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**Regional and Ethno-regional Dispute in Cameroon: a case of colonial experience
influencing Identity conflict**

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this thesis entitled ‘‘Regional and Ethno-regional Dispute in Cameroon: a case of colonial experience influencing Identity conflict’’ is an original work of DERICK DOPGIMA PIUS

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all the staff of the Department of Politics and Society in Aalborg University and also my Mother: Ebange Ayuk Comfort

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Like in the case of writing any other piece of literature, it is only sensible that at the end of it all, the researcher acknowledges some debts they had incurred. In this sense, I will like to give a big thanks firstly to my supervisor, Associate Professor Malayna Raftopoulos, Department of Politics and Society, for her job well done. Her advices and patients towards my writing and schedule is a foundation pillar to this study.

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ABSTRACT

This research is done in an era of much focus on ethnic conflicts in Africa and whether and how these groups should be recognized in the politics of these divided societies. This study therefore uses the Anglophone Cameroonians crisis as a contribution to this issue of global concern. Doing so by employing a variety of research techniques and using the politics of identity and ethnic conflict concepts as tools of analysis, the study conclusive remark is that the prolonged conflict between the two Anglophone regions and between the Anglophones and Francophones, should be seen as a logical outcome of estrange policies at the national level and also an expression of complex historical, political, economic and socio-cultural forces at the regional level. Therefore, according to this remark, politics of Identity is only use as a means of survival in difficult life conditions but not as a cause to the prolonged differences. However, the study does not admit to claims that ethnic identity differences necessarily lead to conflict. Therefore, the study aims at applauding further research on identity politics in order to promote peace. Perhaps, the most striking finding of this study is that a group can identify as 'us' just so because they have a common interest and that same group can divide in the absence of that interest. In this light, there are concerns about this twist when handling conflict resolution perspective from a general model. The study analyzes the divide in order to provide a holistic understanding of the phenomenon by placing it within the larger social context of Identity politics, historical experience and national politics.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The unity and the stability of most African states is often questioned by international observers. Some so-called African democracies, struggle to create one national identity because most African states have diverse population which is as a result of their colonial partition and heritage. The voluntary withdrawal of a group from a nation-state, is a political phenomenon often resulting from the failed projects of a nations unity. This often occur in contemporary African so-called democracies today. In recent times, there exist several trends of secessionist movements across the continent of Africa, including the independentist claims of the creation of Somaliland in Somalia, the birth of South-Sudan and the Biafra war in Nigeria, amongst others as the list goes on(Fossungu, 2013). Most of these cases serve as prominent examples of how nation building can divide a state into multiple fictive or real territorial entities. The country Cameroon provides us with a recent case of secessionist struggle in Africa as has been seen since October 2016 till date. The main aim of this research is to look at how the politics of identity, influenced by past experience can lead to a nation divide and downfall. To obtain this aim, the research poses the question; To what extend has colonial experience and the politics of Identity has affected or is affecting the Cameroonian people and the nation? The anglophone crisis has introduced a new element in the understanding of terrorism in Africa. It escalating violence has displaced thousands of refugees to neighbouring Nigeria while stimulating in new security challenges for the country as well as creating political, economic and socio-cultural instability. This country is going through a crisis linked to separatist claims. A movement that is locally known as well as recognized by some scholars and international organisation as the “Ambazonia Defense Force”, a separatist movement from North-western and South-western regions of the country, in protest of the Paul Biya government, with claims of obtaining independence of these Anglophone regions from the rest of the country(Okere C. Nna-Emeka, 2018). The movement had risen after the condemnation of Anglophone marginalization operated by the Biya government in sectors like education, employment, and administration and even law. The separatist plan on creating the Anglophone regions into a country named Ambazonia(ibid). Thus, in order to understand conflict movements in Africa, using the recent Ambazonia struggle can

provide a vivid understanding of separatist movements, cultural differences and the fight for independence by some Africans.

This thesis draws attention to an undermine aspects of the Anglophone crisis: the long-lasting impacts of post-colonialism, Cultural Pluralism, Politics of Identity and Political Pluralism. The paper argues with support claims from theoretical concepts, providing a descriptive analytical study. The Anglophone crisis is not just an identity struggle between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians, but also a conflict about colonial historic and institutional grievances, political competition, economic and social discrimination as well as cultural discrimination.

This research in order to achieve it is goals, will be using theoretical framework consist of concepts of Post colonialism, the politics of Identity, political and cultural pluralism and the Ethno-regional Antagonism. This framework will provide guideline to the historical descriptive analysis of a combination of primary and secondary data from field work and research. In light of a historical descriptive analysis, this work will try to enforce chronology in it is findings through five chapters so as to provide the reader with better understanding and flow.

1.2 Choosing the Project

I am a Cameroonian of both Northwest and Southwest descendants and have lived in both parts of the English section as well as the French regions of the country for almost all my life.

Carrying out this research gave me the opportunity to an advance understanding of some of the popular expressions from the Francophones against their Anglophone counterparts and vice-versa, as well as the tension between both Anglophones. As such, I was exposed to literature on issues relating to the North West/South West political climate. I have in first-hand experience not just the Anglophone grievances against the Francophone leadership in Cameroon but equally some tensions between the Anglophone North Westerners and South Westerners who stand parallel against deconstruction of their social identity and this sort of front weakens their solidarity.

“There is no doubt that an ‘Anglophone problem’ existed in Cameroon but within the Anglophone community, there was the South West and the North West problem”(Ngoh, 1996, p 328).

Looking at an ordinary Anglophone Cameroonian today, it is very common to depict hostile attitudes not just against the Francophones but that of ethno-regional stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. In towns of the South West Region, North Westerners have been labeled in a common ‘Pidgin’ (local language derived from the English Language as a result of wrong pronunciations during the colonial era), language as “cam-no-go” (meaning immigration to settle), which was a term coined by former South West governor, Oben Peter Ashu (Yenshu, 2012). This expression was deriving from one scabies illness which was some sort of stubborn skin infection that was resistant many medication and stayed on the skin till it decides to disappear on its own. This ethno-regional stereotype was used by South-Westerners against the North Westerners for a very long period of time up until the recent arise of the ‘Ambazonia Defense Force’ in 2016 against the Francophone and more especially against president Paul Biya’s Government.

Without memory loss, I have faced and experience discrimination from both sides of the Anglophones. I remember spending some holidays with my aunt from my mother’s side of the family (South-Westerners) and having to experience them talk about me being a North-Westerner since most tribes in Cameroon practice a patrilineal lineage. Likewise, when I visited my father’s side of the family, I will sometimes be made fun of that the south westerners are usually not physically fit for ‘Farm Work’. To another extent, some South-Westerner ethnic group also often discriminate against other South-Westerners just as some North-Westerners discriminate against other North-Westerners tribe. My father’s tribe that is ‘Bali Nyonga’ from the North West region, is mostly hated because it is believed they are ‘people of war’ and had partnered with the Germans during the colonial era under the rule of Dr Eugen Zintgraff in 1891, so as to help the German in the colonial quest and I return receive aid in conquering neighbouring villages. Pondering why a group of people with similar history and facing the same predicament will still have such differences, led to the inspirations of carrying out this research which I believe will one day help create awareness within the Cameroon Anglophone community and if possible, the country as a whole. However, the study is not based on my personal experience but on facts found in existing literature and other legitimate sources. The

study does not only try to examine the social dynamics antagonistic groups but tries to strive beyond and examine conflict implications on issues of liberal democracy, human rights, and national development. But taking full consideration of the fact that a conflict cannot be studied in isolation of its politico-historical underpinning, the study proceeds on three levels: (1) The colonial historical experience and how it shaped the people of Cameroon, (2) Ethno-regional tensions between North Westerners and South Westerners, (3) Marginalization of the Anglophone by the Francophones the led to the rise of the 2016 ‘Ambazonia Struggle’. Of course, other issues will arise subsequently in the research of which will be relevant in providing a more analytical approach. Decidedly, this discussion will move along the lines of colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial state of affairs.

1.3 Historical Background of the Cameroon Anglophone/Francophone Conflict

Cameroon, country lying at the junction of western and central Africa. Its ethnically diverse population is among the most urban in western Africa. Its political and administrative capital is Yaoundé, located in the south-central part of the country. The country’s name was first derived from Rio dos Camarões (River of Prawns), the name given to the Wouri River estuary by Portuguese explorers of the 15th and 16th centuries. The name Camarões was also used to designate the river’s neighbouring mountains. In 1884 the German colonialist had the quest to this region and referred to it as ‘Kamerun’ to their entire protectorate, which largely corresponded to the present state. It was not until the late 19th century that the British colonialist confined the term “the Cameroons” to the mountains, while the estuary was called the Cameroons River or, as was locally known as ‘The Bay’ (Mark W. DeLancey George Benneh, n.d.) The birth of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on October 1, 1961 had signified the unification of two territories of different colonial experiences since African colonial era and the World War I. German Kamerun was partitioned between the French who tried to culturally assimilate the country and the British who used the policy of Indirect Rule. Geographically, Cameroon is a country in central Africa often described as “Africa in miniature” while economically, the country belongs to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The country has come to the spotlight in recent times as of the year 2016 due to crisis of identity and cultural assimilation of the minority English speakers. Southern

Cameroon's problem popularly known as the "Anglophone Crisis" is as old as the country's independence. This can be expressed as a result of poorly managed decolonization process, that saw two distinct (British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon) people come together to form a country void of any real foundations that could guarantee coexistence. In accordance to the United Nations (U.N) plebiscite of February 1961, British Southern Cameroon had voted to join the French Republic as well as West and East Cameroon respectively, Thus, entering into a two state Federation to be later known as the Federal republic of Cameroon. British southern Cameroon had rejected the other option which was to join its neighbouring Nigeria. A third option would have been the next best which could have offered this little region of southern Cameroon its own independence (Nyamnjoh B. Francis, 1997). The birth of the federal state that was Cameroon was aimed at being an experiment of federalism in Africa but had later on proven to be the opposite. In July 1961, negotiations of the Founban conference had proven the strength of the francophone delegation. Because the Anglophones were comprised only of nine percent of the total land area and a quarter of the total population, there by leading to English Cameroon joining former President Ahmadou Ahidjo's French Cameroon and Ahidjo had turned down the proposition of the Prime Minister of South in Cameroon in the person of John Ngu Foncha, who had proposed a loose system of Federation rather than a highly centralised system of government and administration. Ahidjo looking at federalism as a road to achieving a strong unitary state, put in play some various tactics to achieve his objective.

1.4 Historical Background of the Anglophones Divide

It is important to point out before further unveiling of this topic, that the same Anglophones crying out against the Francophones marginalization, also have differences within the Anglophone community itself. This issue of ethno-conflict between the Anglophones had its roots from the colonial era as there was the problem of leadership. South-Westerners (Coastal and forest people), had dominant control over the Anglophone political scene for a long time, since they had first and earlier contacts with European traders. But these traders later moved inland, they saw the need for the use of religion and education would ease their exploitation and by the 1950s, North-Westerners profited from these by getting education and as such, there was a shift of power to the North-Westerners (Grassfield people) (Bederman, 1966). A display of

this power was seen when Dr. John Ngu Foncha, the leader of the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) at the time and also a North-Westerner, was for reunification with the Republic of Cameroon during the plebiscite of 1961, overcame Dr. Emmanuel Mbella Lifafe Endeley, South-Westerner and leader of the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) . It was this defeat that paved Foncha's path who became the Prime Minister of West Cameroon and ruled in the South West regional headquarters in the town of Buea(Ngoh, 1996). More to this, literature on Cameroon politics made us to understand that the Foncha's regime practiced tribalism and for every office in control by a North-Westerner, they groomed fellow kith and kin to succeed them, while South-Westerner had very little control on power in their own land (ibid). Because of these acts of tribalism, there was a unidirectional labor migration from the North West to the South West to work in the German banana and palm plantation, most especially the Cameroon Development corporation (CDC). This high wave of North-Westerners migration to the South West in and Buea in particular, saw the settlement of Grass field people and establishments of businesses and formation of a whole new civilization while the aborigines of the land were pushed upland to the hills (ibid.). Some of the coastal elites were highly resentful of this situation because they felt they were being marginalized in their own lands by the Grass-fielders.

1.5 Causes of the Anglophone/Francophone Conflict

The current 'Anglophone crisis' is an extension of a historical resistance to the alleged assimilation and discrimination of the West Cameroonians and English language speakers. Over the past three years, the country has been the focus of a nation sliding into civil war in Africa, because of what had started in November 2016 as legitimate grievances by English speaking lawyers, teachers, students and civil society, over the continues marginalization of Anglophone Cameroons. A speculated peaceful protest later turned deadly when the government military shot at peaceful Anglophone lawyers engaged in peaceful protest marches in September 2016 to display their anger over the perceived marginalization of the Anglophone Common Law practice in the country, they were wounded, and several were killed. In October 2016, the lawyers went on a strike, and in November, the Anglophone Teachers Trade Union also staged a solidarity strike to protest against the distortions confronting the educational system in the Anglophone regions(Okere C. Nna-Emeka, 2018).In December 2016, activist and lawyer in the person of

Felix Agbor Balla (South Westerner), created the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC). This society led the initial demands of the Anglophone community that included:

- >An end to the marginalization and annexationist disposition of the Francophones (Yaounde).
- >A return to the Federal system in Cameroon as was the basis of the union entered in 1961.
- >Preservation of the judiciary and education systems of the Anglophones.
- >Unconditional release of over a hundred Anglophones arrested in connection with the protests in the Northwest and Southwest regions in September 2016.
- >The Immediate restoration of internet services in the Anglophone regions(Okere C. Nna-Emeka, 2018)

Following failed attempts to address these demands, President Paul Biya described the agitators in his 2016 New Year eve national address as “*a group of manipulated and exploited extremist rioters whose activities have led to the loss of lives, destruction of public and private buildings, crippling of economic activities and the desecration of sacred national symbols*” (Okereke, 2018,p8). Biya’s speech to the nation rather fueled anger as his opinion of repressing this idea of a return Federalism. Biya’s address to this demand was to crush any opposition of civil disobedience with his military might. In 9 January 2017, Agbor Balla declared Operation Ghost Town Resistance (OGTR), which is basically characterized by strict acceptance to a sit-at-home ritual every Mondays or any other day declared by the CACSC leadership. During this period, the population of the Anglophone regions will be stayed away from the offices and business premises therefore, bringing all political and economic activities to a halt (ibid). The Biya government responded to OGTR with the proscription of the CACSC including the arrest and detention of its leaders notably Agbor Balla, Mancho Bibixy (leader of a protest in Bamenda), Fontem Aforteka’a Neba (lecturer at the University of Buea), and Paul Ayah Abine (Justice of the Supreme Court). Other such as Wilfred Tassang, Bobga Harmony Mbuton and Elias Eyambe Ebai fled from the country. This measure by the Biya administration to the situation, was interpreted by the Anglophones as no regards to their interest and this escalated the grievances against the Francophones and Biya’s administration. This later led to violence in West Cameroon in both Anglophone regions as a result of battles between the government and the so call

‘Ambazonia Defense Force’. This bloody violence has led to killings, burning of farmlands and houses in small villages and towns and also the fled of many innocent Anglophones to the neighboring Nigeria (Okereke, 2018). In January 2018, Nigerian military had arrested and sent back 47 anglophone separatists who had fled Cameroon following a crackdown by the authorities, of which the Nigerian court condemned as "illegal and unconstitutional" because they had already applied for asylum in Nigeria. In a legal attempt to bring down the Biya’s government after visible failures of the ‘Ambazonia Defense Force’, during the 2018 Cameroon presidential election, Prof. Maurice Kamto went in as the presidential candidate for the Cameroon Renaissance Movement (MRC). Officially, current President Paul Biya was said to have won by a landslide victory as usual, in spite of a fiercely contested result process. Kamto’s group of lawyers cried out corruption of The Supreme Court of Cameroon which is composed of Biya’s Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) party members and supporters. Kamto was declared runner-up by the Court and said to have received 14% percent of the votes. Kamto challenged the official results and declared himself winner of the election. His supporters held small scale protests in the country. In January 26, 2019, Maurice Kamto and 200 of his supporters were arrested and locked up in Kondengui maximum security prison in Yaoundé, Cameroon. He was later freed on 5 October 2019 along with other leaders of his party, a day after the end of the Major National Dialogue, following an official pardon by President Biya(BBC, 2019).

1.6 Aim of The Study

The aim of this research is primarily to display a trail of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and also provide a better understating to the problem while in addition serve as a critical contemporary source of literature on the subject. In order to achieve these, this research critically analysis the Cameroon Anglophone crisis from a historical perspective in order to provide critical future thoughts of the nation’s governance. Most existing literature on this subject tend to appear bias in nature and lose focus from the bigger picture. This research will try to fill the gaps that have been untouched by previous literature with the help of descriptive critical analysis. The objectives of the study will be to (I) choose an analytical framework that reflects the sufferings of ethnic conflicts in post-colonies, (II) analyze the origin of the conflict from colonial to post-

colonial, (III) provide critically understanding by relating data to theory and concepts, (IV) provide a view of proposing ways and strategies that would go a long way in improving their level of mutual understanding, trust, tolerance and cooperation. Thus, maintaining a peaceful and tuneful relationship. With regards to providing an environment for human and national development.

CHAPTER II

ENTERING THE FIELD

2.1 Scope and Importance of The Research

This research covers geographical the land mass which at independence was known as West Cameroon that consist of two Anglo-Saxons regions that are the North-West and the South West Region of present-day Republic of Cameroon. It also conducts analysis of policies and decisions coming from the centralize unitary system of government based in Yaoundé (political capital) with autonomous importance in shaping socio-political and economic developments all regions of the nation as a whole. Following the process of a rule played by forced assimilated culture through colonization by the British and the French, the research analysis the effects of cultural pluralism on nation-building. Cameroon like many other former colonies, is experiencing political, economic and socio-cultural ruin. This research tries to emphasize that like other former colonies, most Cameroonians scholars are blaming the country's current status as effects of colonialism rather than seeing it as not just this but also as failure of the people and its government.

2.2 The Epistemological Structure of the Study.

Epistemologically, this study is conducted by the Constructivist approach to the study of Social phenomena, which have the general view that truth and meaning exist not in the external world but is created by the group's interactions with the rest of the world. Meaning is constructed but not discovered, so groups create their own meaning in different ways even if it is in relation to the same phenomena. Therefore, this research position adopted is interpretive, so as to interpret the actions of the research subjects in relation to the issue under investigation. From this

viewpoint, awareness was highly focused on the forces that serve to maintain conflict sentiments. Problems and themes are best when emerge from the fieldwork setting rather than being foisted by the researcher (Gerring, 2007). Therefore, upon entering the field I tried not to limit the findings of the research through the bonds of grand theory and generalization.

2.3 Research Design

In order to explore the main topic of this paper, the research uses “the case study” approach as it is generally accepted that this approach tends to be qualitative in nature. Aiming to get deeper meaning of what this approach means, John Gerring (2007), a professor from the Boston university, resembles the approach with the willingness of learning how to build a house:

‘There are two ways to learn how to build your house. one might study the construction of mini houses -perhaps in large subdivision or even hundreds of thousands of houses. Or might study the construction of a particular house. The first approach is across-case method. The second is a within-case or case study method. While would a concern with the same general subject -The building of houses -they follow different paths today's goal.

The same could be said about social research. Researchers may choose to observe a lot of cases superficially or a few cases more intensively’ (Gerring, 2007, p.1)

An understanding from this quotation is that, the scope of every single case study is focused intensively on a specific group of people or over a single phenomenon. Thus, this approach is considered to be an important tool in understanding the phenomenon of ethnic conflict in Cameroon and to analyze how the phenomenon is ameliorated by tackling different initiatives. This case study in its nature is descriptive, exploratory and analytical. In doing so, the research will analyze imperial data both primary and secondary through the lenses of theoretical concepts found in the theoretical framework section in Chapter III.

2.4 Targeted Population

The population for this study comprises of mainly Cameroonians of the English-speaking origin residing in the towns of Limbe, Buea and Bamenda. And also, French-speaking Cameroonians in the towns of Douala, Yaoundé and Bafoussam. It should be noted that the population for this

research was not selected with discrimination on any grounds of gender, age, religion, socio-economic and educational background and neither by my personal areas of interest, but for the purpose of reliability. Persons depicted to be under 21 years of age were not included in the research since it needed viewpoints from experience and not just academic knowledge from reading history books.

2.5 Sample Size

The sample size depended on the issues that were arising or emerging during the process of the fieldwork. Therefore, the sample size was continuously developed, until the point of theory and concepts being saturated. At the time the number of observations was portrayed to be efficient for the information needed, about 50 people had been interviewed. It should be noted that to get a large number of people to accept a sit down for an interview was not an easy task but a presentation of person as a member of the 'Target group' (us), aided in the research.

2.6 Stories from the Field

The most noticeable story was that of the University of Buea students strike action take took place from April 27-May 2005. I had only heard of these stories during my bachelor studies in the same university from September 2009 to June 2012. Interviews with some teachers from the university and former students before my time, all have similar tales to tell. The most striking was the actions through military intervention with the use of force and arms on students during the strike. This subsequently resulted to the killing of two University students by the national police. According to "The Post" newspaper No. 0663 Monday May 3, 2005, a Zoology master's student by name Gilbert Nforlem and also a Biology bachelor student in the person of Aloysius Abuam. The former was shot in his chest area while the latter was shot in his head from behind, on April 28, 2005. With my experience of such strikes from my own university days in Buea, I was able to get a clearer picture as the interviewee describes this situation. This student strike had unfolded into a drama as the local population of Buea joined the rioting and violent confrontation between the students and the police. By the end of this Strike activities by means

of a peace from the Higher Education Minister, Prof. Jacques Fame Ndongu in May 2005, the people of Buea had experienced huge material damage both in and out of the University campus.

According to a formal news network in Buea, the university of Buea strike was;

‘Obviously inspired by the University of Yaoundé (I) Strike, as early as 7 am on Wednesday April 27, 2005, a group of students bombed into various lecture halls beginning from the U-Block Complex and forced all lecturers to terminate on-going lessons and increasing in number as they moved along. But the University of Buea had their own grievances indicated in the various placards they carried along-No French 101, No English 102, we need all courses to feature in the resit exams, we want Hotel VIDALU out of campus, we need a student union etc. Nonetheless, the projected peaceful demonstration turned into violence as the Police intervened. The demonstrations reached the apex Thursday 28... the police started firing tear gas, grenades and some bullets towards students who in turned retaliated by throwing stones on them’. (Eden News Paper’ No.011 May 3, 2005, p.4).

On the other hand, there was also an opinion of ethno-regional differences in the strike of University in Buea. Some South-Westerners emphasized on an interpretation that the strike had been organized and masterminded by the settlers from the North West. To prove this claim, the ‘Heron Newspaper’ interpreted the bulleting issued by the South West Elites Association (SWELA) around the peak of the strike as allocated blames to North-Westerners.

‘...SWELA deeply mourns the loss of lives of students at the University of Buea [...] Regrettably, SWELA is well aware that persons and groups that hate the South West Province and its people have infiltrated and are manipulating the students to senseless destroy the University, public and private property. In the past, such persons destroyed the Women’s House and the defunct Produce Marketing Board in Kumba, South West Province [...] SWELA resolved and warned: “The people of the South West Province will no longer stand idly by to allow public property in the Province damaged or their sons and daughters targeted for destruction by unpatriotic persons. Enough is enough” (Eden News Paper No. 013, May 18, 2005 p.9).

Taking a neutral and critical standpoint was the Vice Chancellor of the University, Dr. Dorothy L. Njeuma, a Buea native and south westerner in her speech during the visit of Higher Education Minister, Prof. Jacques Fame Ndongu in May 27, 2005;

“...There are some members of staff who are prepared to kill because they want posts. Such persons must know that the appointment to a position of responsibility is not a right. Appointments are deserved; they cannot be obtained by force or through intimidation”. Dr. Dorothy L. Njeuma (2005).

It was now obvious that the divide between the Anglophones and the Francophones was not the limit to the anglophones crisis but there is also a subdivide between both Anglophones. It was encouraging to learn that there are also some civilize minds like Dr. Dorothy Njeuma, who did not lay blames on the effects of post colonialism nor the politics of identity, but on the educational system and it is teachings.

In a more day to day findings from the above-mentioned towns used in the field work, there was an obvious observation of social differences and identity issues from all regions. Beginning with the Francophone towns, I had noticed when using public transport from Buea or Limbe to Douala or Yaoundé, the towns were specified but when leaving the French regions to the English regions were only describes as South West or North west and not the specific town. This implied that most of the Francophones have very little knowledge about the common geography of the Anglophone regions which is considered to be a part same nation. Even the bus drivers who drove back and forth daily still did not specify the towns in the Anglophone regions. To this extend, a clear disregard for the anglophones geography and it is people is portrayed.

In a local market scenario in Douala ‘Marché Central’ in Douala, while trying to communicate with a local using the French language, a lady showed up and tried asking directions in English. Well not shockingly to me since this was not new to me but might be to the readers, the francophone guy had replied in a harsh manner in French which translates to ‘*am I sited here for business or to offer directions to people?, who can’t even speak the common French language when in Douala*’. Bear in mind, there is no law in Cameroon that limits the use of either official languages to specific regions as the country is said to be bilingual all over the nation(Cameroon Constitution, 1972). I tried being the civilized one by offering apology to the lady on his behalf, but he later said, again translated ‘*I can see, no wonder you tried defending her, because she’s your sister*’. This made me ponder is this commoner sees anglophones as not his brothers or sisters, what more of Francophones who share the same ideology and are in positions of power. Furthermore, I noticed most commoners in the Francophone regions will refer to anyone they

deemed less civilized as ‘Bamenda’ (regional capital of the North West). It is funny to note that this insult ‘Bamenda’ has been copied by the South-westerners and added to the library of ‘came-no-go’ (insult often used by south-westerners against north-westerners meaning immigrants who won’t leave). This expression alone portrays the disregard of a person’s identity.

Likewise, from findings, I noticed most common North-westerners are not in support of intermarriages with south-westerners and most especially the Francophones. The common north westerner has this believe that no one from any other part of the country was physically stronger than they are and definitely not as hard working as they are. An exciting discovery was that the people from Bafoussam who French speakers are located in the anglophone North west region always try to stay neutral in the conflict between the Anglophones and the Francophones.).

In conclusion from field work experience, it is clear that the differences that exist in Cameroon is not a one-way trip. There is identity difference between both Anglophones of North west and South west, English and French speakers, as there is between the Islamic north and the Christian south. However, the focus of the paper is on the Anglophones of North west and South west and English and French speakers.

2.7 Fieldwork Tactics and Adopting Roles

This research is based on fieldwork material collected from January to late February 2020. I had started by conducting a pilot study in order to determine the initial sites for fieldwork based on their relevance to the issue under investigation. Therefore, my focus was on areas that have a higher level of day-to-day social encounters between the identity groups. Additional aid came from the collection and reading of newspapers that had captured issues related to the focus of this study. Field oral information was yielded from three categories of people: The local community (common or layman), student community (educated) and public intellectuals (elites). The reason why the study population was sub-categorized as such is to give this study different angles of perspective and some critical understanding. I do understand that conducting a research on a people that I am still a part of, some of the material in this study might be termed ‘bias’, so I am assuring the reader that the process of this study was based on critique rather than feelings. I tried not to support the claims of a certain group but share the perspectives of all three groups involved using a triangulation method of selecting the data presented. Since the goal here was to

try and identify the foundation causes of the ethnic conflict and not to take sides. The research is based mostly on qualitative , because getting contemporary quantitative data was almost impossible, as locations of this quantitative data are in government buildings and I was scared not to raise suspicious eyebrows that might have seen the research as a threat, giving the current political atmosphere in the country. In choosing these people, it was merely by means of ‘snowball sampling’. As one informant always recommended the next. I started the interviewing process with the local population and ended up with the elites, in order to build a ‘ground-up’ perspective.

As the second phase of the study, I first made contacts with the various local chief’s and ‘quarter heads’(leader of a small settlement), so as to introducing my personality and the purpose of my visit to their community and also some reasons why I selected the area. I confess to not providing my personality with false identification just to seem like one of them, even if I wanted to, I couldn’t as there was a streak policy of asking for national identification from anyone who is an outsider in a community. In order to ensure that the people spoke freely, I had paid the quarter head and chief’s with gift of hot drinks and in return I was accompanied by a well-known individual from the community. Interview were mostly conducted during the evening’s periods when most of the locals were done with work and other activities of the day. I had presented myself again after a formal introduction from the person who accompanied me, as a student interested in social change and progress of the nation and that I was writing to create awareness that we are all one. With such notion in mind, I noticed in the Francophone regions, the people were very much comfortable with their opinions, be it positive or negative. While the locals of the Anglophone communities in general were suspicious of my claims and in fear of being exposed, especially the men. But when it came to issues on the misunderstandings between Anglophones from the North West and those from the South West, there was no visual fear in their opinions. In relation to all areas, most of them saw me as an outsider and an insider. While some saw me as one of their own (us), others saw me as from the other side (they). Of course this is a sensitive topic I do so understand but still I had to used not just notes from pen and papers but always recordings which I promised were for my ears only to take down points I might have missed and not able to write down fast enough. Most of the people I interviewed show delight and didn’t want their names or recordings to be public or published for fear of their wellbeing

but were overall glad to see a Cameroonian showing interest to his country and the people as one.

As a challenge, was the obscurity by some people about my identity. As Some were curious in knowing which of the Anglophones I was from, the North West or from the South-west region. I actually did not want to dwell on my identity as a North Westerner or South Westerner, so I told the a manipulative truth that I have parents from both sides but mostly feel like I belonged to whichever side the interviewee was from, just so they get the feeling of 'us' and be more open. Truth be told, I never felt or don't feel like I belong to either one, but I am a Cameroonian. Using this tactic really helped as I noticed especial the north westerners who have settle in the south west region actually felt I was one of them.

Another challenge that I encountered during my interview process with the locals was that of interviewer bias as some unethical locals expected me to know the truth especially if I identify as an Anglophone Cameroonian. I blamed not their ignorance of the fact that conducting a research with a constructivist perspective, I had to enter the field with the idea of an awareness of what it means to be 'different' from others, does not make it insignificant or unimportant. In this view, I had gone into the field with a minimum dependence on my own beliefs, expectations and susceptibility about the focus of investigation. In fact, my pre-knowledge had only helped me geographically in order to know exactly where to look and socially for me to know how to blend in. Meanwhile I had to adopt the role of making myself naive about the situation.

At the level of the educated, from students (past and current) and teachers(present). In order to boost confidence in getting opinions from the students, I was advised to interview the students as a group or in groups. I was lucky enough to sit with these groups from the South West such as; The Fako Students Association (FASA) and the Many Students Union (MASU). Likewise, North West groups such as; North West students associations namely the Metta Students Association (MESTA) and the Boyo Students Association (BOSTAS). From the Francophone region was the; Union étudiante de l'université de Douala (UEUD), Syndicat étudiant de l'université de Yaoundé II (SEUY) (. All are student groups from the Universities of regions under this study. Keeping up with opinions during these interviews as each group was made up of no less than eight students as some others were not present. I might have discriminated in selecting the lecturers as I was going mostly for lecturers from the department of History,

Political sciences, Law, Mass communication and Sociology and Anthropology studies. The most lecturers and the student had a similar perspective which was that of the effects of post-colonialism. I must say especially the lecturers from the History departments, emphasized that conflict in Cameroon had started when the 'Whiteman'(British and France) had decided to share the country like a 'piece of cake'. In quest for a to see if I could get some critical response, I asked the question '*now that the 'Whiteman 'had been gone for a long time now, why is there still this conflict they had created, why can't Cameroonians resolved this antagonism?'*'. The response I received according to the words of a history lecturer was '*who told you the Whiteman has gone, if so, why is France still in control of our economic resources and our African leaders'*'. In the past I had heard of a minor humor that says; '*a Cameroonian was asked that is it true that most Cameroonians answer a question using a question too, and this Cameroonian answered, 'who told you so?' ''*. I now experienced that this was not just a humor but some what a fact.

The time of my fieldwork I must say was not as bad as the happenings of the crisis during it is peak from 2016-2018 when I had left the country, but this does not mean it was all bed of roses in January 2020. There was the heavy military presence especially in the town of Bamenda and Buea. This therefore slowed down the research process to some extent. However, this research cannot handle the entire dynamics of the anglophone struggles, at least it tackles the essentials.

The elites like lawyers, chiefs and a single Sub-Divisional Officer were at first similar to those of the second group of students and lecturers and in the end blamed it on the acts of terrorism and ignorance. The Sub-Divisional Officer, I guest a member of the government had to go with the governments opinion of blaming the "'Ambazonia Defense Force"' of being a terrorist group that is aimed at destroying the unity of the nation. Lawyers from the Anglophone region who had faced brutality from the police in 2016 while trying to demonstrate request for the use of Anglophone judges in there courts instead of Francophones , had the opinion of not in support of the secessionist group that is the "'Ambazonia Defense Force"' and also not in support of the marginalization of the Anglophone system of law by the president Paul Biya's administration. The chiefs on the other hand blamed the whole conflict on the ignorant population during the interviews and gave me some history lessons. From these history lessons, it is obvious that these chief's also blame the colonial powers for the boundaries they had created and also blamed their locals for being misled by a group terrorist with arms and deceitful claims of independence from

the Francophone. A chief in his exact words said ‘ *my son, if you were one of the French people, will you allow us to go when you know all that you eat comes from us?* ’. Again, another typical Cameroonian method of answering a question using another question. This response was a mere single question in a sentence but had answered a wider range. The meaning of the answer here was that the French (France) still continues to profit from its former colonies while the Francophones benefit at the detriment of the Anglophones.

In a brief conclusive remark, it is clear that from the level of a common man to elite, all blame the current Anglophone crisis in Cameroon on the effects of Post colonialism but only the elites seem to have some in depth understanding of the phenomena.

2.8 Limitations of the Study

It would have been much better gathering primary data only from personal interviews from Cameroon in person as I had planned on travelling back home to conduct this research on ground rather than reviewing literature and interviewing some eyewitnesses who are now in Denmark. Of course, I had done some interviews during my January 2020, visit back home but I planned on going for a second time the month of April 2020, but due to the Covid-19 outbreak, I had to conduct more interview over the phone and this time around, most interviewees were not elites, since most of the elites like my former university professors were not comfortable taking part in such a research over the phone that might be recorded and pinpoint target on them and their family. Information offers many analytical opportunities vis-à-vis my general research questions.

CHAPTER III

Conceptual and Theoretical Orientation

3.1 Post-Colonialism

How can one analyse post-colonialism? How can it help to analyse a case and how does it define conflict in politics or ethnonational and ethno-regional conflict? Post-colonialism is an umbrella theory that solicits to explain the conditions and structures of external domination as well as its local or national impact on aspects of a society such as; history, politics, anthropology, education, politics, religion, literature, sociology, and human rights. This theory in nature is

generalized and progressive, thus amongst the most popular theories used in defining the nature of social conflict. It is a complex theory that tries to tackle all the conditions of societal and state structures related to a given situation after the colonial experience. It is said to be a more comprehensive theory because it tries to include almost all the dimensions of human experiences and all the disciplines about learning process at a given time after colonization (Collett, Jensen, & Rutherford, 1997). A post-colonialist thinker like Edward Said developed a theory of 'Orientalism' (Corbridge, 2007). Said's in his model of orientalism has a main branch of discussion where he portrait's how "the west" has managed to orientate the network of discourses of the "orient". In support of this perspective is Arturo Escobar (1995) argue that developed countries use the power of discourse to create "the third world" with the notion of recolonization. Post-colonial theorist does explore the effects of imperialism from colonization to the present day. This paradigm marks the fight against colonialism and tries to give indigenous peoples the power of autonomy and discourse in overcoming imperialism (Escobar, 1991). As a critique, it is often considered too general, vague and with extensive historically determined values. The theory is objecting to the universalizing categories of enlightenment and it is Eurocentric and inadequate in understanding the practices, experiences and realities in the non-European world. It is ontologizing the difference between the West and countries with colonial experiences (Dhawan, 2018). Post Colonialism in general deals with central questions of protests, decolonization and political reconstruction or rebuilding. These are the core expressions intended to process the building of a new state, political territoriality and new international relations, new cultural identities and new citizenry. Most revolutionary theories and political reforms in former colonies have derived partly from post-colonialism. They focus on nationalism, the struggle for independence, self-determination, means used to proceed with the struggle for independence and the outcome of such struggle, as well as the agencies and the agents of such independence. This is so because they are historically, politically and ideologically founded broad theories. Decolonization is the core element of post-colonialism, as it requires intense transformation of the former colonial conditions. Before various aspects of the decolonization processes can take place, first of all the mindset of elites in the former colonial state must change as decolonization is first of the mental magnitude, according to Fanon (2010). Furthermore, in addition to the decolonization of the mind, physical decolonization which means to remake history according to the aspirations associated with independence. Most theoreticians of post-colonialism, agree about

the meanings of indigenous languages, including the implied nationalism and patriotism. This totalizing theory is built into the history of a critique of imperialism, means of domination and its structures of oppression (Collett et al., 1997). It is a wide-ranging theory but yet still one of the most clearly articulated theory in historical terms. According to the Post colonialism, conflict first emerges from the identification of the characteristics of post-colonialism. The connection between oppression and freedom is permanently conflicting. For example, in most African states and many other former colonial regions, although the European colonial masters are not physically present in the colonized areas in most cases, the basic structures of the states and the boundaries of territoriality they had created, are still part of the independent states and other institutions they left behind. This situation often creates not only institutional conflict but also dormant instability within the existing dynamics of political institutions. Post-colonialism also cross-examines the relationship between former colonized countries and the current structures of globalization. It examines the origins of globalization and the interests that its actors embody. When the interest of the states and of the political elite and their relationship to globalization is one that promotes the interests of the former colonial powers through their multinational corporations are unequal, there will be a scenario of national imbalance and conflict (ibid). The display of the failures of decolonization to achieve self-determination creates conflict, irrespective of whether or not there are currently former colonial powers physical involvement in spearheading their interest in a given country. Therefore, I have to pose the question of how well or deep the state and the political leadership in Cameroon have been decolonized.

3.2 Cultural Pluralism and Nation-Building

Going back to the Latin roots helps provide a deeper understanding of the term ‘‘Culture’’ to which is associated with cultivation. Culture thus implies the use of man’s ‘‘knowledge, energy and skill’’ to influence the growth and development of ideas and of things. Nowadays, the culture is used to refer exclusively to ‘‘the cultivation of man’’ (Fonlon, 2010). Cultural action promotes not just individual but also the growth of the society as a whole, since current generations use cultural legacy they had inherited from the past, modernize it with new ideologies in philosophy and recent scientific discoveries, as well as in arts. Therefore, the idea of culture and its evolution is in order to produce a more advance man. Undoubtedly, it is difficult to think through

how in the present context of politics of identity and new policies for development, some of the basic rights that were attached to citizenship can be safeguarded. therefore, in the context of national development use in this study, mainly concerns the ideology of nation building or national integration and the emphasis here is that, there cannot exist national development without the presence of human development. According to Human Development Report (2004), with the theme of 'Cultural liberty in Today's Diverse World', human development is all about allowing people to live the kind of life they choose to, as well as providing them with the tools and opportunities to make their own choices. The report also argued that human development is concern not just with economics but also politics. Therefore, political and socio-economic developments all depend on human development to complete the process of national building. The teaching here is that unless people who are poor and marginalized can gain some degree of influence political action at local and national levels, they will remain unlikely to get equitable access to education, health, jobs, justice, security and other basic services. In this light, national development is put into endangerment.

Culture does not only mean human purification but also to the polishing of the varied content of civilization that is usually expressed in arts and sciences of ethics and customs of social institutions (ibid). in support of this believe is the scholar Schneider, as he concurs, saying: *"Culture...is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"* (Schneider, 1973,p118). Culture is a man-made phenomenon which serves as a process of meeting his ever-present needs and therefor develop ways of satisfying them permanently. According to Crawford Young, ethnic differences may appear to eclipse all other factors in the politics, but in a near future, the same cleavage may appear entirely muted and quite irrelevant to the explication of the political process. The situation becomes complicated if "external cultures" intrude into the national scene and become crucial determinants of political activity and political configurations(Melson, 1980).

This brings us to the importance of language. In this process of creating culture, man needs ideas think and ways of expressing them, and as such, needs language. Language is considered by many scholars of cultural studies as the most important aspect of mobilizing ethnic groups. It is also a very important factor modern nationalism. According to Fonlon's point of view, language is the first cultural necessity as well as the first aspect of man's invention of cultural. Fonlon

emphasizes that there can be no culture without language and no language without culture. Culture and language or expression are one (Fonlon, 2010). Toffolo and Crawford Young argues that language has long been recognized as a central aspect of identity but what has been not well appreciated is the importance and presence of bilingualism in one nation (Toffolo, 2003). Crawford points out that for most developing or less economically developed countries, identity patterns are derived from similar language, culture which are having the same boundaries with the territorial unit of sovereignty or political alignments (ibid). Culture is the driving force behind most human activities. Human challenges are generally the same despite their location and as such, there is some similarity to all cultures, at all places and at all times. Therefore, no culture is completely foreign nor unique (ibid). However, cultures do differ greatly from place to place, basically because of the prevailing aspect of things under which people live and operate in different places. In a situation of diversity in cultures in a given political union, it is better to allow each culture to shine in its own light and pursue an autonomous path. However, this is most likely to happen where the existing cultures are of equal strength, and each cultural community is aiming at defending its way of life, regardless of its inborn worth (Carol L. Schmid, 2001).

Before going deeper into the understandings of cultural pluralism, it only makes sense that one understands the concept of pluralism on its own. What is pluralism? Pluralism is the theory that a multitude of groups, not the people as a whole, govern the State. According to pluralism theory, power is dominated not by a single elite but rather by a multiplicity of relatively small groups which are politically autonomous or independent, some of which are well organized and funded, some of which are not. Intergroup competition most often leads to countervailing influence. According to Connolly William, pluralism has become what can be described as "interest group liberalism" which means that a system built mainly upon group bargaining, must be perfectly self-corrective. This bargain on the balancing impacts of "overlapping memberships" and countervailing powers (Connolly, 2005). Ehrlich argues pluralism is seen as the federalization of states based upon the right of various social, ethnic, and cultural groups to organize themselves. He further emphasizes that pluralism is every trend of socio-political ideology and each movement organized to oppose totalitarian regimes and authoritarian rule as well as bureaucratic centralism. Therefore a pluralist is one who opposes the uniformization of public life and judge's society not by its actual equality but by its equality of political opportunity. Thus, pluralism is naturally characterized by inequality and stratification. He adds

that pluralism is not a characteristic peculiar to some concrete socio-political system or some form of state (Ehrlich, 1981). Therefore, these seem to imply that various interest groups that are bound together by a common background either by language, ethnic affiliation, religion, etc, most often try to capture administrative and state power for their own benefits, which may be at disagreement or even damaging to the national groups which may have similar aims as that of the ruling group. One of the popular pluralism theorist Dahl Robert, qualifies pluralism as 'conflictive' by postulating that scramble for power arise out of conflicts and cleavages which in turn portraits pluralist tendencies. He argues that hegemonic regimes which suppress governance and prevent the manifestation of conflicts give way to the development of a pluralistic social and political order very difficult. Whenever these societal restraint are removed, there is the birth of political liberalization and the tendency towards autonomy and pluralism becomes manifest in political and social life (Dahl, 1980). In support of Ehrlich conclusive remark on pluralism, Dahl also notes that the incidence of conflictual pluralism is very high in most countries today and important to note that the amount of conflictive pluralism is not the same, even in countries with the same types of regime. In Dahl opinion, the best way forward is for particularities to give way to the general good. He then notes that all declaration to the nature of the general, collective, public or national interests are of most importance, unless they are merely bringing down themselves to become matters of public controversy. In this light, Dahl argues that members of a leading majority might not necessarily concur with the point that their best interest lies in making sacrifices in favor of a relatively disadvantaged minority (ibid). Dahl proposition on how to deal with pluralism is that of centralization or decentralization alongside hierarchic controls. Bringing us to the question of which way might fit best to organize pluralistic societies so as to promote coexistence between or amongst the various socio-political cleavages. This inevitably leads to the concept of federalism.

3.3 The Concepts of Politics of Identity, Ethnic Group and Ethnic Identity.

Ethnic identity has become notable as ethnic conflict are gaining numbers in contemporary times. This trend has gotten the attention of social sciences studies and the importance it is study. Unfortunately, there exist much confusion about the use of terms such as ethnicity, ethnic group and identity. In most literature that tries to define ethnic groups, generally refer to it as the a

subjective dimension of a consciousness of being a member of a particular group as well defined from other comparable groups, and is composed with objective dimension of a name, similar shared notions of a collective past and common cultural beliefs (Schilder, 1994). The concept of Ethnic group is usually considered to mean a larger inclusive group that is characterized with communal boundaries that are socially constructed. Furthermore, communal boundary marks the organization of cultural difference, to the point where actors use ethnic identities in differentiating themselves from others during social interactions and in doing so, they form ethnic groups in this sense (ibid). This concept in relation to the case of the Anglophones Cameroonians, can be understandable that an ethnic group is only identified as one when in comparison to another or other groups. Forming together an ethnic region (South West Region) contradictory to their north neighboring brothers (North West Region) with a clear “us” and “they” differentiation in their day to day social encounters. However, These concepts of ethnic group and identity, are interrelated and this research will like to draw emphasis on the concept of identity as used in line with the views of Ger Duijzings (2000:18-19) As he argues that primarily, identity represents the link between an individual and a specific category or group of people (Duijzings, 2000). Furthermore, he states emphasizes that if a category of people becomes the principle of group formation, then their identity will merely represent a social bond between an individual to his/her community. This may can be viewed differently depending on the time and space and may either be accepted or contradicted by both insiders and outsiders (ibid). This implies that, through social interaction any community will tend to develop a sense of common experience as individuals usually incorporate aspects of the social experience into their personal identities. These common aspects thus create a sense of a community as well as a collective identity (for example; Cameroon’s North Westerners and South Westerners). It is important to understand that ethnicity is a special form of identification wherein group histories, cultural and traditions are enforced and have the potential for resulting to either constructive or destructive actions (Carol L. Schmid, 2001). Thus, in light with ethnicity, the dynamics of group identity is associated with; competition, exclusiveness and conflict. The meaning of ‘identity dynamic’ as used here is derived from Terrell A. Northrup, who defines identity dynamic “*as the tendency for human beings, individually, and in groups, to establish, maintain, and protect a sense of self-meaning, predictability, and purpose*” (Northrup, 1989, p 63). All in all, the concept of identity as described in this literature, is a social-psychological, political and historical fact. The dynamic of

identity provokes changes toward escalation and rigidification of conflict. Bringing together these ideas of ethnic group and dynamic of identity into a broad concept of the politics of recognition through the politics of identity, a scholar in the person of Charles Taylor, with a perceptive philosophical and historical essay, he argues that the idea for recognition comes to the front in the current politics of nationalism, aspiration of minority groups, some form of feminism and the broad movement of ‘multiculturalism’ (Charles Taylor, 1994). One can try to figure out that the most dominant idea in Taylor’s argument is that, the lack of recognition inflicts fear that threatens the very existence of minorities and other disadvantaged groups. People can be subdued to real damages as Taylor emphasizes that, if a group of people or society around them mirror back to them some demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves (ibid). Thus, there is an understanding here about the intensity of responses to perceived injury to the ethnic group on the part of its members, right up to the unleashing of extreme violence, just as seen in the current case of Cameroon. An aggressive and extreme ethnic militia man may believe that his existence is threatened by the perceived injury to his ethnic group.

According to Chang (2015), the definition of indigenous identity is perceived as being “the recognition to be indigenous people”. In order to better understand this term, Chang argues that there are some concepts that must be considered: race, ethnic identity, cultural identity, and racial identity. The idea of identity defined as being a relational and dynamic process, was shared by many scholars, namely Stuart Hall, Michael Apple, Charles Taylor and others, as they are cited in Sheng Yao Chang’s piece of work “*Beyond the Cultural Turn: Indigenous Identity and Mainstream Identity*” (2015).

“[...] identity is another complex concept. It includes the debates concerning class, gender, race, youth, sexuality, and other categories which can divide human beings into two or more subgroups. It has been found, however, that the borderlines between different groups are not always permanent;

[...] identity is an ongoing process to identify selfhood and exclude others. Moreover, identity is dynamic and multiple constructed rather than permanent and individual.” (Chang, 2015)

When citing Michael Apples (1993), Chang, mentioned author emphasizes on the fact that race is a set of social relations historically constructed and a subject of political controversy. In terms of racial identity, it is perceived as being the biological race one claims and reflects the cultural

standards of a society to which one belongs (Mahesh, 1999, cited in Chang, 2015). In order to provide a working definition of ethnic identity, Phinney (1992), as cited in Chang (2015), points out that the concept represents “that part of an individual’s self-concept which is derived from his/her knowledge of belonging in a group or groups with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”. More so, the components of ethnic identity include; self-identification, language, religious affiliation, social networks, and cultural traditions and practices, as Steward and Baden (1994, cited in Chang, 2015) state. Likewise, the concept cultural identity, is defined by Weaver (2001, as cited in Chang 2015) as a complex of many aspects such ; as race, class, education, religion, and gender.(Chang, 2015)

In order to forward a definition of the term “ethnic identity”, Dorais (2005) in his work “*Comparing academic and aboriginal definitions of Arctic identities*”, presents this concept as the way in which an individual perceives themselves in relation their surroundings. In other words, identity is an image of who you are when relating to other and vice versa.

“[...] identity may be considered as the way human beings relate to their surroundings and perceive their own position within this relation, either as individuals or as members of a group.

[...] Identity is a way of defining who you are in reference to other people, and who these people are in reference to you.” (Louis-Jacques Dorais, 2005)

The same author argues that this concept of ethnic identity includes three crucial distinctiveness: (I)it is a relation (which means someone will only try to identify themselves when realizing that he/she is not alone in a space, a situation that generates the necessity of presenting who he/she is in relation to some other persons and also the necessity of understanding who the others are). (II)it is constructed (meaning that people meet in different circumstances in life, circumstances that may affect the way people identify themselves; thus, making the concept a dynamic and continuous process happening). (III)it is relating to someone’s environment (this implies that environment is a term including not only the physical space that surrounds people but also other physical aspects like human beings, language, actions, spirituality, plants and animals)(Dorais, 2005).

3.4 Subcategories of Ethnic Identity

In the perspectives of Chang, the concept of ethnic identity can be divided into three subcategories: individual identity, community identity, and external identity. (I) The first concept that is individual identity, focuses more on the “personal level” and the way an individual sees themselves when relating to society. This is self-perception about history, experiences, educational, opportunities, culture and so forth. Chang stresses the idea that ethnic identity is a process of constant development as personal cultural background becomes stronger and stronger with the aging. (II) In regard to community identity, it is perceived by ethnic people as being “a tribal identity”. According to Peroff (1997), cited in Chang (2015), “*community identity is connected to a sense of peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people*”. In other words, community identity portrays a bond between indigenous people sharing the same culture, values and traditions. It is that feeling of belonging to a specific place, to a specific community. As Durham (1993) cited in Chang (2015) states, “*a person must be thought of as integrated into a society—not simply as standing alone as an individual—in order to be considered fully human. The sense of membership in a community is so integrally linked to a sense of identity that native people often identify themselves by their reservations or tribal community.*”. (III) External identity is described as the manner in which non-ethnic people identify the ethnic people, the way “others” perceive the “natives”. As Bowd and Brady (1998), cited in Chang (2015) state ‘*the way indigenous peoples choose to define themselves is often not the way that others define them*’.

“*Individual identity is to identify selfhood, community is to identify peoplehood, and external identity is to exclude non-natives. Furthermore, indigenous identity is a lifelong learning process of cultural awareness and understanding.*”

In light to these views, when talking about the politics of identity in this study, the focus will be on the politics of recognition which revolve around an individual and group identity phenomenon. In Cameroon, a member of an ethnic group believes that a cabinet minister from her/his community or region represents their own share of the Nation, even though the individual members may from this ethnic group may never receive any personal material reward as a result of the appointment of their representative. Seen in the intra-Anglophone Cameroon context, local South Westerners and North Westerners are driven by political discourse of representation at the

national level. It is more or less believed at the micro level politics that a representative from the South West region represents the whole region in the sharing of the “National Cake”, likewise a representative from the North West region and her/his kinsmen and followers. In the eyes of the international, Cameroonians are a people and are seen as one nation. Meanwhile in reality, this may not be the case.

3.5 The Concept of ethno-regional antagonism.

In order to understand the concept of ethno-regional antagonism, it is important to shed light on the concept of conflict. There is a variety of opinions in academia when it come to the topic of conflict and it is definition. A prominent definition is that conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable aspect of social change. This expresses a heterogeneity of interests, values and beliefs and raises as newly formations generated by social change as they come up against inherited constraints (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 1995). This research supports the view on conflict as described from this literature, for an advance understanding, expresses the characteristics of conflict which include : conflicts unfold over time, conflicts contain realistic and nonrealistic issues, power distribution plays an important role in conflict development ,conflict is a multidimensional phenomenon (intrapersonal aspects of conflict interact with social or relational ones and they are both influenced by higher level, political, economic and social changes)(ibid). It is crucial to take note of the fact that conflict behavior within a state can be placatory as well as hostile. In theorizing the origin of ethno-political violence, Daniel Chirot (2001) argues that a history of hostility often creates an “ideology of antagonism”. In his claims, an ideology of antagonism refers to a view of the other as an enemy bent on one’s destruction, one’s own group as an enemy of the other, and sometimes to the extent of an implicit belief life will be better without the existence of the other group. Furthermore, he points to the fact that an this layman way of antagonistic believes, makes it difficult to have compromise required for resolving conflict and that it also leads groups to accept suffering just so as to impose greater suffering on the other(Chirot & Seligman, 2001). Speaking of the ethno-regional antagonism of Anglophone Cameroon North Westerners and South Westerners, this paper considers each region as a larger ethnic group, with each group claiming some sort of ethno-regionalist identity. Thus, the social

conflict that has existed and still continue to exist between them, here it is expressed by way of ethno-regional antagonistic sentiments or opposition.

3.7 Political Pluralism, Federalism or a Unitary State

It is within this context that I try to examine the Cameroon Federation especially its relation to English Cameroon before its demise during the proclamation of a unitary state in 1972. The understanding of the previous system of governance in the country can help suggest a conducive one for its future. Since the marriage of both Cameroons was principally based on federalism and later to a unitary state, discussion on federalism is inevitably and cannot avoid some measure of comparison. According to the above discussions, Federalism seeks to resolve the conflict between decentralize and centralize forces by finding a common ground. Jinadu argues that the federal option can be seen as a practical method of organizing government in such a way that sovereignty and political power are combined within a single nation with several territorial units which are distributed between national and local governments with each within its own domain is considerably independent from the others(Jinadu, 2002). Accepting the principles of federalism, its relevance can be seen in the case of Cameroon by emphasizing the need for an ultimate written constitution that tackles a pre-determined distribution of authority between Federal and State Governments. Also, an qualify process that allows emendation of the federal compact neither by the Federal Government nor local Governments but by both for judicial review and for some method of financial self-sufficiency(ibid).

According to Rokkan and Urwin (1982, p. 11) as cited by Rhodes (2001) a unitary state is one *“built up around one unambiguous political Centre which enjoys economic dominance and pursues a more or less undeviating policy of administrative standardization. All areas of the state are treated alike, and all institutions are directly under the control of the centre”*(Rhodes, 2001).

A unitary state refers to the politically sovereign, centralized governments of unified nation states. According to Rhodes, there are three types of unitary state: the Anglo-Saxon, the Napoleonic, and the Scandinavian. The Anglo-Saxon is one that portraits a visible boundary between state and civil society. Here, there exist no legal basis to the state as civil servants have no constitutional position. Secondly, the Napoleonic or the “Jacobin tradition” sees the French

state as the one and indivisible republic, exercising centralization of autonomy in order to contain the hostile relations between state and civil society. Thirdly, the Scandinavian unitary states are characterized by Rechtsstaat, which means a legal state is constrained by its own laws, coupled with a strong participation ethic. Rhodes emphasizes that all unitary states have some degree of decentralization in order to cope with the challenges of diversity. He further explains the main characteristics of a centralize system that exist in a unitary state system which include: Decentralization, which is the distribution of power to territorial level of hierarchy be it that the hierarchy is one of governments within a state or within a large-scale organization.

Deconcentrating, which is the redistribution of administrative responsibilities within the central government or what can be referred to as “field administration”. Delegation, which is the deputation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to organizations that are not under the direct autonomy of central government ministries. And lastly but not the least, Devolution which means local units are autonomous, independent and are seen as separate levels of government over which central authorities exercise little or no direct control. Rhodes further states that Centralization is the root of all evil for advocates of decentralization while decentralization is often said to be the counterweight to central power There are many, often rehearsed, arguments for and against centralization and decentralization. Thus, centralization promotes territorial justice and equality, whereas decentralization is a counterweight to central power, which promotes democratic participation, especially local self-government(Rhodes, 2001).

Cameroon became a unitary state in 1972 under the leadership of president Ahmadou Ahidjo as a result of his personal political agenda to centralize power in his advantage. The union of both Cameroons that was once under the federal system of governance now saw a new trend of political segregation of the anglophones as well as the visibilities of cultural pluralism all as a result of giving into a unitary state system. It should be noted that the current blasphemy on current president Paul Biya regime is only an inherited system from the former president. During Ahidjo’s rule under a Federal Cameroon, the anglophone already felt some degree of segregation but their cries where still in a state of an interior monologue. However, this is not an ultimate excuse for the current regime for the political, economic and socio-cultural mess that country is in today(Nyamnjoh B. Francis, 1997).

3.8 Literature Review

This research aims to add data on literature of secessionism in not just the African continent but the world in general and mostly other less economically and non-democratic states. There exist quiet a number of literatures that has explained secessionism in Africa, and in western democracies like U.S.A, Canada, Denmark etc. Furthermore, the geopolitical change which was as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent East Wind also had an influence on the political situation of African countries to become democratic. Despite these changes, the facts remaining the so call democratic nature of most African countries are in no condition to be compared to western democracy, as most so call African democratic states are characterised by contested elections, suspicions of cheating, violence against civil society, and post-election armed conflict are dramatic events that seem to be repeated after every election in recent years (Souaré, 2017). A recent example of such so call democracy in Africa that is not Cameroon could be seen in Gabon 2016. Indeed, during the presidential elections of August 27, 2016, re-election of President Ali Bongo was challenged by his main opponent, Jean Ping. This was so because according to Ping, President Bongo had rigged the votes of the district of HautOgooué. In view of Ping, 99% participation of the population would have been registered, and President Bongo would have won in this one with 95% of the votes. This nature of instability in the electoral process and institutions of African democracies, provides room for secessionism to arise. Claims of secessionist movements often cry against the mismanagement of the resources by the current administration.

In the context of Cameroon, in order to understand how resources are managed by the state, it is useful to understand the political and economic context in which the secessionist claims of the movement for the anglophone struggle occurred. However, the secessionist claims of the Cameroon Anglophone struggle constitute a new challenge for the nation, but it is not the first case in African. Looking at contemporary African history, the birth of new states such as South Sudan and Somaliland has shown that self-determination claims can lead to secession and reshape the political geography of a State or a region. There exists available significant literature that can contribute to the better understanding of secessionism in Africa in general, as well as in Cameroon in particular. The 1990s marked the birth of so-called democracies in Africa as new economic partnerships with the West have led authoritarian leaders to change their rhetoric, since most economic aid from international communities especially the west, required the adoption of

democratic norms in the aftermath of the cold war as conditionality. The speech of the French President François Mitterrand during the France-Africa Summit held in 1990 in La Baule was part of this logic.

Prior to the 1990s, a number of studies had been carried out on the socio-political and economic history of Cameroon since its independence. However, very few writers had undertaken an analysis of the political economy of West Cameroon. Most available literature on the above discussed subject is from the works of scholars from the 'Modernization school' that approached the issues against the backdrop of the separate colonial experience the regions of Cameroon underwent. The outcome is illustrated in an attempt at resolving the Anglophone -Francophone contradiction through national integration. Such works include Johnson (1970a), Le Vine (1964), Shaheen Mozaffar (1987) Achille Mbembe (2001) Ian Spears (2004), Van De Walle (1994), Sonia LE Gouriellec (2011). Willard Johnson (1970a) talks of the challenges of political integration in what he calls a fragmentary society, while looking at the economic and cultural aspects of the process. He tried painting a picture of how the British and French Cameroons went about the process of political reunification in 1961, which led to the formation of a federation. Furthermore, Johnson examines the theory that is integration of political systems and how such unions are maintained while using it to analyse the Cameroon experience. Looking at the impact of disparate colonial legacies on the traditional cultural patterns in Cameroon, he explains the rise of the movement for political union. He then moves on to look at the character of the union of both Cameroon's, its leaders and their differing conception of federalism(Johnson, 1970). Le Vine explores literature from the independence of the Republic of Cameroon to the birth of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, the Union of Cameroon Republic and the former under British colonial era. In his explanations he traces the political evolution of Cameroon from the German era to its partition between Britain and France after the First World War. Le Vine focuses on the factors and course that went into defining the political community of the Cameroon Republic. This work explains factors like ethnic particularism, Western influence and nationalism as being influenced by socio-political factors. He provides background information on reunification and what it meant for both Cameroons' to come together. He expresses that before reunification, West and East Cameroon had very little in common, except a brief period of German protectorate, a minor ethnic community and also the feeling that they ought to be reunited after

years of separate administration and development under French and British, thus, had developed modern political systems that were mutually exclusive.

Some scholars have tried to understand how mismanagement of state resources can shape the sociopolitical and economical life of a state. One of the most popular theoretical framework to do so is the theory of neopatrimonialism, which had been developed by Jean-François Medard, who gave a new form to patrimonialism previously theorized by Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (Solhjell, 2013). According to Medard new point of view, patrimonialism meant an administration practice according to which the ruling classes tend to appropriate and state resources are managed and considered as personal patrimony. Laying more emphasis and insight to this approach is a scholar name Van De Walle, who developed some terms like presidentialism, which refers to a practice whereby a man, usually a leader or president, arose above the law and above all the administrative powers that govern the state. This practice is observed in most regimes in sub-Saharan Africa, where there is a high concentration of power at the executive level surpassing even that of the judiciary. Walle expresses how presidentialism often give rise to a status quo at the level of the allocation of important power positions within the state, because the executive head, being above the law, tries to allocate these positions to his entourage (Bratton & van de Walle, 1994). Shaheen Mozaffar emphasized this connection between resource management and the instability of the State in Africa in his piece "The Crisis of the State in Africa". According to Mozaffar, crisis of the contemporary state is as a result of the growing disappointment with the performance of the State and the distrust of the people in many countries about the ruling groups. He also adds that the other measurable extent leading to state instability is the tendency of overconsumption. An example can be seen when he explains that in 1967, the average fraction of Gross Domestic Products consumed by the African States was less than 15 percent. More so, by 1982 in many African states, the figure exceeded 30 percent and in some of them it was even more substantially higher (Mozaffar, 1987). Ian Spears in the literature of "State Building in Africa" explains how the configuration of frontiers of African States played in their political and economic instability and can contribute to secession. Furthermore, he lays emphasis that provides an understanding to how the colonial heritage can contribute to the birth of internal conflicts in African States (Ian Spears, 2004). Sonia LE Gouriellec in her literature "Three trajectories of secession in the Horn of Africa", analyzes the birth of Eritrea, South Sudan and Somaliland. Doing so, she explores the internal processes that led to the birth of these three

States. She further explains that the strengthening of identity through language or religion can be an obstacle to the building of a consensual community, that Anderson (1991) theorized. LE Gouriellec further looked at the question of recognition of these three new States by the international community. She explains that the state recognition relies on the existence of a territory, a population, a government, but also the acceptance of the international community. That is why the creation of some states such as Somaliland remain problematic because these requirements are not met(Gouriellec, 2011). Achille Mbembe explains that the instability of some African post-colonial regimes is due to a lack of fissure with the colonial rule heritage. According to Mbembe, post colonialism and the effects of colonialism are to be blame for the currents contemporary conflicts in most African states as most of these conflict arose or arises as a result of cultural differences, language as well as boundary dispute, to which most had been place by the colonialist except for the cultures that existed before colonialism(Mbembe, 2001). Literatures on Cameroonian socio-anthropology has explored the different ethnic divisions and also the relationship between the Anglophone/Francophone populations of the country. Nyamjoh, B.F. and Rowlands, M. looked at how ethnicity influences political associations and sense of belonging in Cameroon. Furthermore, same literature also explored the first claims of the Anglophone regions towards the Cameroonian government from the 1970s to the 1990s(Nyamnjoh, 1998). John Mbaku explains that it was not until the political liberalization process of the early 1990s that some Anglophone elites began organizations in a variety of associations and pressure groups to request for self-determination and autonomy. Mbaku did not failed at emphasizing the role chieftaincy had played in these struggles for autonomy. During the era of federal system, Anglophone chiefs had significant measure of autonomy. But After unification, the political elites of Cameroon integrated chieftaincy as part of the state in a subordinate position(Mbaku, 1996).

In a more concrete way, secessionism in some African countries has also been explored by the above-mentioned body of literature. These literatures can relate or be applied to secessionism since they suggest that secessionist movement was as response to the failure of some African states. In the case of Cameroon, the two factors explained by Mozaffar can be applied because the Anglophone crisis is in part due to a cynicism vis-à-vis the Paul Biya's government and the ruling elite, alongside the economic crisis that prevails in the country(Mozaffar, 1987). In the arguments of Ian Spears, the impact of the colonial administration heritage on the African post-

colonial States is in debating secession and the recognition of new states in Africa are most likely as a result of conflict. The concept of the effects of post-colonialism in play in African policies and administration, is applicable here in the light of Ian Spears as he argues that unlike European States whose boundaries had changed over time for optimal efficiency, these newly independent African States have kept the same borders which has led to stagnation and these borders have favored the creation of states unable to deal with ethnic differences (Ian Spears, 2004). Moreover, the conflict between the Anglophone regions of Cameroon and the State, seems to be a relevant case to illustrate the effects of post-colonialism as emphasize by Mbembe. Indeed, the crisis is linked to the British and French colonial heritage. Claims of the Anglophone struggle include the access to the practice of English language in education, as well as a common law juridical system, which had both been instituted by the British during their colonial administration period. LE Gouriellec argues that cases of secession have three similar characteristics: they usually include distinct communities, territorial dispute, and a cause of discontentment. She also argues that language and religion are two great factors that strengthen identities and encourage people to look on themselves as different while living in the same community.

State building in African literature provides several useful thoughts as well as one can draw some arguments from the identity and nation building literature in general. This body of literature is to help the reader in the understanding on how the absence of a single national identity or the existence of multiple ones in some states often leads to some rights claims by the minorities. Moreover, it can provide some significant writings that explore how states create institutional mechanism to deal with the multiple identities in their nation.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

In framework of this theoretical orientation, I will attempt to develop a theoretical argument founded on facts from my research data and which will be politico-historically and socio-psychologically. As these are all issues that contribute for extended ethnic/conflicts. The fact that an intra-Anglophone conflict has been going on for a longer time than the Anglophone/Francophone conflict, and it is still ongoing on, categories the conflict as not just political or ethnic but also one that is social and psychologically in nature. The goal here is to

critically analyse whether this protracted ethno-regional antagonism derived from and is driving by the politics of identity. Beginning with data from interviews before moving to secondary data and the study of official documents. I do understand the above presented theoretical framework presents differences in arguments but an attempt here is to begin by developing a theoretical argument in the lines of socio-cultural or socio-psychological conflict theory which is most often the foundation of protracted social conflict theory. The socio-cultural conflict theory talks on the role of culturally shared, profound “us-they” oppositions, the conceptualization of “they” and “us” and deep analysis of human action originating from their earliest developments (Duijzings, 2000). Significantly, this analysis will tackle the perspectives of both Anglophone groups and also a comparative analysis of both views.

4.1 Colonialism and the Evolution of Political Institutions in Cameroons

Cameroon is often considered to be Africa’s legendary pathfinder. In order to get some better understanding about recent politics in Cameroon, knowledge about the country’s colonial history, cultural, ethnic, economic and political diversity is very essential. Federalism was introduced in Cameroon by 1961 as the first “bilingual” federation in Africa, which brought together people of separate colonial experiences (Anttalainen, 2013). This provided heavy contrasts in the rule of law, language, administration and education, as well as in matters as political style and expectations. To understand the purpose of this federal union of both Cameroon’s, one can start by posing some questions such as; How did the unity come about? What were the reasons for this union? What were the driving forces behind it and that motivated the main actors?

In order to try and answer the above questions, providing an analysis of the phases of colonialism in the Cameroons and the different methods, culture and experiences that emerged thereafter.

4.1.1 Colonization of the Cameroons

Many factors motivated the scramble for colonies in Africa, like; the transatlantic slave trade, the search for raw materials to meet the high demands of the industrial revolution era in Europe. All

these amongst others, contributed in the taking over of the Cameroon territory as a German colony in 1884. The country's geographical location made it attractive for the transatlantic slave trade. By the end of the 17th and early 18th centuries, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Swedish and Danish were all active in the coast of Cameroons as slave traders. Around the beginning of the 19th century, Calabar, Bimbia and Douala on the Rio dos Cameroes and Rio del Rey were famous slave shipping ports on the Bight of Biafra (Fossungu, 2013). However, a country like Denmark had forbade slave trade by 1792 (Smith, 2005), while the British copied this fine example in 1807 and later opened a garrison at Fernando Po (Equatorial Guinea) in order to put an eye on slave shipments from Benin and Biafra in 1827. The British soon became the most dominant colonialist along the Nigeria and Cameroons coast. The British used this to their advantage and encouraged their trading firms to set up posts in the Cameroons coast. It was during this period that the use of Pidgin English began to spread (Fomin & Ndobegang, 2006). The British never saw the Germans, but the French as posing any threat in this struggle for supremacy in the Cameroons. Local chiefs preferred British rule of their region and requested for protection and annexation by the British government, by either sending letters to London or to Consul Hewett in the Gulf of Guinea. July 14th, 1884, Dr. Nachtigal from Germany had arrived Douala and signed treaties with the chiefs. Hewett arrived Douala on July 19, 1884, only to learn that the Germans had signed treaties of annexation with kings Bell and Akwa on July 14 (ibid). Julius Von Soden as Cameroon's first German governor on July 3 (1885 - 1891), Cameroon was effectively a German colony.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914, in order to defeat the Germans in Africa, the allied lunched attacks to German Cameroon from the French Congo, Chad and Nigeria. A naval attack was launched on Douala, using Nigerian, British and French troops. Around September 26, 1914, Douala was captured. A condominium was established to administer the territory until the enemy had been completely defeated. March 4, 1916, marked the date Britain and France compromised to divide the Cameroons, which allowed the respective colonial powers to administer their respective territories as they so desired. The French obtained four-fifths of the total area while the British obtained two disconnected pieces bordering Nigeria (Jones, 1965). By May 7, 1919, the Allied powers Supreme Council had shared out various German colonies in Africa into the jurisdictions of those who had conquered them. Togo and Cameroon were left with the status of settling through negotiations between Britain and France. France was not prepared to administer

neither Cameroon nor Togo as mandates of the League of Nations but claimed to do so anyways in the spirit but in the end both countries were agreed to become the League's Mandate by July 20th, 1922 after confirmation from the supreme council. Cameroon was shared into three parts: the French Cameroon, the British Northern Cameroon and the British Southern Cameroon. The British administered their portion with the use of "Indirect Rule" while the French used several policies and the popular was that of "Assimilation" (Anastasia, 2004). This division led to the development of two distinctly unidentical Cameroons with different economic, administrative and political traditions as well as socio-cultural values. This laid the foundation of the country's contemporary political transformation.

4.1.2 French Mandate of Francophone Cameroon July 20th, 1922- January 1st, 1960

French policy in her colonies, typified by the Cameroonian experience, in spite of its "mandated" and later "trusteeship" status, was one of cultural assimilation. This was so because of the French so-called belief in the idea of "Liberty, Freedom and Equality". However, France's attachment to these values was not practical abroad. French colonial policy of assimilation adopted a moral sense but at the same time unable to hide its main focus that was economic exploitation. This French policy of Assimilation was reflected in the French constitution (Article 109) of 1948, which stated that "...the colonies are French territory in the same way as the metropole and enjoy the same position in private and public law" (Anastasia, 2004, p 91). Basically, meaning that the policy aimed at developing French Cameroon as "Black Frenchmen". The policy required knowledge of the French language and acceptance of its law, which was characterized with: rejection of local cultural practices such as polygamy, the practice of some "civilized" profession, right up to willingness to serve in the French army (ibid).

However, the challenges faced in implementing the policy of Assimilation led to the introduction of the policy of "Association". This new policy sought to create some degree of Cameroonian elite with French values. Meaning the application of different policies and standards to the inhabitants of French Cameroon depended on the degree to which they had moved towards the French social ideal (Krieger, 2014).

More so, another later French policy was introduced in Cameroon by 1924 "indigénat". It was a system of summary punishment, "indigénat," which was highly resented by French

Cameroonians, made clear distinction between the two types of status that became apparent. This harsh policy of basically ‘‘Forced Labour’’, exempted natives who had rendered some distinguished services to France from its application but did not put them on equal status as French Citizens. The administration of the indigénat was the responsibility of district officers and sub-district officers who were French Cameroonians, so that the French will not be blamed for the use of force on the native but the natives themselves were to be blamed even though they acted under the autonomy of France. The indigénat was used in the French Cameroons to punish natives who failed to respect or fulfill the requirements of their colonial master like to: cultivate their gardens or work on the railway, failure to pay their taxes, taking off hats in the presence of the local administrator, spitting on the floor of a government office, failure to kept an appointment with the local subdistrict officer, came late to work on a public works project, etc. The indigénat was widely hated in Cameroon and with a lot of bitterness, even though it gave administration in the hands of the natives, the French still controlled from behind the curtains and profited from tax. By the end of WWII, France had abolished this system of forced labour in all her colonies and extended citizenship to some categories of Africans but not mean universal suffrage. These lucky Africans categories who were granted Black Frenchmen status, had the right to seat representatives in metropolitan institutions like the French National Assembly, the Assembly of the French Union and the Council of the Republic of France(Victor, 1994).

In all, the French exploitative colonial policies in French Cameroon ranged from softcore transformation to the use of force. It is obvious that France wanted to create it is race of Black Frenchmen in Africa and French Cameroonians were to be a part of this race. The political evolution in French colonial Cameroon had developed from being ruled to self-rule with still background control by France.

4.1.3 British Mandate of Anglophone Cameroons from July 20th,1922- February 11, 1961

The Preference of Britain to acquire colonies was guided by her economic interests and thus, trade was paramount. The British had settled for just one fifth of the territory that was Cameroon for reasons being they already had enough in Nigeria and felt as compensating their allied French partners. Britain merged the British Cameroon to her colony, Nigeria. As an integral part of Nigeria, British Cameroons receive less direct attention from the administering authority. Unlike

the French, the British were not aimed at bringing British civilization to anglophone Cameroonians but to maintain a long period of external control over its possessions and at minimal cost to the Crown. As such, the British emphasized on a self-sufficiency Cameroons, thus reflected her limited moral commitment to the transformation of this colony. The British introduced the policy of ‘‘Indirect rule’’, which meant British rule with the use of local chiefs in administrating the local population(Nfor, 2015). Britain justified this policy alleging that the ultimate goal of British colonialism was educating anglophone Cameroon towards self-government. Of course, as earlier mentioned, it was a low-cost policy. This drive towards self-government was to be instituted through a gradual process of increasing participation by anglophone Cameroonians into politics and decision-making process set up by the British colonial regime. This policy placed emphasis on the gradual evolution of the political institutions, while encouraging them to grow cash crops, such as cocoa, coffee and cotton. The economy remained centered on the plantations which the Germans had developed like Sud kamerun Gesellschaft, Nord-West Kamerun Gesellschaft and Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C). There was little government expenditure on social services and public works. The territory ran on a deficit throughout the mandate and trusteeship periods and was subsidies by the Nigerian budget(Bederman, 1966). Administratively, British Southern Cameroon was under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of the southern provinces of Nigeria, with a Senior Resident of Cameroon Province based in Buea. While around 1948, in British Northern Cameroon, Bamenda Division was made a Province, while Kumba, Mamfe, and Victoria formed a smaller Cameroon Province. As an integral part of Nigeria, minority anglophone Cameroonians had very little participation in administration and as a result of dependent on the Nigerian budget, over land communication was very poor, poor infrastructural development, marginalization by the ‘Ibos’ etc. English Cameroonians finally cried for separation from Nigeria as a result of anti-Ibo feelings(Nfor, 2015). Local authorities were responsible for local government under the supervision of district officers (D.O). They were in control of native authority police, courts, collected taxes, and handled matters such as health and sanitation, roads and bridges as well as exercise some degree of law. The judicial system was made up of two sets of courts: the supreme and magistrate courts, which administered European type justice, and secondly the native authority courts, which were in four grades: Grade ‘‘A’’

courts had full powers in civil cases, while 'B' , 'C' and 'D' grade courts dealt with civil cases with the claim not exceeding £100, £50 and £25 respectively(Anastasia, 2004).

British Cameroons had been ruled under the policy of indirect rule because the British found the policy to be less costly and a way of easy economic exploitation while maintaining their fine public figure through claims of teaching Cameroon towards self-governance. Not only British Cameroons was a victim to this policy but also other British colonies in Africa. Since English Cameroon had requested not to be an integral part of Nigeria, the colony was presented with a second choice of joining their brothers of French Cameroon.

4.2.1 Cameroon under Federalism: Ahmadou Ahidjo 1972-1982

With success in the formation of a single national party the 'Cameroon National Union' (CNU) in 1966, Ahidjo moved forward by bring his 'federalist' supporters into positions of power, in order to consolidate his hold on West Cameroon. The Federal Government speed up the process of taking over functions in areas where the state and federal jurisdictions overlapped, such as education, health, local government, and security. On the eve of the 1970 presidential elections, Ahidjo, amended the constitution so as to make it possible for one person to combine the functions of federal Vice-President and Prime Minister of West Cameroon. Foncha was shoved out of the political advantage despite his efforts and supports. Focnha remained the Vice-President of the CNU, while S.T Muna became Vice-President of the country(Nfor, 2015).

Ahidjo master plan came to play in May 2, 1972, when he made his intentions of abolishing the federation known to the Political Bureau of the CNU. By May 6, he publicly announced to an confound National Assembly, that by May 20 a referendum will be held on to consult the population on the abolition of the federal system. Ahijo's excuse was that the federal system was too expensive. On June 2, 1972, Presidential Decree No. 72-270 instituted the United Republic of Cameroon. It was without doubt that the main reasons for undermining the federal structures was the absence of a good revenue allocation system. This was the birth of demise of West Cameroon by their own hands this time around and not from colonial influence. The 1972 constitution cemented Ahidjo as the sole repository of authority and absolute power. His power to legislate by decree was renewed for twelve months(Takougang, 1993). For the Anglophones,

birth of a unitary system meant an end to the commitment to create a socio-political system capable of balancing the differences that arose as a result of the country's dual colonial heritage.

4.2.2 Cameroon under a Unitary State: Paul Biya Regime since 1982

By November 1982 peaceful transfer of power to Biya by Ahidjo, relations between the two deteriorated. Ahidjo had remained head of the single national party, the CNU, and had tried to assert the supremacy of the party over the state. The inheritance of power by Biya from Ahidjo also meant inheritance of his regime policies and the autonomy of the office of the president which had become some sort of bureaucratic-military oligarchy. This absolute power that Biya had inherited, he gave a portrait of it is authority during an interview on television, he told a journalist that he can with a nod of his head (*coup de tête*), he can dismiss him as the “Editor-in-chief” of Cameroon Television, without justification (Tangwa, 2011). Prior to the accession of Biya to power, there was this perception that the country was divided between the largely Muslim North and the Christian South; then in the South was between the Francophones majority and the Anglophone minority. It should be noted that Ahidjo had handed power with the believe that with him as party chairman will still be able to call the shots but Biya had become increasingly assertive. This challenge and threat from Ahidjo developed by January 1983 and the stand-off culminated in a failed assassination attempt in August 1983. Finally in 1983, Ahidjo resigned as party chairman, but there was a bloody coup attempt in April 1984 which was allegedly instigated by Ahidjo (Takougang, 1993). These challenges from Ahidjo only made Biya to enact policies that will aid his grip on power even more, thus giving more autonomy to the office of the president. These changes had affected top officials in the ruling party, the CNU, which after 1985, later became the “Cameroon People's Democratic Movement” (CPDM) (ibid), a state-owned enterprise as well as the administration.

Leading Anglophone politicians and senior civil servants had at this point became adept at shifting the blame for the predicament of West Cameroonians on what came to be untrusty known as “The System,” rather than putting the blame on their own inability to protect the interests of their people and their region. Now the system has been in control of the hands of francophone leadership and job opportunities and career advancement depended on political backing. It was common then and even now, in spite of the highly restricted press freedom, to

see articles in the English edition of the official newspaper, 'The Cameroon Tribune', deploring the situation of the system. The system under Biya had become publicly corrupt and bribery and corruption was and is still practice from top officials right down to a primary school teacher. A single documentation process may require up to five government stamps, each of which was not less than 500 francs CFA as of back then and now no less than 1200 francs CFA, and each of these documents have to be sign by the Divisional officer, and the commissioner of police (Nfor, 2015). This centralize system procedure is even worst for the anglophones as they are required to travel from the West, to Yaoundé every time they are in need of any documentation that needed state approval, from job search, pension, certification, obtaining passport and even salary(ibid). Nfor N (2015) draws attention to Anglophone presence in all the branches of the single party and government. Duijzings (2000) view on ethnicity and ethnic group can be use in describing the fact that, rather than being passive observers, West Cameroon elites have been active participants of the marginalization process anglophone people. These anglophone elites see their self merely as social belonging to the Anglophones and care more or less, contrary to Northrup (1989) believe of sense of belonging and purpose. It is important to differentiate between the Anglophone elites who are enjoying the 'National Cake' from common local anglophones. Also important to point out that not all Francophones are having a piece of the cake as mostly only those in power or officers do, but as earlier described by Schilder (1994), the common francophone man is just satisfy with the thought of his brothers in power and have this sense of belonging.

As of May 1991, of the 49 Divisional Officers in Cameroon, 21 of them were Betis, and of the ten Governors in Cameroon as of February 1993, four were Betis(Yenshu, 2012). This has given rise to what is perceive as the rise and entrenchment of an ethnic aristocracy, which has led to an increase in ethnic tensions. Paul Biya and his 1985 creation of his "Cameroon People's Democratic Movement" (CPDM) party, claimed the nation was one in practice of democracy, to which the anglophone communities deny experiencing any democracy in Biya's administration. This claim is unfavorable to the Anglophones since they are minority and can't actually win so-called democratic elections. In a country of 27,744,989 people as of the year 2020, Eight out of the ten regions of Cameroon are primarily Francophones, thereby representing 83% of the country's total population, and the remaining two regions are anglophone, representing 17%.

3.822 million people in Yaoundé (political capital) and 3.536 million in Douala (economic capital)(CIA World Factbook, 2020).

4.3 Why Cameroon's Conflict is Ethno-National?

The current conflict in Cameroon can be characterized as one that is an ethnonational conflict for several reasons. Firstly, because Cameroon individual's environment is determined by a ranking of social identities that the people perceive (Schilder, 1994). Schilder notes that ethnic identities have a strong hold because of their composition as extended kingship groups, which are very important in the development of inclusive or exclusive groups (ibid). This is an important concept when dealing with ethnic conflict. In multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic society like Cameroon, ethnicity finds its way into a multitude of issues such as; educational controversies, control of state politics, resource control struggles, land disputes and indigene-settler syndrome, development plans, religious intolerance. These issues amongst others, all become intertwined with the wider ethno-national conflict. This makes the conflict to be complex and enduring. It spread throughout the fabric of society and often serve as a stumbling block to conflict resolution(Charles Taylor, 1994). Secondly, Ger Duijzings (2000) argues that once the existing opinion of ethnic groups are perceiving to be clear-cut political as well as cultural, then it becomes an ethno-national group. This relates to the case of the conflict in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon, where Anglophones also known as 'Southern Cameroonians', regards themselves as a single ethnic group of minority population, formed armed groups known as the 'Ambazonia Defense Forces'(Okere C. Nna-Emeka, 2018), felt their culture was being overshadowed and are politically motivated to seek autonomy as was the case of former British Southern Cameroon before reunification with La Republic du Cameroun in 1961. Identity conflict is basically about ethno-national behavior. Identity conflict displays itself in the quest for human needs that is valued by a group in light of contest with the other competing ethnic groups within a single state(Duijzings, 2000). In order to express the emotions and beliefs in identity-driven conflict, violence extremes of competing ethno-cultural groups can be observed. There is usually an intersect of thought on the importance of such concepts as identity and the division of us-them, which usually often leads to the psychology of zero-sum game; winner takes all. Be it in ethnicity or religious, or ethno-cultural context, emotions is most likely to overpower

rational thinking (ibid). When ethnic violence occurs, striving groups usually do not focus on obtaining social transformation, but seek something close to sovereign autonomy; the barring of aligned ethnic groups from a share of power. Ethnic minorities often feel marginalized, excluded and neglected. Thus, conflict lines are drawn and can easily turn into violent actions just like our focus case of Cameroon.

4.4 Politics of Identity in Cameroon

4.4.1 The Cameroonian People

Cameroon is a country of rich and diverse culture made up of a mix of over 240 tribes mostly found in three main ethnic groups; Bantus, Semi-Bantus and Sudanese. A lot of diversity can be observed in the way of life, the folklore, the religion, housing and culinary habits. French and English are the official national languages and are spoken by 70% and 30% of the population respectively. Spanish and German are equally spoken by a few city-dwellers of mostly Francophone decent since it is part of their educational curriculum. The number of ethnic languages spoken in the country is more than 240. Some of the most notable tribes includes: Beti, Bassa, Douala, Pygmies, Bamileke, Tikar, Fulbe, Batibo, Bambui, Oshie, Bali, Bafut, Bangwa, Bayangi, Bakweri, etc (Cameroon-today, 2020).

4.4.2 North-Westerners Perspective of the Crisis.

Looking at the perspective of some North-Westerners, South-Westerners are jealous of their strength in physical hard work and entrepreneurship, that puts them dominant economically in West Cameroon. This particular perspective is held by almost all status of North-Westerners, from the local layman members, to the students and elite's population of North-Westerners.

Interview (I); With North-Westerner of about 72 years old, who has been living and working as a herbalist in the South West town of Limbe for 50 years. He responded to the interview by beginning to explain the south ward movements they had taking in the past in search for better education from the "Whiteman's" schools in the South and hopes of studying in Nigeria for higher education and then later getting a white collar job in the South West. North-Westerners are known for their strength and industrious attitude and as a result, had developed towns in the

south west through building of their personal and business infrastructures and also introduction of new farming techniques that guaranteed more yield in food production for the South Westerners population. His arguments about the South-Westerners was that they are what he will describe as “lazy” not industrious as they rely hope for government jobs. Apart from this critique, he mention the fact that the South West man is good by nature as he had experienced this in the past during their travels, as they had to walk for more than 700km and slept nights in unknown south west man’s village and they will be offered food, water and shelter to strangers. He, blames the government for creating the divide between the Anglophone people.

Interview II : In support of the formers claim was a 57 year old high school teacher in the south west town of Buea for over 30 years and a North-Westerners claims “*we the people from North West built this place while the ‘Bakweri man’ sat and fold his hands and when their god ‘Epassa Moto’ erupts the mountain as they claim he is responsible, they believe their god wants us gone’*”. She answered my questions with some of her own ; what becomes of my house that I have worked for so long to build and what of my children who are born here in the coast ?, isn’t the supposed to be free movement and settlement in any part of my own country and if not why do we a nation ?.

Interview III: According to a resident in the North-West region claims he cannot settle in the South west were the people don’t want you there and call you names like you don’t have a land where you come from.

Interview IV: A 63 years old professor, gave his opinion on the current failures of the ‘Ambazonia Defense Force’ in relation to the stereotype of ‘cam-no-go’ which the South Westerners frequently use against them. His opinion was that the government from the time of Ahidjo to the time of Biya’s inheritance of power and till now, has been very wise in it is tactics to keep the Anglophone population separated. He explains this has been don from the level of education as schools in the south west taught English and French as part of their curriculum while those in North west only studied English. This was designed by the government to make the South-Westerners believe they are brothers with the Francophone and not the ‘Bush Bamenda man’. I asked why he thought the Francophone had chosen the South-West man and his response was simple: “*south west man is lucky for his land is a fertile volcanic soil and is located along the coast’*”, he also said “*God had giving fine land to the wrong people’*”. He later

concluded that it is all in the hands of the government to handle the situation and if they still can't, then going back to a federal system of government seems like the best way out and everyone wins.

I did try to get hold of some of my former university professors and teachers in order to get some elite opinions they did not want their names on such a research and the first direct response I got was; I am busy but can find time to help you. While others who appear to be in open fear gave me the response; *do you expect me to put name on that especially with this ongoing crisis, what do you thing will befall me the day Yaoundé gets a glance of that with my name on it?*. I tried convincing them that I will make their opinion anonymous but that was just my word and the risk are too high for them. Despite this setback, one thing was clear, the perspective of the North-Westerners living in the south west region have experience some degree of discrimination and North-Westerners back home have learned of it and were no fans.

4.4.3 South-Westerners Perspective of the Crisis.

Most South-Westerners claimed the beginning of the crisis between 'us' and the North Westerners, most of them traced the antipathy from the periods of North West ruling or dominant in the politics of British Southern Cameroon. Their perspectives were related from the colonial to the post-colonial era right up to the 1990s with political liberalization where these two groups were entangled in a competition for political power. South Westerners express that, they were under North-Westerners domination in politics and to top it all a high rate of a one-way migratory pattern from the North West to the South West for economic reasons. They complain about the loss of their land to the North Westerners who had bought them very cheap from old illiterate south west fathers. Besides the fact that North-Westerners had occupied large portions of land, South Westerners also complain that 'they' are driven by exploitative ideologies and forceful behaviors. Some of them subjectively complain about a high level of political and economic greed in the nature of North Westerners, besides being too proud and tribalistic. By every implication, South Westerners view North Westerners as aggressive immigrants. This perspective is a conclusion from the interviews I gathered from South westerners. Drawing from an interview some South westerners about the current Anglophone/Francophone crisis and also the divide between both Anglophones, to which she replied;

Interview I: A 51 years old female of the South westerner from Buea Town and her reply was; *‘the people of South West are good people as are the people from North West. The problem we are having comes from the Francophones and not from within us. In fact, this government is to be blame for everything that is going on in this country because our leaders are not trying at all grassfield and coastal people have always lived together in peace and harmony and never ever did we experience a war’*’.

According to this lady, she sees no differences between the Anglophones, but lays the blames on the Francophones and their government. She believed any clashes between the Anglophones had been mere a day to day insults from both but with not much severity that can lead to a war.

Interview II: A 65 years old man and a Bakwerian from South West town of Limbe, replied; *‘First of all, the ‘Whiteman’ had wrongfully divided the boundaries and left some of my real brothers in Nigeria, while giving us the grassfield people. I am not saying the grassfield people are not also my brothers, but my real brothers are in Nigeria and we speak the same ‘tongue’. The grassfield people are the ones who sold us to the Francophones under John Ngu Foncha and that was after they had occupied all over our land in their numbers. How many south westerners do you think habit in the North West region compared to their numbers here? Now the Francophones too have already taking over the town of Limbe. Now that the Francophones betrayed them (North Westerners) after selling us (Anglophones) to them (Francophones), they (North Westerners) want us to join forces against them (Francophones). Very soon we shall have no more lands of our own, especially now that the Francophone are beginning to come here’*’.

I could understand the opinion of this man to blame the roots of the current conflicts as effects of Post Colonialism, North Westerners control of politics in the English-speaking region and the Francophone Marginalization. But I couldn’t understand why most south westerners shared this opinion of North Westerners taking over their lands, like it was through the use of force. North westerners had bought these lands and developed it due to their industrious nature. Same goes for the claim of Francophones taking over the town of ‘Limbe’, as these Francophones are actually buying these lands and not through the use of force.

In another interview with a 47 years old elite from the town of Buea and a man from the Manyu division, he expresses his opinion as he begins by blaming the current crisis on politics. His reason being that when ‘‘they’’ came to our lands, we welcomed them. But as multi-party politics came with claims of democracy and voting, they were greater in numbers and so had absolute advantage in politics. As in their nature, they introduced tribalism. Also, he later makes mention of the fact that the problem should be traced back to the colonial era and the regime of former president Ahmadou Ahidjo and inherited by current president Paul Biya. He talked mostly on the fact that South Westerners were politically, economically, socially and administratively walked over by the North Westerners. He cleared my doubts about why south westerners keep complaining about the seizure of their lands by the grassfield people by answering: ‘*do you know all unoccupied land in Cameroon belongs to the government ?, so technically those unoccupied land belongs to those who are in high offices , as they share these lands amongst themselves in the name of carrying out government projects but usually end up keeping some portions for their private us*’. Now it was clear that the land seizure talked about were not those that South Westerners had actually sold. He also claims to recall the fact that foreign and government scholarships were mostly giving to North Westerner children. Later he concluded that it is up to the Cameroon government to handle it is duties to protect the population but if they happen to fail, then they can always use a backup plan of going back to federalism.

4.4.4 Francophone Perspective of The Crisis

Gathering information through interviews in the Francophone regions I must say was the easiest of all as they were really open in their opinions since they felt they are in safer positions than their Anglophone brothers. I must say from all aspect of society, they all shared very similar opinions on the matter, irrespective of their literacy level. To illustrate this, translated versions from French to English opinions from interviews are presented below.

Interview I: With 43 years old ‘Bassa’ man from Douala, when asked the question what his opinion on the current Anglophone crisis was? his reply was ‘*I really do not get it why the Anglophones are starting this fight in claims of segregation. It is not like me standing here has a brother or relative in the government. It seems all they want is to work for the government rather*

than struggling with a small business just like what I am doing here now”. Of course, I was not expecting much of a response from a commoner, but I had to be indiscriminatory in my findings.

Interview II: A 39 year old lecturer at the university of Douala who was happy to share her light on the matter. She began by acknowledging the fact that Cameroonians are a people and should not be engage in such conflict because no single group will profit from the war. In support of the governments claims, she also claims the forces behind the conflict are terrorist and are just hoping for their own selfish gains through brainwashing the Anglophones. She said ‘*who do you think is profiting from this fight? I will tell you; it is the terrorist groups that is kidnapping government officials and asking for ransoms and also those selling them arms, whoever they are*’. ‘*how can a group that claims to have your best interest at heart be burning down your own villages and farmlands*’. It was in my understanding that her opinion was not that different from the previous as she referred to the Anglophones as ‘your’ making me to understand that she sees me not as a Cameroonian but as an Anglophone.

Interview III: In an interview with a 45 years old lawyer from Yaoundé, he bitterly gave his opinion by saying ‘*those guys (Anglophones) are just stupid, how do they expect a country that identify as one to be ruled under two different system of law?*’. His angry opinion seemed to be directed toward the Anglophone lawyers for taking to the streets in riot against the presence of Francophone Judges in Anglophone court. From his point of view, these lawyers were basically in support of the terrorist group that is the ‘*Ambazonia Defense Force*’ and their claims of Anglophone marginalization. He further claimed there is government ministers and Parliamentarians that are Anglophones.

In a conclusive remark, it was clear that the Francophones opinions did not blame the roots causes of the conflict on Colonialism but mostly on the Anglophones as a people.

4.5 Analyzing the Case Through a Theoretical Framework

With this understanding, the theoretical framework that emerges from this study can be used in analyzing the conflict situation is that the recurrent Anglophones and also the Anglophone/Francophone antagonism. From the above findings and stories from the case study, it is evident that the politics of identity most often emerges in their frequent encounters which is

that of an ethno-regionalist identity between the South Westerners and the North Westerners, while there is also between the Anglophones and the Francophones. The politics of identity can be said to be the effects of Post Colonialism as boundaries drawn during the colonial era in the country had divided some groups of people and merged others who did not belong together. One can therefore raise an argument that this dispute identity over land struggle in the South West region, is partly responsible for the increasing tensions and consisting of continues communal violence. Just as Staub (2001) argues that Political conflict and disorganization, economic problems, social-cultural changes, often lead groups against others. Obviously in this case, the Anglophones rivalry and the Anglophone/Francophone conflict as experienced today in the country, is in line with this theoretical concept of Identity conflict. The theory becomes even more applicable when taking into account analysis of the divide between North Westerners and South Westerners as they often use the idea of “us” against “they” when it comes to an issue between them. While they will still use the same concept when it comes to an Anglophone/Francophone issue(Staub, 2001). In support of this claim was Northrup Terrell (1989) as he had emphasized that a person identifies as a member of a group when they have a common interest contradictory to that of another(Northrup, 1989). From the interviews, it is clear that the Anglophones only identify as a group when it comes to issues concerning Francophone segregation. Looking at the historical experiences of North Westerners and South Westerners, explains the beliefs of one group over the intentions of the other. For example, like the dispute over land and its gradual evolution into a form of identity conflicts. The truth of the matter is that the South Westerners are not happy in this competition for such a limited economic resource. Also, they fear the high rate of population influx from the North West and recently the Francophones, has led to the scarcity of this resource. One actual fact is that the non-natives have increasingly occupied lucrative sectors in the South West region like working in the CDC Palm and Banana Plantation, which had been neglected by the natives. This has actually enabled these non-natives to have higher economic power over the natives. Looking at the above data, it has clearly shown how economically dynamic the North Westerners are in comparison to the South Westerners counterparts who have all along proven to be dormant economically. Undoubtedly, such a situation provokes feelings of frustration and eventually ethnic anger. With the Anglophone/Francophone case in Cameroon, old resentment has clearly surfaced and climaxed into a psychological interaction of power relations that involves feelings of Anglophone

inferiority and that of Francophone superiority between the two. Even though I have been generalizing about South Westerners, it is interesting to touch specifically the indigenes of Limbe and Buea, known as the 'Bakwerians'. They are almost absent in the real market competition, with a proportion of less than 5% of the total (Nyamnjoh B. Francis, 1997). The complaint of land seizure is not only limited to the South West region as a tribe in the North West region, the 'Bali Nyonga' are hated by all surrounding neighbouring villages as a result of historical conflict and land seizure by force in the past. Consequently, an important conclusion that could be drawn so far is that the conflict between these groups is highly psychologically based rather than based on identity as it is often perceived. The psychological aspect of the conflict exists alongside aggravated objective conflict of discrimination and the competition over limited natural and state resources. Therefore, discrimination and resource scarcity such as land, appears to be the focal point of competition between these peoples. It is important to note that the politics of identity is not just the only potential source of the conflict when it comes to relations between Anglophones, but rather, it is material disputes in their everyday social experiences that is simply evolving into an identity conflict largely due to the psychological component. This politics of identity comes in when it is a comparison between the Anglophone and the Francophones. Since both Anglophones are equally discriminated upon, they tend to identify as a group.

In this case, there seem to exist an invisible outside actor as pointed out by some of the interviewees that it is France, through its back door meandering in Cameroon politics and resource exploitation. It is reflected from the introductory part that the political situation of the country is characterized by clientelism, nepotism, regionalism and autochthonism. All of which seems to be features inherent from the Post-colonial government politics of divide and rule in the form of a system of social hierarchy as explained before. According to Giorgio Spagnol (2019), France is still exploiting its former colonies and manipulating their politics to its favor from the shadows (Giorgio, 2019). Culture is a man-made phenomenon which serves as a process of meeting his ever-present needs and therefore develop ways of satisfying them permanently. According to Crawford Young, ethnic differences may appear to eclipse all other factors in the politics, but in a near future, the same cleavage may appear entirely muted and quite irrelevant to the explication of the political process. The situation becomes complicated if

‘external cultures’ intrude into the national scene and become crucial determinants of political activity and political configurations (Melson, 1980).

Conceptualizing on Post Colonialism, according to Fanon (2010), Before various aspects of the decolonization processes can take place, the mindset of elites in former colonies must change as decolonization is first of the mental magnitude. The divide in the minds of Cameroonians today had been implanted since during the colonial era. The effect of difference in colonial history has greatly contributed to the current conflict. The French policy of ‘Assimilation’ had made the Francophones to believe they were more educated than the Anglophones, because they were closer to the ‘Whiteman’ and had learned a lot more. The very use of the French policy of ‘Idigenat’ had forced the Francophones to learn and speak the French language and he/she who could not was an illiterate. Boundaries drawn during the colonial period and the divide of the country as a greater portion was giving to France, had already laid the foundation of an unequal population with the Anglophones as a minority. For example, the Manyu people of South West claim some of their brothers with same native language were pushed to Nigeria during the separating of the nation between Britain and France. Likewise, the Bakeri people of South West region complain their brothers of similar native language which is the Douala people have been brain washed with the French language and they now don’t identify as a group. According to Fonlon (2010), language is the first cultural necessity as well as the first aspect of man’s invention of cultural. He emphasizes that there can be no culture without language and no language without culture. Culture and language or expression are one (Fonlon, 2010). In support of this claim, Toffolo and Crawford Young argues that language has long been recognized as a central aspect of identity but what has been not well appreciated is the importance and presence of bilingualism in one nation (Toffolo, 2003). . As seen in the evidence from interview in the Francophone region, they see their Anglophone brothers as ‘they’, and vice versa. The discrimination comes mostly from the use of two different languages with the French language being dominant especially in politics and administration. English language is neglected alongside he/she who uses it. This discrimination towards the Anglophones because they can’t speak the French language is one of the reasons for the violent conflict ongoing today in the country.

When conceptualizing the politics of indirect rule, South West Elites like governor Oben Peter Ashu, was strongly cultivating destructive ideologies against the North Westerners settlers in the South West region. This can be argued that the governor used this method as his political tool not

only to win the minds of the South West people but also to institutionalize the Anglophones divide for his own political gain. This political tactic gives the impression of a systematically marginalization the South Westerners, both politically and economically and are now been brought out of this state of political coma. This political behavior had both an intended and an unintended effect. The intended effect is more or less to show the administration that be that they are the deserving group of high political appointments. While on the unintended effect, it had created long term damage by creating a sense of difference in identity in the minds of the ordinary South Westerners and North Westerners. The government on it is own path, has consistently preoccupied herself with the identification of areas of differences rather than the areas of a common Anglophone desire and shared memories as a distinct people. It can also be argued that the political, economic and social injustices in the country has provided a fertile ground for Anglophone political elites to exploit cultural differences to their advantage by engaging in political discourse that highlights ethnic particularities and the importance of localities. During interviews, judging from facial expressions and voice tone in answering some particular questions, I am no phycologist but I could examine bitterness and a sense of divide amongst all three groups but the one thing they all accepted on was that there is no true democracy in the country and the ‘Whiteman’(colonial rule) is still in effect.

Conceptualizing on Nation Building, Ian Spears (2004) stipulated that for African economies to strive and meet up with the West, they need to institute democracy in their rule and governance. Democracy in Cameroon is not yet at a stage where one can say it is liberal, emphasizes equal rights and opportunities. One might argue that according to the term as described on paper, Cameroon is still to be democratized. Democracy in Cameroon is characterized with emphasizes on the importance of ethnic and regional countrymen rather than the expected national citizenship. This only goes a long way to downplaying the people’s desire for peaceful a relationship and give rise to violence. Staub (2001), asserted that political and social conditions within a nation can be a starting point for group violence, while stressing on the fact that disorganization, or great political changes often lead groups to turn against others. According to statistics, 94.9% of Ministers were Francophones and only 5.1% of Anglophones and were made Ministers with no North Westerner amongst the Ministers and Minister Delegates(Cameroon-info, 2006). Even in the true sense of democracy, there is no way the minority Anglophones which makes up only 21%, can compete in a fair election with the Francophones that is

79% (Mark W. DeLancey George Benneh, n.d.). The cultural and identity divide in the country already implanted in the minds of the people still dictates their choice in politics. With evidence from my interview, most of the South Westerners see the "Social Democratic Front" (SDF) party (which at first was viewed as an Anglophone party and later as an opposition party solely for the North Westerners) as being dominated by an ideology of force that is why even if South Westerners had joined in before, they were simply misled.

After a critical analysis of the case, a logical outcome of discordant policies at the national level as well as an expression of composite historical, political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological forces played out at the regional level. The main cause of this antagonistic opposition is found in the people's psychology as a result of past experiences and interactions amplified by opportunist elites and politicians both at the regional and national levels. Later turning into a situation that is comparable to organized crime and terrorism, where these elite group tend to benefit from the divide politically, as well as suspected outside actors. In this case, the rational and general is seen to be replaced by politics of identity in their everyday life. With the theoretical arguments that spring from the conflict situation under study, well it is important to understand that ethnicity is a special form of identification wherein group histories, cultural and traditions are enforced and have the potential for resulting to either constructive or destructive actions (Carol L. Schmid, 2001). A subjective dimension of a consciousness of being a member of a particular group as well defined from other comparable groups, and is composed with objective dimension of a name, similar shared notions of a collective past and common cultural beliefs (Schilder, 1994). When citing Michael Apples (1993), Chang, mentioned author emphasizes on the fact that race is a set of social relations historically constructed and a subject of political controversy.

CHAPTER V

Discussions, Conclusion and Suggestions

5.1 Discussions

Discourse on how ethnic groups should be recognized in politics today is in the agenda of many contemporary democratic societies (Charles Taylor, 1994). While this research is aimed at

emphasizes that it is rather the marginalization of a group's identified that can disrupts nation building. In contemporary, some post-colonial African political leaders have come to understanding that addressing this issue of their internal divide is a foundation stone to nation building that has been neglected in the past. Of course, many of them still blame this neglect on the legacy of ethnic disharmony on the colonial policy of divide and rule. As earlier mentioned, most Anglophones in Cameroon, believe that the present negative relations that exist today between the two Anglophone regions as well as the Anglophone/Francophone difference has its roots from the post-colonial policy of divide and rule by the British and the French (Fossungu, 2013). Even though advocates of a multicultural citizenship support the use of a nation's constitutional mechanisms towards the realization of a more fully inclusive participatory in politics, the case of Cameroon presents a defilement (ibid). Cameroon's unity is challenged by denial of minority identities and unsettling wounds. The 1996 Cameroon constitution that is still in use till date, promises special state protection for ethnic minorities, as clearly stated in the preamble: *'The State shall ensure the protection of minorities and shall preserve the rights of indigenous populations in accordance with the law'*. The constitution also defines identity for the country's populations as concerned not by where individuals are born or live, but by their ethnic area of origin (National Assembly, 1996). It can therefore be argued that president Paul Biya's ideology of liberal democracy in the 1990s claimed at leading to the re-inception of multi-party politics and to the idea of free/fair competition, also brought new competitive methods and heightened existing grudges and even produced new ones among different regions and ethnic groups.

The Anglophone crisis reached its peak with armed violence in it happening during an era where social media has been shown to play roles in other civil uprisings. The diaspora / social media greatly fueled this conflict psychologically. In another study, it will be interesting to research if this conflict is fueled by the diaspora and their intervention through social media in support of the separatist movement, and whether and how their strategies are effective. This idea is because during my findings, I found out that Cameroonians living outside the country tend to take part in the conflict through online mobilization on Facebook through videos, status and comments. Facebook, as well as other online platforms are more than a simple bridge linking the diaspora and the fighters on the ground. This explains the internet shutdown in the Anglophone regions by the Government in 2016 for over three months (Eyango & Roger, 2018).

My findings also show that the intra-Anglophone conflict is operating at the primary level of social relationships where the maintenance of ethnic boundary is continuously reinforced between North westerners and South westerners. The meso level especially in local market environments where social contacts and transaction take place, and also at the macro level of national political decisions, where the political mobilization of ethnic loyalty is created through political favors through neopatrimonialism. This brings us to the question of the politics of identity as the case study has brought to light the fact that disparities, tensions, and conflict arising from differences in values and patterns of identity of the three groups, tend to enhance those that arose from the differences between more serious issues of economic and political interests. The subsequent retaliation of the Anglophone community against the Francophone has been expressed through a number of social movements and political organizations. Some elite Anglophone activists pointed out that their struggle for self-determination was and is not against the Francophones, but the oppressive Biya's administration that is denying them their fundamental rights but does frustrate their political, economic and social aspiration. They describe Biya's administration as 'a government which reduces them to second class citizens'(Nfor, 2015).

5.2 Conclusion

The major concern of this thesis has been to understand the forces that serve to maintain the antagonistic sentiments between the Anglophones groups and against Francophones in Cameroon. In tracking down the conflict trend from the colonial to the post-colonial state of affairs, a good understanding of Cameroon's socio-political climate, gives the conclusive remark that in this country like other post-colonial states in Africa, people participate in political parties not because of the political ideology but because of ethnic inclination and the use of 'autonomy (through the sharing of the 'national cake') by the ruling party. This idea is terrorist to the development of the country. It's been clearly visible from the previous chapter of analysis that the conflict is shaped by a complex web of multifaceted factors which involves remote and immediate causes. we were able to see how all the past friction amongst the groups have resurfaced as the ethnic factor is mobilized by political elites in their quest for politico-economic resources. Looking at the remote causes of the antagonism, it has its roots in the people's colonial

and post-colonial experiences, while the immediate causes can be explained by critically observing the nature of politics characterized by clientelist politics, unequal sharing of power and protection by the post-colonial State. This study demonstrated that tensions are widening social divisions that have been in existence amongst the regional groups and are contributing to the formation and fueling of separate ethno-regionalist identities. The whole process thus represents some sort of deconstruction and reconstruction of group identity. In a way, the deconstruction of the Anglophone identity by both the regime in power and some Anglophone detractors within West Cameroon. In another way, a process of reconstruction of regional identities as seen especially in the South West social identity for action against aggressive immigrants.

Consequently, I acknowledge the crucial role played by identity politics in aggravating the conflict, I abstain from concluding that the politics of identity is the source of the conflictual relations existing between the Anglophones and Francophones. The theoretical argument reached here is that, the prolonged antagonism between these regional neighbors, should be seen as an expression of political, economic, and historical forces at the regional and national levels, but the engine force is now psychological, ingrained in people's mindset. Therefore, the country can create an anti-colonial movement, but this is no guarantee that it will be able to maintain national solidarity once the common enemy (The colonial power) is defeated or displaced. In this light, it becomes undoubtedly that a more basic sense of national unity is necessary. If a national solidarity is to endure, therefore the sense of belonging together-through the experience of a common destiny is needed, but this is not something no state can create overnight.

5.3 Suggestions

The current crisis in Cameroon can only have one prominent hero and that is the government. Of course, the people as a whole will have to contribute on a meso level but under the supervision of the government. To begin, the government should try looking at the root cause of this ethnic friction, which is from the colonial era. Cameroon like many other African countries and less developed ones with colonial experiences, usually faces ethnic antagonism and this greatly affects the development of the nation. The government first step should be to try in addressing this issue of regional differences especially in politics. An establishment of fair political system

of equal representation of all regions might help reduce feelings of marginalization and cultural suppression(Fossungu, 2013).

Since the conflict rose to its peak when the Anglophone lawyers demanded the use of the English common law and English Judges in the Anglophone region, it is only fair that the government comes to an understanding with the role of law in the regions.

The decentralized form of the state guaranteed by the article 1 of the constitution as well as the recognition of both English and French as official languages, can provide a legal framework for the self-determination of the Anglophone regions. The presence of these points in the constitution, make secession a debatable option, but also one which is best avoided, despite the legitimacy of the Anglophone complaints. The since the beginning of the rise of violence in the conflict, the United Nations and the Cameroonian government have not manifested a will to consider this option as a solution. Cameroon government and international actors should encourage these ethnic groups to make concessions by threatening to sanction those who support and practice any actions of ethnic discrimination.

Since the economic condition and hardship in the country is making hungry stomachs to create angry heads, it will be wise to address the economic situation in the country. From my findings, it was clear that economic opportunities are mostly located in the francophone regions while the Anglophone regions were exploited for raw materials to be processed and exported in the industrial town of Douala. The Anglophones complain of not having a share of the 'National Cake', since politics (Yaoundé) and economics (Douala) is controlled by mostly Francophones. The enforcement and strengthening of decentralization mechanisms seems to be the best solution in trying to attain an economic equilibrium between Anglophones and Francophone. The current decentralization in Cameroon, and some constitutional dispositions are not fully implemented yet.

Looking at politics, the idea of the country returning to a federal system of government might be better in reducing this ethno-regional conflict. Federalism had failed the first time only because the former president Ahmadou Ahidjo had only used it as an excuse to bring more regions under his control and then later declared a unitary state. Not trying to compare Cameroon to a more economical developed country like USA, an example can be drawn from its own neighboring country of Nigeria and their somewhat successful federal system of governance. The powers of

the Governors and the regional council remain limited for political reasons. If the government gives more control to each region on its own affairs, it might foster the self-determination of each region including the Anglophone regions.

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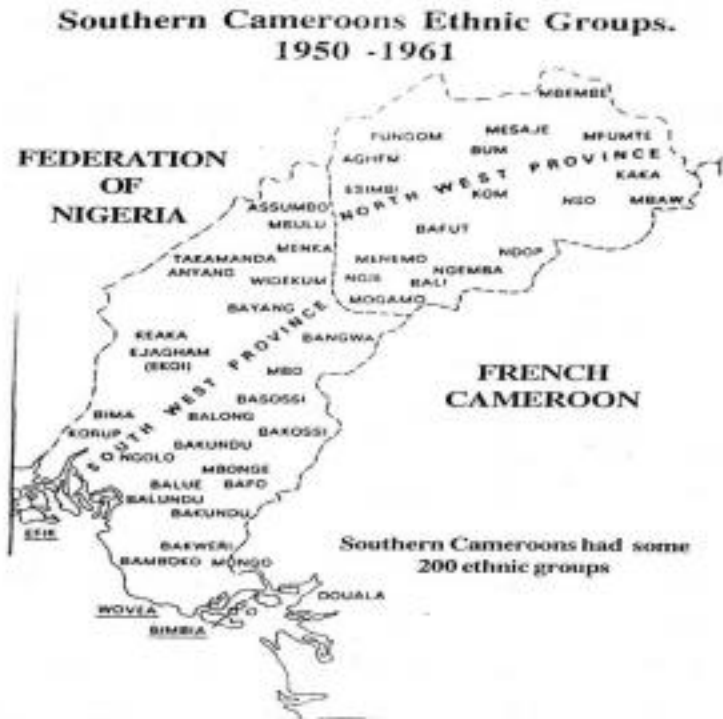
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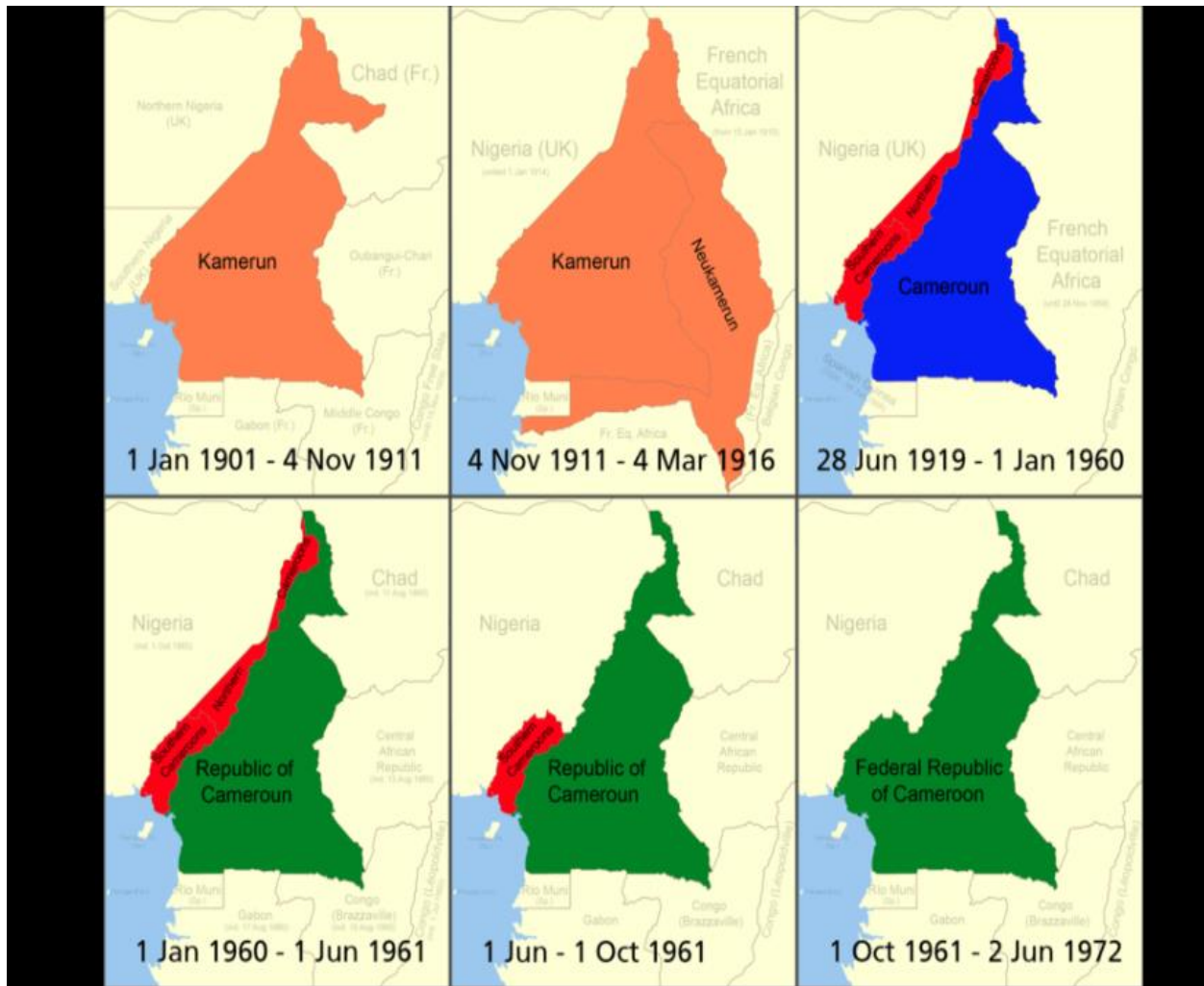
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5.5 Appendix: Maps





Kamerun
 British Cameroons
 French Cameroon (*Cameroun*)
 Independent Cameroon (*Cameroun*)

Map showing Cameroon’s Geographical evolution from colonial to present.