. Unemployment is gone high in the Anglophone region, and more than 30,000 people have become jobless due to the crisis. Cameroon's Employer's Association evaluated that the traditional economy of the region lost approximately 6,434 jobs by July 2018 and the newly created jobs are also at risk. The unemployment rate in Buea, the Southwest regional capital, rose to 70%. The Northwest region customs department saw a revenue loss of over Franc CFA 200 million

(estimated at \$362,000) for the fiscal year and the overall losses to Cameroon's economy assessment was at Franc CFA 269 billion (estimated \$489 million) at the same time. There has been a lot of vandalization, which caused abandoned projects, and many instances of destruction of equipment and machines belonging to road contractors. These threats have slowed down the progress of the economy in the region. 80% of the public contracts granted in the Anglophone for the 2017 and 2018 fiscal year were unaccomplished (IGG, 2019; Mbodian, 2020; AFP, 2018).

Although the effect was felt on the poor of Cameroon, there are some people in the interest groups and a few institutions that have benefits, one instance is the contractors supplying arms to the security forces and separatist fighters groups. There were political jobs created and Anglophones were hired for the first time in Cameroon's history. Also, for the first time, Anglophones were appointed as Ministers of Territorial Administration and Secondary Education. Besides that, the government also created a commission for the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism and a national disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration committee with Anglophones at their helm. Common law divisions saw their birth at Cameroon's Supreme Court and the National School of Administration and Magistracy (Nsom, 2017; Republic of Cameroon, 2017), but these efforts were considered minimal and not enough by the Anglophones.

Culture-wise, the traditional rulers, custodians of cultures, and traditions of the Anglophone region have been affected, especially the ones who sided with the government. They have been receiving threats, public attacks, and have been beaten publicly, kidnapped, and killed. The Chief of the Balondo people in Ekondo Titi (Southwest region) was killed, and later Chief Fako Division was kidnapped, which made many of the tribal chiefs run and hide for their lives. (Journal du Cameroun, 2018b; Kindzeka, 2018).

2.4 Gender

In Cameroon society, we can not only talk about culture and not talk about women, not only in Cameroon but also in Africa in general. Though in the culture women play a big role, the impression is that when it comes to big decisions women are left out (“International Crisis Group”, 2022). In Africa, when men are not around, women step up and do what is necessary. There were attacks targeted at the palace, and the palace is on a list of World Heritage Sites (UNESCO, 2018), hence a need to protect the palace. At the same time, there was confusion between the Battalion soldiers and separatist fighters. One side accused another of looting the museum in the palace, taking many rare centuries-old artifacts, and then shooting and wounding the brother of Paramount Fon of Bafut (Abumbi II). Ironically, there were no separatist fighters in the palace (HRW, 2019).

“Women belong in all places where decisions are being made. It shouldn’t be that women are the exception” (Ginsburg, n.d.), but that is not the case in the ongoing crises in Cameroon, where women are marginalized from dialogue tables and made invisible in decision-making. This is also known as the invisibility of women in politics and gender representation. Scholarly and popular Anglophone Cameroonian history has mostly focused on male politicians such as John Foncha, his wife Anna Foncha was at the front in making her husband’s key political speech public behind the scene, she advocated for women’s political importance maintaining the women role s in cultural , economic, and social development of the nation, in 1959 (Mougoue, 2019, p. 7), and for a long time the political roles of Anglophone Cameroonian Nationalist Movement for women have remained hidden. In Buea, 1972, there were women like Prudencia Chilla, Gladys Endeley, and Gwendoline Burnley, who all advocated for women’s political importance. Those women played key roles in the cultural, economic, and social development of the nation as wives, mothers, and daughters. Female members of the political elite ferociously connected the conception of

womanhood to nationalist politics by underscoring true gender norms. These elite women maneuvered into the new sociopolitical power and observed other women's conduct. Often, they have been recognized in their positions as "mothers" of the nation. These women also played different roles in improving women's social, political, and economic lives by commanding women to unify to gain their rights. These women can "emancipate" others by engaging in Anglophone women's organizations that stress the rationale for separatist national women's identity. Those organizations officially only allow male-dominated political parties by showing, in contrast, political support, while female political elites draw from the implied power of women's traditional organizations to enforce their will by gathering urban women in public rallies and dancing rituals to support males in a public way. (MouGoue, 2019, p. 25).

The influence of women in the Anglophone regions can be traced all the way back to the precolonial era, and with the escalation of the ongoing conflict, women are once again raising their voices and refusing to be silenced. The role of the Anglophone women in resolution has seen them pushing boundaries and forming organizations that keep playing important roles in key discussions and have gathered massive international support. This practice was culled from the pre-colonial traditions of materialist politics practiced in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, like "titi ikoli", a form of female sanction in which southern coastal Bakweri Women collectively mobilized to shame male delinquents. Another example is Takumbeng or (Takemburg), an association of menopausal women in the northwest. Research suggests the conservative patriarchal cultural constructs that elite women used to establish themselves as "good" women, even though their political activities to build and maintain Anglophone separatist nationalism were effective. These female organizations were successful, even though they gradually developed initiatives and different projects of social reform that enlarged their access to structured education, professional

workforce, political careers, and organized sports.

A lot of Cameroon's history do not distinguish Francophone and Anglophone Nationalist Movement, they conceal women's efforts to draw cultural distinctions between competing forms of nationalism. He educated political elites referenced the superior morality of Anglophone Cameroonian women by focusing solely on women's uprightness, commonly referencing sexual morality and adherence to household duties, as a fundamental distinction between an Anglophone characteristic and a Francophone one. These women play big roles behind the scenes and yet are made invisible. One will then ask if it is the African culture to project the men and relegate the women to the background. Or is it what it is, due to the culture and years of a male-driven society? These politicians' wives' actions are heavyweights. The bureaucrats, politicians and activists, who tell of the roles of women in the nation demonstrate that their actions are hard to achieve without women. (MouGoue, 2019, p. 25). It is especially hard for her to be portrayed as 'playing the role of a secretary', even if a couple of decades have passed from 1961-1972. Scholars still stress the role of a woman in domestic life despite all Mrs. Foncha's accomplishments amongst other elite women, and an instance of this reference is found in 'Mr. J. N. Foncha Chooses a Wife'. These elite women did a wonderful job of opening the dialogue for all Cameroonian women. A prominent example is the first lady of Cameroon, Mrs. Chantal Biya, who is known for her quote, "there is always a call for more concrete solidarity to build a better world. It is my conviction, it is my passion" ("Foundation of an Equitable Future", 2011).

The 21st century has seen very little progress and revolution toward the growing calls to promote the inclusion and participation of women in peace processes, as well as recognize their unique lives experiences in war and peacetime. These approaches for women is recognition and inclusion have taken place in different UN resolution conferences organized by the international

community toward addressing and redirecting the experiences of women. Although there are growing calls to promote inclusion, there is still a big gap between rhetoric and action at the national level. Since the civil war, the women in these two regions have been paying attention in terms of their inclusion in the peace processes and redress for their experiences. Even though women have provided comparatively limited leadership in the legislature and executive branches of government in Cameroon since its independence from France in 1960, the patriarch of the family is the decision-maker behind the scenes. When women bring notoriety to the family and community, it enhances the likelihood that their voices will be heard. One case in point is Myriam Mani, a 4-time Olympian and African Sprint champion who voices her opinion on women's issues and their impact on the community. The issue of women's marginalization and invisibility in political decision-making is still an issue. Cameroon's women face barriers to attaining leadership positions. They are highly educated but when it comes to appointments, they are under-represented. Myriam Mani's mother was the decision-maker in the family and since her passing, Myriam has taken on the leadership role in the family and voiced her opinion in community affairs. Behind the scenes, Cameroon women impact political decisions, but because of their limited leadership in the legislature, their voices are not heard, and they are not put in male-dominated positions. Despite their being percentages set in place, very few women hold leadership positions on the council. As women excel in sports, education, business, and social media, their roles have begun to change from behind the scenes to leadership positions.

The visibility of women's voices in Cameroon are further seen in the First Lady of Cameroon, Mrs. Chantal Biya, who is changing the dialogue following the 21st-century revolution as a champion of women's rights. Since 1994, the First Lady of Cameroon, Chantal Biya, founded a non-political, non-denominational, and non-profit humanitarian association named The Chantal

Biya Foundation to help the nation's underprivileged. The First Lady believes that "there is always a call for more concrete solidarity to build a better world. It is my conviction; it is my passion" ("Foundation of an Equitable Future", 2011). Along with many different projects, the foundation makes a great effort to help, educate and protect Cameroon's poor, sick and disadvantaged citizens, and champions initiatives to help the nation's old and young, who are marginalized. According to the Cameroon Ministry of Public Health, 780,000 people die each year from malaria in the world, and 90 percent are on the African continent. 24 percent of deaths in Cameroon are caused by malaria, and 26 percent of people are absent from work due to illness. The Chantal Biya Foundation has added its voice and support to the Rollback Malaria Partnership, which will raise awareness and advocate for more financial and technical support. This partnership will also boost effectiveness in malaria-controlled interventions in Cameroon and in the sub-region. The First Lady Chantal Biya is not only known for her activities in support of women, children, and vulnerable groups, she is involved in the research, treatment, and prevention of HIV AIDS, through her organization, Africanines Synergies Against AIDS and Suffering (Synergies Africains Contre le Sida et les souffrances). The non-governmental organization is composed of First Ladies and former First Ladies from Africa and other continents. They fight for the end of child labor and other abuse suffered by children, and campaign for the improvement of the living conditions of rural women in Africa. Not only are women pushing boundaries in Cameroon, a slow but steady recognition is beginning to turn up. The First Lady of Cameroon also has been designated the UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for Education and Social Inclusion for her long-standing engagement in the struggle against social exclusion (Moussi, 2020). The First Lady, Chantal Biya has championed charity donations for children displaced by the ongoing crisis in the North West and South West Regions of Cameroon, including culminating with the 28 General Assembly of

the Circle of Friends of Cameroon, CERAC in Yaoundé (“Journalducameroun”, 2021).

Even though a lot of progress has been made in trying to include women in politics, we still see distinctions when it comes to women having a place in the wide national dialogue. And the conflict, Cameroon agreed to have a major national dialogue regarding the ongoing conflict with the goal of ensuring peace and national unity due to a lot of pressure from the local, regional, and international communities urging for peaceful and non-militarized solutions. This dialogue lasted from September 30 to October 4, 2019, with the exclusion of women. The non-inclusion of women’s experiences and the small representation of women from the Anglophone regions of the country was noticeable in this crucial national dialogue. The nonattendance and exclusion revealed different elements of inequality and repression in place and how patriarchal Cameroonian states are still in existence.

In the Anglophone conflict regions, women have been significant sufferers and vulnerable, with 51 percent of the internally displaced populace being women. They are victims of violence and some of the violence is in the form of economic, physical, and sexual violence. In 2020, Cameroonian women took to the streets to express and call attention to the violence conditions women in Anglophone regions are undergoing. The backlashes on these protests came from the separatist fighters known as the Ambazonia Boys, who killed women they considered as traitors due to their contact with the government armed forces. An example of such victims is Comfort Tumassang and Mbah Florence, who were accused of allegedly aiding the government’s armed forces and savagely murdered by these separatists (Bang & Balgah, 2022). These events are some examples of how women are threatened in this conflict by both the government and separatists, and how their rights have been violated in the Anglophone regions. While being victims, they also have to operate organizations and run away from victimhood, which has often been used to blanket

women in conflict. Anglophone women, especially those in the affected regions, have claimed their power by being advocates of peace as well as activists. They have rallied themselves through different NGOs and task forces to introduce international and local attention to the conflict and keep pushing for support of the end of the Anglophone Conflict. Some notable examples are the Southwest and Northwest women's task force (SNWOT) and Women for a Change Cameroon (WFAC).

The numerous marches put together by women and the different women-led task forces demonstrate women's organization and politics of engagement. Though political participation includes a broad range of activities; women are actively taking up spaces in the public sphere and collectively demanding what they consider proper treatment while the whole state is silent. The Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda of the United Nation has been tackling transformative change for women in war zones and post-conflict societies. Different UN resolutions help the WPS agenda stand out in its importance, one of which is UNSCR 1325, which is a landmark resolution of the WPS agenda. The resolution acknowledges the great significance and importance of understanding the consequences of armed conflict on women and girls and calls for more involvement of women in the peace processes. UNSCR 1325, while approved in 2000, on 16 November 2017, in a historic move, the Government of Cameroon adopted its first National Action Plan (NAP). In its implementation of the United Nations WPS agenda, it embraced NAP and covered a period of three years (2018-2020), and renewed and reaffirmed the government of Cameroon's commitments to women in wartime. That lets us know that women's experiences in the affected areas demand instant government action, and the government has more to do with resolving the problem.

Cameroon's National Action Plan/NAP states that the government of Cameroon recognizes

that women are above all promoters and agents of consolidation of peace (“Journalducameroun”, 2021). Furthermore, in Anglophone conflict, the government should honor the vision and elements of action as stated in NAP, which is calling for the leadership and participation of women in the processes of prevention and management of conflict and post-conflict circumstances. This move is aimed first, to build peace and social cohesion, and second, as written in its NAP, the government should better integrate the gender dimension into its conflict resolution and humanitarian and initiatives aid. This will create an opportunity to redress and address the experiences and representation of women in the Anglophone war zones.

2.5 Conclusion

The ongoing civil war has brought Cameroon’s economy to a low in regard to culture, education, income, health, and political instability including a net loss of Franc CFA 32 billion (around \$55.3 million) for the 2018 fiscal year. This has brought massive suffering to people residing in the conflict regions and the country at large. The high rate of poverty as a result of this downward slide has led to the escalation of social vices and violence throughout the country. Even in the midst of their suffering in the ongoing conflict, women in Cameroon continue to advocate for peace. Cameroon’s Anglophone civil war has made women’s lives insecure and made them face economic, physical, and sexual violence. Regardless of the experience of the conflict, women have been left out of dialogue on how to bring the conflict to an end. Moussi (2020) argues that Cameroon must honor its commitments to women’s rights and demonstrate how women have been successful agents of change, who belong at the dialogue table. This Anglophone crisis has also brought the disregard for women’s experiences and exclusion from national dialogues to the forefront and uncovered a status quo, whereby women are treated as subjects to patriarchal kindness and furthermore eliminated from public discourses. These women have experienced

insecurity as internally displaced persons (IDP), and victims of sexual assault, and this needs to be taken into consideration and addressed.

Even though there has been a lot of progress, there is still a lot of work to be done. Women's opinions should not be limited to defining the stories of pain they have endured. Women's in regions have demonstrated their influence as change-makers regarding different conversations that still champion peace in the conflict-affected areas. These groups should not combine with the patriarchal view that women are naturally peace-loving, but should be viewed as an exhibit of women as change makers who belong to the national dialogue. As a member state of the United Nations, the government of Cameroon should not only ensure, but expand, the participation and representation of women in the future national dialogue. The government's desire to build a worthy commitment to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 will be a stride toward resolving the Anglophone conflicts. Even though they have been improved, women having a place at the country's conversation table nationally still has a long way to go.

CHAPTER 3

PERSPECTIVE ON THE CONTEMPORARY CRISIS

According to Mahatma Gandhi (1939) in his book ‘Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule’, “the various religions are like different roads converging on the same point. What difference does it make if we follow different routes, provided we arrive at the same destination.” Hence, reflecting on the Anglophones and Francophones crises, this chapter will discuss the Anglophone and Francophone positions respectively based on scholarship-supporting perspectives.

Alobwed’Epie in his 1993 pioneering work on Anglophone-Cameroon writing attempts to define the term “Anglophone” in his essay titled ‘The Concept of Anglophone literature’ by saying that “the compound word ‘Anglophone’ is not found in the dictionary”. This implies that the term Anglophone is a new coinage, coined to designate what the component of the word means in order to differentiate the English-speaking Anglophone from the French-speaking Francophone. Just like any culture goes, putting two cultures with existing differences side by side, one must feel superior (Agbor et al., 2018).

Alobwed’Epie explained the main concern as being the collapse of post-independence leadership in most African countries, especially in Cameroon, and the preservation of African Cameroonian cultural values that are threatened by globalization. The scholar continued that he lacked ways to suggest, as most articles argue, that all these cultural values are good. After these “localized” concerns, the comparative approach adopted by most scholars to this collection shows the universality of Alobwed’Epie’s oeuvre. Gender issues, ethnicity, political instability, greed, dictatorship, and poverty, though represented in the context of an African country, are themes that echo in much national literature. Like most postcolonial African writers, Alobwed’Epie utilizes the English language by giving local color much like Chinua Achebe (Agbor et al., 2018, p.3). By

utilizing the English language to deal with both local and universal issues, Alobwed'Epie engages in a new postcolonial discourse; a discourse that has moved beyond the obsession with the colonial encounter and its consequences to probe into the postcolonial nation itself. However, it examines the pervasive post-independence internal colonialism that corrodes postcolonial polities. Instead of writing “back to the Metropolis” the author writes “home” to unveil the unstated reality of the “iron curtain” that divides the ruling-cum-bourgeois class and the poor masses (Agbor et al., 2018, p.3).

According to Mandela (1995), in his autobiography ‘Long Walk to Freedom’, “I learned that to humiliate another person is to make him suffer an unnecessarily cruel fate. Even as a boy, I defeated my opponents without dishonoring them.” Mandela’s words help to understand the position of both Anglophone and Francophone scholars regarding the ongoing civil war. Although some of them may have different opinions, one thing they all agree on regarding freedom and union is that if both sides can’t understand each other or see each other as allies, how will the war be resolved? That is the reason both Anglophone and Francophone scholars are important voices for the ongoing Civil war in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. The chapter will also draw on the international view of the war.

In *the Journal of the African Literature Association*, the ongoing “unrest” and “violence” in Cameroon which started in November 2016 is referred to as “The Anglophone crisis” or “the Anglophone problem”. The Anglophone crisis has its origin in the strike of the Anglophone Common Law Lawyer’s Associations and the Teacher’s Trade Unions of the English sub-system of education. The Anglophone problem is defined as a recurring state’s second-class citizenship. “It is easy to break down and destroy. The heroes are those who make peace and build” (Cajetan & Mandela, 2020). This can be related to the case of Felix Agbor Nkongh, a human rights lawyer,

from the University of Buea. The Human Rights Foundation (HRF) condemns the regime of Cameroon's dictator Paul Biya for orchestrating the dismissal of human rights lawyer Felix Agbor Nkongho in relation to his activism in defense of the rights of Cameroon's Anglophone minority. (Human Rights Foundation, 2020). Felix Agbor Nkongho (known as Agbor-Balla) spoke at the Oslo Freedom Forum about the language of non-violence. (Oslo Freedom,2019).

Agbor explained that upon arrest, the government of Cameroon accused him of using violent language. However, he felt that that was non-violent language. His only crime was that he protested the 56 years of marginalization, oppression, and suppression that anglophone people in Cameroon suffered at the hands of the Francophone majority. For Agbor, English and French are supposed to be our official languages, but because of the majority of Francophone-speaking Cameroonians, English has been pushed to the background. The country of Cameroon seems very peaceful from the outside, but to the average Anglophone, it's a very polarized society. It appears they are two Cameroon in one, the majority dominates the minority. Derogatory words have been used to describe the English-speaking Cameroonians such as 'the enemies in the house', 'Bamenda', and 'Anglofools'. The words further deteriorated when the Francophone-dominated military was sent to repress the Anglophone people when they fully voiced their opinions. Agbor continued by saying: Cameroon historically was Francophone and Anglophone. Both people were united, represented by two stars on the flag. But in 1975 the government removed one of the stars on the flag, which clearly showed that they were removing the united identity. Before 1984 the country was called the United Republic of Cameroon which showed Both Anglophone and Francophone were coming together. After 1984 and still to the present day, it's just called the Republic of Cameroon. The Francophones expanded their dominance over Anglophone culture, language, and institutions. The French common law dominates in Anglophone courts and has been

an erosion of the English common law.

According to Agbor, “Francophone teachers who cannot understand or speak in English are teaching [Anglophone] students”. He stressed that the Francophones are unable to understand the pain that the children go through while in control of the military and police. He stated that it is clear from the government’s attitude that they’re out to eliminate all forms of dissent in Anglophone Cameroon. According to him, this has resulted in the killings of Anglophones and the burning downs of villages by the predominately Francophone military. More than 100 Anglophones are currently detained in jails in Cameroon, with half a million internally displaced. About 50,000 Anglophones are currently living in Nigeria as refugees. At least 4,000 innocent civilians have been killed (Human Rights Watch, 2023), and more than 1.5 million civilians have been displaced. We see in Cameroon division, classification, and extermination, but we’re in denial of what is happening. Agbor reminds of the genocide in Rwanda for 25 years is what is gradually happening in the Anglophone regions in Cameroon. The author stated that since the crisis with no solution, it became like a new normal. He does not want people to accept this new normality, anywhere in Cameroon nor Africa, or in any part of the world. The author talked about his dad, his inspiration, who was a Trade Unionist, who fought for the rights of the Anglophones workers and wrote against the injustices, marginalization, and oppression that his people were suffering.

Agbor recalled being expelled from school for so-called offensive writing he learned from his father. He didn’t give up. That even encouraged him to continue the fight for the people and eventually, it led to the creation of the Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa, an organization that protects and promotes the human rights of people. Agbor was voted President of the Fako Lawyers Association, then rallied the anglophone lawyers’ association to call for a peaceful protest. They issued several memos to the government, but the government never replied.

On the 3rd of November 2016, the lawyers' association organized one of those peaceful protests. They were Tear-gassed, beaten, and dragged through the mud. Furthermore, they were humiliated. Their basic rights were violated, but they didn't give up. Over the struggle, they realized that they had to build a society. Not all Francophones hated Anglophones. Some show loves. They started working with civil societies, to build synergy across the board. To let the Cameroonians understand that they can fight the struggle together. They can find a solution to this crisis if both of them speak the language of nonviolence. Agbor recalled his struggles with working with Francophones, asking himself how he could work with people he felt disrespected Anglophones. But over time, being in jail where the Francophone lawyers and Anglophone lawyers defended them made him reconsider his position. Today, he's at the forefront of working with Francophone and Anglophone to see how they can find a solution.

Francophone leaders consider Agbor a radical. Whereas, the Anglophone leaders and consider him to be too moderate. His mission is to speak truth to power in order to help find a solution to the crisis. Agbor's stand is that the situation in Cameroon should not be viewed as normal. All should look at it as unacceptable levels of loss of human dignity. Each can make a change; the Oslo Freedom Forum can find a solution. Agbor finished his speech with these words. "let's rise up against tyranny. Let us rise up against dictatorship", and let's ensure that we leave the world a better place than we made it (Agbor, 2019).

Another scholar, Oge Onubogu, considers the Cameroon crisis as an explanation of many years of frail authoritarian governance by Paul Biya from the moment he has taken power in 1982. Since then, large portions of the population have progressively felt politically excluded either from the governing process. Some political decisions are frequently made by presidential decree with no public dialogue. Cameroon has been a one-party state, with different opposition parties

extremely particle dismissed. That dismissal is to become visible, especially in the anglophone ongoing war and in the far North region, where violence against Boko Haram has worsened the weak economy and progression. (Onubogu, 2018). Onubogu argued that a key focus of the U.S. attention on Cameroon's strategic role as a security partner in opposing violent extremism in the Sahel and the Lake Chad basin. For Cameroon to have a role, something has to be done. First with the Anglophone secession protests. This means The U.S. has a role and interest to support that idea. With the complexity of reducing violent extremism, the eminent unity of the U.S. and international efforts are required to boost the impact of diplomacy, development, and defense support in Cameroon. (Onubogu, 2018).

On how the conflict in the anglophone region reached its current position, the scholar Jude Mutah says that there is no trust among Cameroonians on both sides. He also emphasizes on the urgent need for outside mediation and that credible institutions and Africa leaders with personal involvement should think carefully about steps to rescue Cameroon from the ongoing civil war. He called on the United States to join the efforts of other African countries in order to stop this ongoing civil in the Anglophone and Francophone regions in Cameroon. A successful dialogue will need the participation of moderate leaders on both sides, together with those who are in jail or exile. This means that international talk assistance will motivate Cameroon's government to allow their inclusion in a peace process. (Mutah,2018). *"If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart."* (Mandela, *A quote in his own word*).

These three scholars Nengi Nduh Peng, Mary Solange, and Nkwetisama Carlous Muluh explained the importance that language and communication choices play, and their huge role in the Anglophone/Francophone crisis in Cameroon. The authors argued that in any kind of mediation

war between countries trade and the ongoing Civil war in Cameroon, the choice of words used by both actors is always very important, as careless words could cause anger, hurt and pain. They emphasized on the importance of choosing a good strategy of communication in order to manage the crisis. Poor communication choice will escalate conflict and violence. According to them, what defines human humanity is language as a tool of Communication. The language is often viewed as the key to the people's heart. Furthermore, language and communication are pivotal in the administration and resolution of conflicts between disputing parties. Language is an acquired and learned, arbitrary system of vocal and written symbols through which human beings interact in terms of their cultural experience (Carol, 1953).

Language is a method of communication in speech and writing that people are used. The authors spoke about using today's conflict, especially in the 2016 example when English-speaking lawyers and teachers organized peaceful protests of their frustration with the central government enforcing the use of French-speaking judges and teachers in English-speaking courts and schools, feeling politically excluded. This makes English speakers that the officials in Yaoundé were just forcing the minority Anglophone to transition into Francophone legal and educational systems. (Nengi et al., 2022).

3.1 Language Differentiation

During the Paris Peace Summit in France that was held from the 11th to 13th of November 2019, President Paul Biya declared that they were differences key between the French and English-speaking Cameroonians because of their different experiences under colonial rule: (Mulu, 2022). Furthermore, President Paul Biya on his in his speech during the Paris Peace Summit: "My country is complex. ...After the First World War.... Some were under British colonization and others under French. The result has been a juxtaposition of culture and civilization that makes things quite

difficult. Well, we have done everything we can to put the two languages, English, and French on an equal footing but, the mindsets, as well as the judicial system, are different....” (Mulu, 2022).

Throughout Biya’s speech, President Biya revealed that the plan had been to integrate the Anglophone minority into the Francophone system. The president continued: “We had the possibility of integrating the English speakers directly into the francophone system, which was predominantly used by 80% of our people but, I believe that countries are now concerned about affirming their identity and that is why we are setting up a special status that recognizes the specificity of the English-speaking area....” (Yaoundé, 2023).

Throughout this speech, both Nengi Nduh Peng Mary Solange and Nkwetisama Carlous Muluh explained how many conflicts in our lives come because of the language that is used, and how they communicated with others. Unproductive communication can create situations where there are no existent “conflict issues” Poor communication can cause anger, hurt feelings frustration, and sometimes damages the relationships and become non-reparable. This means preventing conflict and using communication as a first start.

Another scholar, Ngoh explained that his discontent with the Anglophones in the management and governance of the state sipped through the event in April 1995 with the All-Anglophone Conference (AACI) in Buea, which produced the Buea declaration and the 1994 AACII in Bamenda. 700 Common Law Lawyers from the Northwest and Southwest regions including other regions reunited in Bamenda to implicate the government in a cautious and well-thought-out program of carving away and replacing the common law-inspired rules of criminal, Civil procedure, and evidence, with a system and culture of French-inspired or copied Civil Law and was strongly and unequivocally rejected by them claiming the restoration of the referred Common Law-inspired rule of practice and procedure. (Nengi et al., 2022).

Furthermore, the lawyers demanded for the divisions of Common Law to be distinctly defined in order to work with ENAM, the non-adulteration of the educational sub-system in the Northwest and Southwest Regions; the creation of a Law School; and the protection of the Anglophone minority. That Common Law lawyer eventually gave the government a fair period from the deposit date of these resolutions to answer positively, to which the government wastefully spent time. The Cameroon Education Forum (CEF) in 2016 brought the government's attention to the difficulty of the English sub-system of Cameroon. In a written message to the Prime Minister, the CEF complained about 20 years since the regulation on education was signed, and how the arrangement was violated and declined with only partial implement by explaining skepticism of the education authorities in the country (Nengi et al., 2022).

For Ngoh, prior to the Anglophone Teacher's Trade Union officially starting their strike in November 2016, Wilfred Tassang of the Cameroon Anglophone Teacher's Trade Union (CATTU) who braced the lawyer's strike, has this to say: "The fight at hand is not a teacher's fight. If it were, it will be talking about the living and working conditions. This is an Anglophone struggle... This is the time for Anglophones to rise up as one" (Yaoundé, 2023). Wilfred Tassang's declaration revealed the roots of the problem. Which was a political issue, not a demand for trade union grievances of good living and working and fair conditions. The government tumbled to do so on a workout society that allows integration of sociological concepts additionally CDA researchers explain what is said or written or how it is interpreted, rather they have come to see language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992:47).

Another scholar Wilfred Tassang points out that a joint note issued by the Fako Lawyers Association (FAKLA), the Meme Lawyers Association (MELA) the Manyu Lawyers Association (MALA), and the Northwest Lawyers Association (NOWELA) starting on 15th October 2016 says,

“We shall be synergizing with SYNES, Cameroon Teachers’ Trade Union (CATTU), Teachers Association of Cameroon (TAC), Traders Associations, Taxi Drivers Unions, bus companies, and Commercial Motorbike Riders Associations, as well as “Buyam Sellam” Associations across the Northwest and Southwest Regions.” According to Tassang, the resolution was taken up by lawyers and the teacher’s trade unions to request the population not to have schools in the different sectors of the endgame, and on where they should take instructions. (Tassang, 2022, p. 30).

A radio animator in Bamenda, Mancho Bibixy, saw the opportunity and began the “coffin revolution”, which was led by a big crowd of protesters who chanted against the disgraced city council; the broken-down road network. (Bibixy, 2022, p. 30).

A Cameroonian-born Francophone scholar, Nyamnjoh, was very critical of the regime outlines and how President Paul Biya had turned Cameroon into a country with a chronic lack of vision or commitment to democracy and created a corrupt system with ‘more room for loyal mediocracy than critical excellence’. Nyamnjoh also illustrated how President Paul Biya had developed a policy of regional and ethnic balance, a legacy of “decentralized despotism”. This policy is far less about balance than it is about diverting attention from real to imagined problems and causes.’

In 1999, in a prophetic article, Nyamnjoh expressed how the state system of divide and rule makes Cameroon’s regional and ethnic groups revolt against each other. Nyamnjoh view’s the anglophone movement as not only a protest of the marginalization of the English-speaking population in the former French colony ,but also a protest against President Paul Biya, who has held a firm grip on Cameroon politics for 36 years. He also explained that “The fact that anglophones oppose the government doesn’t make it an anglophone problem necessarily. In fact, it is a very Cameroonian problem: of a state that doesn’t deliver, a state that has no business being

there because there are no results.’’ (Nyamnjoh, 1999).

Nyamnjoh wrote that “the crisis in the Anglophone regions continues because of poor governance. He noted that the states are using the divide-and-rule tactic, while the protesters want to divide our beloved country. According to him, this is preventing the formation of a broader movement of Cameroonians, regardless of colonial heritage and postcolonial intermediary identities, and rallying against the real problem of the government.’’ (Nymanjoh, 1999). Furthermore, he also talked about the existing climate of conflict and division that feeds on caricatures and stereotypes about Francophones and Anglophones, with short and easy-to-remember derogatory representations of others. He also stated that “you can argue that ethnicity has crystallized around this common idea of an Anglo-Saxon heritage, whether real or imagined, in the Cameroonian context that people identify with an opposition to what they consider as the negative aspect of the French heritage in Cameroon.’’ The author in his words said, “after decades under this system, people have become so numb, including the intellectuals, that you would expect to speak up.’’ The author wrote in his novels about the fictional country Mimboland. Mimbo in Pidgin English means alcohol, and Mimboland is the land of alcohol and drunks in abundance. Hence, referring to the country’s leader, President Long, staying forever in the power without any results. His question is “How come Africa is so full of a president’s long stay? Furthermore, he continued to hope that the Cameroonians, mostly young, will come up to aspire for a common humanity, a common ‘Cameroonian-nesses without handcuffs.

For Nyamnjoh, Cameroonians must stop hiding away from the problems of this government, “they should not claim that because the question is posed by Anglophones then it is not a Cameroonian problem. The Cameroonian problem is that the leadership has failed us, Francophones and Anglophones alike.’’ (Nymanjoh, 1999).

Konings and Francis Nyamnjoh, both Francophone scholars, explained that the Anglophone problem in Cameroon is due to a lack of unity and severe repression from Anglophone leaders in a bid to prevent public expression of condemnation of the Francophone control. This continued until 1982, when Paul Biya took power following his introduction of restricted liberalization. Only then did Anglophones start voicing their long-standing problems. Also, the fact that the government moved to make a minor change in the Anglophone General Certificate of Education (GCE) examination is quite the resemblance to the Baccalaureate in 1983, which didn't go well with the Anglophones. It caused the demonstrations and boycott of school classes and the police brutality present at the university of Yaoundé, and identify as Anglophone.

These two scholars Konings and Nyamnjoh explained that in 1984, when the government changed its official name of the country from United Republic of Cameroon to Republic of Cameroon in defiance of powerful protests, that was what the independent Francophone Cameroon was long called by the ex-President Ahidjo before reunification. Francophone domination in the states helped increase monopolization of key roles of the executive branch of the President's ethnic group. According to Joseph Takougang 37 of the 47 seniors' prefects were Beti, as were three-quarters of the directors and general managers of the parastatals, and 22 of the 38 high-ranking bureaucrats were appointed to the newly created office of the Prime Minister. They were declining economically, and anglophones blamed the mismanagement and corruption of the regime on President Biya. (Yenchu et.al, 214).

The Anglophones claimed that their region was cut off from their own rich oil resources, condemning the absence and neglected infrastructure investments. Oil revenues were allegedly used by those in power to feed the bellies of "their allies" and stimulate the economy in other regions. The society national de raffinage (Sonora), the oil refinery near Limbe mostly staffed and

predominated by Francophones, didn't have any Anglophones occupying a big post in those "superior" industries. Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) and Plantation Pamol du Cameroun Ltd (Pamol) preferred to sell cheap to Francophone or French interests. Both Konings and Nyamnjoh stated that they are not surprised by the first opposition party in the country that comes to Anglophone Cameroon through the growing economic and political turmoil (Konings et al. 1997, p. 214).

According to the scholar E.H Ngwa Nfobin, the president to an extent, planned to work for the achievement of an overall strategy. Within the reforms, the unveiling of a new constitution instituting a unitary state back in 1972 was the one they considered in breach of Article 47 of the constitution in 1961, creating a federal state. Any proposition for the revision of the present constitution, which weakened the unity and integrity of the Federation, be invalid. Article 47 was the birth of a pre-Reunification promise by the authorities of the Republic of Cameroon to Southern Cameroonians in a bid to win them over at the plebiscite polls on 11 February 1961. The promise made many of them vote to leave the Federation of Nigeria, where they equally had the status of a state. For the English-speaking Cameroonians, consequently, the reunification abides by Article 47 or berries with it (Nfobin, 2017, p. 539).

E.H Ngwa Nfobin continued on the break between both Francophone and Anglophone over Article 47 of the constitution. The author points out that the split between Francophone and Anglophone over Article 47 of the constitutionality might have been one of the components that caused the shift from the federal to the unitary system of government in Cameroon. This means that the Article 47 of the constitution could have been lawfully taken out by the uncomplicated institution of a new constitution (Nfobin, 2017, p. 544).

Furthermore, on the subject of revision, Serge Arne wrote that "every constitution is

revisable but everything in a constitution is not revisable or at least should not be.” Serge Arne also stated supra-constitutionality as the superiority of certain rules or principles called “norms over the content of the adoption of this category. If a man is not to be compelled to have recourse to change the constitution as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, if human rights should be protected by the rule of law, the kind of inclusion of such provisions relies on the experiences of the states in question. (Nfobin, 2017, p. 547). In France, Stephane Rials acknowledged its existence and commented that “the constitution under the *Ancient Regime* bore a decisive reference to supra-constitutionality. The fundamental laws of the kingdom... were subject to the respect of divine and natural law.” It abided after the revolution. All constitutions since 1884 brand as inadmissible any amendment that subdues the republican form of government, a provision copied by the 1947 Italian constitution and those of several other French-speaking African countries. The reverse holds true in the Francophone Kingdom of Morocco. The constitution instead protects the ruling family. (Nfobin, 2017, p. 547).

Georges Burdeau calls the provision “an act of faith necessarily without sanction” but later refines his opinion. “Its legal value is nil, for the constituent power of a time has no right to limit the constituent power of the future”, he contends. ((Nfobin, 2017, p. 547). Nfobin writes in the footnotes he references Cabanis and M. L. Martin, *Les constitutions de L’Afrique francophone* that, “the items are the integrity of the territory, human rights, basic freedoms, and democracy based on multipartyism “ (Nfobin, 2017, p. 548).

It is worthwhile at the onset of this research to think of how the study of African politics shapes the study of politics and world affairs in general. Such an exercise should not be understood as a mere matter of self-motivation, rather it serves as a wake-up call of the universality of human experiences and of sometimes-hidden relevance of the most marginal of regionse. (Englebert et.

al, 2013). Scholars argue about the decay, failure of the many African states, and the universal political and economic change all over the region, which removed Africa from its relative marginality in theory development. Richard Sklar (1993) redraft the article he wrote in the early 1990s, 'The African Frontier for Political Science'. Scholars talked about how African studies have contributed to theory development in the fields of democratic theory (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997), rationality and culture (Bates, 1983; Schatzberg, 2001), economic development and modernization (Bates, 1981; Chabal and Daloz, 1999) and a large body of empirical theoretical literature on growth, state theory (Bayart 1993; Young 1994), class analysis (Sklar, 1979; Boone, 1990; Samatar and Oldfield, 1995), civil wars and ethnic (Reno, 1995; Clapham, 1998; Boas and Dunn, 2007; Williams, 2011), governance and political corruption (Englebert et. al, 2013).

Some of the important works coming from African studies have been Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle (1994, 1997). They stressed the conventional theories of the democracy transition that emphasize the role of negotiation by a few people in authority. This explains what is going on, especially in the ongoing Francophone and Anglophone civil war in Cameroon. (Englebert et. Al., 2013). O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (1986) argued that to understand African Transitions, one had to consider the nature and structural characteristics of the previous regime and the role of protests. That can be related to when the first president of Cameroon Ahidjo left power, Cameroon was "the United Republic of Cameroon" in 1972 and was changed to the "Republic of Cameroon" in 1984 when the current president Paul Biya arrived in power. That shows how delicate African governments can be especially in the reversed government.

However, this explains the "African solution to Africa problems", why Western diplomats and Africans expect all the organizations to play a leading role in speaking on the Anglophone ongoing war. Nevertheless, some individual countries, including African regions, have been close-

lipped for some reason, while others have taken the side of the government of Cameroon. Only a few statements have been issued by the African Union (AU), the foremost African continental institution. Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma voiced some concerns about the problem and called for caution and communication or dialogue in order to come up with a resolution to an economic and social-political problem. Dr. Zuma also points out the need to respect the law and especially the right to carry peaceful demonstrations.

Chairperson Moussa Faki Mahamat 2018, current AU Commission Chairperson, visited Cameroon. During his visit, he met with many high-level government officials, including the President Paul Biya, to discuss issues that are influencing the region and all of Cameroon. Mr. Faki praised the president's attempt at humanitarian efforts and the support and commitment of the AU to the unity and territorial integrity of Cameroon. At the same time, he rejected the violence and called for meaningful dialogue to have a smooth and peaceful resolution, while Central Africa kept silent, including other African countries as well. However, Nigeria has made an effort to make a peace deal in Cameroon. Nigeria's leadership, and the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) have assisted many African countries such as Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, and Liberia to resolve their internal conflicts. Besides Nigeria's big influence in ECOWAS, the country has a direct connection to Cameroon and has an influential position to intervene.

Cameroon's northwest and southwest regions share the same border with Nigeria. Not only is Cameroon suffering from the conflict, but Nigeria also suffers from the Anglophone people running from the civil war due to a common border. Cameroonian refugees sometimes impose border closures that handicap trade between both countries. Cameroon is an alliance partner of Nigeria, and both are in the fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group in the lake Chad Basin. However, there have been signs of the Nigeria president having a talk with his neighborhood in

Cameroon about the Anglophone toward a potential solution, though they share a lot, especially in the fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group attempting to make both countries handicaps with the war on terror. (Mutah, 2022).

The United States also voiced its position and concerns regarding the conflict. They have condemned human rights violations in the ongoing crisis in the Anglophone southwest and northwest regions. The U.S. advised the Cameroonian and Nigerian authorities to stick to their obligations under international law, to refrain from forcibly returning asylum-seekers to their country of origin. The U.S. ambassador in Cameroon in 2018, voiced his distress about the reaction of the government to the crisis by denouncing a “policy of targeted killings”, arrests without lawyer access, as well as the existence of “villages burned and looted by the government” in the English-speaking region. The U.S. ambassador also condemns, the violence of the separatists, emphasizing the “killings of gendarmes, kidnappings of officials and fires of schools” (Jeune Afrique; 2018). The instability in Cameroon might be bad for the U.S. because of its interests. Since 1960, the U.S. and Cameroon are working closely in important fields to address democracy and governance, regional security, environmental protection, health, and economic development. Both countries are commercial partners and have also signed free trade agreements, including the Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT). They also have been other countries like the United Kingdom voicing their concerns about the ongoing Anglophone crisis. The problem was brought up in the House of Commons by MP Jessica Morden, who traveled in the region. She manifests her concern about the situation of the refugees fleeing Nigeria. The minister for Africa responded by reaffirming the position of the UK, which is to promote dialogue in the conflict as well as to end the violence in the region (Africa news; 2017). There are some British companies who are interested in the stability of the Anglophone regions. In 2015, the energy group Tower Resources signed a

partnership with the National Hydrocarbons society to share the benefits of the exploitation of the oil of the Rio Del Rey Basin throughout the southwest region. The NGOs came to the field putting pressure on President Paul Biya's government in an attempt to stop the violence happening in the Anglophone regions in order to protect people's human rights and have a peaceful solution.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

Several factors were highlighted in the literature review as contributing to the conflict. I have conceptualized the factors into a framework.

a. Governance Issues

The Anglophones feel that the crisis is caused by poor governance. The states are using the divide-and-rule tactic, claiming that the protesters want to divide the country. In this way, it is preventing the formation of a broader movement of Cameroonians, regardless of colonial heritage and postcolonial intermediary identities, and rallying against the real problem of the government.

b. Oppression and Exclusion

People from the Anglophone regions are feeling oppressed and excluded because of the government's use of force to impose French into their educational system, court and work environment.

c. Cultural and Language Differences

According to President Paul Biya the government has done everything to put the two languages, English and French, on an equal footing. President Biya revealed that the plan had been to integrate the Anglophone minority into the French system, though the Anglophones doubt the authenticity of this declaration from the president. However, in 2005, the census tract 69 main languages and dialects spoken in Cameroon. It showed that French is the most spoken (56% of the population), next to English (23%), and that the two are the official languages. In the two sub-

prefectures, especially in the extreme North region, other languages are favored and used besides French and English. The country is supposed to be bilingual, but according to the census not many (11.6%) Cameroonians are able to speak both English and French, and 28.8% do not speak either of the languages. (“Translators without Borders”, 2021).

d. Political Exclusion

Anglophones, including Nyamnjoh a Cameroonian-born Francophone, feel that the President had turned Cameroon into a country with a chronic lack of vision or commitment to democracy and had created a corrupt system with more room for loyal mediocracy than critical excellence. The Anglophones also complained about the policy of regional and ethnic balance legacy of “decentralized despotism” (Mamdani, 1996) and feel that the policy is far less about balance than it is about diverting attention from the real problem and causes.

e. Marginalization

When President Paul Biya came into power and changed the star to one star, the two stars were supposed to be a symbol of unity. The Anglophones were surprised because for them it meant that they were not united at this point. They viewed that as marginalization and as the government trying to force them into the Francophone system. For them, English has been pushed to the background. Anglophones also protested the 56 plus years of marginalization, oppression, and suppression that they have endured.

f. Economic Injustice

The Anglophones feel abandoned economically, and all the good positions have been given to the Francophones in the government, even the big industries are controlled by the Francophones, although those resources are in the Anglophone regions. Transportation is practically impossible

because of numerous controls by the military, and it is difficult for people to go from points A to B, making it difficult for people to go to the farm, resulting in poverty.

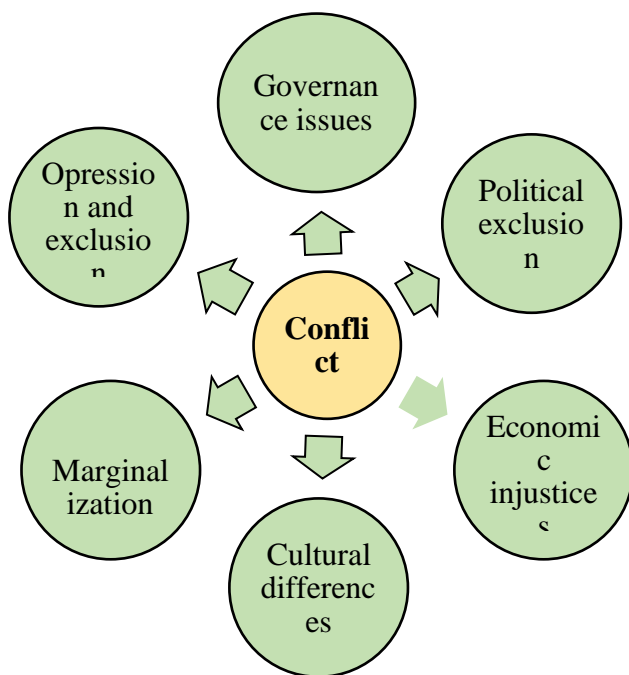


Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework showing contributing factors to conflicts

3.3 Conclusion

The process leading to the reunification of the two Cameroon main regions is the root of this Anglophone and Francophone problem. The Francophone territory gained independence on the 1st of January 1960, becoming the Republic of Cameroon. The British territory comprised Southern Cameroons and Northern Cameroon. The historic vote by English-speaking Southern Cameroonians in the UN-sponsored plebiscite of 11th February 1961 to accede to independence by the independent Republic of Cameroon brought the need for a constitution governing the organization and functioning of the union. (Nfobin, 2017).

Many scholars have raised several issues about the government not being truthful to the public. One example is Atangan Nji, the Minister in charge of special duties at the presidency at the time, and his rejection of the notion of the crisis. Nji stated that “there is no Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and that those who talk about it are just the imposters who are in search of notoriety.” He added that, “Anglophones are not marginalized in Cameroon” (Kame 2018, p. 88). Throughout the crisis, many of the Anglophones regions didn’t address their frustration with the Anglophone elite, who they classified as “greed”, “fraud”, “sellouts”, “liars” and selfish, who only care about their “stomachs”. They compromise their values, integrity for money, personal advancement, and blame the Anglophones for escalating the crisis. Locals questioned the role of Anglophone elites in the struggle for justice, saying that they have intentionally and consistently violated their trust and people’s aspirations (Fonchingong, 2005; Nymanjoh and Rowlands, 1998).

Discussions on both positions point out how the use of language is very important in this kind of ongoing war for resolution. The government’s denial of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon and its calculation to protect the unitary state, including repression, could lead to a rise of Anglophone demands with a non-return (Yenchu et., al, 1997).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Methods

According to Babour (1999, p.12) qualitative research is essentially ‘‘exploratory’’, setting out to describe, understand and explain a particular phenomenon. It may address what, why and how, but not ‘‘how many’’ or ‘‘how frequently’’ According to Hays and Singh (2012) qualitative research is the study of a phenomenon or research topic in context and the qualitative design includes how or what of a phenomenon as opposed to the why and emphasizes the qualities of entities, processes, and meaning that are not experimentally examined or measured (Hays and Singh, 2012, p. 4).

4.2 Interviews / Participants and Design, Procedure & Measures

This study used qualitative research. I conducted my interview by phone on WhatsApp because I was unable to travel for a face-to-face interview. I sent my interview question via email to a third party, a friend in Cameroon attached to the research process, who organized the meeting following the rules and procedures that I have set for my research, which I will describe below. We chose a quiet area by the church to conduct these interviews. I interviewed 10 people in total, with five from Anglophone and Francophone respectively. The Anglophones that I interviewed are the ones who left their city and came to the center of my city Mbalmayo. My interview participants were men and women from age 26 to 50. They were four women and 6 men. I used a snowball method to reach out to my participants. Due to the ongoing tension in the regions since the war, it was a sensitive subject. I made my participants read a consent form that explains the reason for the study and guaranteed that the collected data will be used only for the purpose of the study, and that their identity will be protected. These participants were not exposed to any risk.

They told me that they want their stories to be heard. All were happy to do the interview because they wanted their voice to be heard. Since it was on the WhatsApp phone interview, I recorded it to make sure I took note of the information. After assuring them, I used open questions, which were basically a general introduction of the participant, his background what he or she thinks about the crisis, and the main barriers preventing the resolution. The data were well-conserved to preserve the accuracy of participants' answers, since they were phone recorded. The interviews lasted for four hours. While interviewing my participants, I took some of the quotes from the conversation, which I transcribed, and did a content analysis of the transcripts.

For each transcript, I grouped the statements of the participants on these themes: marginalization, assimilation, dialogue, culture-value, and poverty. My objective was to sort and organize or identify if my participant on both sides will come up with the same hypothesis about the Anglophones being marginalized and dialogue needed to be done. I wanted to hear if both sides agreed on the anglophones being marginalized and especially what has to be done to stop the war, which kind of people can they bring to the table for the dialogue, since the first dialogue has failed, and the main barriers preventing the resolution.

4.3 Researcher Role

The researcher was born in Cameroon and has engaged in politics enough to fully understand the ongoing civil war in Cameroon through her experiences. Her understanding of what the participants are voicing puts her in a different position than researchers who are not Cameroonians. This means that there was the advantage of understanding what the participants were feeling and going through, including the words of the participants, even when their sentences were not well formulated as the participants were from both Francophone and Anglophones regions.

4.4 Findings

While I was conducting my interview, it was clear that my participants were from different backgrounds. My interviews were snowballing sampling with a non-probability sampling method, where new units are recruited by other units to form part of the sample with the people directly affected by the ongoing civil war. Participants were diverse and included history professors, pastors, and teachers. They were from both sides, English-speaking and Francophones-speaking. Half were from the Anglophone regions and half from the Francophone and were not involved at first politically, but since they have been directly affected by the civil war, it became clear that they became involved. Of my 10 participants' interviews, I conducted most of them on WhatsApp and one by writing. I used a computer to conduct my interview and recorded all of them, which provided me with applicable elements regarding my hypothesis.

4.5 Questions

1. So, first, can you tell me a little bit about yourself? Which part of the country are you from, and where do you live now? You may start by stating your name.
2. What do you think are the causes of the Anglo-Franco crisis? Was this crisis ever evitable?
3. What are the contributing factors that led to the conflict?
4. The Anglophones believe that they are marginalized and oppressed. In your view, what are the reasons why they believe so? If you disagree, what are the reasons for your disagreement?
5. Several attempts were made to address the crisis, but there was no consensus. In your opinion, what are the main barriers preventing the resolution of the conflict?
6. Who are the groups, key actors, or politicians capable of resolving this ongoing conflict?

7. There are two sides to this conflict: the Anglophone and the Francophone, which speak different languages inherited from colonization. In your view, what role does the colonial legacy including language differences play in this conflict? Is this an identity crisis and why?
8. In your opinion, what governance and leadership issues are contributing to this conflict?
9. What responsibility does the current government have in this conflict? What is the government doing right, and what it is doing wrong? If anything at all?
10. It is in the interest of all Cameroonians to find a solution to the crisis. What do you think can be done to end this conflict between the two sides?
 - a. What should the Anglophone side do to contribute to the resolution of the crisis?
 - b. What should the Francophone side do to contribute to the resolution of the crisis?
11. What should the current government in power do to end this conflict?
12. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me today about the ongoing conflict?

4.6 Results

This section will highlight findings from the interviews conducted. Over the course of the interviews, several themes emerged. I will elaborate on the meaning of themes with supporting evidence from the interview data. This section will also include as many voices as possible and try to be faithful to the words, sentences, and spelling used by participants. The intention is to make sure that the reader hears and feels the participants in their own words and their feelings. As indicated by Creswell and Guetterman, qualitative data, like interviews, provide insight into the meaning and perspectives that individuals and groups attribute to social phenomena. In this case, the qualitative interviews provide insight into how both Anglophones and Francophones perceive the crisis in Cameroon.

4.7 Conceptual Framework from Results Analysis

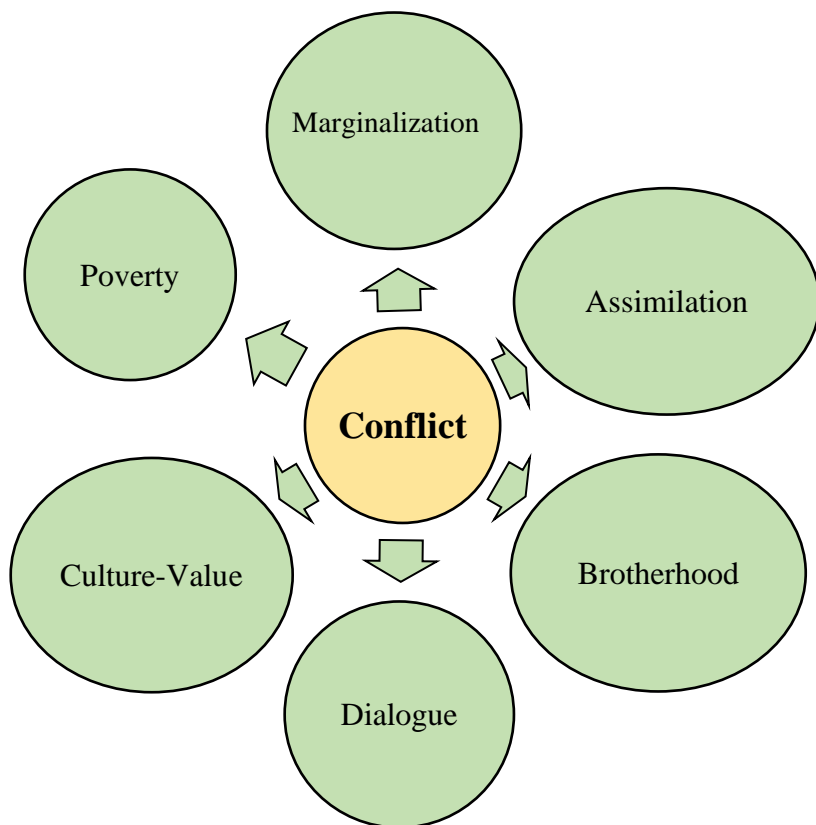


Figure 4.7.1. Diagram of the themes emerging from the interviews

4.8 Themes

a. Marginalization

Marginalization is largely supported by most Anglophone participants. They feel marginalized everywhere in the system because they're a minority. They also feel oppressed and suppressed by the system, which they feel only looked out for Francophones.

Participant 4 stated that: '*they feel classified because they are Anglophones. And have been abandoned by the government*'.

Participant 6, when asked, "Do you think Anglophones are marginalized?", replied: "Yes,

we feel they are marginalized by the government. The government doesn't care about their problems. And they have been marginalized since they changed the flag from two to one-star. Dialogue is very important for this nation.''

Participant 5 stated: *"We have been marginalized for 50 and plus years, not only oppressed and suppressed. From the predominant system, English and French are supposed to be our official languages. Due to the Francophone majority, English has been neglected."*

When asked, participant 7 replied: *the government needs to restitute them, they have lost a lot. They are not only Anglophone, they are Cameroonians, but we are also one."*

The theme of marginalization was also supported by Participant 3, who replied: *"I have a lot of knowledge about the war and have been affected. I feel that we have been marginalized everywhere in the system because we're a minority. Also, nobody listens to our complaints, because we are silent but by staying quiet we are going to be assimilated and our values and cultures and system will be lost. I support dialogue''.*

Participant 9 replied: *"further emphasizing the issue of marginalization, I relocated to the Central region to escape the conflict. A couple of days before the interview, my dad was kidnapped, and the kidnapper wants the family to pay the ransom. This is a poor government and we are feeling marginalized by it."*

Participant 2 replied: *"The Francophones are welcoming and treated the fleeing Anglophones well as brothers and sisters. The solution to the conflict is to have an assize, not with the politicians but with the civilians such as mothers, grandmothers' fathers, and village chiefs. These are sincere people. If you need a solution for a problem, do not ask an angry person because the angry person will only give you the angry answer. They need a strong dialogue."*

b. Assimilation

By breaking up the data from the participants, we found evidence of assimilation as a result of the ongoing civil war in Northwest and Southwest regions in Cameroon. Three kinds of evidence from the data support the claim:

Participant 3 realized that not only Anglophones but also Francophones feel that the Anglophones have been assimilated. When asked during an interview about how they think the government treated them during the ongoing civil war in the southwest and the Northwest regions, the participant replied: *“The government didn’t respect us, and we had to do something to get their attention”*.

Participant 5’s experience was given in a heartfelt response: *“the Anglophones need to air their voices to get the government’s attention to work for greater equality between the two sides, Anglophones and Francophones.”* The participant continued that, *“even though there is an undesirable effect on assimilation, especially on the Anglophone side, the Anglophones and Francophones are not different when it comes to their love for each other, but different when it comes to being assimilated. There is the need for dialogue on both sides.”*

Participant 2 replied: *“But airing their voices will help inform many Cameroonians, especially on the Francophone side, who may be unaware of the degree of the problem, in order for them to understand what is going on, on the Anglophone side.”*

This is important in the study of the assimilation of people. The framework borrowed from Onubogu (2018). It was originally used in his perspective view on the government and how the population has progressively felt politically excluded from the governing process, and the dismissal is visible especially in the Anglophone ongoing war.

Participant 10, when asked about the Anglophones being assimilated, replied: *“We love*

our brothers and sisters, but they need to realize that they only occupy 20%, and we occupy 80% of the population. They also need to see that we are many Francophones". Participant 10 continued, *"The government is trying, although they need to do more. Their demand is exaggerated and unreal. But that said, I aim for the dialogue.*

Participant 2 replied: *"all what is going on is because we are only 20%, we shouldn't be treated any less than the 80% majority".*

c. Dialogue

The government has a difficult relationship with the population of the Northwest and Southwest regions. Participant 8, when asked if the war will ever be over, replied: *"the Government has to do more to help our brothers and sisters. They have to stop the killing. There is the need for a strong dialogue with a third party involved for an urgent solution. Trustworthy leaders from Africa and even from the United States need to be involved. Maybe that will stop the ongoing crises."* Participant 8 also described the root of the problem on why we are now in this situation: *"This situation should have been preventable if the president was listening to his population and tried to find a common ground. But he's not listening and that causes more problems."*

Participant 1, when asked what should be done to stop this civil ongoing war, replied: *"If you have a wound, and you don't treat it fast, it will grow. That is why is happening now."*

Participant 7 on the same question and replied: *"this ongoing civil war became a sort of business and profit venture for key players. I am afraid I don't know who to trust because nobody trust anyone. A national dialogue is a way for me personally to resolve this situation. There is a need for tripartite."*

When asked, participant 2 on the same question about the main barriers preventing the war

replied: *“The solution is to stop the weapons. The diaspora is sponsoring the separatists. We need to identify the key people who can have a real dialogue”.*

d. Culture-Value

This evidence that culture-value has made has had a tremendous effect on the life of the Cameroonians. Three types of evidence appear relevant, and they include political discontent, political exclusion political instability, and ethnicity. It is observed that the colonial legacy brought all these problems of language differences and identity crises.

When asked, participant 10 about the roots of the problem replied: *“First, there is no civil war between the Francophones and Anglophones in Cameroon but a mere dispute. I think that it ‘should be well understood’ that the Francophones got their free state in 1960, while the Anglophones got theirs in 1961 with culture and Anglo-Saxon system of government.”*

Participant 5 replied, *“President Ahidjo’s presidency has the flag green, red, and yellow with the two stars, meaning the union of the two different cultures and systems. But with the arrival of President Paul Biya, he changed from United Republic of Cameroon to Republic of Cameroon and the flag became what we have today. Green, Red, Yellow, and the central yellow star were substituted for the two stars to symbolize national unity. Anglophones saw that as an insult from the Francophones and an attempt to cut them off the map. The marginalization, the assimilation of all their values and cultures, and the system will be lost to the war. Both sides feel that they have been ripped off from their own cultures. Finally, they won’t have an identity from their cultures and languages because they tried to force that into their education. They want a serious dialogue to stop that dispute .“*

Participant 2 on the same question replied: *“before the crisis, there was a widespread thought that some people on the French side were bad. This war can end only if certain people in*

control today give chance to free, true dialogue and restitution. Cameroonians should pray and believe in God because God has a plan for Cameroon.”

Participant 3 replied: *“Francophone teachers who are unable to understand or speak English are teaching our students. You can understand the frustration and the pain that parents and children are going through, and that is unacceptable. We need a good dialogue on both sides of the aisle.”*

e. Poverty

The response from the data provided three types of evidence that act as contributing factors to the poverty in the ongoing war in Southwest and the Northwest regions.

When asked about the impact of the war on people, participant 1 replied: *“injustice, greed, and gender. Now they took away everything, and they have nothing to start their life with economic wise because of the greed of the government. Our women are raped and killed, and they can’t even go to their farms. We need a national dialogue.”*

Participant 2 replied: *“I do not have a village now, I have abandoned my culture because of greed, injustice, and marginalization. We want back our children and husbands, and see our children to go to school again. They are destroying our future. National Dialogue needs to be had urgently.”*

Participant 4 said, *“It starts with the government. They are very corrupt. It started at the top, now it has metastasized, and even goes to our own leaders from the northwest and Southwest. They only think about their pockets, now who is going to fight for the little people? We have to lead that fight for ourselves and for our families, and the future generation to come.”*

f. Brotherhood

What I discovered in my interview was the brotherhood. Both the Anglophones and

Francophones may have different views when it comes to the current government, but they want the same thing when it comes to resolving the ongoing civil war. That showed in my interviewing both sides.

When asked, participant 3 on why the relocation to Mbalmayo, the Francophone part of the city, the participant replied: *“I love it. Since I have been here, the Francophone population welcomed me with opens arms. I have made friends, who have become my brothers, and I really enjoy the brotherhood. Who can ever imagine that Anglophone and Francophone will ever get along?”*

Participant 9 replied: *“I love my Anglophone brothers. We may be Anglophone and Francophone, but one will be surprised by the similarities that we have. It’s not only an Anglophone problem, it’s our problem, Cameroonian problem.”*

Participant 6 replied: *“We all want the same thing. There is no need to fight one another. We are all Cameroonians and brothers and sisters, and we love each other.”*

4.9 Discussion

The phenomenological approach correlates with discussion and consists of organizing and expressing the data in order to support and better describe findings (Giorgi 2000, p. 207). Results are presented and placed within the literature of the conflict to be confirmed or rejected.

My study collected some evidence that will confirm my two main hypotheses about the causes of and the core reasons behind the Anglophone and Francophone crises.

- a- The causes of the civil conflict
- b- The contributing factors and barriers preventing the resolution of the civil conflict.

The interview presented evidence to verify my framework. With both the Anglophones and Francophones groups as participants, I was able to test my framework factors which I gathered

from analyzing the literature on conflict: Governance issues, Political exclusion, Economic injustices, Cultural differences, Marginalization, Oppression, and Exclusion. Based on interview responses from participants, I was able to confirm my framework and discovered an additional factor of brotherhood. I discovered brotherhood while interviewing both sides. The Anglophones and Francophones are wonderful people and friendly to one another, and both told me that they enjoyed each other's company and couldn't imagine that could even happen. They enjoyed their brotherhood because both want a resolution.

4.10 Limitations

Due to the time factor, my study had essential limits. First, collecting data on the ongoing civil war was a challenge. I had to make a lot of phone calls in order to figure out who was available. Also, some people were skeptical to talk because they were in Francophone cities. Furthermore, I could not travel to conduct my interview face to face because my approval for the research study came late. Besides, I was concerned that since I wasn't there to face my participants in person, someone from the government may be hiding in the group. I had to be aware of those things in order to protect my participants and myself even though I am far away, and also for the safety of the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The fundamental question at this point remains: Why is the crisis so difficult to resolve, despite all governmental and international initiatives? There are many discerning voices from many stakeholders both from national and international communities, who believe that if the government had not adopted a state-centric approach to resolving the crisis, the conflict would have long been resolved. The results of this governmental approach have been the marginalization found in the research as a major factor of the conflict. The current Anglophone/Francophone crisis is therefore considered an extension of the historical injustices and the resistance to the alleged assimilation of the indigenous English-speaking population. The separatist groups are fighting for an independent Republic of Ambazonia in the territory of the former British-controlled Southwest and Northwest regions of Cameroons. The armed conflict was triggered by Francophone domination and the feeling of exclusion, lack of political participation, and long-existing governance issues including poverty.

In the end, it's not about Anglophone or Francophone, but about a portion of the country that is fighting for independence where they have the freedom and access to economic wealth as well as political and social participation. As evidenced in the finds, Cameroonians show some brotherhood towards one another. The separatist groups are fighting to establish an independent Republic of Ambazonia in the Southwest and Northwest regions of Cameroons. Unless this is taken off the table and a third-party mediator is established, the conflict will continue. The citizens want a peaceful, non-violent resolution; a view vastly supported by the finding where dialogue has been cited as a factor for conflict resolution. We can also notice that in the international community, succession is not a choice. The stability and the dialogue are proposed as solutions in

order to respect the territorial integrity, human rights, peace promoted by international law, and protection of economic interests in the regions. The governance of the country needs to be improved, which will facilitate dialogue and alleviate poverty and economic injustices against which the Anglophones are rising.

5.1 RECOMMENDATION

My research will help in the future by providing opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue that will help ease tensions and foster communication among the Francophone and Anglophone communities. This work also provides an alternative to governmental approaches to crises and protests by demonstrating the importance of negotiation toward reaching a middle ground and compromise, including the necessity for restitution to attain conflict resolution. As one who was born in Cameroon and has been involved in politics, while representing Cameroon internationally in sports, I have been received as an athlete by the President and I have toured diverse regions of my country long enough to gather firsthand knowledge. Hence, my perspective on the attainment of a working resolution is for the government to initiate an inclusive dialogue with the involved parties to the conflict that is overseen by a third party on neutral territory. The government proposed a restitution plan with an open and honest approach ahead of a meeting with a third-party present and listened to the complaints of the aggrieved regions. Security forces must end all extrajudicial killings of unarmed civilians and ensure that the human rights of all Cameroonians are equally protected, regardless of cultural identity. As is evidenced by commentary from the interview participants, the foreign governments and regional organizations should put a stop to every military assistance toward Cameroon until its military has made a conscious effort in upholding the rights of all Cameroonians. Moreover, organizations from across the diaspora should stop aiding the Ambazonia separatist group and quit financing and feeding arms into the system.

The contributions to peace efforts can be enhanced by social welfare-focused civil society organizations and community leaders toward the negotiations process. The government should bring more Anglophones into the system in order to represent the 20% population and ensure equity in resource redistribution.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS

Participant 1 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

Participant 2 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

Participant 3 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

participant 4 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo ;February 11th 2023

Participant 5 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

Participant 6 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo ;February 11th 2023

participant 7 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

participant 8 interview; conducted in Mbalamayo; February 11th 2023

participant 9 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

participant 10 interview; conducted in Mbalmayo; February 11th 2023

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