

# **The Role of Identity Reconstruction in the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

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## ABSTRACT

Conventionally, the Anglophone problem in Cameroon is understood loosely as a language crisis, a situation whereby there is a forceful imposition of language upon a group of people against their will (Herbert 2004). An in-depth analysis reveals not just a language crisis but justifies, my hypothesis that this recent crisis is not only based on eliminating the marginalization of the Anglophone community but essentially reconstructing the Anglophone Identity in Cameroon termed as the Anglophone Problem. It has been described as “the emergence of an Anglophone consciousness derived from the feeling of being ‘marginalized’, ‘exploited’ and ‘assimilated’ by the Francophone-dominated state in Cameroon (Konings & Nyamnjoh 1997). A vivid understanding of this crisis entails a portrayal of what it means to be an Anglophone in Cameroon. This identity was fabricated through colonial heritage based on the transfer of British culture, education, language and legal system. This perception is what formulated the Anglophone identity.

This thesis examines how this crisis seeks to reconstruct the Anglophone Identity through the reformation of language, education, culture and the legal system. It examines the marginalization and exploitation of the Anglophone Community. This study employs both quantitative and qualitative measures. It is strictly a case study design but inferences have been drawn from external cases to support or challenge the arguments made in this research.

**Keywords:** Anglophone Identity, Ethno-regionalism, Marginalization, Francophone, Perception.

## ÖZ

Geleneksel olarak, Kamerun'daki Anglofon sorunu, gevşek bir dil krizi olarak anlaşılmıştı. Bu durum, bir gruba kendi iradelerine karşı kuvvetli dilde baskı uyguluyordu (Herbert 2004). Derinlemesine bir analiz, bir dil krizine sebebiyet vermemekle birlikte, yakın tarihli uyuşmazlıkların Anglofon topluluğunun marjinalleştirilmesinin sona ermesine değil, en önemlisi Kamerun'da Anglofon Kimliği'nin toplumsal yeniden inşasına dayandırıldığı konusundaki argümanımdır. Anglofon krizi genellikle "Kamerun'da Francophone egemen devlet tarafından" marjinalize ", " sömürülen "ve" asimile "duygusundan türetilen Anglofon bilincinin ortaya çıkması olarak tanımlanır (Konings & Nyamnjoh 1997). Bu krizin canlı bir şekilde anlaşılması ancak Kamerun'da bir Anglofon olmanın ne anlama geldiğini canlandırabilir. Bu kimlik, İngiliz kültürünün, eğitimin, dilin ve hukuk sisteminin devri üzerine sömürge miras yoluyla üretildi. Anglikan kimliğini formüle eden bu algı.

Bu tez, mevcut krizde bu faktörlerin oynadığı rolü analiz ederek, krizin dil, eğitim, kültür ve hukuk sisteminin yeniden yapılandırılması yoluyla Anglosfon Kimliği'ni nasıl yeniden yapılandırmaya çalışacağını inceleyecektir. Ayrıca, Anglosfon Topluluğu'nun marjinalleştirilmesi ve sömürülmesi yönlerini ağırlaştıran diğer faktörleri de inceleyecektir. Bu çalışma nicel ve nitel yöntemlerin bileşenleri kullanılacağı için karma bir araştırma metodu kullanacaktır. Kesinlikli bir vaka çalı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Anglofon Kimliği, Etno-bölgeselleşme, Marjinalleşme, Francophone, Algılama

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to God Almighty who gave me the will and strength and to the Anglophone Community of Cameroon.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AAC I	All Anglohone Conference 1
AAC II	All Anglophone Conference 2
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights
AU	African Union
ALCAM	Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun
CACSC	Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium
CAM	Cameroon Anglophone Movement
CDC	Cameroon Development Corporation
CIMA	Inter African Conference on Insurance Market
CNU	Cameroon National Union
CPDM	Cameroon's People Democratic Movement
CPNC	Cameroon People's National Congress
CUC	Cameroon United Congress
EU	European Union
GCE	General Certificate of Education
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
MORISC	Movement of the Restoration of the Independence of Southern Cameroon
NOWELA	North West Lawyers Association
OHADA	The Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa
OK	One Kamerun
SCACUF	Southern Cameroon Ambazonia United Front

SCAPO	Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SCNC	Southern Cameroons National Council
SCYL	Southern Cameroon Youth League
SWELA	SouthWest Elite Association
SONARA	Societe Nationale De Raffinage
TAC	Cameroon Teachers Association
TAPAC	Cameroon Teachers and Parents Association
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background Information

Cameroon was an ex-German colony (1884-1922) and a mandate and trust territory (1922-1960/61) to Britain and France, under the guidance of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization respectively. This country is often described as “Africa Miniature” and the most relatively peaceful country in Central Africa. Even though the region has witnessed severe political upheavals, civil wars as well as terrorist attacks in recent decades, Cameroon had managed to maintain a relatively peaceful state while surrounded by this chaotic environment in spite of the intense internal sociocultural diversity until the late 2000s.

In this last decade, Cameroon transformed from a relatively peaceful state into a politically unstable country as it has been faced with a series of political and civil manifestations with the most notorious being the Anglophone Crisis which can be traced back to the 1919 Simon-Milner treaty. This agreement which officially divided Cameroon into the British and French Cameroon laid the groundwork for, and consolidated the creation of two distinct identities based on colonial heritage (Nghoh 1996). By 1960, both Cameroons had full blown distinct identities which had been crafted and reinforced through the inheritance of British and French cultural, institutional, legal, educational and social values (Benjamin 1972). Although both Cameroons eventually merged through the 1961 plebiscite, the impact and

significance of their distinct identities was the main reason why this merger resulted in a federated state.

Unfortunately, the unequal and illegal agreement signed at the 1961 Foumban Conference as some scholars such as Professor Ondo Magloire have argued, is the premise of the Anglophone Problem. Today, the Anglophone problem is understood as;

“The feeling of being marginalized, exploited and treated as second class citizens and constantly violating constitutional rights ascribed to the Anglophone community. These constitutional provisions were made to serve as the basis for the preservation of the Anglophone inherited identity. This consistent disregard and mistreatment is what has climaxed into the Anglophone Problem today (Konings & Nyamnjoh 1997).

Interestingly, given that the Anglophone Problem has always been advertised on the basis of marginalization, there has been little or no emphasis of the impact of identity on this problem. However, some international entities still recognized the Anglophone Problem, in line with identity preservation through self-determination. This was the case with the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO). This organization actively campaigned in 2005 for the release of Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) Activists who had been jailed for spearheading demonstrations. A remarkable recognition ensued from the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in 2009 which did not only acknowledge the discrimination and marginalization of the Anglophone Community but further reiterated that the Anglophone Community in Cameroon constituted a people in International Law (Mehler 2014), thereby affirming their right to self-determination. The intensification of the Anglophone Crisis as the case is, currently stems from the government's lack of political will to recognize not only the claim of marginalization

but most importantly the failure to consolidate the core values that give legitimacy and foundation to the Anglophone Identity.

The premise of this thesis is to argue that the end goal for the Anglophone Community during this crisis is not just the elimination of marginalization but most importantly the reconstruction of the Anglophone identity. Identity Reconstruction in this context can be defined *“as a process of restoration which requires revamping and reigniting the norms, values and institutions that give legitimacy to an identity. It operates on reinstating and preserving these norms in order to avoid a severe dilution or consequent extinction of this identity.”*

## **1.2 Statement of problem**

In recent decades, the focus of the international community in promoting peace has been mostly within states than between states primarily because the constant threats to world peace recently are emanating from within states. Although some scholars argue that these interventions violate state sovereignty, the growing number of ethnic based conflicts is a call for concern that warrants international intervention especially in the most lethal case such as the Rwandan Genocide of 1994. Seemingly, what could be given more consideration should be identifying the early signs of ethnic conflict such as exploitation, marginalization, discrimination and suppression by one group of people over another. Though not all ethnic manifestations with these characteristics necessarily culminates in a lethal ethnic conflict, it cannot be denied that majority of the most fatal ethnic conflicts that the world has experienced in recent decades built up on these factors to which the Anglophone crisis is no exemption. While the forgoing analysis focuses on the Anglophone Crisis in



Cameroon, it is not a state- society analysis it is more of a regime- community analysis.

Samuel Huntington's foresight in his "Clash of Civilizations" portrays one fundamental revelation. He unearths that the cause of contemporary conflicts will not be power driven but identity politics. Given that identity politics still suffers from under research, Huntington's prediction has not been able to tardy the growing level of identity based conflicts. Worst still is the contention that its early signs (marginalization, discrimination, exploitation) are still relegated and most often overlooked at the early stages. This analysis assumes that in most cases there is a relationship between these early signs and most identity based conflicts .Given that the target is often a group of people with an identity such as the Anglophone Community in Cameroon; it is understandable why most ethnic groups/minorities often lobby for international recognition and self-determination. This is because their objective is often to consolidate and preserve their identities. This claim is often associated with the principle of self-determination as stipulated in Article 20 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights.

### **1.3 Research Question**

This research will answer the following questions;

- What is the Anglophone Problem?
- What is the perception of the Anglophone Identity by Cameroonians?
- How has the role of identity reconstruction manifested itself in the ongoing Anglophone Crisis?

## **1.4 Objective of the study**

This study intends to showcase generally the early signs of identity based conflicts by using the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon as the case study. It also seeks to understand the type, nature and aim of the Anglophone Crisis. Given that identity based conflicts have become the most rampant form of conflict in recent years, the focus on how to manage and prevent them relies much on the examination of what causes these conflicts in the first place. As earlier mentioned, a close observation of recent intrastate conflicts reveals a direct relationship between some form of marginalization, economic exploitation and subordination that often leads to such conflicts. This is argued by Micheal Hechter in his *“Theory of Internal Colonialism”*.

Specifically, this study aims at;

1. Establishing that the Anglophone crisis is not just a fight against marginalization per se.
2. Provide confirmation or otherwise that this conflict while fighting against marginalization is invested in reconstructing the Anglophone Identity.

This research will examine the perception of the Anglophone Community and its need for identity reconstruction as well as other underlying factors that have contributed to the outburst of this crisis. Upon completion, this research will provide evidence that will either confirm or reject the claim that the Anglophone Problem while fighting against marginalization is more invested in the restoration and preservation of values and norms that shaped the Anglophone Identity, inherited from their colonial master-Britain.

## **1.5 Hypothesis**

The cause of the Anglophone Problem is not just marginalization but the quest for the reconstruction of the Anglophone identity. The concept of identity reconstruction operates on the notions of preservation and restoration of the values, norms and institutions that give legitimacy to the Anglophone identity.

## **1.6 Research Design**

### **1.6.1 Case Study Design**

In recent years, the use of case study design has drastically increased in the field of international relations even though it is often viewed in the discipline as methodically underdeveloped (Maoz 2002). Yet its consistent use in the field is based on the observation that it provides a thorough review of recent and unclear phenomenon without necessarily dismantling the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events (Yin 2009). Its compound use has been stretched to the domain of comparative design as well as being mixed with other designs in order to provide more solid understanding to certain events, phenomenon and actors.

Many authors such as Moses Knutson, Lipson, Bennett and George have advanced several diverse descriptions as to what a case is, yet they all converge on the point that case study designs focus on events, phenomenon or actors that are historical or contemporary. However, Gerring advances a definition which reflects ardently the purpose of this forgoing study. He defines case study as “*an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a large class of similar units.*” Case study design is extremely relevant to this study precisely because of the contemporary nature of the study and secondly it will help show the early signs of

ethnic conflict which are not only specific to the Anglophone Problem but also, to other ethnic conflicts around the world.

## **1.7 Methods of data collection**

Both qualitative and quantitative methods shall be employed in this research. The qualitative methods will involve mainly the use of content from documents from relevant scholars, analysts and writers as well other useful secondary materials with important insights to the subject matter.

### **1.7.1 Episodic and Running Records**

This thesis will be using episodic and running records as the two forms for qualitative models to the research mainly because it renders flexibility. It is easily accessible and less time consuming. This involves the extraction of relevant materials from documents, reports or records as sources to the research. But unlike content analysis these extracted excerpts are not converted to numerical measures, they are used as extracted. Lee (2000) describes and distinguishes both sub methods as continuous (running records) and discontinuous (episodic records) information recorded of a society. Webbs et al (1966) in a similar fashion classify both categories as *“running the ongoing or continuing records of a society while the episodic records are the discontinuous and usually part of the public record.”* Johnson and Reynolds in defining both categories highlight their components. They emphasize that episodic records are mostly casual, personal and accidental in the form of memoirs, autobiographies, manuscripts, correspondence etc. while running records are mostly produced by international organization and carefully preserved.

Even though both categories are easily accessible and will facilitate the process of this thesis, in terms of timeframe, one factor that cannot be overlooked in using these

methods is that it is most often biased as it is guided by the writer's view. Therefore, in trying to create a balanced research, quantitative methods will be used in the form of questionnaires.

### **1.7.2 Questionnaires**

Given that the thesis is based on perceptions, the use of questionnaires and surveys facilitates this avenue and portrays clearly what people think. This will involve the use of a semi open-ended questionnaire distributed specifically to the Cameroonian community based in North Cyprus. These questionnaires will not necessarily impose an expected answer but provide the respondent with a direction. According Balnaves, Mark and Caputi 2001 these surveys are a method of collecting data from people about who they are, how they think (motivations and beliefs) and what they do (behavior). In essence, this research will be employing a mixed methodological structure not just for the purpose of flexibility but also to ensure a non-biased, balanced and reliable outcome.

### **1.8 Sources of Data**

This research will utilize data from library, book, documentaries, academic writings, memoirs, autobiographies, journals, reports, televised programs, debates and opinion surveys.

### **1.9 Significance of Study**

Regional stability has become a major problem in the central Africa but even with this turbulence, Cameroon had managed to maintain a “tensioned peace atmosphere” within the country. There is a need to provide a swift comprehensive solution to the Anglophone problem but this can only be done by understanding what the Anglophone Problem is, and its course of direction which by all indications the

incumbent regime lacks, either because of misinterpretation, oversight or lack of political will to address the situation.

However, given that the country is under terrorist attacks from the North by Boko Haram, together with the vulnerability of its external neighbors, Cameroon faces an eminent threat of a civil war breakout if the Anglophone Crisis is not effectively managed. The outcome will be a potential power vacuum and hub for terrorist activities as a result of a war torn country. Therefore, the significance of this research cannot be over emphasized because this research has the capacity of providing a vivid insight and understanding of the Anglophone problem to avoid future irrevocable damage to the country.

### **1.10 Limitation of study**

The focus of this study is the ongoing Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. However this study faces a series of challenges:

- Firstly, this study lacks the necessarily finances needed to boost this project. A critical understanding of this crisis requires the researcher's presence on ground which is impossible.
- Secondly, given that it is an ongoing crisis, employing an on ground analysis runs a huge security risk as the government is tightening the release of information. Also the risk of being arrested is very high.
- Furthermore, the sample size of this survey is relatively small and may not really portray a better picture of the perception of Anglophones in Cameroon in general.
- Also given that the crisis is ongoing, information is constantly evolving and changing.

- Lastly, the time factor does not give room for an elaborate research so this research will only be looking at the main subject matter even though an elaborate research is much needed at this time.
- This is not a state/society analysis it is mostly within the context of regime/community analysis.

### **1.11 Organization of Study**

Generally, this study will be classified in five chapters. This chapter covers the overall research structure, giving a preview of the pending research proper. The second chapter indulges into the related literature review and theoretical framework that gives basis for the study of identity based conflicts generally and to the Anglophone Crisis specifically. Chapter three will give an in-depth understanding of the core arguments of the research being primarily “*the perception of the Anglophone identity*”. Chapter four will dive into the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in order to support or reject the hypothesis and lastly chapter five will deal with recommendation and predictions of the way forward of the Anglophone Crisis and finally the conclusion.

### **1.12 An Overview of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

The Anglophone Problem is usually described as the emergence of an Anglophone consciousness derived from the feeling of being ‘marginalized’, ‘exploited’ and assimilated by the Francophone-dominated state (Konings and Nyamnjoh 1997). According to the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary an Anglophone refers to an English speaking person especially in countries where English is not the only spoken language. Whereas, a Francophone is define by the same dictionary as a person who speaks French as their first language. These definitions help in understanding the

different communities that evolved in Cameroon after colonization as reflected in the historical review.

This conflict can be traced back to 1884 when Cameroon was annexed by Germany. Upon Germany's defeat in World War I, it forfeited its colonies to the victorious powers which brought Cameroon under the rule of France and Britain as a mandate under the League of Nations and then a trust territory with the supervision of the United Nations. With the change in authority, came the division of Cameroon under the French and the British in what was known as the Milner-Simon 1919 (Elango 1985). This divide is the foundation of the Anglophone problem. However, this problem remained dormant until the 1960s when the decolonization process was activated in Africa. Upon decolonization, French Cameroon was granted independence on the 1st January 1960, while British Cameroon was asked in a Referendum organized by the UN to join either French Cameroon (La République Du Cameroun) or Nigeria. The outcome of this referendum saw the further split of British Cameroon as the Northern part joined Nigeria and the southern part joined French Cameroon (Percival 2008).

After this referendum, British southern Cameroons joined La République du Cameroun in a centralized federal system of government which was meant to preserve the identities and colonial legacies of both parties. This union was officiated in the Foumban conference of 1961 where the unequal terms of the federation were signed. This created the first pillars of the Anglophone problem as sentiments of betrayal and marginalization began to set in on the Anglophone community. Until this point, the conflict remained dormant but accumulated grievances stirred up tension that could not manifest in an active conflict as there was no elite participation



that fought against the marginalization of the Anglophones in Cameroon (Konings and Nyamnjoh 2004). Tensions heightened in 1972 under, when the authoritarian rule of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the federal state was abolished and transformed into a unitary state without a Union Act to legalize this union. At this point, the marginalization of the Anglophone community had been established (Engelbert 2009).

However, the change in political authority saw the rise of Paul Biya as the new president of the United Cameroon. This somehow instigated a possibility for a new order one which involved the Anglophone Community, especially with the birth of his political party, Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) at the time under a single party system, in Bamenda which is the heart of the Anglophone community in Cameroon. Unfortunately, this yielded no fruitful considerations from the new regime, rather it created an outburst of accumulative grievances which set the Anglophone community in a different political direction. In 1990 the first Anglophone opposition party (Social Democratic Front) was founded despite heavy military oppression from the regime. It was headed by an Anglophone by name John Fru Ndi. This was an official declaration of divergence in political aspirations with regards to the aspect of self-determination most especially for the Anglophone Community. The feeling of marginalization became consolidated in 1992 when the first Multiparty Presidential Elections which was allegedly in favor of the Anglophone led opposition party (SDF) was rigged to maintain (CPDM) the incumbent party (Nkwi 2010). This immediately sparked demonstrations and secessionist tendencies ensued, unfolding the Anglophone crisis into an active conflict with the SCNC (Southern Cameroon National Council) as its first political

actor. Thereafter, a series of manifestations were triggered beginning with the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) which openly challenged the government and closely followed by the Southern Cameroons Youths League (SCYL) which launched an armed struggle though unsuccessful. SCAPO (Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization) took over the struggle when it attempted twice to declare southern Cameroons as an independent state in 1999 and 2006. With these unsuccessful attempts, active conflict in the Anglophone crisis turned to the use of judicial settlement where the government was taken to the African Court of Human Rights and though this court acknowledged their right to self-determination nothing constructive was achieved (Mehler 2014).

Many had thought that the Anglophone Problem had run out its course when uprisings sparked up in October 2016, this time led by the Anglophone lawyers' and teachers' association which questioned the government's constant neglect of the issues plaguing the Anglophone systems of law and education. Demonstrations in a peaceful protest turned into confrontations between police and civilians when the peaceful protest was brutally stifled by the police officers leaving 6 deaths and several injured. The response from the Anglophone community was tremendous as they resulted in "Ghost town" boycotts organized by the Anglophone Civil Society Consortium which stands at the forefront of the struggle. Talks held earlier in 2017 between the Prime Minister Philemon Yang and the Consortium Leaders proved abortive as demands made by the Consortium were not met and this led to the banning of the Consortium, arrest of its leaders, shutdown of internet connection and heavy militarization in the Anglophone regions since 17th January 2017. Now the position is one demanding a return to the federal system or complete secession. Due

to the government's lack of political will to resolve the issue "GHOST TOWN" protests still continue. The latest development in this crisis is the emergence of SCACUF (Southern Cameroon Ambazonia Consortium United Front) which stands for the complete liberation of Anglophone part of Cameroon known (Southern Cameroon) and it is a combination of all the earlier mentioned groups that have emerged in the struggle.

Given the international pressure that has befallen the regime, the main leaders of the Consortium were released and legal proceedings were suspended in August 2017. This was done in anticipation of the 1st October which most Southern Cameroonians (Ambazonians) refer to as their independence day (the day of the referendum). This move was carried out by the regime to subdue the declaration of Independence which was to take place on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 2017. Unfortunately, these measures were abortive and the 1<sup>st</sup> October resulted in a massive blood bath whereby Anglophones were killed and arrested for celebrating this alleged Independence Day. According to Mr. Wirba, an SDF Parliamentarian in an interview granted on the program titled, "*The Inside*" broadcasted by Equinox Television on the 6<sup>th</sup> November 2017, a private broadcasting firm in Cameroon, as a result of these alleged Independence Day celebration 120 persons were killed, 150 persons missing (cannot be traced or contacted) 1894 persons were injured, at least 16000 people internally displaced and a great number of Cameroonians residing as refugees in the Cross River State of Nigeria. This incident will forever mark the history of Cameroon. Since then, massive arrests have been orchestrated with many reportedly missing as the two regions of the Anglophone community have remained under blockade.

As of time of writing, no statements have been made by the government with regards to this new development. However, a visit by the UN Secretary General, Mr. Antonio Guterres in the last week of October caused a mild demilitarization of the Anglophone region but no concrete solutions have been achieved even with the international community's constant call for genuine dialogue. Much attention has been focused on what is to be done to resolve this conflict.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This study assesses scholarly writings on the issue of identity based conflicts in general and particularly on the case of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. This review while guided by the objectives of this research constructs a specific understanding of the main concepts in this study in order to avoid the terminological and practical misuse of concepts as is often the case when analyzing different types of conflicts and their characteristics. The Anglophone Crisis is very critical to this assessment as the ability to identify strategically what concept fits the Anglophone Crisis is tantamount to its resolution. An understanding of why identity reconstruction as an essential factor will be more vivid when this crisis is contextualized. In this case Identity reconstruction refers to *“a process of restoration which requires revamping and preserving the norms, values and institutions that give legitimacy to an identity. It operates on reinstating and preserving these norms in order to avoid a severe dilution or consequent extinction of this identity.”*

#### 2.1 A Brief Overview of Identity Based Conflicts

Ordinarily, the mainstream attention that is shone on identity based conflicts will draw one to think that this issue is nascent. However, while identity based conflicts can be traced back to the beginning of human existence, its predominance lately is as a result of the quest for self-determination by most ethnic groups. This is challenging” the sovereignty status quo” as the need to eliminate threats and to

maintain world peace is gradually transcending national borders; hence the spotlight on identity based conflicts. Most authors in the field of identity politics agree that identities are paramount to understanding identity based conflict be it at an interpersonal, community, cultural, organizational or international level. Northrup (1989) argues that when conflict threatens identity it becomes intractable. She defines identity as *“a psychological sense of self as well as the manner in which one relates to the world.”*

Defining identity based conflict can be complex. Jay Rothman addresses this complexity through highlighting the qualities of identity based conflicts by contrasting it with interest based conflicts. He argues that; *“Identity based conflicts are usually strengthened by historical, cultural or psychological factors based on parties’ values or beliefs and shared history. He adds that conflicts as such, tend to threaten the people’s basic needs and immediate survival. They are most often abstract, ambiguous and intangible while interest based conflicts focus more on material disputes which tend to be more concrete with issues being clearly defined and the potential for mutual benefit more obvious.”*

Otherwise, Rapoport (1974) and Smyth (1994) defines identity based conflicts by distinguishing issue oriented conflicts from structure oriented conflicts. Rapoport argues that issue oriented conflicts are specific and are resolved when the issue concerned is addressed and warrants no system reformation but Smyth adds that structure oriented conflicts portray an attack/defense mechanism on the legitimacy of institutions in a system. Such conflicts involve a situation whereby institutional structures reflect unduly the identity of one group (in group) more than the other (out group) within a jurisdiction. This transforms institutions into carriers of the

stereotyped beliefs of the group whose identity is unduly reflected making the system impervious to negotiation and structural reform demanded by the out group. The outcome usually results in a demand for autonomy either full or limited by the out group on the basis that their values and concerns are ignored and their identity is not respected. They demand for an overall redistribution of power in the system and in most drastic cases press for secession (as is in the case of Cameroon) from the government (Smyth 1994). In essence, certain identity based conflicts tend to be fueled by institutions. These institutions which are meant to be identity balanced in cases of diversity rather tend to be identity selective causing one group to develop a sense of inferiority and marginalization. This imbalance often stirs a demand for change and recognition and if not managed properly, it inevitably transforms into an identity based conflict.

However, Kriesberg (1989) argues that for an inter-group conflict to take place, the opponents must have a collective identity about themselves and their adversary with each party believing that the fight is between “Us against them”. He advances that most often such conflicts become intractable based on the type of and nature of identity attached to them. These types of identity involve primary identity, persistent identity, inclusive identity, non-compromising identity, nationality, victimhood and adversarial identities. These identities are shaped by the internal dynamics of each group, the relationship with the opponent groups and the social context of every group’s interaction.

Overwhelmingly, Smyth’s analysis seems to fit the case of the Anglophone crisis as, the institutions(administration/regime) are the main elements spearheading the crisis with discriminatory policies. There is a gross imbalance in the political distribution

of power between the Francophone and Anglophone communities in Cameroon. Djeudo (2013) argues that there is a very high form of political elitism (where political power is heavily vested in single political elite) in Cameroon. This imbalance in distribution of political power is not only at the institutional and statutory level but also extends into the informal distribution of political influence within the society. An extension of this argument in the context of Cameroon portrays a spillover of political elitism into tribalism whereby the political elite in this case (President Paul Biya) uses his status to elevate his community (Francophone community) to the disadvantage of the Anglophone Community causing the “us against them effect “.

Rothman’s analysis of identity based/interest based conflicts depicts the transformations experienced in the Anglophone Crisis. Initially, the conflict was an interest based conflict whereby teachers and lawyers tabled specific complaints about the rules and norms governing these various sectors. Negligence or lack of willingness on the part of the administration to resolve these issues reinforced the existing feeling of marginalization which was already overbearing in the Anglophone community (keep in mind that the legal and educational systems are important consolidators of the Anglophone Identity as we shall see in the next chapter). This evidently created a sense of threat to identity which transformed the conflict from an interest based to an identity based conflict as we see it today.

Ordinarily, while there is constant misuse of the concepts of identity based and interest based conflict when trying to analyze conflicts, it should be noted that their differences are not often very clear because as examined above most interest based conflicts often transform into identity based conflicts while certain identity based



conflict can be reduced down to interest based conflicts especially at the point of resolution.

## **2.2 Analyzing the Anglophone Crisis through Hechter's Modernist theory of Internal Colonialism**

Ozkirimli (2000) analyses theories of nationalism under three different categories (primordialism, modernism and ethno symbolism). To him, these schools explain in various dimensions why people are attached to and will protect their identities in the event of identity based conflicts. He advances that primordialists consider identity to be inherent while ethno symbolists hold that identity is derived from symbols, myths and values. Modernists on the other hand believe that identity (nations or groups of people) evolved with the advent of modernization. The theory of internal colonialism which provides the theoretical framework for this research stems from the modernist perspective that highlights that identities are intrinsic to nations as nations are to modernism. Hence identity based conflicts have become predominant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a result of the nation state project (Hagg and Kagwanja 2007).

### **2.2.1 Hechter's theory of internal colonialism**

This study gives a better understanding of the Anglophone Problem by drawing explanations from a theoretical perspective provided by Michael Hechter in his modernist narrative of ethnic conflicts, internal colonialism and assimilation in arousing peripheral nationalism. The term 'internal colonialism' was first introduced by Russian populist and later by Lenin and Gramsci to describe peasant exploitation but most prominently and contemporarily by Hechter in understanding nationalism (Ozkirimli 2000). It is worth mentioning that the link between the core and periphery concepts used in explaining internal colonialism are borrowed from the dependency theory which sought to explain the reasons behind underdevelopment in the less

developed countries by drawing a relationship in the unequal exchange that existed between the imperialists (core) and colonies (peripheries). However, the core and periphery in this context is within a nation state and not between two states.

Internal Colonialism as a notion refers to structural, economic, political and cultural inequalities that exist between regions in a given state and it is characterized by the uneven distribution of economic resources, higher exploitation of the peripheries within the state mostly as a result of free play of market forces or economic policies which have intended or unintended effects on the given regions (Hechter 1975). There are vast cultural differences between the core and periphery (Hechter 1999a). Besides the uneven economic, political and cultural development, other factors such as religion, language, physical appearances and types and levels of technology also contribute to and may have greater influence on internal colonialism in a given state (Howe 2002).

Hechter argues in his internal colonialism model that due to continuous contact between the core and the periphery, the core will increasingly dominate the periphery politically and exploit it economically and this will eventually lead to uneven development rather than national development. This was a rebuttal to the assimilationist perspective with regards to dealing with problems of ethnic conflicts at the time in America. The assimilationists postulated that continuous contact between the core and periphery will assimilate the peripheral culture, diffuse development and eventually create a homogenous identity eliminating cultural differentiation. However, Hechter advanced that this uneven wave of national development will result in the creation of an “advanced” and “less advanced” group

within the state with the advanced group ensuring the maintenance of its fortuitous advantages through the institutionalization of the existing stratification system. The economy of the periphery is totally dependent on the core as decisions on trade and investment are taken by the core while the core enjoys a diverse industrial system. If there is any form of peripheral industrialization, it is geared towards exportation subjecting the peripheral economy to fluctuations in the international market. This economic dependence is maintained though political and military measures, living standards are lower and discrimination is reinforced on the basis of language, religion and other cultural forms on daily basis (Hechter 1999a).

He adds that the advanced group also regulates the allocation of social roles by keeping more influential roles and preventing the less advanced group from accessing these roles. He calls this “cultural division of labor” and he notes that this can be carried out *de facto* by active state intervention to ensure such differentiation of roles and *de jure* through discriminatory policies that favor the advanced groups through the use of institutions. This cultural division of labor causes individuals to identify with their various groups thereby enforcing the growth of distinctive ethnic identification. They tend to identify themselves with the range of roles they are expected to play. Aided by what Hechter calls “the visible signs”, there is emergence of group solidarity driven by a sense of collective oppression from substantial economic inequality together with a social awareness of the situation being defined as unjust and illegitimate. The result is high resistance to political integration, increased solidarity in the periphery due to increased communication and greater intergroup differences resulting from the distinctive peripheral culture. This asserts awareness in the disadvantaged groups who view start viewing their culture as equal

or even superior to that of the core. This eventually creates the feeling of separateness of their nation and the call for independence.

Hechter's theory of internal colonialism has been criticized severally for its factual inconsistencies especially by ethno symbolists such as Anthony D. Smith. They hold that his theory does not apply to the case studies he used in his theory but this theory fits when applied to the case of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon. Rather the only exception derived in the case of Cameroon is that this theory does not analyze any divisions that may occur within the less advanced groups affecting the issue of solidarity within the group. This is the case with Cameroon as one of the main obstacles to the achievement of self-determination by Southern Cameroon (Ambazonia as preferred by the secessionists) is the lack of solidarity amongst its communities and this serves as an advantage for the regime which constantly uses the policy of divide and rule to keep the periphery (Southern Cameroon) weak.

However, Hechter's *Theory of Internal Colonialism* gives a splendid narrative and fits well with the case of Cameroon as it adequately portrays the aspects of marginalization and discrimination that is experienced by the Anglophone Community. Although this theory doesn't explain much on the role of identity reconstruction, it gives a foundation for the formation of identity where by the segregation in language, culture and participation in top decision making procedures in the country creates this collective feeling of marginalization and forges an identity on the basis of not only linguistic and cultural differences but also on collective victimhood (Kriesberg 1989).

## **2.3 Historical Construction of the Anglophone Identity**

The traditional view is that identity is derived from culture or language, symbols and myths as ethno-symbolists have argued and inherent as primordialists presume. This assessment has gained acceptance in many identity based conflict as the cause of conflicts most often have been to preserve identity acquired in this manner as can be observed in the Bosnian case. Modernists argue that nations are intrinsic to modernism which falls in line with the Anglophone case in Cameroon, however they do not rebuff the argument that identity formation and bonding lies in ethnic and cultural ties, language, symbols and shared history. These are responsible for shaping distinct identities as is the general assumption.

The Anglophone identity in terms of construction perhaps might be a distinct and peculiar one when the general presumptions of identity formation are taken into consideration. Konnings and Nyamnjoh (2003) have argued that colonial borders, reunification and the post-colonial state project of nation-state formation are responsible for the construction of the distinct identities in Cameroon.

### **2.3.1 Colonial Heritage**

In accordance with his view, I argue that colonial heritage also played an outstanding role in building the Anglophone identity. This section, in addition to the role of colonial legacy looks at the specific elements that accounts for the construction of the Anglophone identity prior to and after the nation state project. Colonial legacy can be traced back to 1884 in Cameroon. After the forfeiture of German colonies to the victorious powers of the Second World War, Kamerun (now Cameroon) came under the protectorate of the British and French (Gardinier, 1963; Le Vine, 1964; Joseph, 1977). Their administration of the territory was facilitated by dividing it into two

separate territories in what was known as the Silmon-Milner Agreement of 1919 (Nghoh 1996). He adds that the British took 1/5<sup>th</sup> (British Northern and Southern Cameroons) while the French took 4/5<sup>th</sup> (French Cameroon). To facilitate administration Britain jointly administered one part (Southern Cameroons) together with the Eastern part of Nigeria.

The systems of administration used by the colonial masters greatly accounts for the distinct identities inherent in Cameroon. This is because the identity based conflict in Cameroon presently is not one that resulted from a need to preserve identities natural inherited from ethnic belongings but one that was molded by colonial legacy. Keep in mind that Cameroon has over 163 linguistically identifiable ethnic groups with at least 65 belonging to the British Cameroons (Le vine 1964) at the time. These ethnic groups have different cultural, linguistic and power distribution mechanisms that make it very difficult to fuse all into one ethnic group. However, the British did so brilliantly through the use of indirect rule whereby the British colonial government formulated and implemented policies on the indigenous people of British Southern Cameroons through their local leaders. This system allowed for autonomy and preservation of the traditional institutions unlike the French system of assimilation (Chiabi 1997).

In an effort to promote development in these indigenous areas, the British Anglo-Saxon system of education was introduced (keep in mind that the British Southern Cameroons was administered jointly with the Southern Part of Nigeria so British Southern Cameroonians actively participated in these institutions in Nigeria). This system was enriched with the capacity to implement renovations, independent thinking and check and balances to ensure growth that was in line with the constant

changes in development. Several scholars have argued that education places a strategic role in identity formation. Perhaps, the earliest and most prominent scholar to highlight the role of education in society was Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) in his widely acclaimed work, *“Prison Notebooks”*. He stated that education is a field where theory and practice, culture and politics inevitably merge together (Monasta 1993). Although he was more interested in the hegemonic ideologies of the ruling class (whereby the ruling ideas in a system are determined and maintained by the ruling class through the use of formal and informal institutions), it is still very relevant to the personal and collective identity formation processes that occur within a system. Gramsci argued that the ideas of a ruling class were molded into an ideology and with the use of informal and formal institutions (schools, churches, and civil society groups) this ideology was implanted into the society. This became inherent in the society’s everyday administration and heavily impacted on the type of personal and collective identities that were formed thereof. Furthermore, Inglehart and Welsel (2010) buttress the role of education on identity formation processes through the use of modernization. All along, the argument underlying the theoretical perspective of this research is that identity politics such as the Anglophone Crisis are as a result of nation-state building which is intrinsic to modernism. In this context, Inglehart and Welsel (2010) define modernization as moving from “traditional values” to “secular-rational value” and from “survival values to “self-expression values”. The British Anglo-Saxon educational system facilitated these modernization transitions and in the process, created enhanced and consolidated the Anglophone identity. Desjardins (2015) also argues that while education is crucial to identity formation, the socio-political and socio-cultural environment within which it is delivered is also very important. The sociopolitical and sociocultural environment of

the British Southern Cameroon was not one of colonial dominance and assimilation as was the case in the French system rather it was one of indirect rule where aspects of modernization were fused with traditional values systems. While education was inherited, it was not subjective or assimilatory as the earlier mentioned environments provided room for critical and independent thinking. This was reflected in the Anglophone identity that emerged thereafter. Given the ethnic and cultural diverse nature of the Anglophone Community, education served as a tool to harmonize the Anglophone identity and the negative impacts of multiculturalism. Kastrati (2016) also made this observation while examining the role of education on Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo. In essence different types of systems of education (formal or informal) always have a direct impact on the personal and collective identity outcome of a society in which the Anglophone community just like the Serbs, Albanians or South Africans is no exception.

In addition, the British common law system was also introduced to maintain peace and order. What is peculiar about the common law is that it is built on a cultural commitment to the rule of law and institutional checks (i.e. independent judiciary and separation of powers) which protects individuals from expropriation by the state while fostering a high degree of legitimacy (Geschiere 1993). This system and its institutions is what has regulated the British Cameroons in practice (shall be examined in details in the next chapter) before independence and in theory after independence. The question derived from here is; how is the Anglophone identity formation process affected by the rule of law in this case the Common Law system? To answer this question, I liken the Anglophone experiment and identity to a broader context the European Union. According to Bellucci et al. (2012), the EU, is a distinct



institution whose member states do not necessarily share the same culture, language, religion and national history. Likewise, on a smaller scale and as earlier mentioned the constituencies of the Anglophone community in Cameroon do not share these same traits. It is in this regard that the concept of the Anglophone identity needed some adaptations and modifications. Oshri et al. (2016) states that in order for the EU to create a uniform identity it produced the *Declaration of the European Identity*. This identity was founded on the principle of representative democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights. What is of interest in the Anglophone context is the rule of law. The Common Law System as earlier mentioned is one that provides for the separation of powers with autonomous checks and balance and this system was what governed the Anglophone community under British Colonial rule and it prevented the exploitation of individuals by the state unlike the French civil law system where there is high concentration of power in the executive with little or no room for modification. This system of law had huge impact on the identity formation process as a result of its core values. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that upon reunification with La République Du Cameroun in 1960, the Anglophone Community (British Southern Cameroon) opted to retain this system of law as it had become part of their identity.

### **2.3.2 Post-colonial Nation Building Process**

The post-colonial nation state building process only reinforced the Anglophone identity. The form of state that had been chosen by both parties reflected the need for the preservation of cultural and colonial heritage. Although both has different ideologies as to what form of state (La République Du Cameroun opted and imposed a centralized federation which was intended to serve as a transition into a unitary state while the British Southern Cameroons opted for a loose federation with both

partners having equal rights) was appropriate, (Konings and Nyamnjoh 2003) nevertheless the end result reflected the fact that the nation state building process in Cameroon was one based on the co-existence of two distinct identities. Upon independence, indirect rule was terminated but its institutions and way of life remained in the British Cameroons as the people after decades of indirect rule had become accustomed to these norms and value systems and had incorporated them into their everyday administration. It had blended into their communities and bonding as an identity became easier. Despite the several different ethnic groups, a series of similar applicable rules and routines could be identifiable across the communities and most important sealed by language (Pidgin English in the suburbs and British English in the centers). This was reflected and evident as from 1954 to 1961 when the British Southern Cameroon gained quasi autonomy in 1954 and later achieved full autonomy in 1958 (Ngoh 1979) as the Anglophone political elites harnessed and refined the Anglophone identity. The British systems of institutions and culture were retained and replicated even after there British Southern Cameroon has gained its autonomy in order to serve as a source of legitimacy to the Anglophone Identity.

Some may argue that this was done because British Cameroons was still under the patronage of Britain but I will differ on the basis that Britain never had a stronghold on Southern Cameroon, that is why they were administered from Nigeria and this looseness is what enabled them to gain their autonomy from the southern part of Nigeria. Therefore, the political elites of Southern Cameroon had the possibility of changing these systems they had acquired if it was not found credible enough to warrant continuity or if it conflicted with their inherent identity. This had been done

by other ex-colonies such as Zanzibar, which cut its colonial ties with its former colonizer Oman and replaced the colonial system of administration after independence (Bakari 2001). So while British Southern Cameroons prepared for eventual independence it still retained these colonial legacies although they revolted against Britain as a result of the waves of nationalism that was blowing through Africa (Ngoh 1996). In essence, though the post-colonial state building process accounts for the formation of the Anglophone identity, this nation building process was very dependent on colonial heritage. This became the basis on which the new identity, “the *Anglophone Identity*” of British Southern Cameroon ensued on the eve of Independence.

### **2.3.3 Reunification and Ethno-regionalism**

Reunification and Ethno-regionalism did not only introduce stratification but created a strong sense of collective identity in Anglophone Community with victimhood as the basis for this identity. Upon reunification with French Cameroon, the British Southern Cameroons changed to West Cameroon. The instrument that governed the state (. i.e. federal constitution of 1961) was drafted specifically to preserve these distinct identities inherited from colonial legacies. Not just these instruments but the form of the state chosen was meant to preserve these complexities. It must be emphasizing that preserving the Anglophone Identity was paramount to its politicians that is why it was spelled out in the founding instruments of the Fouban Conference of 1961. Clause 1 of Article 47 of the Fouban conference stipulated that: *"any proposal for the revision of the present constitution, which impairs the unity and integrity of the Federation, shall be inadmissible.* “This implied that any proposal to dissolve the federation in a manner not prescribed by the constitution was illegal. Konnings and Nyamnjoh (1997) noted that even if the constitution was to be

amended, it should not be done by referendum, because Clause 3 of Article 47 stipulated that *“proposals for revision shall be adopted by simple majority vote of the members of the Federal assembly; provided that such majority includes a majority of the representatives...of each of the Federated States.”*

However, this was illegally altered by the then President, Ahmadou Ahidjou, and in 1972, the federal state was abolished. With unification came ethno regionalism which was magnified by his successor Paul Biya after 1984. Many scholars have argued that segregations help to fuel identity bonds in the community and practically this can be observed with the Amish and Amazon communities. This was strongly buttressed by Hechter (1975) when he used the case of Scotland to explain their nationalist tendencies. He examined that segregation carried on the Scottish communities caused them to identify more within themselves and this built a strong identity and bond which fuel their nationalist demands. This can be seen in the Anglophone problem because even with the colonial legacy, the two factions (Northwest and Southwest Regions) that make up the Anglophone communities in Cameroon still had differences that hindered the process of solidarity building within and though it did not affect the Anglophone identity that was already established, however a general sense of marginalization shared by the entire Anglophone community definitely created room for the solidarity and bonding process within the English speaking communities of Cameroon thereby consolidating the Anglophone Identity.

In essence though ethno regionalism was introduced in Cameroon after Unification to weaken political opposition on the basis of ethnic origins, it has rather strengthened ethnic consciousness. Most importantly it has highlighted the

differences that exist in political, economic, institutional and sociocultural services rendered towards the various regions that give room for the claim of marginalization by the Anglophone Community in Cameroon.

## Chapter 3

# THE ROLE OF IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION IN THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON

In this chapter, the focus will be on the process of the Anglophone identity reconstruction in Cameroon and how certain vital factors such as education, language, culture, economic marginalization and rule of law have influenced the reconstruction of the Anglophone identity through the Anglophone crisis.

### **3.1 The Process of Reconstruction of the Anglophone Identity**

After the 1961 reunification process, the unfolding political events made it evident that there was an urgent need for the protection of the nascent Anglophone identity within the Federation. This indicated the beginning of the state's role in dilution the Anglophone crisis which led to the Anglophone Problem and consequently the Anglophone Crisis. Immediately after the reunification process, President Ahidjo started implementing changes that heralded the drowning of the Anglophone voice. First, British Cameroons was designated into one of the six regions, ignoring the federal form of the state and the name was changed from British Southern Cameroon to West Cameroon (Takougang and Krieger 1998). In 1962, the currency was changed from Pounds Sterling to the Francs CFA that was currently used in French Cameroon, the left hand drive was changed to the right hand drive as was the case in French Cameroon and lastly in 1966, President Ahidjo extended the one party system that was practiced in French Cameroon into British Cameroon as his political party (CNU) usurped all the independent political parties( Foncha's KNDP, Dr. Endeley's

CPNC, Muna's CUC and Ntumaza's OK) within British Cameroon (Bayart 1970) to form a single national party within the federal state. However, Anglophone politicians remained optimistic to the thought that there was still a chance to equate the unequal partnership that was skillfully destroying the Anglophone identity. With this agenda, they blindly fell into the system of clientelism and patronage politics that had been crafted by President Ahmadou Ahidjo in his derogatory scheme of regional balance (Mbuagho 2002; Fonchingong 2006). These systems involved a scenario whereby the maintenance of political positions was reflected by one's ability to galvanize support from his constituency to the patron (President). This resolved in Anglophone Politicians fighting amongst themselves (Eyoh 1998a) to maintain favoritism and acknowledgement (or ethno-regional particularism) from President Amadou Ahidjo (Takougang 1993, Biya 1987) rather than address the precarious situation into which the Anglophone Community had been plunged. However, upon resignation, the first Anglophone Prime Minister, John Ngu Foncha expressed his bitterness and apologized for his failure to secure the Anglophone identity. In his departure speech, he expressed regrets and said, "*Our children shall fight for us*".

In this connection, the process of identity reconstruction has rather been a long and stringent one. From the time of Biya's appointment as President after Ahidjo's resignation, the state's transition became more radical and detrimental to the Anglophone community, the Anglophones had moved from a position of "second class citizens" as a result of Ahidjo's Unification plan to a position of assimilation (colonization) as the Biya regime in 1984 changed the name the of the state from the United Republic of Cameroon to The Republic of Cameroon which was the initial

name used by French Cameroon when they gained independence from France. This signified the colonization of British Southern Cameroons to many Anglophone scholars yet no voices were raised to champion the course for identity reconstruction primarily because of the intra-Anglophone rivalry (Fonchingong 2013), little or no elite participation and the strong one party political system that was run in Cameroon at the time (Mehler 2014).

It took almost 15 years for the first political actor to emerge and oversee the process of identity reconstruction. These political actors only emerged as a result of the heavy-handedness of the Biya Regime meted on Anglophones in 1990 in Bamenda in an attempt to create a multiparty system. Despite the heavy military crackdown, the Social Democratic Front (SDF) was created in 1990 and it became the first opposition party to the ruling party CPDM (which had replaced Ahidjou's Cameroon National Union-CNU in 1985). The convergence of all these political mishaps resulted in the All Anglophone Conferences (AAC) I and II in 1993 in Buea and 1994 in Bamenda. These conferences resulted in the formation of the first political actor for the Anglophone course, the (SCNC) Southern Cameroon National Council (Krieger 1994). Prior to this decisive move by the Anglophone community, the Francophone dominated successive regimes, as examined by other scholars had used strategies such as manipulation of regional rivalries between the Anglophones (Bayart 1979), employing divide and rule mechanisms with the help of elite associations (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands 1998), using appointment and sinecures (Eyoh 1998), implementing intimidation and repression (Jua and Konnings 2004), control over the media and the consistent refusal to renegotiate the form of state as demanded by Anglophones (Konnings and Nyamnjoh 2000); to frustrate the



Anglophones' efforts at reconstructing their identity (Fonchingong 2011). The SCNC was charged with the responsibility to restore the Anglophone Identity by returning to the federal system and this time to ensuring that there was equality between Francophones and Anglophones in Cameroon (Awasom 2000). A series of strategies put forward to achieve the task at hand proved abortive but the most significant was a failed attempt to declare independent, the British Southern Cameroon in 1999 (Delancey et al 2010).

The SCNC as a political actor faced a number of challenges. Its weak leadership and poor organization mostly accounts for its limited ability to mobilize the Anglophone community into decisive action (Fonchingong 2011). Thereafter, it sought to the use of nonviolent strategies not only to guarantee the autonomy of British Southern Cameroons but also to draw international recognition to the Anglophone Problem. In 2009, it resulted to judicial proceedings. Together with SCAPO, as representatives of British Southern Cameroons, they tabled a formal complaint to the ACPHR against the Republic of Cameroon which indicated that Anglophones in Cameroon were undergoing political, cultural, social and economic marginalization as the experienced uneven access to higher education, consistent violation of individual human rights, denial of freedom of assembly, violation of right to fair trial, language discrimination, economic exploitation and denial of basic infrastructure but most significant was the claim that the Anglophones were a 'separate and distinct people' who deserved not only the right to self-determination but also the right to development (Dicklitch 2011).The ACPHR acknowledged that the Republic of Cameroon had violated articles 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7(1),10, 11, 19 and 26 Of the AU Charter but most importantly it recognized the claim that '...the people of Southern

Cameroon qualify to be referred to as a “people” because they manifest numerous characteristics and affinities, which include a shared history, inherited linguistic tradition, territorial connection, and a common political perspective. Most especially, they identify themselves as a people with a separate and distinct identity’ (ACPHR 2009). The ACPHR argued that identity is an innate within a people and therefore it is expected of external people to acknowledge rather than deny such an existence. However, the ACPHR maintaining using article 4(b) of the AU charter that territorial integrity was to be respected and proposed a “comprehensive national dialogue” as a solution (ACPHR 2009) but the Biya Regime never implemented this proposition. Nevertheless, its acknowledgement provided the much needed international attention by the SCNC.

Henceforth, little ground had been covered by the SCNC and no prominent actor compared to the SCNC emerged after this but a pig push came in the wake of October 2016 when Anglophone teachers and lawyers’ associations rejuvenated the Anglophone problem. At first it was an issue-specific/interest based crisis which highlighted grievances in the Anglophone educational and legal systems but the government’s continuous dismissal of these issues led to a spill over into other sectors and this reawakened the general disenchantment with the government that the Anglophone community had been harboring for over 5 decades, restructuring the crisis into an identity based one.

With the resurgence of the Anglophone struggle, a series of changes emerged as well. First, as a result of the spill over, all other civil servant associations and interest groups together with the teachers and lawyers’ associations converged to form the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) in late 2016. The

difference in this convergence when compared to that of the AAC I and II which produced the SCNC is that unlike the SCNC, the Consortium had a strong leadership in the person of Barrister Agbor Balla Felix and an organized mechanism which ran its affairs. Its ability to galvanize support and implement strategy with the help of the Anglophone community was proof of its capability to champion the course of identity reconstruction. Kedourie (1969) holds that mobilizing a nationalist group or agenda requires an organization whose structure allows the leader to direct, impose discipline and demand action whenever it is necessary. This was proven as the Consortium effectively organized civil disobedience through the use of “Ghost town Campaigns” an act which quickly caught the Government’s attention and forced it to call for dialogue in early 2017 (Caxton 2017). This dialogue unfortunately fell into a deadlock as the government failed to consider the Consortium’s demands. This resulted in the banning of the consortium and the arrest of its leaders. In the wake of this dilemma, the Anglophone community restructured the consortium by merging it with all the earlier mentioned activists groups (see historical revolution of crisis) in addition to (MORISC, Southern Cameroons South Africa Front, Southern Cameroonians in Nigeria) to form the Southern Cameroons Ambazonia Consortium United Front (SCACUF). Interestingly, SCACUF has departed from the Consortium’s initial option of a two state federation to one of complete independence through secession (Awambeng 2017). Their ability to instrument mobilization within the Anglophone Community has further strengthened the crisis as it has gain worldwide recognition but the tussle in leadership as a result of the transition of leadership to Sissekou Julius Tabe Ayuk might be the loophole that will kill its strength as it is causing a rift. However, SCACUF currently maintains leadership of the identity reconstruction process as events evolve.

Given that the government tried to apply issue specific solution (shall be examined later) to this identity based crisis, it is important to examine the triviality of the roles played by language and culture, education and rule of law in influencing the Anglophone problem to the extent that the government considers that their restructuring can pacify the Anglophone problem.

### **3.2 Role of Language and Culture in the Anglophone Crisis**

Understanding perceptions has always been trivial in the solution finding process of any conflict and the Anglophone crisis is no different. As earlier mentioned the general conception at first, with regards to this conflict especially internationally is that it is a language crisis and though this is not totally in correct, but the conflict is not completely derived from a language crisis. Hence, there is need for clarification while highlighting the role language and culture plays in this conflict. Language plays two important roles in this crisis. First, it plays the role of identifying the marginalized and secondly, the role of highlighting linguistic discrimination between both communities as a result of cultural orientation.

In as much as language forms part of the Anglophone Problem, primarily, the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon is one based on the marginalization of the English speaking people of Cameroon whereby the development of distinctive identities(Anglophone and Francophone identities) is based on the language spoken and inherited from colonial legacy (Awasom 2007), and reinforced by the system of stratification (ethno-regionalism) as argued by Hechter(1975) .Though it seems to be the converging factor that fuels solidarity amongst the Anglophones in the Anglophone crisis, it does not oblige them to (Renan 1990).The understanding drawn from this analysis is that identification is based on language as a result of colonial

heritage in the Cameroonian context, and this is what recognizes, shapes and consolidates the people who are suffering from marginalization. In a country where population distribution is represented in an 80:20 francophone-dominated ratios, from a culmination of about 250 linguistically identifiable ethnic groups (Dieu and Renaud 1983), the primary role of language defined within the context of the Anglophone crisis will be that “language (English) is the cursor that traces and identifies the marginalized.”

As part of the Anglophone problem, language discrimination is highly associated with the cultural orientation that has evolved around the Anglophone and Francophone Identity both in the socio-cultural setting and the political culture setting. This sociocultural orientation is well captured by scholars such as Wolf (2001) who examines that “the feeling of unity is so strong that ‘being an Anglophone or Francophone’ denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ethnic ties”. While language has fueled the Anglophone-Francophone divide in Cameroon through the use of derogatory terms such as “*Anglo fool and Franco fool*” as displayed within the communities, the role of language has become subjective to these cultural settings that have hatched new identity portfolios in the form of “Anglophonism and Francophonism” (Anchimbe 2003). Vast integration within the regions has only reinforced these identity portfolios as Anglophones are daily reminded of their national identity and homeland in language, in collective experiences, and in stereotyping. They tend to perceive themselves as different from Francophones and are equally categorized and treated as “others” or “les Bamenda” in everyday jargon by Francophones. This is constantly manifested through the use of “we” and “they” (in French; “Nous” and “Eux”) in everyday speech for

designating or delineating each other's homeland (Billig 1995). There is also the use of the word "Anglo" by Francophones as an epithet which implies "uncouth," "backward," "uncivilized," and "inconsequential"(Eko 2003). Undoubtedly, feelings of being different tend to raise the individual and collective consciousness of Anglophones.

Government actions also perpetrate these awareness through acts of identity erosion such as the manipulation of national dates: changing the plebiscite day for Southern Cameroon to a National Youth Day, Changing the name of the Anglophone historic city, Victoria to Limbe on the basis of what Mobutu of Zaire called "authenticite"( a policy implemented by Mobutu in Zaire aimed at erasing all traces of Belgian colonialism) without doing same in the Francophone regions is proof of this social marginalization (Courade 1976). The realization of such manipulations by the Anglophone communities especially to individuals who are not directly represented by any of the civil societies at the forefront resulted in demonstrations such as the "Coffin Revolution" orchestrated by Mancho Bibixy, a local radio Journalist in Bamenda on the 21<sup>st</sup> November 2016. It has become one of the most significant events in this reconstruction process.

The disenchantment arising from language discrimination which in turn has influenced the crisis, though impacted by sociocultural setting as mentioned above, is highly perpetrated by the political institutions and political culture in Cameroon. Jaffe (1996) while examining European political ideology of language indicated that "linguistic identity is a prerequisite for cultural identity and political stability in a country". In this connection, it is comprehensible why political instability in Cameroon is grossly impacted by language and culture. Interestingly for a country

which is considered bilingual, one will expect that this concept be upheld and reflected at most by the public and administrative sectors that represents the state and services the nationals. Unfortunately, the expectation very much differs from the reality. Within the public sphere, ceremonies and state duties are conducted in French and most public documents are written, signed and published in French even in the two English speaking regions in Cameroon (Echu et.al 1999, Ayafor 2005) as most administrators within the Anglophone regions are Francophones who consider the English language less appealing. The English language is given little or no consideration, and when it is given, it comes in the form of poorly translated documents and public notices which ends up providing limited or misinformation to the Anglophones in other regions as well as within the Anglophone regions. Soule (2013) examines that there is a need for texts and institutional mechanisms to govern official bilingualism in Cameroon.

Political culture in Cameroon is one highly dominated by Francophones and the Francophone led regime. Political subordination and allocation of administrative positions blatantly displays the gross discrimination against Anglophones within political culture thanks to the successive power centralized Francophone dominated governments that have controlled Cameroon's politics since independence. A detailed analysis of the successive regimes' appointment decrees over the years show that the most influential administrative positions in Cameroon which include the president, the minister of Justice and keeper of the seal, the speaker of the House of assembly, the president of the Supreme Court, the president of the senate, minister of higher education and the minister of finance have all been occupied by Francophones. The only position accorded to the Anglophone community is the post

of the Prime Minister (Takougang1993) which is highly subjective to the President as a result of the heavy concentration of power residing with the president.

As Structuralists have argued when examining political culture, the relationship between instability and weak governance is shaped by structural configuration of society and constant battle over state power, distribution of resources, ideology and social stratification based on identity (Matlosa 2003). Hence the role of political culture has accelerated the demand for autonomy by the Anglophone community as a result of stratification based on identity which has in turn resulted to instability (Mbaku and Takougang 2004).

### **3.3 The Role of Education in Influencing the Anglophone Crisis**

The educational system in Cameroon is of a dual nature. The architects (the Anglophone political elites) of the Anglophone identity understood the importance of preserving the Anglophone identity but most importantly they understood that the Anglophone identity and colonial legacy co-constitute each other. The only way to ensure a secured transfer of the untainted ideology of an Anglophone identity was through the Anglo Saxon educational system that had molded the Anglophone identity in the first place. They ensured that the Anglo Saxon system of education that had been inherited was retained from the time of federalism. But most importantly the fact that this educational system has the potential to spur critical and constructive think that was needed to boost development and was internationally recognized for its excellence added more prestige to the Anglophone community. Unfortunately, the Francophone dominated government, although had accepted federalism and the other systems of institutions that the Anglophones had chosen to maintain, it was just a transitional process towards unification and everything else



after unification was to be integrated (Nyamnjoh and Akum 2008). Although the Ahidjo regime harbored the dubious plan of a transitional regime, it did little to degrade the Anglophone Educational System. Consecutive attempts at depleting the Anglo Saxon educational system came with the Biya regime. According to the *Cameroon Tribune Newspaper* public on the 16<sup>th</sup> November 1983, a Ministerial Order signed in September 1983 had provided for the structural readjustment of the Anglophone General Common Entrance Examinations (GCE) both at the ordinary level (secondary schools) and advanced level (high schools) to standardize it to the Baccalaureate examination that was written in Francophone schools (Nyamnjoh 1996). The justification for this action laid in facilitating national integration. Only it did not seek the public opinion of the Anglophone Community. This spark riot amongst Anglophone students of the University of Yaounde who tabled a petition rejecting this adjustment and also emphasized on the need to enforce bilingualism especially as lectures were been delivered only in French with no consideration for the Anglophone students in the university (Nyamnjoh 1996a). As usual this protest was cracked down by police brutality and the order implemented which resulted in the intervention of the Cameroon Teachers Association (TAC). Several attempts at restructuring the Anglo Saxon educational system led to a constant battle between the Ministry of National Education and the TAC and consequently increased lack of confidence from the Anglophone Community towards the Biya regime.

This long battle ended with the creation of the GCE Board in 1993. It assumed the responsibility of regulating the Anglo Saxon System of Education in Cameroon under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education (Nyamnjoh and Akum 2008). One will expect at this point that this battle had been laid to rest but

interestingly the government resorted to other systematic measures that have instrumented the current position of the Anglophone Crisis. Over the years, there has been constant recruitment of Francophones with the French cultural and educational background but with limited knowledge of the Anglo Saxon educational orientation to serves as teachers and administrators at all levels of the Anglo Saxon educational system (Bashi 2017). As a result of integration, Anglophone schools are faced with the increasing influx of Francophone students especially in the urban areas which justifies the recruitment of Francophone oriented teachers in Anglophone schools while overshadowing and diluting this system.

The argument is that the continuous attempt at diluting the Anglophone educational system is in a conscious effort to root out one of the craters of the Anglophone identity which in this case is education (Eyoh 1998a, Konnings and Nyamnjoh 2003). In line with the aim of identity reconstructing, reasons are not farfetched as to why the Anglophone Teachers Association lies at the heart of the ongoing crisis. This is not surprising as this association has a history rejecting Francophone assimilation. One might ask why this is such a big deal if restructuring is done to enhance national integration. First, this restructuring is done only on the Anglophone system with no significant simultaneous restructuring carried on the Francophone educational system. Secondly and most importantly, the Anglo Saxon system represent the most formal and secured medium through which values of the Anglophone identity can be passed down to young generations by well-trained Anglophone teachers who have undergone both formal and informal orientation and have a strong inherent knowledge and mastery of the Anglo Saxon curriculum. Government action obviously, hinders this process. The reason why the Anglophone

community is more involved and informed is because with the help of TAC, an external branch was created to incorporate parents which later became now as The Cameroon Teachers and Parents Association (TAPAC). The massive concurrence by parents to the teachers' decision to suspend studies still the government addresses this viral infiltration and breakage of the Anglo Saxon educational system following the 2016 uprisings serves as logical proof that the Anglophone Community recognizes the need for reconstruction.

### **3.4 The Role of the British Common Law system in the Reconstruction Process**

From the 1961 Constitution to the 1996 Constitution, the Republic of Cameroon will have always been governed in theory by bi-jural framework. Consequently these constitutions have always provided for the establishment, administration and maintenance of the both systems of law which are the French Civil law and the British Common law given the main sources of Law in Cameroon (Nyafor 1995, Fombad 2007). To understand the reconstruction process in this context, there is the need to establish the difference that underlies the Common Law and the Civil Law in the Cameroonian context. Accordingly, Barrister Bobga Harmony Mbuton, a Former President of the Northwest Lawyers Association (NOWELA) draws a clear distinction between common law and civil Law as follows:

"common law is essentially rules for regulation of human conduct in society that can be said to have emerged historically from the common conscience of the society and it is tapped from the passed decisions of judges who reflect when cases are referred to them on what decisions will reflect a good sense of justice and when these decisions have been tested over time they now provide a rule of law. As a result, their consistency provides a law review and a law reform. These principles that have emerged from the decision of judges are streamlined into statutes which are eventually recycled through the interpretation of judges. On the other hand, Civil law is a top down process where the ruler provides the basis for human behavior and this is enshrined into codifications which project what types of conducts can be expected, how

it can be violated and what kind of rules can be used and how it can be regulated. It is a prefabrication that lends itself to a mechanical operation as opposed to the Common Law that has an inbuilt dynamism that permits it to constantly adjust and fit into the emerging norms of society as society advances."

This distinction is what outlines the processes in the administration of the rule of law as expected in Cameroon. Bierbrauer (1994) while attempting to provide a conceptual link between cultural variations and differences in legal culture examine that laws and legal systems just like language are products of culture. He advanced that, "they form a structure of meaning that guides and organizes individuals and groups in everyday interactions and conflict situations. This structure is passed on through socially transmitted norms of conduct and rules for decisions that influence the construction of intentional systems, including cognitive processes and individual dispositions. The latter manifest themselves as attitudes, values, beliefs, and expectations". Applying Bierbrauer's analogy to the Cameroonian context brings us to the question of whether civil law magistrates, jurists and legal officer possess legal competence to preside over proceedings and functions in a common law jurisdiction. This question is the basis for the common law's participation in the reconstruction process via the Anglophone crisis.

When Common Law Lawyers orchestrated a sit-in protest in October 2016, it was because they were appalled by the phasing out of Common Law principles in Cameroon. This observation came as a result of government actions that were impractical with regards to Common Law norms such as the harmonization of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Organization for the harmonization of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) Uniform Acts and the Inter-African Conference on Insurance

Markets (CIMA) Code. They feared that the same phenomenon would be observed in the Civil Code and the Commercial and Civil Procedure Code, which are being drafted (Caxton 2017). The constant deployment of civil law officers to the Anglophone Common law jurisdiction was due to lack of government professional Common Law training schools such as the École Nationale de L'administration et Magistrature (ENAM) which had been provided for Civil Law (Kindzeka 2015). As a result, out of 276 judges from both the Northwest and Southwest region, 125 are civil law judges who do not possess competence by legal standard to preside over these jurisdictions. As for judicial officers, out of 514 in total, 499 are Francophones with only 15 as Anglophones in the same regions. Of the 128 magistrates practicing in the North West region, 67 (52.3%) are French speaking with a civil law background. Of the 97 magistrates in the legal services, 64 (65.9%) are Francophones. Of the 27 magistrates in the legal services in Bamenda, there are 21 Francophones (77.8%). A similar trend is observed in the South West region (Amabo 2016). In addition to the flagrant disregard for these standard norms of the rule of law, the Common Law System until recently as a result of the uprising did not have a Supreme Court bench.

Interestingly, the plights faced by the Common Law System, are similar to those faced by the Anglo Saxon Educational System likewise their demands. The petition made by Lawyers and teachers in both systems that called for the redeployment of civil law magistrates to civil law jurisdictions and Francophone administrators and teachers to francophone schools (Caxton 2017) was made not only to revalue these systems but also to consolidate the reconstruction process. The question that arises is why the government is so bent on phasing out these systems that are part of the

Anglophone culture? The response to this question came in the form of the demand for a federation tabled by both Lawyers and Teachers who agreed that it was the best system suitable for preserving these systems, the Anglophone culture as well as the Anglophone identity. Portraying while the crisis is not sole based on economic marginalization but importantly on the reconstruction of the Anglophone Identity.

### **3.5 The Role of Economic Marginalization**

These social, institutional and structural injustices are complemented by economic exploitation, uneven distribution of resources and limited development. Economic Marginalization seems to be the converging factor that pulls all other facets of the Anglophone community to unite behind with the reconstruction process. Most Anglophones can relate to the economic domination and marginalization by the Francophone led government. The gross exploitation of natural and agricultural resources through corporations such as the TELCAR and the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) which are well known for their high productivity in agro-industrial products (tea, cocoa, coffee, rubber, plantains and banana) (Kobou et al,2004) especially in the Southwest Region is not nearly proportionate to the level of development carried out in these regions as they are plagued by severe under development such as poor roads, poor infrastructure, high unemployment, weak economy due to constant privatization. These regions have also experienced outsourcing and most industries have been closed due to limited investment. Other lucrative services such as its airports in these regions have been shut down while the headquarters of the abovementioned agro industries have been transferred to the capital, Yaounde, based on a Presidential Decree No 2016/032 of January 19, 2016. Furthermore, Anglophones rarely assigned to the top administrative positions of these companies and this is very peculiar to the oil producing company SONARA

(Société Nationale de Raffinage) which is located in the Anglophone region and is the largest oil producing company of the country (Konings & Nyamnjoh 1997).

This poor management, have impacted on the Annual growth rates of the Anglophone regions with growth rates increasing only to 2.4% in the Northwest and 1.9% in the Southwest, an increase in poverty rate with the Northwest falling amongst the poorest region from 2001-2007 and with the Southwest experiencing very high mortality rates in 2011 (Fambon et al 2014).

From these analyses it is evident that the Anglophone crisis and the reconstruction process were inevitable as nearly all facets of the Anglophone Community had been infested by Francophone subordination and economic exploitation. It is only right that a society undergoing such predicaments finally stood up to these challenges as they say in Cameroon, "*enough is enough*". There was no doubt with the outbreak of the October 2016 up risings that the grievances of the Anglophone Community were beyond unbearable hence the quest for self-autonomy.

## **Chapter 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

The research design of this study explained in chapter one, stated that this research was going to employ both quantitative and qualitative analysis in trying to ascertain the strength of the relationship that exist between identity reconstruction and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. Part of chapter 2 and all of chapter 3 dwelled on qualitative analysis to establish this relationship. At the end of chapter three, the extensive literature scheme, role of certain primary factors in the crisis, and the government's consistent attempt to paralyze facets of the Anglophone system which are part of the culture and are evidently craters to the Anglophone identity, to a greater extent portray the view that the Anglophone Crisis is the main process for the reconstruction of the Anglophone identity. However, this acknowledgement is highly subjective and as such cannot be generalized when looking at the current and practical situation in Cameroon.

In this regard, Chapter 4 is based on an opinion survey which samples the views of Cameroonians in North Cyprus on their knowledge of the current Anglophone Crisis, the Anglophone Problem and their perception of the Anglophone Identity with regards to the course of identity reconstruction. The final analysis will reflect the knowledge and perception Cameroonians in North Cyprus have concerning the Anglophone identity and the Anglophone Crisis and whether the Anglophone crisis is about identity reconstruction. This survey is important because while it might



validate the hypothesis of this research, in reality it represents the general opinions of Cameroonians on this subject matter, something which has not been highly solicited yet will be the defining factor of the final solution to the Anglophone Crisis.

#### **4.1 Framing an Opinion Survey with regards to the Anglophone Crisis**

This opinion survey involved 10 multiple choice/open ended questions regarding the core issues plaguing the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. In addition to a disclaimer, respondents' personal information and identities were left anonymous because of the security risk involved. This was done in order to encourage people to respond and also to avoid any physical or verbal clash that may occur as a result of the high sensitivity of the subject matter given that both the Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians in North Cyprus share different and extreme views on the subject matter. Below is a sample of the questionnaire that was distributed online to the Cameroonian diaspora of North Cyprus.

#### **OPINION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

\*PLEASE

THIS SURVEY IS INTENDED TO GET YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON AND YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE ANGLOPHONE IDENTITY.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS

(For those using other electronic mediums to response, PLEASE, the GREEK WORD in the answer options means "OTHER" so you can fill in your opinion if you want to)

The other two GREEK WORDS at the end of each section mean "BACK" and "NEXT". PLEASE CLICK "ENEMENO" TO CONTINUE.

**DISCLAIMER: ALL INFORMATION PROVIDED HERE ARE REGARDED AS CONFIDENTIAL AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL THE PROVIDED INFORMATION BE USED OTHERWISE BUT FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH.**

1. In your opinion, who is an Anglophone in the Cameroonian context?
  - a) A person who speaks English in Cameroon.
  - b) A person who speaks English and lives in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon.
  - c) A person who originates from the Anglophone regions of Cameroon and whose first language out of the two official languages in Cameroon is English.
  - d) Other .....
  
2. The Anglophone identity can be defined as one resulting from colonial impact and political stratification or ethno-regionalism (\*ethno-regionalism means the division of regions in Cameroon according to tribal or ethnic origin).
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
  - c) None of the above
  - d) Other
  
3. What type of crisis do you think is the Anglophone crisis?
  - a) A political crisis

- b) An identity / ethnic crisis
  - c) An economic crisis
  - d) All of the above
  - e) None of the above
4. What do you think the Anglophone problem or Crisis is about?
- a) The socio-political and economic discrimination against Anglophones in Cameroon.
  - b) The quest for political autonomy by the Anglophone community
  - c) A&B
  - d) Terrorism
  - e) None of the above
5. What do you think the aim of the Anglophone crisis is?
- a) To gain political autonomy
  - b) Eliminate the sociopolitical and economic discrimination against Anglophones
  - c) To reconstruct the Anglophone identity
  - d) To ensure regime change in Cameroon
  - e) All of the above
  - f) A, B &C
  - g) None the above
  - h) Other
6. Do you think a regime change in Cameroon can help resolve the Anglophone problem without changing the form of state (federation or secession)?
- a) Yes
  - b) No

- c) Maybe
- d) Other.....

7. Do you think if the Government of Cameroon concretely solves the complaints of teachers and lawyers who initially started this crisis, the Anglophone crisis will be resolved?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Maybe
- d) Other.....

8. In your opinion, which form of state do you think can better manage the different identities (francophone and Anglophone identity) in Cameroon?

- a) A unitary but decentralized state
- b) A loose federation
- c) Two independence states (i.e. secession)
- d) A centralized unitary state
- e) None of the above
- f) Other.....

9. According to the demands made by the Anglophone community (i.e. federation or secession) and according to your perception, what form of state do you prefer?

- a) A Federation
- b) A unitary state
- c) A secession
- d) None of the above
- e) Other.....

10. In your opinion why is the government unable to address the Anglophone problem?

- a) Lack of political will
- b) Misconception of the Anglophone problem
- c) The perception that there is no Anglophone problem
- d) All of the above
- e) None of the above
- f) Other.....

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND RESPONSE**

#### **4.2 Data Analysis through Pie Chart Representation**

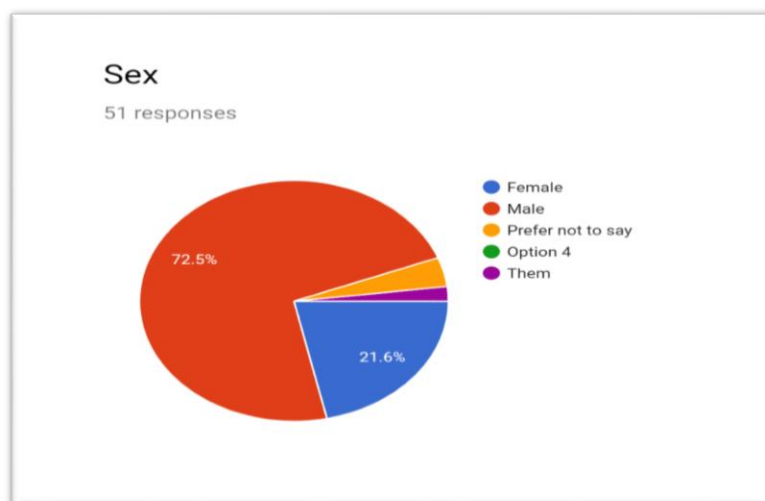


Figure 1: Sex

This chart represents the gender variations in response as well as unrepresented sexes in the database. It shows that out of 51(100%) responses in this category, 37(72.5%) were men, 11(21.6%) were women and 3(5.9%) preferred not to reveal their gender identity.

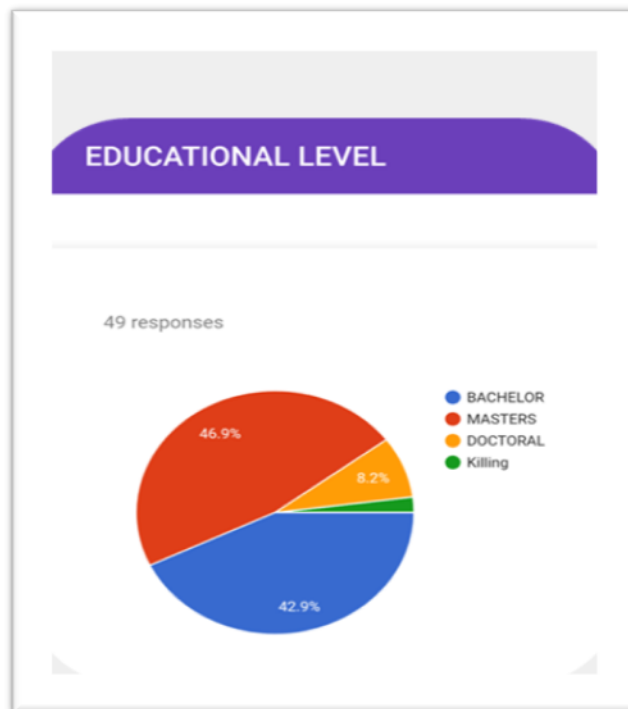


Figure 2: Educational level

This chart represents the skills and educational levels of the respondent. Although some of the answers might be unorthodox, their opinions still count. Bachelors represents those who are about to acquire or already have a Bachelor's degree, masters categorize those who are still pursuing or have already acquired a Master's degree and PHD reflects those who are working towards or have already achieved a Doctorate Degree. Out of 49(100%) respondents, 4(8.2%) are at the PHD level, 23(46.9%) Masters level, 21(42.9%) Bachelors level and 1(2%) unaccounted for. In essence, the average respondent has a Bachelor's Degree while most respondents already have or are working towards achieving a Master's Degree. While this implies that the respondents are averagely or well informed about the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon, most important point worth considering from this set is that most of the respondents are educated.

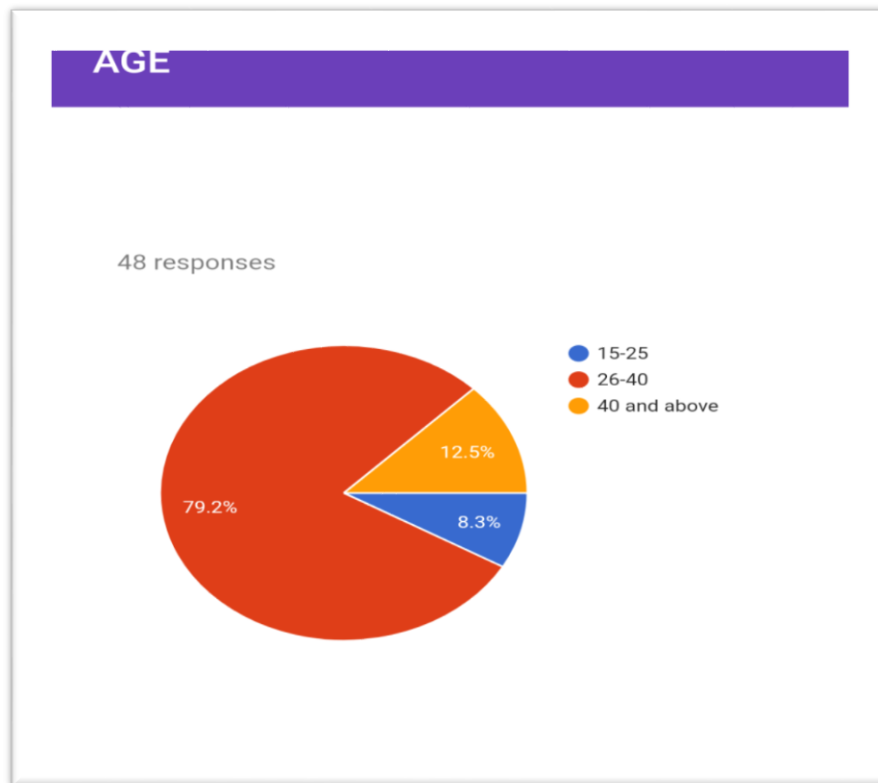


Figure 3: Age

This chart represents the age variation of the respondents divided into three categories. The assumption for this division is that while all ranges have a basic knowledge of the Anglophone Crisis as a result of mass sensitization through telecommunication and social media, some categories are more advanced and this contributes to what shape or ideology the end result takes. Hence, out of 48(100%) respondents, in 38(79.2%) within 26-40 age range, 59.6% were men, 17.4% were women and 2.38% were unknown. In 6(12.5%) within the 40 and above age range, 9.4% were men, 2.75% were women and 0% were unknown. Lastly, in 4(8.3%) within the age range of 15-25, 6.23% were men, 1.8% and 0% were unknown. In essence in all the age categories more men responded more than women. This implies that more men compared to women in the Cameroon diaspora of North Cyprus are more likely to respond to issues regarding the Anglophone Crisis.

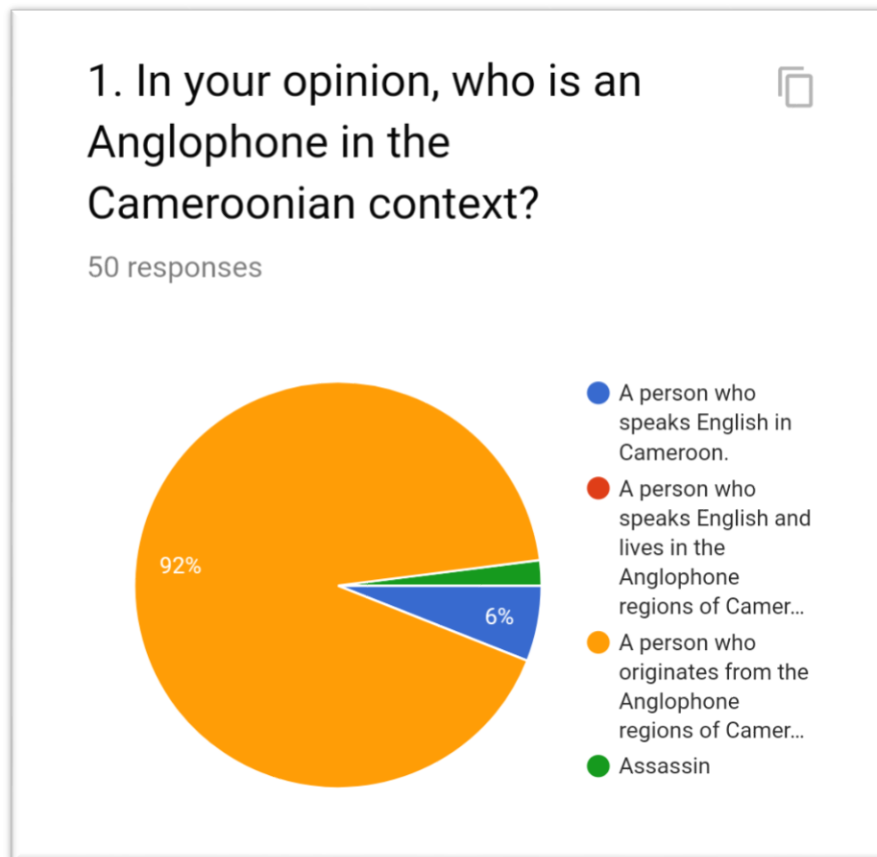


Figure 4: Question 1

In this chart, the perception of the absolute majority (92%) is that an Anglophone is a person who originated from the Anglophone Regions of Cameroon and whose first language out of the two official languages is English. However, a smaller proportion (6%) think that the ability to speak English in Cameroon makes one an Anglophone. The second view in this context, by default questions the existence of an Anglophone Identity as well as the Anglophone Crisis. However, given the substantive evidence present in the literature as well as the fact that the majority acknowledges this general perception, it is save to endorse this general perception as the qualification for being an Anglophone in Cameroon.



2. The Anglophone identity can be defined as one resulting from colonial impact and political stratification or ethno-regionalism (\*ethno-regionalism means the division of regions in Cameroon according to tribal or ethnic origin).

50 responses

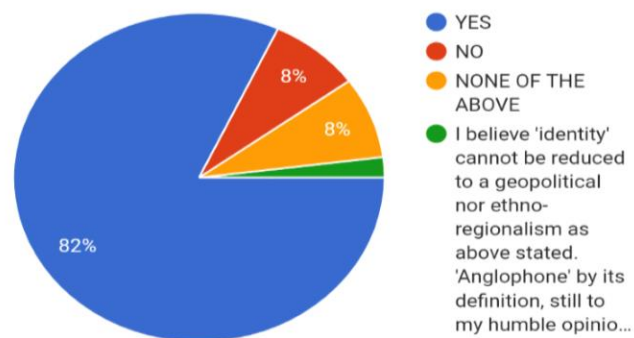


Figure 5: Question 2

From this chart, the prevailing opinion which is 82% perceives that there is an Anglophone identity and it was derived from colonial impact and ethno-regionalism. However, 8% of the respondents seem to disagree while another 8% rejects this definition all together. Interestingly, a respondent presented an independent opinion arguing that this definition is reductionist because it limits identity to geopolitics and ethno-regionalism. The suggestion made thereafter holds that the Anglophone identity will imply the ability to speak English. While this is partially correct, speaking English is part of colonial impact as the language was inherited from the

colonial masters therefore the Anglophone Identity can be described in line with the prevailing response.

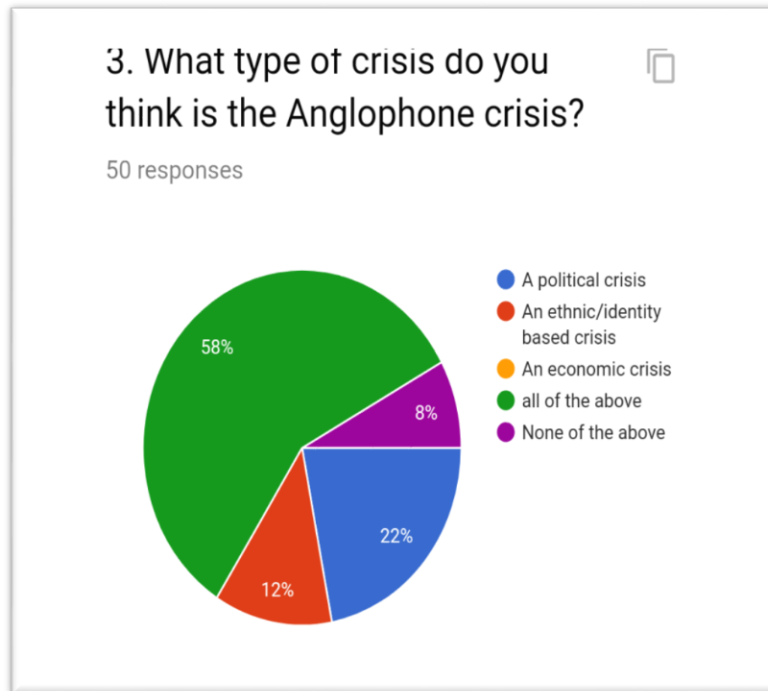


Figure 6: Question 3

The understanding drawn from this chart is that an 8% of the total responses do not believe that the Anglophone Crisis is been insulated by politics, economics or identity. However, a considerable majority have considered all these elements. 22% of the respondents consider politics as the leading element and 12% of the respondents see identity/ethnicity as the leading component. While a handful (34%) do agree that this Crisis is unfolding along the lines of politics and identity. The concluding observation derived from the majority response of 58% is that the Anglophone Crisis is a mixture of a political, economic and identity crisis

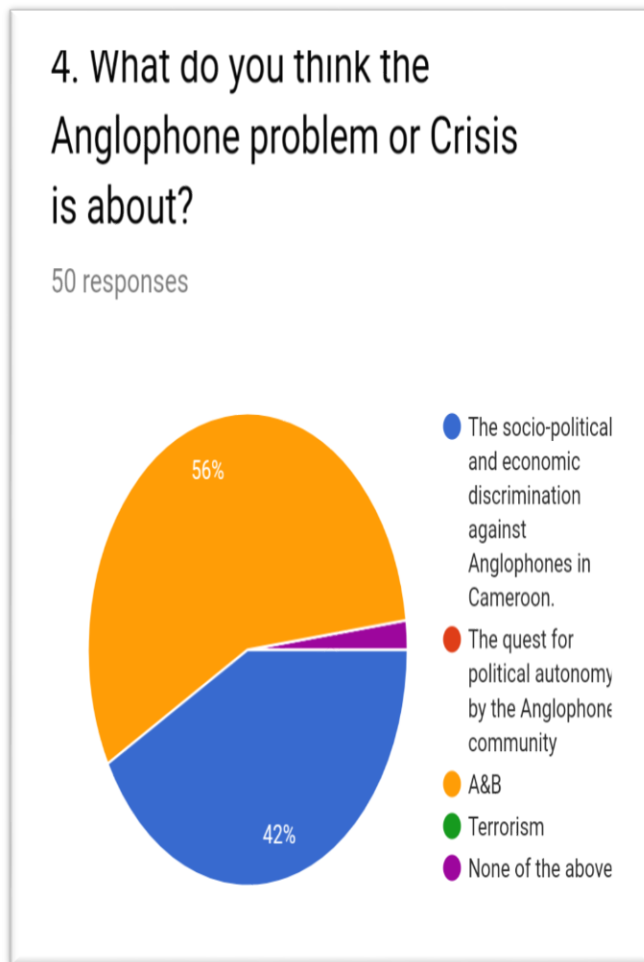


Figure 7: Question 4

The relative majority which makes up 56% of the respondents from this chart agree that the crisis is not only about the elimination of socio-political and economic marginalization but also about political autonomy. A considerable number (42%) think that eliminating socio-political and economic discrimination is a major claim that can be achievable. The reason for this divided spectrum is perhaps because most Francophones still vouch for an indivisible state and as well the view that the Anglophone community is too small to function as an independent state. However, 8% of the respondents reject all these views and do not think that the Anglophone Crisis has any of the aforementioned options as its motive.

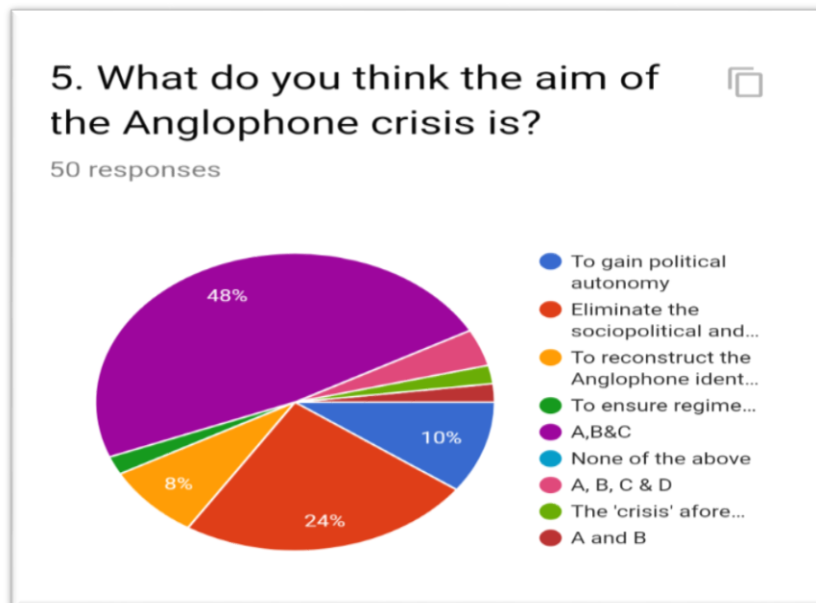


Figure 8: Question 5

48% of the respondents are of the view that the Anglophone crisis aims to achieve political autonomy, eliminate discrimination and reconstruct the Anglophone Identity will 4% of the respondents think that in addition to political autonomy, eliminating discrimination and reconstructing identity, regime change is also a goal. The second dominant view (24%) does not acknowledge regime change, identity reconstruction and political autonomy. The think eliminating the sociopolitical and economic discrimination is the main goal for the Anglophone Crisis while 10% acknowledge political autonomy. However, 8% acknowledges identity reconstruction but a different opinion suggests that a concrete resolution of the teachers and lawyers' grievances is the aim of this crisis. Finally, no one disagrees with the different opinions which inspire the conclusion that the majority believes that the Anglophone Crisis is invested to a greater extent to some of the above mentioned goals more than others.

6. Do you think a regime change in Cameroon can help resolve the Anglophone problem without changing the form of state (federation or secession)?

50 responses

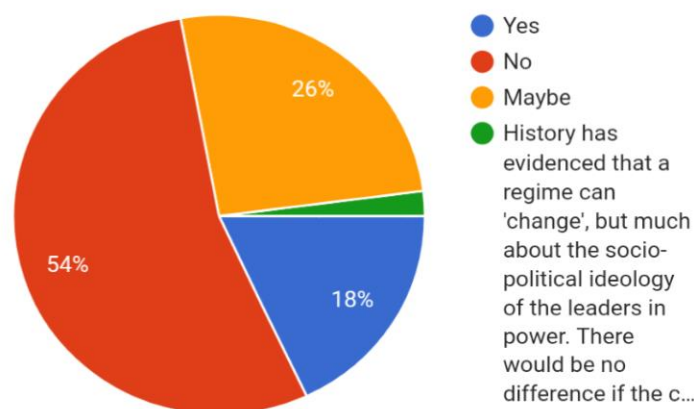


Figure 9: Question 6

From this chart, 54% of the respondents do not envisage a resolution without changing the form of state. A considerate proportion (26%) have mixed feelings on the subject matter while a relative proportion (18%) believe a resolution is possible without altering the form of state. Finally, the majority holds that there is a need for the change in form of state for resolution to be attainable. An independent suggestion reinforces the majority view by stating that a change in regime without a change in ideology is useless, whereas a change in form requires a change in ideology.

7. Do you think if the Government of Cameroon concretely solves the complaints of teachers and lawyers who initially started this crisis, the Anglophone crisis will be resolved?

50 responses

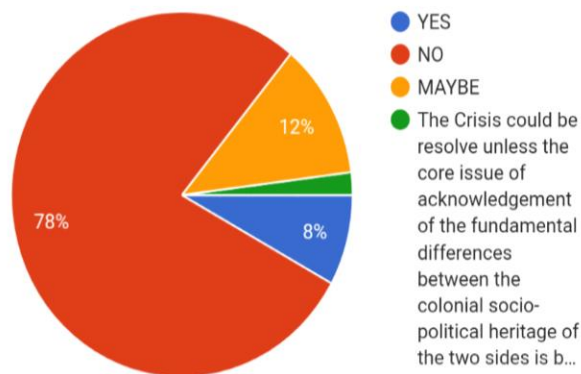


Figure 10: Question 7

While an absolute majority (78%) dismisses the possibility of a resolution by critically addressing the teachers and lawyers' grievance, an independent opinion disagrees as well and holds that for a solution to be attained, there is need for the recognition of difference in the colonial social and political heritage on both sides. However, 12% were divided on probability of this strategy to yield success in resolving the conflict while 8% of the respondents are optimistic that a resolution can be achieved under these terms.

8. In your opinion, which form of state do you think can better manage the different identities (francophone and Anglophone identity) in Cameroon?

50 responses

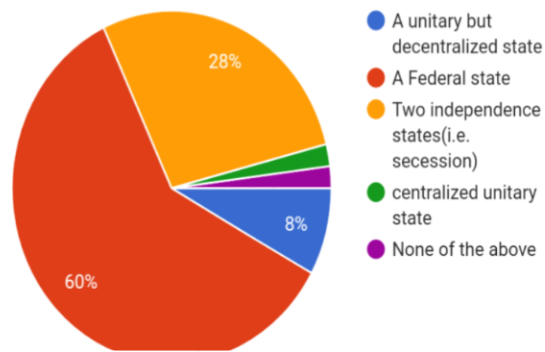


Figure 11: Question 8

Based on the percentages on the chart, 60% making the majority agree with the view that a federal system is the best form of state that is suitable for managing the Anglophone and Francophone identities. However, a considerable percentage (28%) holds that secession is the best option. 8% of the respondents thinks that a unitary but decentralized state is favorable while 2% prefer a unitary state and 2% does not think that any of the options can manage both identities rationally.

9. According to the demands made by the Anglophone community (i.e. federation or secession) and according to your perception, what form of state do you prefer?

50 responses

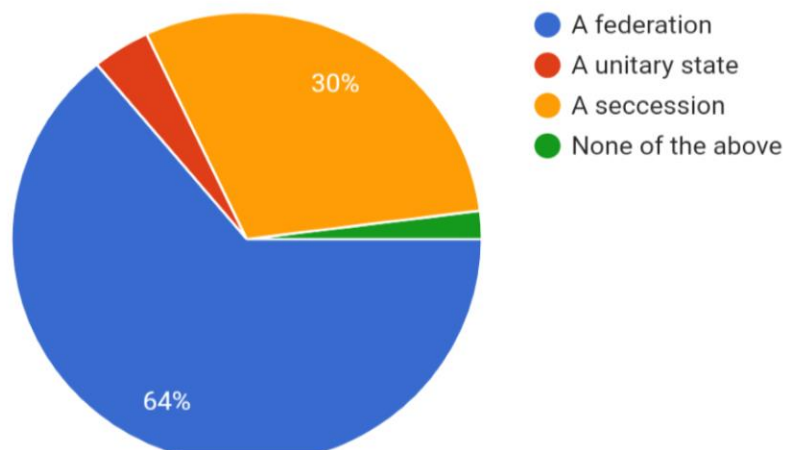


Figure 12: Question 9

From this chart, the prevailing view (64%) is that a federation will be more successful in dealing with this crisis and was chosen by most as the preferable form of state. Otherwise, a considerable proportion of respondent (30%) believe that secession is preferable while 4% still maintain that a unitary state is preferable. And lastly, 1% of the respondents have no preferences amongst these options.



## 10. In your opinion why is the government unable to address the Anglophone problem?

50 responses

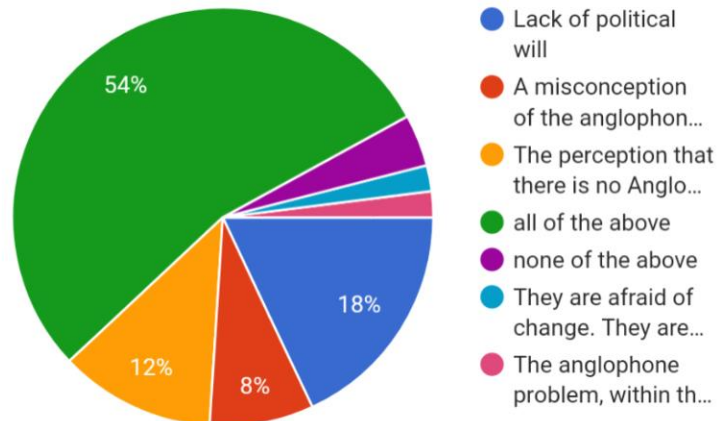


Figure 13: Question 10

In trying to understand why the government has been unable to solve the Anglophone problem, 54% based on the chart suggest that it is a combination of the government's lack of political will, misconception of the Anglophone problem and the perception that there is no problem that explains this inability. The second dominant view 18%, perceives that the government lacks political will while third dominant view (12%) suggests that the government's inability is based on the perception that there is no problem. Another group of 8% believes that this incapacity on the part of the government is as a result of a misconception of the problem. 4% of the respondents do not agree with the aforementioned while 4% of the respondent present independent views that suggests that the government is afraid

of change and it is protecting elites and international allies who have interests in the current status quo.

### **4.3 General Observations, Data Interpretation, Hypothesis Testing and Conclusion**

This section deals with the general implications and expectations of the data set based on the on variables such as gender, educational level and age range. The results of the data interpretation are derived based on the highest chosen opinion while consideration is taken of the fairly stronger opinions and the conclusion tries to link the end results of data interpretation to the working hypothesis in order to determine if there is a relationship or not.

#### **4.3.1 General Observations**

The average respondent was 26years old. The highest number of respondents came from the age range of 26-40years. This implies that the average respondent is fairly informed not only academically but have the capacity to grasp more from the various media outlets. Information on the Anglophone crisis has been highly publicized both domestically and internationally. Social media has greatly influenced the rate of sensitization and level of knowledge that an average Cameroonian has acquired with regards to this Crisis. Also, even after the shutdown of the internet services, the circulation of text messages through mobile phones had a great impact on the level of awareness portrayed by most respondents.

Furthermore, while considering the final outcome, note must be taken of the fact that most of the respondents are educated adult men, the average respondent has a Bachelor's degree which implies that they have a good mastery of Cameroon's History and therefore can understand but not necessarily agree to the claims made in

the Anglophone Crisis. However, this high literacy level does not reflect the general literacy level in Cameroon and as such the outcome is subjective to the thinking of and affected by the educational levels of the respondents.

Lastly, the uneven representation based on gender of respondents sadly reflects the actual reality in Cameroon as female participation in politics especially at the decision making levels is low when compared to men. In this data set most of the respondents were men as women only make up 21% of the general data set. This reflects women's disinterest in matters that have a political nature. This implies that a lot of sensitization still has to be done to encourage women to participate in politics as well as take part in decision making processes. A logical proof of this can be found when reflecting on the political heads from the time of independence to present day; few women have been involved at the top positions of the executive branch of the Cameroonian Government. In essence female political participation is not a dominant culture in Cameroon primarily because there are very few female politicians who can serve as role models as such much still needs to be done to promote and encourage female political participation not just on the basis of gender equality but also social equality because Cameroon still possesses a predominant male population of 100.12males to 100females.

#### 4.3.2 Data Interpretation

Table 4.1: Majority approval response according to gender in percentage

Total no.	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10
										0

<b>Male(72.5)</b>	60. 2	60.6 8	68.0 8	72.5 2	66. 6	59. 2	66. 6	44. 4	47.3 6	68. 08
<b>Female(21.6)</b>	20	18.0 4	20.2 4	21.5 6	19. 8	16	19. 8	13. 2	14.0 8	20. 24
<b>Unknown(5.9 )</b>	3.6 8	0.20 5	3.68	3.92	3.6	3.2	3.6	2.4	2.56	3.6 8

This table represents the percentages of the majority response to each question according to gender. For instance, if the majority response in question one was C, then from the table above 68.2% of men, 20% of women and 3.68% of gender unidentified respondents chose C. This portrays how the general outcome was influenced by gender. It also reflects the difference in responses between men and women although not much difference was recorded in this study as majority of the men and women seem to share a similar perception overall but with the men being more extreme and pertinent specially to questions on form of state suitable and preferred. Out of the 28% (Q9) and 30% (Q10) who chose secession which was the second dominant view 20.72% (Q9) and 22.20% (Q10) were men.

Table 4.2: Lowest approval response according to gender in percentage

<b>Total</b>	<b>Q1</b>	<b>Q2</b>	<b>Q3</b>	<b>Q4</b>	<b>Q5</b>	<b>Q6</b>	<b>Q7</b>	<b>Q8</b>	<b>Q9</b>	<b>Q10</b>
<b>MEN(72.5)</b>	5.92	4.44	5.92	1.48	7.4	34.04	16.28	29.6	26.64	5.92
<b>WOMEN(21.6)</b>	1.76	1.76	1.76	0.44	2.2	10.12	4.84	8.8	7.92	1.76

UNKNOWN(5.9)	0.8	0.32	0.32	0.08	0.4	1.84	0.88	1.60	1.44	0.32
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This table represents the percentage rating of the other answer options that were chosen the less and rejected according to gender. A similar pattern in response with regards to gender as experienced in table 1 was experienced here with the men being more dominant and extreme in their responses.

An analysis of the response given by a handful of Cameroonians in North Cyprus with reference to the tables above and with regards to their understanding and perception of the Anglophone identity and Anglophone Crisis, the majority view of both men (62.1%) and women (14.7%) as expressed in Table 1 perceive and acknowledge that:

- An Anglophone in the Cameroonian context means a person who originated from either of the Anglophone regions in Cameroon and whose first language out of the two official languages in Cameroon is English.
- The Anglophone identity is derived from colonial impact and regional stratification or ethno regionalism.
- The Anglophone crisis is unique in that it is one which possesses political, economic and identity dimensions with politics being the strongest.
- The Anglophone crisis is strongly geared towards eliminating the socio-political and economic discrimination first, then subsequently gaining political autonomy for the Anglophone community. In this context, political autonomy means the right to decide what affects them communally.

- The Anglophone crisis aims at gaining political autonomy, eliminating socio-political and economic discrimination, reconstruct the Anglophone identity and if possible ensure a regime change. According to the data set however, regime change is not an absolute aim for the Anglophone crisis when compared to the others.
- A regime changes without a subsequent change in the structure of the state (. i.e. federation or secession) cannot guarantee the resolution of the Anglophone problem.
- Addressing issue specifics at this stage such as the reconstruction of the common law and Anglo Saxon Educational system will not guarantee the resolution of the Anglophone Crisis.
- A federal state is the most preferred and most suitable for of state that can manage the different identities within Cameroon and also ensure the resolution of the Anglophone Crisis.
- Finally, the inability of the Cameroon Government to resolve this conflict is as a result of mostly lack of political will, the perception that there is no problem and a relative misconception of the Anglophone problem.

These results do confirm my expectations with regards to what Cameroonians in North Cyprus actually think about the Anglophone Identity and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. While this conformed expectation supports the argument of this research, it is still vital to examine how and why it does so.

#### **4.3.3 Hypothesis testing and conclusion**

With reference to chapter one (1.5) above, the hypothesis of this research maintained that the cause of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon is not just marginalization but

also the quest for the reconstruction of the Anglophone identity in Cameroon. While some have questioned the existence of an Anglophone problem as well as the Anglophone identity in Cameroon, extensive scholarly reviews and empirical evidence derived from this study on the public perception of Cameroonians in North Cyprus seems to acknowledge with this statement. Given that it is based on public opinion; it cannot be taken to imply causation.

Before engaging with the hypothesis testing exercise, it will be logical to draw some conceptual assumptions:

- The assumption that the nature and type of conflict is trivial to the claim of identity reconstruction. As argued by Rothman (1997) while explaining the ARIA Strategy in resolving conflict, he maintained that the ability to identify the type and nature of a conflict is very fundamental to the resolution process
- The assumption that the choice and preference of form of state is very relevant to the reconstruction process. The assumption is made with the general perception that certain forms of state are suitable for managing different identities. For instance, Hague and Harrop (2004) while analyzing comparative governments and politics, suggest that states with homogenous identities and ethnicities are more likely to favor unitary state governments such as Iceland while states with heterogeneous identities prefer the federal structure. Examples include Switzerland, Germany and Nigeria.
- The assumption that the quest for political autonomy reverses the principle of Self-determination as stipulated in Chapter 1, Article 1(2) of the UN Charter and Chapter 1 of African Charter on Human and People's Rights which is relevant to the reconstruction process.

In conclusion, empirical evidence establishes the fact that there is an Anglophone identity which sets precedence for the reconstruction process. Also, this study confirms that the Anglophone crisis is caused by marginalization. Public perception holds that marginalization can be eliminated through acquisition of political autonomy which in turn, can protect and preserve the Anglophone identity. This portrays a very strong relationship between marginalization and the Anglophone crisis and a fairly relative relationship to identity reconstruction.

However, what establishes a strong explanation for identity reconstruction in the Anglophone Crisis in the Form of state chosen. Scholarly and physical evidence uphold the general perception that the federal form of state is the best available system of government capable of managing diverse identities within a state. In this connection, majority of the respondents chose the federal form of state thereby approving the reconstruction claim. In essence, while the responses chosen in terms of the type and nature of conflict, the aim and reason for the conflict and lastly the preferable and chosen form of state that is perceived to have the ability to resolve the crisis fall in line with the hypothesis, does support the hypothesis, it does not have enough strength to validate it. In conclusion this survey does not confirm or reject the hypothesis but it portrays that the public opinion derived from this study might not necessarily imply there is a causal relationship nonetheless; it does not reject the fact that there is a relationship between identity reconstruction and the Anglophone Crisis

However, the final conclusion drawn from this public perception in no way, suggest that this is the general view in Cameroon. This conclusion is the perception of a Cameroonians (50) in North Cyprus and while it might not reflect the general view in



Cameroon it does reflect the different groups of perception and that exist in Cameroon with regards to the Anglophone crisis. This survey does not confirm or reject the hypothesis and it does acknowledge the role of these debate concepts in shaping the Anglophone Crisis. This implies that while the relationship between identity reconstruction and the Anglophone crisis might not have a causal link, never the less there is a relationship between the two variables which supports the hypothesis.

## **Chapter 5**

# **THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS: CURRENT STATE, ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION**

Having embarked on a comprehensive analysis of the Anglophone crisis through the use of qualitative and empirical research, this final chapter examines the current realities of this crisis. It will reassess the current state of the Anglophone crisis; explore the success and failure of attempted government solutions, make suggestions and draw a final conclusion with regards to the Anglophone Crisis and the course for Identity reconstruction.

### **5.1 Present state of the Anglophone Crisis**

After the UN Secretary General's brief stop in Cameroon while returning from Central African Republic, the expectation especially for the Anglophone community was that the Secretary General's presence in Cameroon was going to facilitate the ground work for genuine dialogue which has been the main demand from both the national and international community with regards to resolving the Anglophone Crisis. According to Inner City Press, a broadcasting corporation, with reference to the UN press briefing released by the Secretary General's deputy spokesperson, Mr. Farhan Haq on the 11<sup>th</sup> December 2017, the Secretary General's visit has yet to produce any strategic report on the Anglophone crisis (UN Noon Briefings). Unfortunately, tensions have escalated between the Cameroon Government and the

Anglophone secessionist Movement since this visit as all attempts to maintain peace have proven abortive. *The Cameroon journal*, an e-newspaper points out that as of the 28<sup>th</sup> November 2017, 8 security officers had been killed by faceless attackers whom the government claims are part of the secessionist armed wing. Meanwhile as a result of these killings, President Paul Biya upon his return from the AU/EU Summit held in Cote D'ivoire (27<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> November 2017), ordered for the deployment of additional troops to Manyu Division of the South West Region which was already under a military blockade. This action has caused many inhabitants of the area to flee to neighboring Nigeria raising the number of refugees from Cameroon into Nigeria to about 40,000people. The death toll as a result of continuous police brutality as from the 22<sup>nd</sup> September has risen to 222people, with countless declared missing (Tando 2017).

While the crisis continues to aggravate, most international and regional actors as well as independent human rights groups have continued to call on the Biya regime to engage in a comprehensive genuine dialogue with the Leaders of the Anglophone community in order to resolve this crisis. However, no active steps such as sanctions have been taken by any of these actors to reinforce their commitments towards encouraging dialogue with regards to the Anglophone crisis. As of now, the Anglophone crisis is still in a deadlock as no concrete plan has been presented as regarding the way forward.

## **5.2 Attempted solutions in the Anglophone Crisis**

When manifestations arose in October 2016, spearheaded particularly by lawyers and teachers, the Cameroonian government took some steps to address the situation. While the manifestations were heavily stifled by security forces, a commission led by

the Prime Minister, Mr. Philemon Yang was dispatched by President Paul Biya on the 25<sup>th</sup> November 2017 to Bamenda to dialogue specifically with the leaders of the Teachers and Lawyers' Association of the Anglophone Regions with regards to their tabled grievances (Nfor 2017). While some heralded this initiative as a good step towards resolution, it ended up failing primarily because most of the demands made by the various groups such as releasing those who were arrested unjustly were rejected. The crowning failure of this initiative came on the 17<sup>th</sup> January 2017 when the same leaders who had been called to dialogue were arrested by the regime and brandished as terrorists.

While the Leaders of the Anglophone Community were in jail, the Biya Regime furthered their steps in addressing the Anglophone Crisis. Decree No. 2017/013 of 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2017 on the National Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism was issued by the President. This decree was to lay down the institutional structure for the National Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism which was charged with the responsibility of regulating the linguistic and cultural imbalances with the purpose of maintaining peace and promoting national unity within the country. This act was not very welcomed by the Anglophone Community in particular as they considered it, firstly to be reductionist and secondly it was coming too late. These claims were made based on prior government actions which had confirmed the alleged feeling of marginalization by the Anglophone Community. It had become evident that Anglophone Cameroonians were treated as second class citizens and as such the Anglophone Problem was no longer based on language and culture. Amidst peaceful protests, the government had instructed for the shutdown of internet services within the Anglophone regions during which massive arbitrary

arrests, killings and other acts of human rights abuse where been carried out within the Anglophone regions (BBC 2017).

The next approach was directed towards the Common law system. On the 30<sup>TH</sup> March 2017, The Minister of Justice and Keeper of Seals announced that the parliament had endorsed the President's bill which recommended the creation of a Common Law Bench at the Supreme Court and a Department of Common Law at the National School of Magistracy and Administration (ENAM). This initiative was heralded by some Lawyers who remarked that it showed good faith but it ultimately failed in pacifying the Anglophone crisis and convincing the lawyers to return to work (Kometa 2017). This attempt failed because, the crisis was not only about the lawyers' complaints. Other sectors of the Anglophone Community had joined in solidarity with the Lawyers to build this case of marginalization. Resolving only the lawyers' complaints and expecting that this attempt will resolve the crisis was shortsighted. Furthermore, this attempt only addressed one of the complaints made by the Lawyers. The main demand which was a return to federalism in order to guarantee stability and non-interference in the common law was also linked to the other sectors of the Anglophone community. Granting federalism would have meant self-determination for the Anglophone community in all spheres but most importantly preserving the Anglophone identity. These attempts did not guarantee this security.

So far, these have been the most extensive attempts at resolving the Anglophone Crisis. Unfortunately, these attempts have fallen short at resolving the crisis primarily because all of these attempted solutions are issue specific. The Government

has failed to recognize the transitions that have taken place within this one-year crisis period and have continue to promulgate shortsighted solutions to the Crisis. The Lawyers' and Teachers' demonstration that sparked the Anglophone Crisis was obviously just an opening act for expressing the frustration and discontent that had been harbored by the Anglophone community as a whole for over half a century. For instance, when the peaceful protests emerged in October 2016, it focused specifically on the lawyers and teachers' grievances with regards to the incapacities that hindered their sectors to function properly making it issue specific. The Government's inaptitude and nonchalant reaction coupled with heavy police crackdown on the protest only reaffirmed this feeling of marginalization. These actions radicalized other sectors and unions within the Anglophone Community facing similar problems creating a spillover effect on the Anglophone Community as a whole. A critical examination of Cameroon's post-colonial socio-political and economic setting could predict that the Anglophone Crisis was just a disaster waiting to happen. The Lawyers' and Teachers' protest was just a valid outlet for the Anglophone Crisis. This assertion explains two things: first, it explains why the Anglophone crisis quickly transformed from an issue specific conflict to an identity based conflict and secondly, it explains why the measures provided by the government were regarded as shortsighted and consequently failed in resolving the Crisis.

### **5.3 Suggestions**

Although, the international community has continuously insisted on the need for dialogue as a resourceful step towards resolving the Anglophone crisis, little has been done to analyze the cause of the Government's inability to initiate a genuine comprehensive dialogue. While the Government maintains its no communication

policy with terrorists as it perceives the representatives of the Anglophone community as such, certain important aspects need to be taken into consideration:

- The government put itself in a difficult position when it termed the Leaders of the Anglophone Consortium as terrorist. With their no communication policy with terrorists, this creates a vacuum by default to the Anglophone Leadership as the government does not recognize that it has one. So this creates the question of ‘even if we are ready to dialogue but with whom?’
- Furthermore, the change of leadership in the Anglophone community has created a huge problem. Prior to the arrests of the initial leaders of the Anglophone Community, the government had been able to broker some sort of dialogue with these federalists. However, their arrests did not only radicalize the Anglophone Community but created an opportunity for the Secessionist faction to assume the mantle of leadership. Keep in mind that many elites who once supported and worked with the initial leaders also changed their stance to secession. While the secessionist factor existed at the beginning of the Anglophone Crisis, it had very limited support from the Anglophone Community. Its subsequent massive support was galvanized as a result of the government’s harsh strategies used in managing the Crisis. Had it been that the initial leaders maintained leadership after their release from prison, it would have been easier for the government to initiate dialogue as the first dialogue familiarized the government with their demands. But another dialogue now implies facing a new leadership with new and completely different set of demands.
- Again, with the change in Leadership, all Anglophone Parliamentarians and senior administrators who constitutionally represent the Anglophone people

in the government were given two options by the governing council of the Anglophone community either to resign and join the fight against marginalization or be rejected as representatives of the Anglophone Community in the Biya regime. This demand came after the alleged independence declaration of October 1<sup>st</sup> 2017. The rationale behind this demand is that Southern Cameroon (Ambazonia) is now independent and is no longer a part of French Cameroon hence all Anglophones who work in the Biya Regime are been demanded to resign and return as they do no longer have the capacity to represent the Anglophone Community by default of this alleged independence. This dictum was made evident after the events of the 22<sup>nd</sup> September and 1<sup>st</sup> October 2017 (these events involved the mass killing and arrest of Anglophones who participated in peaceful protests) where several commissions of Anglophone elites working with the Biya Regime were sent to the various Anglophone localities to try to broker dialogue at the communal levels but this failed as they were met with vehement disregard as locals boycotted their meetings because they did not respect the dictum. This puts the government in a dilemma as it seems to have run out of strategy and access to the Anglophone community making dialogue really difficult. Leaving it with the only choice of facing the Anglophone Leaders whom they consider as terrorists.

Given that all consecutive attempts at establishing some sort of solution plan through dialogue at the local, regional and national levels have constantly failed, it is important at this point to consider alternative suggestions which might be effective but however are still subjective with regards to the Anglophone Crisis.



- Firstly, in order to regain access to the Anglophone Community, the government has to engage in a confidence and trust building exercise with the Anglophone Community which can be achieved through a Presidential pardon and release of all those who have been arrested during this conflict period. The reason for this confidence building exercise is because the government's consistent disregard and inconsiderate reaction towards the Anglophone Problem and its unwillingness to preserve Anglophone cultural values and norms have severely damaged the level of confidence and trust the Anglophone community has for the Government. Therefore, an attempt at rebuilding that confidence is very crucial if any proposed strategy for resolution is to succeed.
- Secondly, this confidence and trust building exercise can be furthered by demilitarizing the Anglophone regions and ensuring that all refugees are reintegrated into their communities safely.
- Thirdly, issuing a condolence message to families who have lost their loved ones as a result of the conflict. While these steps might put the government in a weaker position, it also weakens the power of the Anglophone Leadership because words complimented by action gives the government credibility. Given that the government's main agenda has been ensuring territorial integrity (Nkwi and Nyamnjoh 2011), the aforementioned suggestions if implemented do not compromise this position rather they may help the government to regain access to the Anglophone community. These measures might be easier to achieve on the basis that the Anglophone Leadership as of now does not have the resources that the government possess.

- Finally, organizing a referendum just like the Catalanian Case, with the help of an external body to ensure transparency on the question of federalism, unity or secession might give room for temporal stability and portray the Government's commitment to resolving the crisis.

While these suggestions might appear very simplistic, it does not involve dialogue at this point. Initiating dialogue will involve not only recognizing the new leadership of the Anglophone Community but also acknowledging their claims. Coupling the confidence and trust building exercise with a referendum completely puts back the power of decision making in the hands of the Anglophone Community and not with their leaders. Dialogue should be initiated when the referendum reaches a decision. Regardless of whatever decision the referendum reaches, the main objectives of this suggestion is to mitigate the constantly increasing casualties as a result of the conflict and prevent killing and fighting while still maintaining territorial integrity. In the event of negotiations or dialogue with regards to the outcome of the referendum, external guarantors will be suitable to ensure that both parties comply with the finalized terms.

This exercise in my view outlines a couple of opportunities to both parties; it presents the most comprehensive form of dialogue through a referendum, it gives the Anglophone community the right to self-determination as a people and it preserves the territorial integrity of the country while preventing conflict.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

Having systematically examined the history of Cameroon and the Anglophone Crisis in order to establish the role of identity reconstruction in the Anglophone crisis, this

research seems to clarify some of the most debated concepts in Cameroonian history through its discoveries. Currently, the position that once questioned the existence of an Anglophone identity as well as the existence of an Anglophone problem have shifted from one of denial to one of acknowledgement while trying to pursue various options for resolution. This shift in conception has been highly influenced by intensity of the Anglophone crisis and the degree to which it gained international recognition.

Furthermore, while others have argued that calling it an Anglophone problem is reductionist on the basis that they consider it a general problem resulting from bad governance, historical evidence illustrates that the Anglophone crisis is one which comprises of political, socio-cultural and economic elements but most importantly what shapes the claim of marginalization as the core of the Anglophone problem is not just discrimination based on language but discrimination based on identity making it more of an identity crisis. This implies that the economic, political and socio-cultural marginalization experienced, only happens because they are Anglophone who unfortunately makeup the minority in terms of population distribution when considering the Anglophone and Francophone identities.

Again, while many consider the increasing approval of secession by the Anglophone Community as irrational, it is conceivable. Based on historical review, the inglorious abolition of the federal system in 1972 in Cameroon is one of the outstanding causes of the present predicament of the Anglophone Community but the rejection of federalism altogether lies not on its previous abolition but on the fact that it was easy to abolish due its weak structure resulting from the unequal power division. The

Anglophone community dreads that a return to federalism leaves a possibility for recurrence hence the endorsement of secession. The 1961 federation failed not only because of its weak structure but because the Anglophone politicians had been deceived and rushed into an unequal agreement which did not represent or reflect their interests. Several attempts at reversing this situation thereafter have only worsening the situation. The reason why the Anglophone community is advocating for federalism anyone has to do with a couple of observations. Primarily, the population ratio 80:20 between the two communities indicates that the larger population (Francophone community) is prone to dominate the system. Secondly, in the wake of the uprising, the government's reaction and that of the Francophone community implies that they do not recognize the existence of an Anglophone identity. As earlier mentioned federalism seems to be the most suitable form of state for managing diverse identities within a state but within the Cameroonian context if the government does not recognize the existence of these different identities, then they Anglophone community cannot be treated equally even within federalism which was what happened in the federal system of 1961-1972. While the Anglophone community rejects federalism on the basis of fear of going back to the previous situation, the additional factor that solidifies this rejection is based on government reaction. The Government has refused to recognize and treat them as a people and therefore cannot be considered as equal partners within a federation.

Furthermore, the argument on whether the Anglophone community possesses the right to self-determination as a people while referring to historical literature seems to have gain cognizance with international law. Although Germany annexed Cameroon as a whole, the division instituted thereafter by Britain and France established

boundaries that were internationally recognized as both territories were administered as independent mandated trust territories under the League of Nations and UN respectively. The claim of existence as a people after decolonization was inherently acknowledged once again when the Anglophone Community willed its right to self-determination by choosing to gain independence as a people either by joining Nigeria or La République du Cameroun.

In addition, the claim that the unification agreement with regards to due process is illegal and presence of no Union Act thereof when referred to historical facts seems to be legitimate. According to clause 1, Article 47 of the Founban Conference, a revision of the federal structure could only take place if it was approved by a simple majority of the members of the federal assembly whereby both parties had a majority of its members in session. However, the dissolution of the federal state came through a referendum in 1972 which was in violation of the aforementioned article.

Contemporary, the Anglophone problem and Anglophone Crisis has experienced phenomenal transformation overtime. After half a century, the Anglophone problem has moved from the status of being considered non-existent to gaining international recognition. Also, it has transformed from a dormant conflict to an active conflict especially as a result of the 2016 uprisings. It also reshaped its form from an issue based conflict (when it became active as it focused on issues within the Anglo Saxon and Common Law System) to an identity based conflict which focuses on all the different issues that are faced by the Anglophone community as a whole.

However, while the empirical study conducted within this research does not validate or ascertain the reality in Cameroon, it does portray the predominant views that exist with regards to the concept of the Anglophone Identity and the Anglophone crisis. Although this research cannot make validate assertions with regards to its empirical study, it can ascertain that the Anglophone Problem and the Anglophone crisis are real and there is an urgent need for realistic solution strategies to prevent a potential civil war.

In conclusion, the theoretical framework of this study, suggest that the Anglophone Community has experienced some form of internal colonialism due to political processes that have been implemented from the time of Independence. These processes are the elements that instigated the Anglophone Problem, the feeling of Marginalization, the dilution of the Anglophone Identity, the desire for reconstruction/restoration and preservation and inevitably the Anglophone Crisis. This crisis in turn, has transformed from and interest based/issue oriented to a structured oriented/identity based conflict. While empirical findings from the study do portray variations in the attachments connected to these processes, it nevertheless agrees that these processes in one way or the other influenced the Anglophone Crisis. Hence, findings from the empirical study lends support to the theoretical assessment as the survey portrays that the Anglophone community is more that determined to reinstate or restructure their position to one that can never fall to the position of second class citizenship talk less of internal colonialism. This has been proven by their strong desire to either return to a loose federation or a complete secession as these options are the only options capable of guaranteeing the achievement of the reconstruction process.

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