

# UPHEAVALS, SECURITY, AND PEACE IN AFRICA: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING REGIONS OF CAMEROON

By Abinwi Numfor Muwanki

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## **ABSTRACT**

As far back a s the independence of Africa till date, armed conflicts, peace and security have been a call for concern. The Anglophone crises in Cameroon have grown since 2016 and show a deep social and political struggle based on historical, cultural, and language differences in the country. This conflict mainly involves the English-speaking areas, known as the Northwest and Southwest, which have faced long-term neglect in a largely Francophone political system. The issues arise from feelings of being ignored in government, education, and economic growth, worsening the divide between the Anglophone people and the central government. Many groups, including local organizations and international players, have tried to mediate the situation, often pushing for demands for federalism or more self-governance. The crises have led to serious humanitarian issues, like forced migrations and casualties, and have also ignited discussions about national identity and governance in Cameroon. Knowing this conflict is important for looking at bigger questions of post-colonial state management and stability in Central Africa.

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### **CHATPTER ONE**

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Arguably, human-induced disasters are increasingly at the origin of complex emergencies, given their capacities to rapidly disrupt livelihoods, their multi-causal nature, and the propensity to interrelate political, economic, social, and environmental factors including internal armed conflict. Over the past decade, the increasing magnitude of complex emergencies has resulted into dire socio-economic and political consequences posing incredible challenges to humanitarian and emergency response stakeholders.

The ongoing Anglophone crisis in Cameroon's English-speaking areas shows a notable example of the complicated interactions between local turmoil, security issues, and the search for peace in Africa. This conflict comes from long-standing complaints about language and cultural neglect, growing into a lengthy fight filled with violence, social unrest, and rising separatist feelings. As the government and separatist groups increasingly use military tactics, the humanitarian effects and larger impacts on regional stability have gained more attention. This research seeks to evaluate the various aspects of the crisis, looking at both its root causes and the reactions from local and global players. By breaking down this situation, we aim to shed light on the larger subjects of governance, identity, and reconciliation, which are essential for understanding current conflicts in Africa.

When looking at the Anglophone Crisis considering African security issues, it is clear that regional stability relies on understanding the socio-cultural conflicts involved. As noted in Regional Conflict Management of Ethnic Wars: The African Union's Effectiveness in Cameroon's

Anglophone Crisis, "The African Union (AU) has a strong belief in intervening in conflicts, but it has struggled to effectively deal with the complex nature of the crisis. This is largely due to its focus on specific contexts that might not adequately consider the historical issues in Cameroon's socio-political landscape". (Salome et al, 2022, p. 22) Ongoing ethnic and linguistic tensions, worsened by an authoritarian government that suppresses opposition, threaten efforts for peace and hinder the country's economic growth.

Research on when instabilities (civil unrest, internal crises and conflicts, or emergencies) become complex emergencies is very sparse. "Frameworks for disaster management and humanitarian systems have been lopsided in their focus on responding to particular types of crisis and emergencies without much thought on the nexus between complex emergencies and major rapid-onset natural hazards and disasters". (Buchanan-Smith and Christoplos, 2004, p. 10) As also observed by others, "The Anglophone crisis is one of Cameroon's several humanitarian crises that has been raging in the country's North West Region and South West Region—also called the Anglophone region, since 2016. Managing this and other crises has been very challenging to Cameroon's disaster management frameworks". (Bang et al, 2022, p. 2019b) The ramification of Cameroon's Anglophone crisis: conceptual analysis of a looming Complex Disaster Emergency. Although Cameroon's respond to the Anglophone crisis has been facilitated by external humanitarian actors, the response has been largely suboptimal. This study seeks to address these issues by analyzing the Cameroon Anglophone crisis, raise consciousness on the challenges involved and propose possible steps to peace. It seeks to explore how the internal and external development interventions towards the Anglophone-Francophone conflicts have been developed and the issues that have arisen concerning their effectiveness. It explores the idea of a human rights-based approach to development intervention, one that is potentially gainful towards the de-securitization of development intervention and compatible with the Cameroonian socio-cultural truism.

### 1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

This dissertation aims to critically analyze the root causes of conflict in the English-speaking Regions of Cameroon, explore different approaches to the conflict resolution, evaluate the effectiveness of peacebuilding strategies so far, and contribute to a deeper understanding of how to promote sustainable peace. This will involve examining political, social, economic, and environmental factors that contributed to the conflict, as well as investigating the role of different actors like the government, international organizations, and civil society in peacebuilding the efforts.

### 1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is significant as it contributes to a clearer understanding of the core causes of upheavals, suggest possible pathways to peace, and effective strategies for preventing and resolving violent disputes, ultimately aiming to inform policy, practice, and societal approaches to building more peaceful communities globally. It explores complex issues such as inequality, power dynamics, and social structures that contribute to conflict. It also examines methods for promoting dialogue, reconciliation, and non-violent conflict resolution.

#### 1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

#### a. Upheavals

According to Neural world (2024), "upheaval refers to a significant and sudden disturbance or change within a social system. It disrupts the stability and equilibrium that communities or societies once enjoyed. Upheaval can manifest in various forms, such as political revolutions, economic crises, social movements, or even natural disasters". (P. 1) Upheavals are big and sudden changes that disrupt the usual order in social, political, or economic areas. This word includes many types of unrest, like revolutions, riots, and mass protests, which usually happen because of seen unfairness or failed systems. The causes of upheaval are complex and often stem from long-standing issues about inequality, a lack of representation, or harsh rule. These events represent group feelings of disagreement, motivated by a desire for change or the need to modify power structures. The results of upheavals can vary widely, from major social changes to more conflict and violence, putting pressure on existing systems and starting discussions on justice and human rights. In the end, grasping what upheavals are and how they work is important for understanding their complex connection to conflict and the search for peace in communities.

#### b. Conflict

"Conflict is the result of a disagreement between actors on the basis of perceived incompatible goals". (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2012, p. 2) It refers to a mental struggle

resulting from incompatible and opposing needs, drives, wishes, external or internal demands. It can arise from differences in thought process, attitudes, understanding, interests, and perceptions. Conflict often involves disagreements between individuals with opposing opinions or principles. Conflicts usually come from complicated political, economic, and social issues that can turn violent, especially where there is political chaos. Disagreements and conflicts are inevitable everyday occurrences – and their resolution can result in constructive change. Conflicts are often analyzed at different levels – interpersonal, group or community and national – and in terms of how the levels interact with each other. They can turn into violent conflict when there are inadequate channels for dialogue and disagreement. When dissenting voices and deeply held grievances cannot be heard and addressed and in environments of instability, injustice and fear. "Conflict by itself is neither good nor bad. However, the manner in which conflict is handled determines whether it is constructive or destructive". (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000) Conflict prevention and resolution approaches aim to resolve conflicts through non-violent means.

### C. Peace

Peace is a state of societal friendship and harmony in the absence of hostility and violence.

"It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers". (Rummel, 1981, p.3) It is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict, such as war, and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups. Peace may be opposed to or an opposite of antagonistic conflict, violence, or war. It may refer to an internal state (of mind or of nations) or to external relations. Peace is also defined as a period of freedom

from war or violence, especially when people live and work together without violent disagreements. Peace is the feeling and experience of developing your capacity for maintaining social cohesion, positive interactions, and justice, free from the experience or fear of negative conflict and harm.

# 1.5 Situating the problem of study I: Historical Context

The Anglophone crises in Cameroon come from deep historical issues related to colonial times and ongoing marginalization. After the 1961 reunification of British Southern Cameroons with French-speaking Cameroon, there were big gaps in political representation and cultural acknowledgment, leading to anger among English speakers. This feeling of disenfranchisement got worse with government policies that favored a francophone identity, causing Anglophones to feel isolated and excluded. "Recent analyses point out that the government's ongoing denial and neglect of local problems, along with the economic troubles caused by nepotism and corruption, have led to the growth of separatist movements, which see their fight as resistance against long-standing injustices". (Marcel Abanda et al, 2021 p.55) Additionally, outside factors, like the resolution of the Bakassi Peninsula dispute, have made internal issues more complicated, turning social grievances into armed conflict driven by separatist goals. Understanding these historical details is important to fully comprehend the complexities of the current crises.

The history of colonialism in Cameroon has greatly shaped its current unity, especially regarding the Anglophone crisis. Colonial powers, particularly during British and French rule, drew borders without consideration for the area's varied cultures and ethnic groups. These colonial actions have fueled division between Anglophone and Francophone people, with the latter holding power in political and economic areas, leading to the marginalization of English-

speaking communities. Issues like the disputes over the Bakassi Peninsula—intensified by past injustices—highlight the uneven distribution of resources, which increases frustration among Anglophones. This state of marginalization not only encourages separatist feelings but also makes it harder to build a unified national identity. Therefore, Cameroon's colonial past is essential for understanding the origins of its current conflicts and the push for peace in Anglophone areas.

The growth of Anglophone identity in Cameroon has been greatly influenced by past wrongs and current issues, highlighting an important part of the wider story of the Anglophone Crisis. Key historical moments, like the division of Cameroon by colonial powers and the Foumban Constitutional Conference in 1961, set the stage for an identity that has frequently been overlooked in a mostly Francophone political setting. Francophones make up about 85% (majority) of the population while the Anglophone about 15% (minority) of the total population. The challenges of this Anglophone identity appear in the ongoing conflict, now marked by increasing separatist feelings and armed conflict since 2016, amid views of government oppression and cultural disconnection. The ongoing fight for more autonomy and acknowledgment shows deep-rooted frustrations that go beyond simple language differences, as Anglophones claim their unique political and cultural rights within the Cameroonian nation. This complex identity and set of grievances require a careful approach to really understand and tackle the core issues of the crisis.

# 1.6 Situating the problem of study II: Socio-Political Dynamics,

### Political Marginalization, Activism and security.

The socio-political situation of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is based on past complaints and ongoing unfair treatment by the central government. These tensions turned into a complex conflict fueled by calls for political recognition, language rights, and fair distribution of resources. The protests in 2016 began due to legal and educational issues that English-speaking communities faced; however, these problems quickly turned into demands for secession, changing the political scene in Cameroon. This shift shows the wider effects of neglect and exclusion that marginalized groups face, leading to feelings of identity and self-rule among Anglophones. Additionally, the rise of unarmed civilian self-defense actions shows how communities are responding to increasing violence, showing strength amid serious humanitarian problems. Therefore, the complex relationship of social and political factors in the Anglophone areas emphasizes the importance of detailed conflict resolution methods that tackle both shortterm and long-term issues. Furthermore, "the African Union's diplomatic engagement underscores the complexities of the conflict, revealing that mere intervention is insufficient without addressing the underlying socio-political issues that have fueled discontent". (Salome et al, 2022, p. 5)

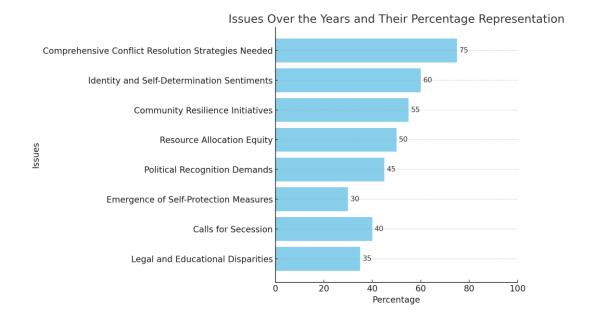


Figure 1

The chart illustrates various socio-political issues along with their percentage representation over different years. The significant rise in the need for comprehensive conflict resolution strategies, reaching 75 percent in 2021, highlights the growing urgency in addressing these challenges.

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon shows the bad effects of political exclusion, leading to major tensions in the country. The ongoing exclusion of English-speaking people from politics and decision-making has created a sense of powerlessness and increased demands for more independence. This marginalization became clear in late 2016, when English-speaking lawyers and students protested government actions that ignored their cultural identity. In response, security forces violently suppressed the protests in the north-west and south-west regions, worsening the conflict ("The tensions between the English-speakers and the government continued into the 2000s, occasionally boiling over, such as in late 2016 when strikes and demonstrations held in the Anglophone community to protest the government's marginalization

of English-speakers were met with repressive measures from the government, further stoking unrest.". (Britannica Editors) Such harsh government responses highlight how ignoring the needs and voices of excluded groups fosters conflict instead of solving it. The crisis illustrates a wider pattern of policy failures that, without real conversation and understanding, continue to create division and weaken the chance for peace in the area.

The role of civil society and activism in the English-speaking areas of Cameroon is crucial in changing the political scene during ongoing crises. Activism acts as an opposing view to government messages, seen in the different statements from leaders like President Paul Biya, who talks about national unity, and activist Mark Bareta, who supports leaving under Cameroon's French-led system. 'Mark Bareta refers to the "Anglophone problem" as a "revolution" to portray it as a positive incident and to galvanize more activists towards achieving autonomy". (Soh et al, 2022, P.19) This contrasts highlights how civil actions serve as a way to voice concerns over economic struggles and social exclusion, which have heightened tensions. Moreover, civil society groups and cultural activists have used different platforms, such as social media and music, to share the hardships of the people, thus gaining wider support for peace efforts. This kind of mobilization not only raises the voices of neglected communities but also urges officials to seek solutions, emphasizing the essential role of activism in encouraging conversation and pushing for humanitarian actions during difficult times.

The security problems of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon are serious, leading to not just local instability but also impacting international security. As the ongoing fight between Anglophones and Francophones grows, different groups compete for power, increasing violence that pushes many people out of their homes and harms local economies. This situation creates a

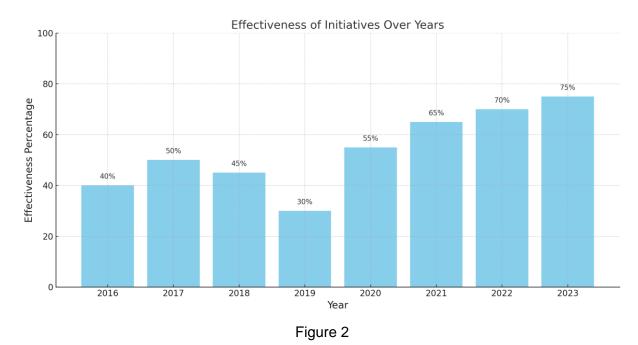
setting that allows extremism to thrive, making communities more open to outside terrorist influences, as various reports show. Additionally, the crisis's ongoing nature reveals the failure of government plans, resulting in a rising demand for international mediation to tackle root issues, like the ending of the federal system in 1972, which has caused long-lasting issues. "Abolishing the federal structure was not the only situation affecting Southern Cameroonians post-1972. The territory of the Anglophone regions lost control of their political, economic, and social power in the country". (Ebini et al, 2017, p. 4) There is a critical need for open discussions, emphasizing that "violence persisted in the North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon," highlighting the pressing need for peacebuilding efforts that will stabilize the area and improve security for everyone.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon significantly affects local communities and human security, resulting in a state of fear and instability. As the civil conflict worsens, marked by violence, ordinary people experience increased insecurity and displacement, threatening their basic human rights. Economic activities suffer greatly, leading to more poverty and creating a cycle of violence that distances those affected from crucial services, such as education and healthcare. The humanitarian needs are urgent, as many displaced people struggle with food insecurity and poor shelter, forcing them to seek safety in already troubled areas. Additionally, governmental efforts, like the Grand National Dialogue, aimed at solving these problems, have mostly failed to connect with marginalized groups, who view these actions as shallow and not addressing the real issues created by systemic exclusion and poor governance. As a result, the crisis not only weakens trust in government institutions but also intensifies tensions between communities, making the search for peace and security even harder.

| 250000  |                                      |  | Affected   |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 250000  |                                      |  |  |
| 230000  | 180                                  | 200  | 50   |
| 430000  | 250                                  | 300  | 60   |
| 500000  | 300                                  | 500  | 75   |
| 700000  | 400                                  | 650  | 100  |
| 800000  | 500                                  | 700  | 120  |
| 900000  | 600                                  | 800  | 150  |
| 1000000 | 700                                  | 900  | 175  |
|         | 500000<br>700000<br>800000<br>900000 | 430000     250       500000     300       700000     400       800000     500       900000     600 | 430000     250     300       500000     300     500       700000     400     650       800000     500     700       900000     600     800 |

Table 1. Impact of the Anglophone Crisis on Local Communities and Human Security in Cameroon

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon is a clear example of serious security issues in the region that require coordinated responses from international actors. The crisis has been made worse by problems like poor governance, feelings of being left out, and ethnic conflicts. "These issues have led the African Union (AU) to take a specific approach to resolve conflicts, focusing more on diplomacy rather than military action". (Salome et al, 2022, p 5) However, the AU's efforts, such as the Grand National Dialogue, have had a hard time creating lasting peace. This is mainly because they often miss the underlying issues that cause unrest, like economic inequalities and lack of political power. As a result, ongoing instability not only poses a threat to Cameroon's unity but also affects regional security, as it can lead to problems in nearby countries. Therefore, it is crucial to rethink international strategies to effectively manage conflicts and build lasting peace in the region.



The chart illustrates the effectiveness of various initiatives from 2016 to 2023, showcasing a clear upward trend in effectiveness percentages over the years, with the highest performance observed in 2023

# **CHAPTER TWO**

### LITERATURE REVIEW

To achieve the goals of this research, we need a review of related literature to know what others have said on the topic

### **Causes of conflict**

Even though the contemporary aspects of the conflict can be traced to the shortcomings of the Amadou regime, its foundation is deeply rooted in the 1961 UN plebiscite. The protracted antagonism between West and East Cameroon has often motivated scholars to review the arguments justifying calls for either reconstitution of a federal system or secession of the Anglophone regions. These arguments can be classified into the following:

# 2.1 A complicated historical background

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon goes back to the complicated history of colonial and post-colonial rule. After World War I, Cameroon was divided between Britain and France, with the Anglophone areas governed under British rule. This situation created unique cultural and political identities within a mostly Francophone nation. Tensions grew after Cameroon's reunification in 1961, especially during the Foumban Constitutional Conference, which aimed to blend these differing identities. Anglophone voices felt sidelined as national policies increasingly supported Francophone culture, leading to greater dissatisfaction among the Anglophone community. As noted in the history of the Anglophone Problem, this dissatisfaction turned into protests led by civil society, which eventually escalated into armed conflict driven by calls for

secession, showing how past grievances continue to affect current situations. As noted by Billy Agwanda and Israel Nyaburi Nyadera in 'Cameroon and Anglophone Crisis',

Decades after independence, Cameroon, once divided between the British and the French during the colonial period, continues to experience sustained conflicts between its Francophone and Anglophone citizens. The government has failed to reconcile the sharp differences coined around linguistic identities inherited from the former colonial powers. While this crisis threatens to split the country, it has received little attention from scholars and peace advocates. (p. 1)

Cunningham (1998:2) emphasizes that "ethnonational identity is fundamental in conflicts because it influences the formation of in-groups and out-groups"

#### 2.2 Socio-cultural victimization.

Feeling victimized by dominant socio-cultural groups often establishes a strong sense of identity amongst minority groups – who may then develop coping mechanisms to facilitate their breakaway from such circumstances. Attempts by the government to reform the Anglo-Saxon cultural legacy in West Cameroon through the system of education are strongly resented. "At the national level, students from Anglophone areas have often decried bias and discrimination in the admission processes at the higher institutions of learning". (Chereji and Lohkoko, 2012, p. 13) After having had the Anglo-Saxon model in their primary and secondary schools, they would have a language drawback in a higher education that uses the French language and model. This has forced many students from Anglophone areas to travel abroad and seek education consistent

with their earlier training while a majority of others fail to complete their studies in higher education.

Previously, as part of the government unification agenda, the Anglophone General Certificate of Education (GCE) had been modified to make it like that of the French baccalaureate. However, protests by teachers and students' associations in West Cameroon prompted the government to establish a General Certificate of Education (GCE) board. In addition, while the Foumban accord provided for the recognition of English as an official language just like French, official communication in government and other public offices is often, if not exclusively, conducted in French regardless of the region. "Media entertainment through television, cinemas, or theatres, were obligated to be in French – even in major Anglophone towns like Limbe and Bamenda. Programs originally in English could be broadcasted once dubbed translations of French were provided". (Konings, 2004, p3)

# 2.3 Political grievances.

"Frustrations in West Cameroon have continued in the post-unification era when Francophone leadership has been alleged to dominate the government leaving minimal representation for the marginalized Anglophones". (Caxton 2017:21) Since independence, the numerical dominance of Francophone Cameroon has ensured that the presidency is a de facto position for East Cameroon. The constitution however guarantees that if the president is from one of the regions, the prime minister must be appointed from the other region. As such, just like the presidency, the position of the prime minister has been a de facto post for Anglophone Cameroon. However, since Biya came to power in 1982, the office of the prime minister has been substantially weakened with more power vested in the office of the president. As such, most of the Anglophones feel that they

are grossly underrepresented in government. Secondly, for Anglophone Cameroonians, the concept of political sovereignty remains a distant reality. Perhaps the failure to grant to Southern Cameroonians as one of the options during the 1961 plebiscites may be considered as one of the continuing political grievances for the region. For Anglophone Cameroonians, there was a violation of the trusteeship agreement that was supposed to establish self-government or lead to independence – as had been stipulated in Article 2076(b) of the UN Charter Article that called for independence of former colonies in 1960.

"The Anglophone conflict has been made worse by the authoritarian republican chieftaincy that was set up in Cameroon after independence and reunification". (Nkongho, 2020, p. 142)

As stated by Krieger (2008), "Due to rising frustrations in Anglophone Cameroon, the first opposition party – the Social Democratic Front (SDF) – emerged in 1990 and advocated for liberal political reforms" (p. 36). He goes on to make clear that "Unfortunately, the unveiling of the party in 1990 was marked by the death of six Anglophone youths after clashes with police". (Krieger, 2008, p.36) Konings (2004) in the same light says, "Supporters of SDF were instead accused by the government of advocating for the reintegration of Anglophone Cameroon with Nigeria by singing the Nigerian national anthem and carrying the Nigerian national flag".

(p. 185) The ruling Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement (CPDM) criticized SDF and called for severe government response against the group and its supporters – whom they branded as 'Biafrans' (secessionists). "More pressure from the domestic and the international community on democratization influenced Biya to declare multiparty politics and an increased degree of human rights and freedoms through the enactment of the Law of Association in 1990 (Law No.

90/056)". (Ayuk ,2018, p. 47) It became more possible to arrange public rallies and demonstrations, and to disseminate information through newspapers. Consequently,

other political parties, civil society organizations and associations emerged to actively represent the interests of the minority Anglophone communities both domestically and internationally.

### 2.4 Economic marginalization.

Maritn Gilens (2012) wrote that, "There is often a direct correlation between economic and political power". (p. 24) The control of economic resources is often subject to competition not only at the individual level, but also between various levels of government. "West Cameroon is considered an important national economic base due to its natural resources such as oil and production of crops like bananas, tea, palm oil, cocoa, palms, timber, and rubber. (Sama and Johnson-Ross 2005:104) Other observers state that, "the recognition of these attributes can be seen in the regional presence of the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) – the biggest para-state corporation and the second largest source of employment after government". (Wanie and Tanyi 2013, p 144) Given these important economic attributes, one would perhaps expect that the region is privileged with meaningful development. However, "lack of critical infrastructure such as roads, markets, and connectivity to electricity, has impacted productivity and forced the majority of the inhabitants into abject poverty". (Pommerolle and Heungoup 2017:536) But even more significant, is the appropriation of oil revenues by the national government. All of Cameroon's raw oil resources are located in the Anglophone region. But all the critical institutions such as the National Hydrocarbons Corporation (SNH), Cameroon Company of Petroleum Depots (SCDP), Hydrocarbon Analysis Control (HYDRAC), and the national refinery SONARA (Société Nationale de Raffinage) are located in the Francophone regions. For the inhabitants of Anglophone regions, establishing these corporations outside the region is perceived as a systematic plan by the government to deny the region employment opportunities.

# 2.5 Socio-Political Dynamics

The socio-political situation in Anglophone Cameroon is closely linked to the historical and cultural issues that have created regional complaints. These issues highlight the importance of the Grand National Dialogue, which aimed to create a space for resolving the conflict between the Cameroonian government and separatist groups in the North West and South West areas. Yet, as noted, the dialogue did not produce the desired results because of ongoing denial about the crisis's seriousness and the deep-rooted systems of governance that are marked by favoritism and ethnic exclusion. As observed, "The response from the Cameroonian government has often been the Grand National Dialogue, which aims to address complaints and bring back stability; however, this effort has had little success". (Abanda M et al, 2021, p. 3) Additionally, internal conflicts, worsened by ongoing underdevelopment, have placed the African Union (AU) in a complicated position, needing to manage a situation filled with conflicting interests while adopting a specific method to resolve conflicts. As noted in "Social science and humanities Journal, Vol 08' by Aemro Tenaw Birhan:

The African Union (AU) has both formidable

obstacles and opportunities in conflict resolution.

Despite significant progress in resolving conflicts throughout the continent, the African Union still faces several obstacles. These difficulties include a lack of funds and resources, political meddling and a lack of political will, the complexity of African conflicts, and the influence of regional and global factors on African efforts to resolve disputes. (p. 34582)

The way governance works in Cameroon, especially with how power is centralized, has greatly added to the tensions in Anglophone areas. After the federal system was removed in 1972, the smaller Anglophone group has felt neglected and sees the larger Francophone group's control in politics as harmful to their needs. Filippov and Shvetsova (2004) stated:

Federalism is commonly understood as a theory of government that uses power to check power amid opposite and rival interests. Authority is limited, and no single body exercises supreme control nor has monopoly over the use of force. (p. 1)

This lack of proper representation has made frustrations worse, as Anglophone areas are falling behind in social and economic growth compared to the Francophone regions. As states by Christman Atem Ebini:

One of the main areas of discontent of Southern Cameroons citizens on their marginalization and assimilation by the Republic of Cameroun, is the fact that there has been a complete neglect of the infrastructural development of the region. The region depends on French Cameroun for electricity, satellite services, phone services, water and international travels. There is not international airport in the whole of Southern

Cameroons territory. During this period, and to reduce tension, infrastructural projects such as international airports in Tiko and Bali, will help reduce tensions. The region should have full control of its own satellite to provide internet and phone services to 69 avoid interruptions from the government in Yaounde. Water and electrical supplies should be fully in the hands of the regional administrations. (2019, p 68)

These complaints have led to strong movements by organizations like the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and the Ambazonia Governing Council, which push for recognition and fair governance. As these tensions turn into conflict, fixing governance issues and improving political representation are crucial for reaching lasting peace and development in the area.

The Anglophone Crisis became more noticeable in 2016, driven by ongoing complaints about language bias and neglect by institutions, pointing to deeper tensions related to identity and political representation. Recent studies show that the conflict is not just about identity; there are also important political rivalries and regional influences, especially from Nigeria. According to Sombaye Eyango and Jules Roger, "the relationship between Cameroon and Nigeria plays into the current conflict in the Anglophone region. ......You can't think about handling the Anglophone crisis, and even the future of Cameroon without thinking about Nigeria" (Roger, 2018, 56.). Additionally, the International Court of Justice's decision regarding the Bakassi Peninsula brought up important territorial issues that worsened internal conflicts in the Anglophone areas, making peace efforts more difficult. Knowing this historical context is important for understanding the complex nature of the ongoing crisis.

In summarizing main points about the conflict in Anglophone Cameroon, historical issues, feeling left out, and identity problems are important factors that increase tensions. Research

shows that good conflict resolution strategies need to be varied, focusing not just on quick issues of power and representation but also on the deeper social and cultural gaps that create dislike. Future studies should look at how grassroots reconciliation programs and participatory governance can promote inclusion and discussion among conflicting groups. Additionally, looking at how well international mediation works can give useful understanding of the situation, providing lessons that can be applied beyond Cameroon. In the end, including local views in resolving conflicts is vital, as it gives power to communities and encourages lasting peace, thereby setting the stage for ongoing stability and a united national identity in the area.

#### 2.6 Transition From crisis to conflict

"The political assimilation of the Anglophone region is hotly contested. In 1994, an All-Anglophone Conference was convened to implore the central government to either revert to the federal system or accept the demand for secession". (Awasom, 2007, p.155) This All-Anglophone Conference Standing Committee (1993), came up with resolutions in the form of the Buea Declaration that highlighted the stance of the territory by declaring that:

The common values, vision, and goals which we share as a people and those of our Francophone partners in the Union are different, and clearly cannot blend within the framework of a Unitary state such as was imposed on us in 1972. We are by nature pacifist, patient and tolerant and have demonstrated those qualities since we came into this Union. Our Francophone brothers believe in brutalizing, torturing, maining and assassinating dissenters. They have raped our women and daughters and used hand and rifle grenades against peaceful demonstrators. We find such barbarism alien to us and short of the civilized standards of all democratic. (p. 4–5)

This Conference marked the beginning of a new approach to the struggle for secession or federalism. This was promoted by various groups especially in the 1990s and appeared to be a period of re-enlightenment in the Anglophone territory. This is because one of the focus points of the Anglophone leadership (both political groupings and civil societies) was to transform the plight of the region – suffering under second-class treatment – from an elitist agenda to a collective group consciousness. As a strategy, this was meant to prepare and galvanize the masses through sensitization campaigns for action in pursuit of either secession or federalism. The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) became prominent for its agenda for secession. In 1995, SCNC sought intervention of the UN to mediate between secessionist groups and the government and warned that failure would only lead to a sovereignty crisis. However, increased security crackdown by the central government disrupted the activities of the organization. As written by Jules Roger:

The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) is the historical political party that advocates for the creation of the Republic of Ambazonia. The party is the main platform of 33 the Ambazonia movement. The SCNC is currently ruled by Dr Sako Ikome Daniel, since the former leader, Sissuku Ayuk Tabe has been arrested in Abuja, and is still detained in Cameroon (Africa News;2018). Since 1995, this political party has been prohibited by the Cameroonian government since it advocates for secession. (2018, p. 32)

During one of its rallies in Bamenda, 200 people were arrested on allegations of attacking security officers. The arrested individuals admitted guilt, but Amnesty International drew attention to the fact that such admissions were obtained through torture. The arrests and trial process ultimately led to the declaration of SCNC as an illegal organization in Cameroon.

Other studies also highlight ethnonationalism as a framework for understanding the Anglophone conflict. Its proponents argue that "the environment that surrounds an individual is determined by the structure of social identities and how these identities are perceived by the people". (Ikejiani-Clark,2009, p. 27) Likewise, Cunningham (1998) emphasizes that "ethnonational identity is fundamental in conflicts because it influences the formation of ingroups and out-groups". (Cunningham,1998, p2) These two arguments are central to identity-driven conflicts because, as noted by Walker Connor, 'conflict is the divergences of basic identity, which manifests itself in the 'us-them' syndrome". (Connor, 1994, p. 96) The 'us' versus 'them' is significantly applied in the Anglophone conflict.

However, there are certain variations in cultural, economic, and political issues common across Cameroon. As such, while internal colonization and ethnonationalism provide bases for understanding conflict, they fail to explain why:

- 1) There has been a significant shift from a crisis to conflict since 2016.
- 2) Why Anglophone regions are fighting for independence as opposed to Francophone regions that are also underdeveloped and marginalized.
- 3) Has military actions, misinformation and propaganda worsened the humanitarian situation, highlighting a strange situation where conflict reduces chances for negotiation in the crisis.
- 4) Some conflicts persisting in sub–Saharan Africa despite the best efforts of the international community?
- 5) Measures taken to resolve these conflicts are not appropriate. Which solution can be suitable to resolve these conflicts and rebuild peace?

Considering these shortcomings, this research argues that the context, actors, and mobilization techniques in the conflict have become more significant in their effects since the dissolution of federalism. It will also buttress the fact that the potential success of national dialogues in conflict-affected regions relies on embracing inclusivity, transparency, and trust-building measures. Creating an enabling environment and ensuring broad participation from all relevant stakeholders is crucial in fostering lasting peace through dialogues in the region. Learning from the shortcomings of past dialogues will enable other countries to move towards a more inclusive and effective approach in resolving conflicts through national dialogues and foster more peaceful outcomes.

Several studies examining the Anglophone crisis have explicated the crisis within the frameworks of internal colonialism and ethnonationalism. According to Hechter (1972), "internal colonialism denotes the structural social, cultural, and political inequalities between different geographical regions in a particular state". (Hechter,1972, xiv) These differences are usually characterized by conspicuous unequal distribution of economic resources, by political domination, and by cultural marginalization. Howe (2002) argues that there can be additional factors such as language and religion that contribute to internal colonialism and the continuing uneven interactions between the core and the periphery. Consequently, this unbalanced interaction eventually leads to the emergence of less advanced and more advanced groups within a society. While the more advanced groups strive to maintain the status quo through the institutionalization of mechanisms, the less advanced groups struggle to change their circumstances, and this may reflect in the emergence or rise of a nationalistic consciousness. In Cameroon, cultural differences have been exploited by the Francophone dominated government

to marginalize Anglophone regions. While terming this a 'cultural division of labor,' Hechter argues that a state can be directly involved through formulation of discriminatory policies and this influences groups to develop group consciousness about collective oppression either as political dominance or economic marginalization, which is then perceived as unjust and illegitimate.

Generally, the end of the Cold War was critical to the decline of intrastate conflicts: as it removed ideological polarization, starved the flow of material and financial resources to armed groups in developing countries, and restored the role of the UN (United Nations) in dealing with issues of global security. In the context of the Anglophone crisis, changes in the international system influenced preference for diplomatic domestic discourse in pursuing the Anglophone agenda. This was the case when for instance, Anglophone leaders petitioned the UN in 1995 to seek redress on the issue of independence. Additionally, the end of the Cold War inspired a new wave of democratization in the global south. The introduction of multipartyism in Cameroon during the 1990s led to an increase in the degree of freedom of communication and association. Political parties and civil society groups therefore took up the Anglophone agenda.

Mobilization techniques have also transformed and have become a critical component of the conflict. Increasingly, wider access to social media platforms has facilitated the mobilization of thousands of young people who are actively engaged in the discussions surrounding issues of participating in mass protests and demonstrations. The diaspora communities have also been using social media platforms to raise funds for militia groups against the government. Two of such fundraising movements are 'Adopt a Freedom Fighter' – for a monthly minimum of USD 75, and 'Feed the Nchang Shoe Boys'. (Human Rights Watch, 2018; World Association for

Christian Communication, 2019) Social media platforms such as Facebook have been used by separatists and other civil society organizations in Anglophone Cameroon to document and expose human rights abuses by the government. Graphic videos of such atrocities instigate more anger and emotions by presenting government response as systematically pursuing a course of genocide in Anglophone Cameroon.

Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi, in "Press Insecurity during Anglophone War Coverage in Cameroon: Ways to Protect Marginalized Journalists" also writes:

On December 5, 2016, Aljazeera.com and Reuters reported that thousands of teachers and lawyers in the English-speaking regions of Cameroon were on strike about the Government's imposition of the French language in schools and courts in the NOSO. On November 30, 2017, President Paul Biya, the Republic of Cameroon President, speaking on television, declared war on Anglophone separatists followed by public demonstrations involving over 1 million people in the NOSO region. The armed military arrested the leaders, and protesters detained them in various prison cells across the Cameroon territory. Following the arrests and detentions in 2017, activists created social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube channels. They began mainly by expressing outrage against the Government of Cameroon. This process culminated in what most English-speaking Cameroonians consider a revolution, a struggle for independence of Southern Cameroon, aka Ambazonia. The Cameroon government announced measures to appease the Anglophone population, including a National Dialogue involving various group leaders within Cameroon and abroad to resolve the Conflict and map a way forward. The Dialogue did not result in meaningful action. Anglophone activists declared Ambazonia's independence and launched a guerilla campaign against the Cameroonian defense forces. In short, the frustrations of Anglophones surfaced dramatically after 2016 when a series of sectoral grievances morphed into political demands, leading to strikes and riots. (p. 149)

# 2.7 Identification of Research Gaps in Existing Literature

Looking at the research regarding the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, there are key gaps in the current literature. Many studies do not include multidisciplinary methods that examine the social, political, and economic aspects of the conflict. As noted by Eytan Gilboa (2007):

Researchers have employed many different theories, methods, and concepts to analyze potential and actual media roles in various phases of international conflict. Future research, however, must be much more systematic and cumulative. An effective approach requires a multidisciplinary and multidimensional framework that could explore the four conflict phases through several identical or similar categories. (p. 7)

Furthermore, many studies focus mainly on qualitative analyses and do not adequately utilize quantitative data, which could offer a wider view of the crisis's scale and effects. Also, the lack of local perspectives restricts the relevance of the findings, maintaining a gap between general conflict theories and the specific local situations in the Anglophone regions. This highlights the need for future research to use more comprehensive and diverse methodological approaches.

#### 2.8 Theoretical framework

When looking at the theories behind peace studies in Anglophone Cameroon, it is important to look at different viewpoints that show old and recent factors affecting the social and political scene. The impacts of colonial rule and the following government actions have largely influenced local identities and struggles. Experts point out the need to use important methods, like postcolonial and transnational studies, to understand the details of these issues and possible solutions. Michael Fonkem Achankeng (2024) states:

Colonial factor ought to be a consideration in attempts to address African conflicts because the roots of many post-colonial conflicts in Africa remain buried in Africa's past and, specifically, in the colonization and de-colonization processes. Making the claim that conflict resolution is more than the suppression or perhaps the elimination of overt violence. (p. 11)

Ake Claude (1985) adds:

Colonial rule never raised the issue of good

government. The only issues were power and violence, and that remains the tradition of politics that African leaders took to independence in their respective nations. These African leaders have not only retained the politics of power and violence, but many of them have also continued to reinforce the tradition. (1985, p.1213)

According to Corrigan T, fully grasping human rights matters is a key part of efforts to build peace, as studies indicate that the relationship between rights promotion and local governance can

lead to real changes. By thoroughly examining these theoretical ideas, this research can create a strong framework that not only considers the historical background but also encourages inclusive discussion and healing among the various communities of Anglophone Cameroon.

Participatory Development Theory, which emphasizes inclusive engagement and collaboration among stakeholders, holds particular significance in the context of Anglophone Cameroon, a region marked by socio-political strife and cultural diversity. In this setting, the traditional top-down approaches to development have often led to alienation and conflict, exacerbating existing tensions among communities. By prioritizing the voices and perspectives of local populations, Participatory Development Theory fosters an environment conducive to conflict resolution and sustainable peace. This approach not only empowers marginalized groups but also enhances the legitimacy of development initiatives by ensuring that they are culturally relevant and context sensitive. Consequently, as Anglophone Cameroon grapples with the complexities of identity, governance, and resource distribution amidst a backdrop of civil unrest, applying Participatory Development Theory offers a pathway toward fostering dialogue, rebuilding trust, and ultimately transforming conflict dynamics into avenues for collective action and mutual understanding.

Participatory development can play a pivotal role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding by fostering inclusive dialogue and empowering marginalized communities in Anglophone Cameroon. This approach encourages stakeholders, including local populations, to actively engage in decision-making processes that affect their lives, thereby enhancing social cohesion and trust. By integrating local knowledge and priorities into development initiatives, participatory development facilitates the identification of root causes of conflict, promoting tailored

interventions that align with community needs. According to Salome et al, "the African Union's engagement in the crisis highlights the necessity for context-specific strategies, as evidenced by their diplomatic efforts, which seek to incorporate local voices into decision-making processes". (Salome et al., 2022, p.12) Moreover, as evidenced by the unarmed civilian self-protection measures adopted by these communities amidst ongoing violence, participatory strategies can fortify resilience and autonomy, thereby reducing reliance on external mechanisms of peace enforcement. Ultimately, the success of participatory development in conflict settings lies in its ability to create a robust framework for collaborative action, which is essential for sustainable peace and effective conflict transformation.

The implementation of participatory development in Anglophone Cameroon is fraught with considerable challenges, primarily stemming from political marginalization and socio-economic disparities. The Anglophone population, historically sidelined by the Francophone majority, faces systemic barriers that hinder their active involvement in development initiatives. This marginalization manifests itself in inadequate representation in governmental decision-making, as noted in the context of various Anglophone movements advocating for equitable political inclusion and resource allocation. To understand the Anglophone Crisis, it is important to see the social and political issues involved, especially the marginalization of the Anglophone people in mostly Francophone Cameroon. Elizabeth Ambang Akum notes:

The Anglophones who form the minority claim they are marginalized by the Francophones who are the majority and the ruling group. They claim that they are not politically represented both in the government and in decision making of the country, and

also their regions, the Northwest and Southwest Provinces lag behind both in social and economic development. (Akum, 2009, p. I)

Furthermore, the ongoing crisis, exacerbated by armed conflict and school closures, has led to significant educational disruptions, contributing to high dropout rates among youth and limiting their potential engagement in participatory processes. Studies show that "violence has a bad effect on education, with many students leaving school because of danger and damage to schools, as noted in Challenges to Education in Crisis Situations in Cameroon". (Ngamaleu et al, 2024, p. 7) However, these adversities also present unique opportunities for grassroots mobilization. By fostering community-driven dialogues and utilizing local knowledge, stakeholders can enhance inclusivity and resilience, ultimately contributing to a more balanced and sustainable development framework in this region.

In concluding the exploration of Participatory Development Theory within the context of conflict and peace studies in Anglophone Cameroon, it becomes evident that this theoretical framework offers critical insights into the complexities of local governance and community engagement amidst ongoing socio-political tensions. By emphasizing the role of local voices and active participation, this approach not only empowers communities but also enhances the efficacy of peace-building initiatives. The interplay between grassroots involvement and institutional structures is pivotal in addressing the underlying grievances fueling conflict, thereby fostering a more equitable landscape for dialogue and resolution. Additionally, the implications of participatory methods extend beyond mere conflict mitigation; they also lay the groundwork for sustainable development and social cohesion. Ultimately, recognizing and integrating the diverse perspectives of Anglophone Cameroonians is essential not only for transformative peace efforts

but also for creating resilient communities capable of navigating future challenges. The framework used to study conflict and peace in Anglophone Cameroon emphasizes the complex relationship between historical issues, social-political factors, and cultural stories that influence the current situation in the area. This analysis shows that grasping local situations and stories is crucial for developing effective peacebuilding plans that connect with the people affected. Additionally, it stresses the need for interdisciplinary methods, bringing together ideas from political science, sociology, and anthropology to tackle the complex nature of conflict. The results suggest a change from top-down peace efforts to more inclusive, community-based approaches that enable local populations to take an active role in peace processes. In the end, this framework not only adds to theoretical discussions but also provides practical guidance for policymakers and stakeholders dedicated to promoting lasting peace in Anglophone Cameroon, underlining the importance of focused and context-sensitive actions

# **CHAPTER THREE**

### 3.1 Data and Methodology:

Various methods of data collection were instrumental in capturing the multifaceted nature of the Anglophone conflict, including qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative methods were used, such as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, which provided rich, contextual insights that illuminate the lived experiences of individuals affected by the conflict. Also, quantitative approaches were employed, including surveys and statistical analysis to facilitate the examination of broader trends and patterns. Additionally, participatory action research stood out as a pivotal method, engaging local communities in the research process and ensuring their perspectives shape the findings. By integrating these diverse methodologies, I was able to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms driving The Anglophone Camerron conflict and the pathways to sustainable peace in this unique context.

# a. Qualitative Methods Data of Collection

In exploring qualitative approaches to data collection in The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, it was essential to recognize the complex socio-political landscape shaped by protracted conflict. Qualitative methods, such as focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were used to capture the lived experiences of individuals directly impacted by violence, providing nuanced insights into their perceptions and coping mechanisms. The importance of engaging local communities to document their resilience and self-protection strategies amidst ongoing turmoil is primordial. The findings suggest that understanding these grassroots narratives

is crucial, not only for grasping the conflicts socio-cultural undercurrents but also for informing policy interventions aimed at conflict resolution. Furthermore, earlier studies indicate that addressing historical grievances, such as those stemming from the abolition of the federal system in 1972, can provide critical context for formulating effective peacebuilding strategies. (cite1) Collectively, these qualitative approaches offer pathways to foster dialogue and facilitate sustainable peace.

| Method                     | Description   | Advantages  | Challenges  |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| Interviews                 | In-depth dialogues with local stakeholders to gather personal narratives and insights.            | Flexibility, depth of information, and personal connection. | Potential bias, time-<br>consuming.                             |
| Focus<br>Groups            | Facilitated discussions among a small group of participants to explore perceptions and attitudes. | Rich discussions,<br>diverse viewpoints.                    | Group dynamics<br>may influence<br>individual<br>contributions. |
| Participant<br>Observation | Researcher immerses in the community to observe daily life and interactions.                      | Contextual understanding and authentic perspectives.        | Subjectivity and ethical considerations.                        |
| Case Studies               | In-depth exploration of specific incidents or communities affected by conflict.                   | Comprehensive insights and detailed context.                | Limited generalizability.                                       |

| Method               | Description   | Advantages   | Challenges                                     |
|----------------------|---|--|--|
| Document<br>Analysis | Review of existing texts, reports, and media related to the conflict. | Access to historical context and diverse perspectives. | Availability and potential for biased sources. |

Table 3. Qualitative Data Collection Methods on Anglophone Cameroon Conflict

### **b.** Quantitative Methods of Data Collection

Quantitative methods for analyzing conflict and peace dynamics were pivotal in systematically capturing the multifaceted nature of the ongoing crisis in English speaking Cameroon. These methodologies enabled me and my co- researchers to quantify data related to socio-economic factors, demographic trends, and the prevalence of violence, thereby offering a comprehensive framework for understanding the conflict dynamics. Surveys and structured questionnaires provided valuable numerical insights into the experiences of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and their adaptation strategies, as evidenced by the findings that explore social capital role in aiding the resilience of urban IDPs. According to Ron Smith, "quantitative methods are an important component of peace research, since many of the issues addressed are inherently quantitative". (Smith, 1998, p. 419) In addition, the use of statistical models facilitated the identification of correlations between the abolition of federal governance in 1972 and contemporary conflict patterns, providing a data-driven lens through which policy interventions

may be assessed and formulated. Consequently, employing quantitative approaches did not only illuminate the conflicts root causes but also informed actionable frameworks for peacebuilding.

| Method                        | Description  | Sample<br>Size | Response<br>Rate | Data Source                             |
|-------------------------------|--|----------------|------------------|---|
| Surveys                       | Systematic collection of data from individuals using questionnaires.                   | 1000           | 75%              | World Bank                              |
| Statistical<br>Analysis       | Use of statistical tools to analyze quantitative data sets.                            | 5000           | N/A              | Uppsala<br>Conflict Data<br>Program     |
| Geospatial<br>Analysis        | Utilizing geographic information systems (GIS) to analyze spatial aspects of conflict. | N/A            | N/A              | Institute for<br>Economics and<br>Peace |
| Secondary<br>Data<br>Analysis | Analysis of existing data collected by other organizations.                            | Varied         | N/A              | United Nations                          |

Table 4. Quantitative Data Collection Methods on Anglophone Cameroon Conflict

The study used focus group discussions and interviews with community members, civil society organizations and government officials in the North West and South West Regions of Cameroon. The focus group discussions and interviews were conducted in English, Pidgin English, and local languages. The study used purposive sampling to select participants.

The field of Peace Studies has emerged as a critical interdisciplinary domain addressing the complexities of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and social justice. Central to this discipline is the importance of robust data and methodologically sound research, which serve as the foundation for understanding peace processes and their effectiveness. Methodological diversity—ranging from quantitative analyses to qualitative case studies— was used which allowed this research to capture the multifaceted nature of peace as it manifests across different contexts in Englis speaking Cameroon. For instance, research illuminating the resilience of war-affected populations has highlighted the necessity of contextually sensitive indicators, suggesting that both positive and negative aspects of functioning are pivotal for comprehending resilience in post-conflict environments. (Ager et al.) Additionally, exploring the existing capacities for post-disaster waste management underscores the significance of empirical frameworks in identifying gaps and influencing factors, thus informing policy and implementation strategies within the peacebuilding community. Ultimately, rigorous data collection and analytical methodologies enhanced the credibility and applicability of this Conflict and Peace Studies in Anglophone Cameroon.

In conclusion, the effective collection of data regarding conflict and peace in Anglophone Cameroon is critical for informing policymaking and enhancing understanding of the region's complexities. Employing a multifaceted methodological approach that includes qualitative interviews, participatory observations, and quantitative surveys can yield a comprehensive perspective on the underlying issues driving conflict. Each of these methods was be tailored to the local context, recognizing the intricate social dynamics and cultural nuances that influence participant responses. Furthermore, collaboration with local researchers and community

stakeholders was essential to establish trust and ensure the ethical conduct of data collection processes. Ultimately, prioritizing methodological rigor while remaining adaptable to the evolving landscape of conflict can contribute to the development of effective interventions aimed at fostering peace and stability in the region. Such strategic data collection endeavors not only facilitate academic understanding but also promote actionable insights for conflict resolution.

## 3.2. Qualitative vs. Quantitative Approaches in Gathering Peace-

#### **Related Data**

The complexities inherent in peace-related research calls for the importance of selecting appropriate methodological approaches for data gathering. "Quantitative scholars commonly increase the validity of their findings by controlling for a range of features that have previously been shown to exert a strong influence on conflict onset, duration or outcome". (Clayton et al., 2014, P16) Conversely, qualitative approaches offer profound insights into the lived experiences of individuals impacted by conflict, focusing on rich descriptions and subjective interpretations. This divergence in methodology is reflected in a critical examination which states, "Qualitative research derives data from observation, interviews, or verbal interactions and focuses on the meanings and interpretations of the participants". (Creswell, 2014, p. 45) While quantitative data excels in breadth, qualitative methods delve deeper into the nuances of human experience, thereby fostering a more holistic understanding of peace-related phenomena. Consequently, employing a mixed-methods approach may yield a more comprehensive perspective in peace studies.

# **CHAPTER 4**

#### CONTENTS AND RESULTS.

(Key Findings on Conflict and Peace in English-Speaking Cameroon)

## 4.1 Historical Context of Conflict in English-Speaking Cameroon.

The issues of conflict in English-speaking Cameroon come from long-standing historical problems linked to colonial history and post-colonial government systems. This area was first part of the German colony of Kamerun and later became British and French territories after World War I, creating a split that led to different social and political paths. The 1961 joining of mainly English-speaking West Cameroon with French-speaking La République du Cameroun aimed to create national unity but instead increased feelings of exclusion and cultural loss among Anglophones. Over the years, the ongoing neglect of English-speaking areas regarding political power, economic chances, and educational support has led to widespread unhappiness. This unhappiness has turned into a long-lasting conflict that features demands for autonomy and greater acknowledgment of unique cultural identities, showing the lasting effects of past injustices on current peace issues in the region.

| Year | Event                           | Description                            |
|------|---------------------------------|--|
| 1961 | Unification of British Southern | The two territories were unified       |
|      | Cameroons and La Republique du  | under a federal system after a         |
|      | Cameroun                        | plebiscite, causing initial tensions.  |
| 1972 | Constitutional Change           | Cameroon transformed from a            |
|      |                                 | federal to a unitary state,            |
|      |                                 | increasing tensions among              |
|      |                                 | English-speaking citizens.             |
| 1990 | Political Liberalization        | The ban on political parties was       |
|      |                                 | lifted, leading to increased political |
|      |                                 | activity among the Anglophone          |
|      |                                 | population.                            |
| 2016 | Anglophone Crisis Emergence     | Teachers and lawyers protest           |
|      |                                 | against the marginalization of         |
|      |                                 | English-speaking regions, leading      |
|      |                                 | to violence.                           |
| 2017 | Declaration of Independence     | The Southern Cameroons                 |
|      |                                 | Ambazonia Restoration Forces           |
|      |                                 | announced independence,                |
|      |                                 | escalating the conflict with           |
|      |                                 | government forces.                     |
| 2025 | Continued Violence              | The conflict resulted in significant   |
|      |                                 | casualties and displacement,           |
|      |                                 | drawing international attention and    |
|      |                                 | calls for peace.                       |
|      |                                 |  |

Table 5. Historical Context of Conflict in English-Speaking Cameroon

# 4.2 Role of Social Media in the Anglophone Conflict.

The internet has not only changed the way we relate to people today and conduct our businesses, but rather it has evolved to become a key component in how conflicts and wars are waged today. The proliferation of mobile phone technology has greatly impacted on information gathering and dissemination. It has enabled ordinary citizens to hijack the traditional role of journalist, as they are now able to spontaneously report incidents as they happen through the many social media platforms available today. "With increased pressure around the Anglophone crisis occurring primarily on social media, the president's presence on social media drastically increased – thus, acknowledging the power of social media". (Soh, 2020, p.64) The use of social media has become a key component in the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. This is because most Anglophone Cameroonians both at home and abroad have used social media to advance political discussions regarding the conflict; discuss the historical contexts of the conflict; name different phases of the conflicts such as "the coffin revolution"; expose human rights violations and ongoing violence; call for international intervention; and the government response to the conflict. Platforms such as Facebook have seen the establishment of several groups attracting thousands of members on the Anglophone Cameroon conflict. Social media has also provided a platform through which the Anglophone diaspora based in countries such as Germany, England, South Africa, USA, and Belgium have launched group discussions that have influenced and led millions of Anglophone Cameroonians into obedience or disobedience of the central government. Many of the online activists continue to call for secession and retaliation against the government security forces whom they accuse of genocide against the Anglophones.

Moreover, the diaspora groups have been using social media platforms to galvanize other Anglophone Cameroonians to support the armed separatists using financial donations through campaigns such as "Adopt a Freedom Fighter" for a monthly minimum of \$75 or the "Feed the Nchang Shoe Boys". The impact of social media in the conflict is recognized by the central government of Cameroon that, considering the graphic social media posts that documented various acts of violence, decided to completely cut off internet access in Anglophone regions to curb the spread of information for periods over 3 months. This entry argues that even though the government attempted to curb the spread of information through shutting down the internet, such policies in the long run prove ineffective. This is because limiting access to social media does not prevent those in the diaspora as well as those in Francophone areas from posting any information they desire. Secondly, such policies have negative economic impacts for business that are dependent on internet for transactional purposes.

Thirdly, Cameroon being a signatory to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and other several conventions acted against its sovereign commitment to protect human rights and freedoms. While the extent to which social media is influencing the conflict is not yet comprehensive enough and requires further research, this entry observes that social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and YouTube have been exploited to amplify violence. The failure by the state to ensure justice for those that have been documented perpetrating violence against civilians, the state, and separatist groups has facilitated the emergence of a culture of retaliatory violence and thereby fueling insecurity and conflict in the region. However, faced with an autocratic regime in Cameroon, social media remains the most effective avenue through which acts of violence, social exclusion, and economic marginalization

can be documented by the Anglophones as well as for attracting international attention to the plight of the region. The extract below was published by Mark Bareta on his Facebook page:

If the revolution was for a single person, then it would have been history today. The revolution it is as it is, because it is the people. It is the people. It is the spirit. Ambazonia Forces have seen their best comrades fallen down, yet they bury them and the next morning they are out fighting. It is not because they too are not afraid to die, it is because it is spiritual and having Amba is about life or death. (Mark Bareta, 2019)

### 4.3 Socio-Political Dynamics and Their Impact on Peace Efforts.

The ongoing tensions between groups in English-speaking Cameroon show a complicated social and political situation that makes peace hard to achieve. As old grievances about marginalization and poor governance get worse, the government's role becomes very important. The Grand National Dialogue was meant to bring people together but has shown little success in fixing the real problems; it often seems like a shallow effort to quiet unrest without real change. This failure has made separatist groups more determined, creating a cycle of violence that makes efforts to engage more difficult. People living in Anglophone areas are at risk. Civilians are at an imminent risk of atrocity crimes due to continued violence between government forces and armed separatists. Armed extremist groups also pose an ongoing threat in the Far North region, which shows how urgently context-specific peace efforts are needed to truly deal with the social and political issues and encourage inclusive governance.

| Year | <b>Conflict Type</b>          | Casualties | Displaced People | International                            |
|------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|--|
|      |                               |            |                  | Response                                 |
| 2017 | Civil Unrest                  | 300        | 200000           | Increased scrutiny by NGOs               |
| 2018 | Escalation of Violence        | 400        | 300000           | Calls for dialogue from the UN           |
| 2019 | Ongoing Clashes               | 600        | 450000           | Sanctions placed on government officials |
| 2020 | Increased Insurgency Activity | 500        | 520000           | Peace talks initiated                    |
| 2021 | Stalemate                     | 200        | 540000           | Ongoing mediation efforts                |
| 2022 | Continuing Violence           | 350        | 550000           | Increased<br>humanitarian aid            |
| 2023 | Attempts at Negotiation       | 150        | 500000           | Positive engagement from local leaders   |

Table 6. Socio-Political Dynamics in English-Speaking Cameroon

#### 4.4 Role of International Actors in Conflict Resolution.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon is complex and needs a careful look at how international players handle conflict resolution while considering local issues and governance problems. A key analysis shows that the African Union (AU), using its principle of non-indifference, tries to intervene in member countries with internal unrest; however, its success in Cameroon is debated. Actions taken by the African Union (AU) and other parties have often

depended on diplomatic methods, which, although necessary, can sometimes neglect the deep sociocultural factors that contribute to the unrest. Likewise, the Grand National Dialogue was meant to build national unity and promote decentralization, but it did not really tackle the deeper socio-political problems, leading to feelings of exclusion among separatist groups. Furthermore, the mix of diplomatic actions from foreign countries and international organizations often lacks a united approach needed for lasting peace. This complicated issue highlights the need for thorough involvement from international players, ensuring their actions match the socio-political conditions of English-speaking Cameroon to support better conflict resolution methods.

| Actor                         | Role  | Year | <b>Budget Allocated</b> | Impact  |
|-------------------------------|---|------|-------------------------|---|
|                               |   |      | (USD)                   | Measurement   |
| United Nations                | Facilitator of peace talks and dialogue     | 2021 | 1,500,000               | Mediation success rate of 70%                       |
| African Union                 | Monitoring and support for peace agreements | 2022 | 2,000,000               | Support for 3 peace initiatives                     |
| International Crisis<br>Group | Research and advocacy                       | 2023 | 500,000                 | Reports leading to enhanced international attention |
| European Union                | Imposing sanctions and diplomatic pressure  | 2023 | 1,200,000               | Increased local dialogue initiatives by 40%         |

Table 7. International Actors in Conflict Resolution in English-Speaking Cameroon

International actors often deal with tricky sociopolitical situations when they try to resolve conflicts. This is especially true in places like Cameroon that face ongoing historical issues and governance problems. The ongoing violence in the Anglophone areas shows how poor both local leadership and global interventions are at handling the situation. Other studies in *African Journal on Conflict Resolution Volume 21, Number 1, 2021* show that the government continues to act violently and repressively, worsening the issues from over 50 years of bad governance which sparked the crisis:

Social media platforms such as Facebook have been used by separatists and other civil society organizations in Anglophone Cameroon to document and expose human rights abuses by the government. Graphic videos of such atrocities instigate more anger and emotions by presenting government response as systematically pursuing a course of genocide in Anglophone Cameroon. (Billy et al, 2021, p. 13)

To bring stability, various global organizations have tried to create dialogue and peacekeeping efforts. There is however a problem with overlapping institutions and agreements, leading to scattered responses that weaken unified conflict resolution. Therefore, even as international actors aim for peace, they struggle due to the complicated realities on the ground.

# **4.5** The Role of the Diaspora in Conflict Dynamics.

The Cameroon diaspora represents a vibrant and complex network of individuals who have migrated from their homeland, primarily in response to political instability, economic hardship, and social strife. This diaspora not only encompasses communities in Europe and North America but also extends to regions within Africa, contributing significantly to the global dialogue on conflict and peace in Anglophone Cameroon. As articulated in the analysis of Cameroonian

political resistance, diaspora communities often serve as crucial advocates for social change, leveraging their transnational connections to highlight local issues on global platforms:

Over the preceding several decades, the state fostered a political environment antagonistic toward Cameroonians of the diaspora, and this was instrumentalized in the widespread dismissal of activists as foreign, foreign backed, or foreign influenced. Activists were hesitant but sometimes strategically prepared to call upon transnational groups for attention and political action against repression and violence in Cameroon. (Murrey-Ndewa ,2024, p.1)

These individuals facilitate essential conversations around (anti)imperialism and intervention, further influencing local politics by fostering solidarity with activists in Cameroon. Consequently, the diasporas engagement has a dual effect: it amplifies the voices of marginalized groups while also complicating narratives surrounding national identity and governance, particularly amid the ongoing crisis in Anglophone regions. Such dynamics underscore the diasporic impact on conflict resolution and peace-building efforts at both domestic and international levels.

| Year | Population | Remittances | NGOs involved | Social Media |
|------|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
|      |            | (USA)       |               | Engagement   |
| 2020 | 500000     | 1500000000  | 50            | 20000        |
| 2021 | 520000     | 1600000000  | 55            | 25000        |
| 2022 | 540000     | 1700000000  | 60            | 30000        |
| 2023 | 560000     | 1800000000  | 65            | 35000        |

Table 8. Cameroon Diaspora Influence Overview

The involvement of the Cameroonian diaspora in the conflict dynamics of Anglophone Cameroon exemplifies how transnational communities can influence both the trajectory of conflict and peacebuilding efforts. By providing financial support and mobilizing resources through social media, diaspora members reinforce separatist movements, thus perpetuating the Anglophone Crisis. For instance, as noted, The ADF does not have any financial backing by sovereign states, instead it relies primarily on funding from members of the external Cameroonian diaspora. This financial influx not only sustains armed groups but also amplifies the political and social narratives surrounding independence. Consequently, these dynamics contribute to a fragmented conflict landscape, complicating negotiations with the Cameroonian government. Simultaneously, the diaspora also has the potential to foster dialogue, demonstrating that while it can exacerbate tensions, it may equally serve as a conduit for peace initiatives, challenging the predominant conflict narrative.

The role of diaspora communities in escalating tensions in Anglophone Cameroon is multifaceted, reflecting both emotional and socio-political dimensions. Expatriates often maintain strong ties to their homeland, leading to heightened awareness and concern about developments within the region. The Cameroon diaspora has utilized social media platforms to amplify the grievances related to systemic marginalization and state violence. This digital activism not only fosters a collective identity among the diaspora but also mobilizes resources and humanitarian efforts that can inadvertently intensify local demands for independence. Additionally, the diasporas financial support for separatist movements can equip armed factions, thus perpetuating hostilities against governmental authority. Visual tools, such as maps depicting regions under separatist control, further facilitate this engagement by providing critical context for the conflict,

enhancing the diasporas effectiveness in advocacy while simultaneously escalating tensions back home. A strong mix of evidence backs the idea that diaspora participation in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict goes further than just sending money. It touches on larger issues like identity, shared purpose, and global interests. When diaspora groups gather resources, they often find themselves tangled in local disputes. This is clear in their loud backing of separatist groups and financial aid to militias challenging the government. Some people see these contributions as a way to engage in global activism and protect cultural roots. Others, however, argue that this leads to greater divisions among Cameroonians. While some activists were eager and welcoming of diaspora solidarities, others cautioned that these voices would overpower local activists and guide movements in different (possibly more elite) directions. Particularly, activists organizing online decried that most of their views and "likes" came from outside Cameroon, despite young people within the country being their primary target audience. (conversation with activist, May 2019)

Initiatives led by the Cameroon diaspora play a crucial role in fostering dialogue and reconciliation in Anglophone regions, which have been marred by conflict. Through advocacy, the diaspora has mobilized resources and expertise to advocate for peaceful resolutions, often facilitating communication between conflicting parties. These efforts are evident in organized events, where discussions about governance and social justice occur, highlighting issues of marginalization that contribute to the ongoing crisis. Such platforms not only amplify local grievances but also push for inclusive dialogue as seen in the Grand National Dialogue, which aims to address the root causes of discord and promote a "one and indivisible Cameroon" rhetoric. Furthermore, the diasporas engagement underscores the importance of international perspectives in local peace efforts, reflecting a concerted push towards reconciling divided

communities through structured dialogue initiatives that recognize the complexities of the Anglophone context.

In summary, the influence of the Cameroon diaspora on the ongoing conflict and peace efforts in Anglophone Cameroon is profoundly dualistic, acting both as a catalyst for discord and a promoter of resolution. On one hand, diaspora communities often mobilize resources and support for secessionist movements, thereby exacerbating tensions between the Anglophone regions and the central government. This financial and political backing can empower separatist factions, complicating peace negotiations and inflaming hostilities within the region. Conversely, the diaspora also plays a critical role in peacebuilding initiatives, utilizing networks to advocate for dialogue and reconciliation. These efforts are crucial, as they not only foster awareness of the conflict but also encourage international actors to engage meaningfully in mediation processes. Consequently, understanding this dual influence is essential for future engagement strategies that aim to harmonize the goals of the diaspora with the urgent need for sustainable peace in Anglophone Cameroon.

## 4.6 Ideological Differences Among Armed Separatist Groups

The different beliefs among armed separatist groups in Anglophone Cameroon are important to see their troubles and fights. While many groups want independence for the Ambazonia Republic, they think about how to get there in very different ways. Some groups focus on using violence, believing it is necessary to reach their goals, while others prefer talking and working through diplomacy to achieve separation. This split becomes more complex with different ideas about how an independent Ambazonia should be governed, as varied beliefs about government

systems and economic plans have caused division. As one expert says, the Ambazonian forces have not been able to unite, and fights among themselves have made it hard to negotiate with Cameroon or gain control over the different militia groups involved in the conflict. These differing views highlight the difficulties in creating a strong movement that can effectively talk with the Cameroonian government.

| Group Name                                 | Ideology   | Date<br>Established | Key<br>Leader                    | Military<br>Wing               | International Recognition |
|--|--|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ambazonia Governing Council (AGovC)        | Federalism with strong autonomy for the Anglophone regions                                     | 2017                | Sisiku<br>Julius<br>Ayuk<br>Tabe | Ambazonia<br>Defense<br>Forces | Limited                   |
| Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) | Restoration of the Southern Cameroons as an independent state                                  | 1995                | Nfor<br>Ngala<br>Nfor            | None                           | Limited                   |
| Akere Muna<br>Coalition                    | Support for a united Cameroon but with extensive reforms and protections for Anglophone rights | 2019                | Akere<br>Muna                    | None                           | Moderate                  |

| Group Name                   | Ideology  | Date<br>Established | Key<br>Leader      | Military<br>Wing | International<br>Recognition |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| Amazons<br>(Amazons<br>Army) | Militancy with an emphasis on armed struggle for independence | 2018                | General<br>No Pity | Yes              | Limited                      |

Table 9. Ideological Differences Among Armed Separatist Groups in Anglophone Cameroon

# 4.7 Impact of External Influences on Intra-Group Conflicts.

External factors make intra-group conflicts worse among armed separatist groups in Anglophone Cameroon, shown by the complicated mix of regional issues and global political interests. These influences are complex and can be seen in the different motivations and loyalties these groups show based on outside support or opposition. For example, the unarmed civilian self-defense actions come from local communities trying to deal with the pressures from both separatist fighters and government troops, showing the complicated layers of conflict. Furthermore, the failure of regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to mediate in these conflicts demonstrates the limitations of Western-centered conflict management, which often ignores local conflict resolution practices. This shortcoming leads to increased rivalry among separatist groups as they seek legitimacy and resources in an environment affected by external influence and instability.

| Year | External Influence                    | Impact on Conflict                   | Source   |
|------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 2016 | Increased support from diaspora       | Escalation of armed resistance       | International Crisis Group                     |
| 2018 | Foreign media coverage                | Heightened tensions and recruitment  | BBC News                                       |
| 2020 | Funding from international NGOs       | Sustained operations and in-fighting | Human Rights Watch                             |
| 2021 | Government support for rival factions | Increased clashes between groups     | Peace Research Institute Oslo                  |
| 2022 | Regional political dynamics           | Shift in alliances and hostilities   | Center for Strategic and International Studies |

Table 10. Impact of External Influences on Intra-Group Conflicts

# 4.8 External Influences on Intra-Group Conflicts in Anglophone Cameroon

To sum up, the ongoing fights among armed separatist groups in Anglophone Cameroon can be seen as a mix of historical issues, identity matters, and competing land claims. The rise of various factions, each with different goals under the wider Ambazonia movement, makes solving the conflict harder. These splits often worsen internal problems, as groups compete for recognition and authority, resulting in violent clashes that harm the overall aims of the separatist cause. Additionally, the way power is spread out shows the division of control and the tactical

interactions between these groups, requiring a careful approach to conflict management that considers the many perspectives within the separatist story. In the end, tackling the basic issues causing these internal conflicts is crucial for building a united front against outside enemies and for having productive discussions with the Cameroonian government.

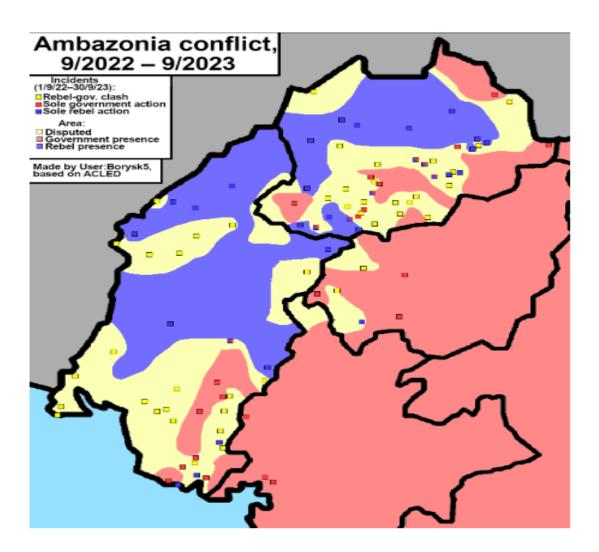


Figure 3. Map of the Ambazonia conflict, 9/2022 – 9/2023

#### 4.9 The Role of Armed Conflict in the Conflict Resolution

In history, armed conflict is often seen as a way to resolve issues, with violence acting as a trigger for change. In the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, clashes between separatists and the government have made problems worse and deepened divides, shown by the notable absence of effective peace efforts since fighting began in 2016. Instead of helping people come together, military actions have worsened the humanitarian situation, highlighting a strange situation where conflict reduces chances for negotiation. Scholars have noted that after violence ends, there is usually a need to focus on diplomacy; however, in Cameroon, the strong wish for peace faces a political situation that people can no longer accept. The rise in violence has not only made the region politically and economically unstable but has also caused systemic abuse to become normal, especially against vulnerable groups like women and children. Reports show a rise in sexual violence, highlighting the severe effects of this armed conflict and showing the urgent need for thorough discussions and restorative actions to build peace and support social recovery in the area. Therefore, the socio-economic effects of the Anglophone crisis raise doubts about how effective military solutions are for achieving long-term stability.

Therefore, to understand how armed conflict plays a role in resolving crises, especially in Cameroon, we need to carefully assess its long-term effects on community unity and political involvement.

#### 4.10 Military and Armed Group Brutality Against Civilians in the

#### **Anglophone Conflict in Cameroon.**

Cameroon has seen a lot of social and political unrest, mainly because the Anglophone regions are asking for more independence. In this situation, many armed groups have come up, changing how conflicts happen and often causing more violence and fear among people. These changes bring up important issues about how military actions follow international humanitarian laws. "In the last two decades of his rule, absence from the public sphere alongside cycles of open brutality have become central features in the maintenance of Biya's hegemony". (Murrey, 2024, p. 4) Alexis Arieff also states:

In 2018, clashes continued to escalate in the region after the arrest and forceful repatriation back to Cameroon of 47 Anglophone activists including the 'interim President' of the 'Republic of Ambazonia' and members of his Cabinet who had sought asylum from the government of Nigeria. Their subsequent detention as 'terrorists' triggered retaliations from militia groups who kidnapped over 40 civilian and government employees. (Arieff, 2018, p. 4)

It is especially worrying to see continued harshness from both the state military and armed groups towards civilians, creating a cycle of violence that makes solving the conflict harder. The lack of accountability for those responsible only makes things worse, leading to regular violations of human rights. This research looks at the complicated issues related to military and armed group actions in this situation, highlighting how it affects civilian safety and stability in the region.

#### a. Nature and Forms of Brutality

The complex issues involved in the Anglophone conflict have led to many violent actions against regular people, showing both physical and mental harm. Armed groups and military units are targeting civilians in a planned way, using methods like random arrests, unlawful killings, and sexual violence as tools for intimidation and revenge. This terror approach creates a widespread sense of fear, keeping people quiet and hurting the community's unity. Also, the spread of false information on social media makes things worse, causing confusion about what civilians really experience. One interviewed source stated that the conflict has created serious humanitarian problems, with reports indicating that "sexual violence, particularly rape, has become a horrifying weapon in the crisis":

The conflict has led to several deaths, thousands displaced, and many more illegally arrested and detained. Sexual violence, particularly rape, has become a horrifying weapon in the crisis. Over the past six years, women who defy armed groups or government troops, partake in advocacy efforts, violate ghost towns, or resist complying with separative directives, often face cruel sexual attacks as a means of penalization and coercion. (interviewee)

Such violence shows a deliberate attempt to weaken and control the Anglophone people, thus maintaining the current oppressive situation.

# **b.** Types of Violent Acts Committed Against Civilians

The increase of violence in the Anglophone areas of Cameroon shows a worrying pattern of harsh actions against regular people, connected to the bigger picture of state control and armed pushback. Starting in 2016, the peaceful protests by neglected Anglophone citizens quickly turned into a situation filled with serious human rights violations, like random killings, torture, and property destruction by state security forces trying to silence opposition. This violence from the state has been matched by the rise of armed groups that carry out revenge attacks on those seen as state supporters, thus creating a harmful cycle of violence. The uneven nature of the conflict has made things worse, as these local armed groups use violent methods that end up affecting not just military targets but also innocent civilians. These actions have fostered a widespread atmosphere of fear, greatly hindering any efforts towards peace and reconciliation in the area.

| Violent Act                       | Reported<br>Incidents | Sources   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Arbitrary Killings                | 150                   | International Crisis Group,<br>2023                           |
| Arson and Destruction of Property | 300                   | Human Rights Watch, 2023                                      |
| Kidnappings                       | 75                    | Amnesty International, 2023                                   |
| Torture                           | 40                    | United Nations High<br>Commissioner for Human<br>Rights, 2023 |

| Violent Act     | Reported<br>Incidents | Sources            |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Sexual Violence | 60                    | The Guardian, 2023 |

Table 11. Types of Violent Acts Committed Against Civilians in the Anglophone Conflict in Cameroon

# c. Impact on Civilian Populations

In the severe violence seen in the Anglophone conflict, regular people deal with serious effects that go beyond just physical injury. The common use of violence, especially sexual violence, acts to break down community bonds and control the people. The strategic use of rape and other forms of sexual violence shows how different actors appear to systematically use it as a strategic tool to intimidate and humiliate the civilian population; particularly those demanding justice. As stated on a private TV station interview (STV)

The strategic use of rape and other forms of sexual violence in this context is an illustration of the larger breakdown in the rule of law. It also shows how different actors appear to systematically use it as a strategic tool to intimidate and humiliate the civilian population; particularly those demanding justice. (Chiara Tedongafac 2024)

These methods not only cause emotional harm but also create an atmosphere of fear that stops people from speaking out and getting involved. Moreover, unarmed civilian defense actions have become important but risky reactions, showing how communities remain strong even amid severe violence. In the end, the ongoing conflict shows the critical need for detailed plans that focus on keeping civilians safe and dealing with these widespread human rights abuses.

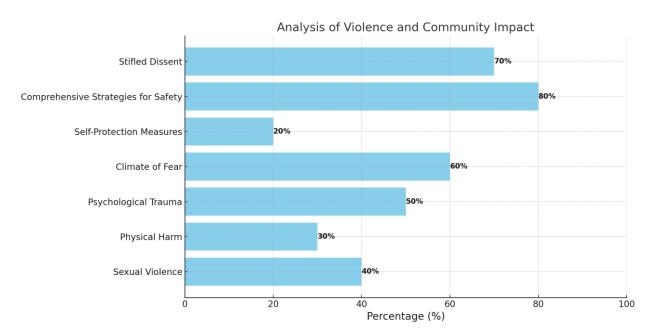


Figure 4. The bar chart illustrates the percentages of various types of violence, impacts on the community, community responses, urgent needs, and demands for justice. Each category highlights the extent of concern related to these issues, indicating the urgency for comprehensive strategies and community involvement in addressing and mitigating the impacts of violence.

## 4.11 The Role of Language and Identity in the Conflict.

The complicated relationship between language and identity is very important in the Anglophone Crisis, significantly influencing the social and political scene in Cameroon. At the heart of this conflict are historical issues that created strong language differences between Anglophones and Francophones, leading to increased feelings of exclusion for Anglophones. Linguistic identity not only represents cultural heritage but also reflects goals for political acknowledgment and self-governance. As people express their concerns, the calls for self-rule often include demands for the protection of their language rights: The Anglophone issue

consists of various demands made repeatedly by Anglophones in Cameroon. By focusing their resistance on language, Anglophone groups build unity and action, making their identity a key part of their fight against political strife and ongoing injustices. In an interview with Journalist Tony Vinyoh, (2022) he stated that "Some Francophone students and even lecturers would hurl insults when they heard English or picked up the accent in our well-rehearsed French". National integration, according to Khurana (2013), is the awareness of belonging and having a common identity by the citizens of a nation. When there is national integration, differences in ethnicity, religion, and language are minimized; the citizens feel a sense of oneness. This can be a resource for building prosperity, growth, unity, and peace. National integration can also lead citizens to building and maintaining an emotional attachment to their country.

A federal system was important to uphold the bicultural and bilingual nature of the new state, given its inheritance of distinct colonial styles in governance and public administration, including different legal and educational systems, and different official languages. However, the 1961 constitution was short-lived, with a controversial dissolution of the federal system in 1972 by President Ahidjo in favor of a centralized unitary state. West Cameroon was divided into the NW and SW provinces – later renamed in 1996 as NW and SW regions out of 10 regions.

#### 4.12 Grassroots Movements and Local Initiatives for Peace.

In the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon, local movements and peace efforts are very important in dealing with the multiple sides of the conflict. These community-based actions often arise from the frustrations with the government's lack of real engagement with separatist

feelings, highlighted by the failure of the Major National Dialogue, which many saw as out of touch with the real situation. As stipulated by Emmanuel Ngwainmbi in *Press Insecurity during Anglophone War Coverage in Cameroon: Ways to Protect Marginalized Journalists*:

The Cameroon government announced measures to appease the Anglophone population, including a National Dialogue involving various group leaders within Cameroon and abroad to resolve the Conflict and map a way forward. The Dialogue did not result in meaningful action. Anglophone activists declared Ambazonia's independence and launched a guerilla campaign against the Cameroonian defense forces. In short, the frustrations of Anglophones surfaced dramatically after 2016 when a series of sectoral grievances morphed into political demands, leading to strikes and riots. (p. 149)

Local groups work to facilitate conversations among different parties, seeking to build understanding and compromise during times of rising violence. With programs like community mediation and traditional ways of settling disputes, these movements not only encourage citizen participation but also act as a counterbalance to the ongoing marginalization of Anglophones. "Journalists reporting on the Anglophone crises operate in disguise. They rely on periodic indigenes' text messages and their observations and information shared discreetly about the war". (Emmanuel, 2024, p. 149) The importance of these grassroots actions is made even clearer by issues related to political representation and access to resources, as local actors attempt to change the story of peace and coexistence in a very divided socio-political environment. Some of these community actors for peace building include traditional leaders who have significant influence over their communities as they are

often seen as custodians of customs and traditions, and are seen as mediators and arbitrators in local disputes, .Civil society organizations, Religious leaders who can contribute to peacebuilding efforts in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, owing to their moral authority and influence in society, women groups which can include promoting women's representation in decision-making structures, advocating for gender-sensitive peace frameworks and policies, Youth groups which can promote dialogue and social cohesion by facilitating meetings between different linguistic, religious, and cultural groups, and Quarter heads who can use their positions to advocate for peace and non-violent solutions to conflicts.

### 4.13 Community-Based Approaches to Peacebuilding.

When looking at the different Pathways to Peace in the context of conflicts in English-speaking Cameroon, it is important to see that a varied approach is needed to deal with social and political issues. Good conflict resolution plans must consider past grievances and the social and cultural background of the areas involved. Initiatives like community discussions and engaging important stakeholders are key to building a sense of belonging and common identity. In addition, education changes, shown through various research efforts, are vital in changing views on conflict and cooperation, offering ways to understand shared futures. It is also critical to focus on improving local governance and making legal changes, as these factors create lasting pathways to peace that tackle both immediate conflicts and help ensure long-term stability and reconciliation. In the end, this comprehensive approach highlights the need for combined solutions customized to the specific challenges of the area, helping to build strength against future conflicts.

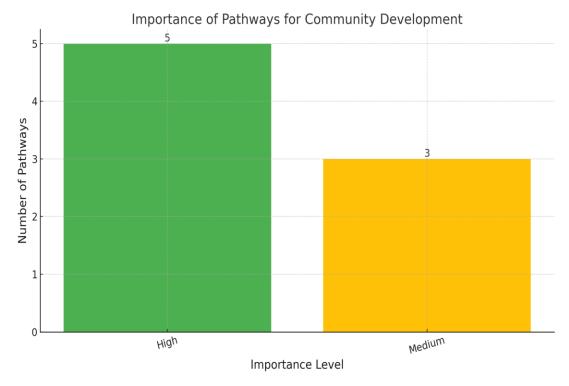


Figure 5. The chart illustrates the distribution of pathways for community development based on their importance level. Most pathways are classified as high importance, emphasizing their critical role in fostering community engagement and stability.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are crucial, working closely with communities that are most affected to record the negative effects of violence. This helps create a clear understanding of how conflicts impact those communities. These organizations also bring local voices to the attention of national and international audiences and push for solutions through protests and discussions with both government and non-government groups. Additionally, the practice of unarmed civilian self-protection shows the clever ways communities deal with ongoing violence, highlighting local strategies that help people keep their peace without using weapons. These community-led efforts emphasize the need to include local views and strengths in wider peacebuilding efforts to reach long-term stability.

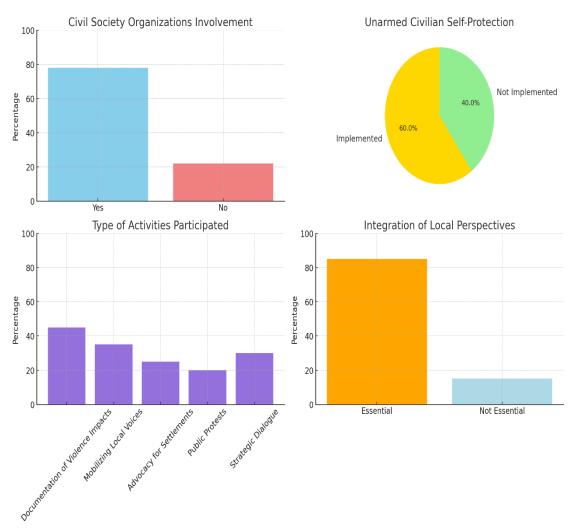


Figure 6. The visualizations above present critical insights into community-based approaches. The first chart illustrates the involvement of civil society organizations, showing a significant majority of engagement. The pie chart highlights the implementation status of unarmed civilian self-protection, revealing that 60% of activities have been implemented. The bar chart outlines various activities undertaken, with a focus on documenting violence impacts as the most prominent. Finally, the last chart emphasizes the perceived essential nature of integrating local perspectives, with a remarkable 85% agreement.

# 4.14 Assessment of peace initiatives and their effectiveness in addressing the root causes of conflict and fostering reconciliation in English-speaking Cameroon.

The effectiveness of peace programs in English-speaking Cameroon needs a close look at how they are designed and carried out to truly tackle the basic reasons for conflict and promote real reconciliation. Even though the African Union has taken a localized approach to stabilize these conflicts, many of these programs have been seen as lacking in addressing the complexities of the Anglophone Crisis. This highlights a larger issue in peacebuilding methods, especially regarding the mental and social impacts on young people affected by long-term violence. Many programs often do not use trauma-informed methods, which means they miss out on the important link between mental health and community unity needed for lasting peace. In the end, for these programs to be effective, they need to develop through inclusive discussions and a full understanding of past grievances along with healing methods that are culturally appropriate. A closer look shows that these efforts, often pushed by outside diplomatic pressures, have not gained real support from local communities, who see them as just surface-level solutions to serious problems. This feeling shows how important it is to have open discussions that truly include those affected, instead of just depending on negotiations at higher levels. It is factual that contemplative practices must do more than offer rest and a space to step back. They need to be healing practices and transformative responses to issues that continue to divide our society. Therefore, the success of peace efforts relies not just on immediate results but also on their capacity to encourage real reconciliation and deal with the emotional scars from extended conflict, which emphasizes the need for a trauma-sensitive approach in these efforts.

| Initiative                                     | Year | Participants   | Outcome  | Effectiveness<br>Rating |
|--|------|--|--|-------------------------|
| Major National<br>Dialogue                     | 2019 | Government representatives, Civil Society, Ambazonians | Creation of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) program | Moderate                |
| Swiss-led Mediation<br>Efforts                 | 2020 | Neutral mediators, separatist leaders                  | Initial agreements on ceasefires and humanitarian access                     | High                    |
| Community-Based<br>Reconciliation<br>Workshops | 2021 | Local leaders, community members                       | Increased dialogue and understanding among conflicting parties               | High                    |
| UN Peacekeeping<br>Support                     | 2022 | UN Peacekeepers, local police                          | Improved security in conflict-prone areas                                    | Moderate                |
| International Human Rights Monitoring          | 2023 | International NGOs, local activists                    | Increased awareness of human rights abuses                                   | Variable                |

Table 12. Effectiveness of Peace Initiatives in English-Speaking Cameroon

When looking at how well reconciliation efforts are working in English-speaking Cameroon, it is important to think about the complex nature of the conflict and the different parties involved. The African Union (AU) uses a method based on the idea of non-indifference, which focuses on understanding the specific context of the Anglophone crisis. Although the AU has tried to mediate and promote talks between fighting groups, its efforts often struggle because of the strong interests of local players and a lack of focus on how the conflict impacts the youth psychologically. As other studies have pointed in *Invisible Suffering: Practitioner Reflections on Peacebuilding Programs with Youth Exposed to Traumatic Stressors in Intergroup Conflict*:

For decades, the international community has recognized that youth are some of the most vulnerable to mental and emotional distress within the intractable and cyclical nature of identity-based violent conflict. Exposure to traumatic stressors within these intergroup conflicts poses unique risks not only to the neurological and social development of youth, but also to the capacities of youth to fully participate in peacebuilding interventions. (Hester et al, 2015, p. ii)

Additionally, reconciliation efforts need to go beyond just political discussions; they should include trauma-sensitive strategies that recognize the emotional and social wounds in communities hit by violence. This kind of comprehensive approach is vital for promoting lasting reconciliation and for tackling the deeper root causes of conflict found in Cameroon's sociopolitical environment.

| Year | Initiative                     | Description  | Impact<br>Score | Participants | Youth Involvement (%) |
|------|--------------------------------|--|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 2019 | National<br>Dialogue           | Government-led dialogue aimed at addressing grievances.                      | 65              | 200          | 40                    |
| 2020 | Community Peace Workshops      | Local workshops focusing on conflict resolution and communal dialogue.       | 70              | 150          | 30                    |
| 2021 | NGO Mediation<br>Programs      | Mediation efforts by<br>NGOs focusing on<br>disputes between<br>communities. | 75              | 100          | 45                    |
| 2022 | Psychosocial<br>Support Groups | Groups providing emotional and psychological support to conflict victims.    | 80              | 120          | 50                    |
| 2023 | Reconciliation through Sports  | Using sports as a medium to foster unity and friendship.                     | 85              | 250          | 60                    |

Table 13. Effectiveness of Reconciliation Efforts in English-Speaking Cameroon

#### **CHAPATER 5**

#### **Discussions**

The effects of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon go beyond just political problems; they highlight deep socioeconomic divides and serious concerns for public health, human rights, and gender issues in the regions affected. This chapter will look at these various impacts, aiming to detail the complex reasons behind the ongoing instability, while also focusing on the strength and efforts of local communities dealing with this long-lasting conflict. Recent studies suggest that about 72.5% of the factors related to the crisis match signs of a complex emergency, highlighting the risk of it turning into a complex disaster emergency. "The crisis has immense potential to cumulatively evolve into a "Complex Disaster Emergency" (CDE) in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon". (Henry Ngenyam Bang et al, 2022, p.1) This shift brings up important issues about aid, governance, and the dangers of natural disasters happening at the same time, showing how social and political issues connect with environmental risks in Anglophone areas.

#### 5.1 Socio-Political Implications

The socio-political effects of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon go beyond just a land dispute; they significantly alter the social structure and governance in the area. Armed separatist groups are gaining power, using tactics often driven by money, like kidnapping and extortion. This creates a complicated situation of chaos and rivalry that makes finding peace and stability more difficult. The nature of the conflict in the Anglophone regions has shifted as it has become more financially rewarding according to The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect:

The conflict dynamics in the Anglophone regions have changed as the crisis has become increasingly financially lucrative, with separatist groups having expanded their sources of revenue through kidnapping and extortion. Armed separatist groups are increasingly disorganized and competing, making the situation – and possible pathways to peace – extremely challenging. (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect)

Additionally, the rise of gender-based violence, especially the use of sexual violence in conflicts, worsens the situation and harms women who oppose different armed groups. These violent actions destroy community trust and deepen divisions based on ethnicity and gender, further worsening the socio-political crisis for civilians in these regions.

## 5.2 Impact on Governance and Political Representation in Anglophone Regions

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon has greatly harmed governance and political representation in the areas affected, showing the weaknesses of a centralized government that has marginalized these groups for a long time. Anglophone dissatisfaction has roots in the 1972 end of the federal system, which took away their regional political independence and increased power in Yaoundé. As a result, the current governance approach has kept economic and social inequalities alive, leading to a lack of political power for Anglophone communities. As the crisis worsens, "current president Paul Biya has been in power for over 42 years and rules by favoring certain tribes, keeping power among a small political elite. This exclusion creates a sense of anger and resentment, with separatist movements gaining support in their fight for self-

governance, thus challenging the government's legitimacy and ability to govern effectively in a divided political environment.

| Year | Political<br>Representation                     | Governance Effect   | Reported Incidents |
|------|---|---|--------------------|
| 2017 | Increased tension due to lack of representation | Widespread protests,<br>government crackdown              | 150                |
| 2018 | Emergence of separatist groups                  | Escalation of violence and conflict                       | 500                |
| 2019 | Declining trust in government                   | Political instability and local governance breakdown      | 400                |
| 2020 | Heightened demands for federalism               | Ongoing armed conflict                                    | 600                |
| 2021 | Continued marginalization in governance         | Government's failure to engage peacefully, ongoing unrest | 700                |

Table 14. Impact on Governance and Political Representation in Anglophone Regions of Cameroon

#### **5.3** Economic Consequences

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon has caused serious economic troubles, especially in education, which is key for developing human capital. As the armed conflict worsens, student performance has notably declined due to more violence and increased teacher absences, which heavily affects educational results. The breakdown of education systems not only hurts the current learning process but also puts future job skills at risk, hindering economic growth. Additionally, the crisis has created a feeling of uncertainty, making it hard to attract

investment and increasing poverty among the Anglophone community, where schools have less access to basic services like electricity. This twofold impact on education and economic health highlights the urgent need for a thorough approach to resolving the conflict that focuses on fixing education and boosting the economy.

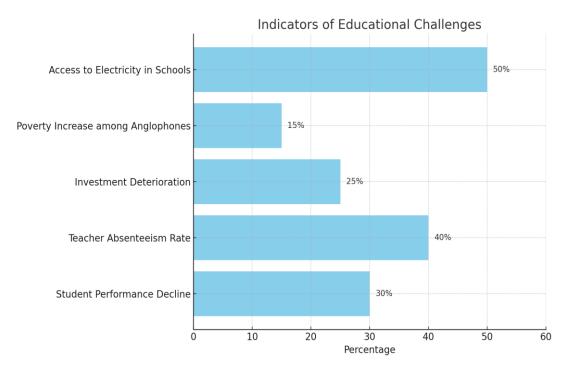


Table 15. The chart presents various educational indicators highlighting challenges faced by the education system. The metrics include student performance decline, teacher absenteeism, investment deterioration, poverty increase among Anglophones, and access to electricity in schools. Each subcategory demonstrates a different percentage, illustrating the critical areas needing attention for improvement in education.

#### 5.4 Effects on Local Economies and International Trade Relations

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon has caused serious issues in local economies and has negatively impacted international trade. As regional conflicts grow, businesses in Anglophone areas face problems like supply chain delays and less investment, as potential investors avoid the instability. These ongoing social and political tensions create a situation that leads to economic slowdown, increasing unemployment and poverty in the affected areas. Furthermore, control over important regions by separatist groups divides economic power, pushing local businesses further away from national markets. As a result, the crisis not only hinders local companies' ability to import and export but also poses significant risks to international partnerships, prompting multinational companies to rethink their operations in an uncertain Cameroonian environment. Therefore, the economic effects go beyond local issues, threatening to undermine regional economic integration in West Africa and larger international trade connections.

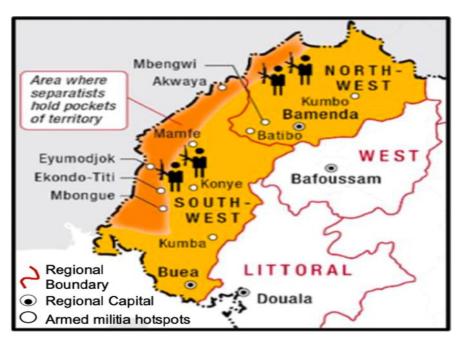


Figure 7. Map of Separatist-Controlled Areas in Cameroon

#### 5.5 Implications of Military Solutions on Socio-Political Stability

The use of military solutions for the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon brings up serious worries about their effect on social and political stability. While armed actions might temporarily reduce violence, they often overlook the socio-economic issues that lead to conflict, which means they do not create lasting peace. It is important to mention that ignoring the colonial background of these conflicts can make tensions worse instead of reducing them, leading to more violence and distrust among communities. Additionally, military efforts can deepen divisions, making it harder to reconcile, as they usually focus on short-term security instead of long-term political fixes. Relying only on militarization can push aside important conversations needed to tackle historical wrongs and settle power issues, which can ultimately slow down progress toward a more stable socio-political situation. Thus, it is essential to include broad conflict resolution methods that tackle the root causes instead of just managing the symptoms.

Wainaina Binyavanga in *Modern African Conflicts: an Encyclopedia of Civil Wars, Revolutions, and Terrorism* states that, "The rise of asymmetric warfare, shown by local militia groups, indicates a trend where non-state groups use unconventional methods to challenge government control". (Wainaina 2022, p. 15) This armed conflict is made worse by the state's harsh tactics, which often lead to more civilian unrest and increase radicalization. In accordance with Nfon Hubert in an interview, "Misinformation and limited access to trustworthy news sources have greatly hindered journalists' ability to report the true situation, leading to a skewed public view and flawed policy reactions to the crisis". (Nfon, 2024) Run Ottosen (2016) states that "The concern for journalism today is that the lack of safety and

security for reporters will increasingly be a problem for the media as well as for the public. Ultimately, these are issues of freedom of expression, press freedom and democracy'. (Ottosen, 2016, p.70) As a result, the connection between local resistance stories and global media influences continues a cycle of violence that makes it harder to find peaceful solutions, highlighting the need for a thorough reevaluation of conflict intervention methods. Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi states "reports reveal that state-instructed Cameroon's military and proindependence fighters have been blamed for preventing journalists from reaching affected groups, particularly refugees and inhabitants facing inhumane treatment by the military". (Emmanuel, 2024, p 144)

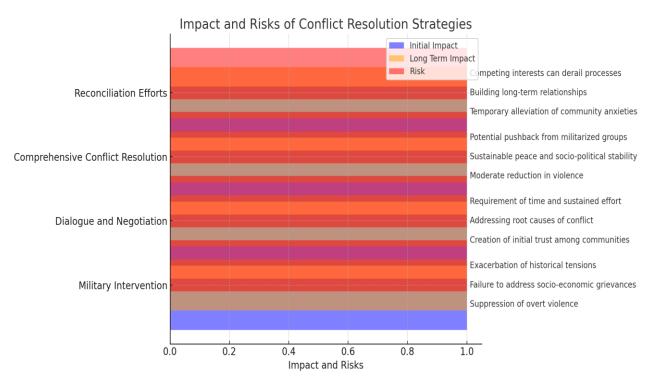


Figure 8. The chart illustrates the impacts and risks associated with various conflict resolution strategies, including Military Intervention, Dialogue and Negotiation, Comprehensive Conflict Resolution, and Reconciliation Efforts. Each strategy is represented by initial impacts, long-term impacts, and associated risks, highlighting their complexities and potential consequences.

### 5.6 Psychological and Socioeconomic Consequences of Military and Armed Group Actions

The social structure of communities affected by the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon has been severely damaged by the mental and economic impacts of military and armed group actions. Violence not only causes immediate suffering but also creates a constant sense of anxiety and fear, which harms mental well-being and weakens community ties. The ongoing violence has resulted in displacement, breaking apart families and forcing people to leave their homes, which worsens poverty and restricts access to education and healthcare. Research on these conflicts shows that these conditions lead to economic instability, with many people unable to find jobs or farm, which are necessary for survival. Additionally, the lack of attention given to youth in discussions about rebuilding further complicates this situation, limiting their ability to contribute to peace and recovery in their damaged communities.

The analysis shows the deep and lasting effects of military and armed group violence on civilian life in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. This conflict is not just a bunch of separate events but is a sign of ongoing violence rooted in the communities. Both government and non-government groups have used harsh tactics that worsen humanitarian issues and lead to cycles of revenge, as pointed out by the rise of asymmetric warfare methods. Additionally, the serious impact on civilian lives is worsened by propaganda from both sides that tries to dehumanize the enemy and sway public opinion. "The conflicts have led to shocking numbers, such as many deaths, thousands being displaced, and countless individuals unlawfully arrested and detained". (Human Rights Watch, 2022, Cameroon: Events of 2021) The visual evidence of this violence—through images that highlight the complexities of the conflicts—not only helps us understand the

current tragedies better but also emphasizes the pressing need for international focus and action to bring back peace and safeguard the vulnerable.

#### 5.13 Findings and Recommendations for Future Action

The evaluation of military and armed group violence against civilians in the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon shows the complicated relationship between government power and the actions of insurgents, with civilians often caught in the middle of larger geopolitical issues. Reports reveal many human rights violations, such as unlawful killings and forced disappearances, which highlight the immediate need for a comprehensive response. Suggestions for future efforts include creating independent international monitoring groups to investigate these abuses, along with community engagement programs aimed at fostering dialogue and reconciliation. Furthermore, using tools like the thematic maps, which outlines areas of control and conflict events, will significantly improve understanding and response efforts. Building trust within the affected communities is crucial to prevent further violence and to create a foundation for enduring peace, ultimately tackling the root causes that drive the conflict. Therefore, it is crucial for future peace efforts to focus on inclusivity, enabling community voices to influence their designs.

# 5.8 Reflection on the implications of the findings for future stability and unity in English-speaking Cameroon.

The results from the ongoing conflict in English-speaking Cameroon show important details about the difficulties and ways to achieve future stability and unity. The long-lasting nature of the crisis, made worse by deep social and political divides and economic differences, shows the need for open discussions that include all views from stakeholders. A solution that only solves immediate problems without making more thorough changes risks continuing cycles of violence and distrust. Additionally, the social and cultural factors shown in the findings point out that creating a shared national identity—one that respects the unique language and culture of Anglophone communities—is crucial for lasting unity. The connection between local governance, job opportunities, and community participation in peace-building efforts must be prioritized to build strength against future problems. Therefore, it is important that any strategy aimed at the future not only tries to ease current tensions but also sets up a foundation for lasting unity in a diverse society.

These studies show that local issues and a history of being left out play a big part in the ongoing conflicts, which means it's important to understand these factors well. Also, community-centered approaches are key to peace efforts because they give power to local people and tackle the main causes of the problems. Additionally, looking at governance shows that reform is needed to ensure fair representation and sharing of resources among different groups. The influence of outside parties in boosting peace efforts is also important, as they can offer essential support for resolving conflicts. Thus, achieving lasting peace in English-speaking Cameroon needs a

complete plan that connects local situations with wider diplomatic actions, as shown in highlighting the need for conflict awareness in planning efforts.



Figure 9. Overview of WHO's Health and Peace Programming Approach

#### 5.9 Impact of the Crises on Society and Governance.

The Anglophone crises in Cameroon have seriously disrupted social systems and government processes, leading to ongoing complaints and worsening violence. The complexities of this sociopolitical struggle have been made worse by the government's poor response, marked by denial and a lack of attention to key issues like ethnic exclusion and corruption, which have increased separatist feelings among Anglophones. This troubled relationship between the government and local communities has damaged public trust in leadership and spurred a culture of violence and

insecurity. This research shows that both Anglophones and Francophones are open to dialogue, but the ongoing neglect of Anglophone issues keeps the conflict alive and harms community unity. As a result, the crises signal an urgent need to re-think governance strategies that focus on inclusivity and conversation to promote peace and togetherness.

#### 5.10 Th Role of Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

In the complicated situation of solving conflicts in Anglophone Cameroon, traditional methods are very important for handling disputes, building community ties, and dealing with problems that could lead to violence. These local approaches, based on cultural beliefs and values, encourage discussion and understanding. For example, Insider Mediation focuses on local participation to solve issues. Insider Mediation is a way for local community members who are trusted to solve conflicts using conversation. These methods help communities gain power and build social connections by incorporating conflict resolution into local customs. Additionally, having leaders like elders and traditional authorities creates trust, which is essential for solving disputes, especially in farmer-herder conflicts worsened by environmental and political issues.

When looking at indigenous peacebuilding practices in Cameroon, it is important to consider the historical roles of women in pre-colonial times, where their contributions to peace were significant and recognized culturally. As noted in academic discussions, women were commonly seen as natural peacemakers, heavily involved in resolving conflicts and building community unity. However, the shift to neo-colonial states has resulted in a concerning decline in these women's important roles, leading to their marginalization and greater susceptibility to violence from men. This creates a noteworthy contradiction: though traditional methods of conflict resolution used by indigenous communities have inherent strengths, the introduction of

Eurocentric approaches often weakens their effectiveness. Therefore, it is essential to blend indigenous practices with modern conflict resolution methods, both to restore women's roles in peacebuilding and to encourage lasting peace in Cameroon.

#### 5.11 STRATEGIC DIRECTION TO PEACE

Resolving the Anglophone conflict in a sustainable manner will first and foremost require building trust between secessionists, government, and federalists and all the parties expressing a genuine desire to communicate through talking and listening. The government should take a lead in this regard because of its status as a legitimate actor with the capacity to convince the other actors in this conflict to engage in a genuine discussion. This does not necessarily mean that the parties will be expressing their unreserved commitment to resolve the conflict, but it may at least be a demonstration of an intent to build trust through actions marked by integrity and credibility.

Building trust can create an environment whereby the destruction of property by both government and armed militias in Anglophone areas can be brought to a halt and a path for constructive dialogue may be opened. The government should consider adopting a conciliatory voice, acknowledging the validity of Anglophone concerns, and considering the developing of a reparations policy for victims affected by the clashes between security officers and armed militia groups. Of great significance, the government should seek to refrain from making open demands and absolute statements about the form of (centralized) government as a precondition for dialogue with secessionists, even if it holds that the unity of Cameroon is non-negotiable. It is important to bring opposing groups to dialogue where consensus can be built. As a sign of good faith, Anglophone political activists who have been jailed should also be released.

The separatists on the other hand, should commence with internal negotiations that will persuade its members who have perhaps lost relatives during clashes with the government to understand that armed struggle will not attract international support, and will only serve to stain their image. This should also include urging members to abandon their previous calls for mass actions such as school and work boycotts, as a sign of good faith and of their will to dialogue with the government. Whereas the separatist will likely attempt to push for secession, they should also be willing to listen to other suggestions such as the option to abandon the claim for secession in exchange for more autonomy. It is also imperative that both the separatists and federalists engage in internal reconciliation so that they may develop a unity of purpose and a common stance towards potential solutions for the Anglophone grievances before engaging with the government in negotiations.

More and proactive international support should be mobilized to mediate in negotiations. Separatists do not recognize the legitimacy of the national government while the state does not tolerate any discussions short of a unified state. Getting to talk may therefore prove to be a cumbersome task. Consequently, the influence of the international community is central to negotiations. The African Union, as an active guarantor of African peace and security should take a leading role in attempting to mediate a solution either directly or through supporting the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). There needs to be appreciation of the possibility that volatility in Cameroon can spread and become a larger transnational crisis with ramifications for both Cameroon and the larger central Africa region. The African Union as a continental body must become bold and apply more pressure on the Cameroonian government to

respect human rights and freedoms, including frequent fact-finding visits to the Anglophone regions to timeously assess the situation.

External security partners to the continent such as the United States, United Kingdom (UK) and France need to act more decisively on behalf of the international community to bring both sides to dialogue. The UK and the UN are historical actors in this conflict; France has sway over the central government while the US is a significant security partner for Cameroon in the war against Boko Haram. They are therefore in a prime position to keep pressure on both the government and the separatist groups to engage in a genuine conversation and reform to a system of governance that is inclusive. The US, UK and France, being permanent members of the UN Security Council, should petition the UN Human Rights Council to adopt the Anglophone Conflict into its main security agenda as current trends indicate that the conflict can threaten international peace and security since the region also suffers extensively from the Boko Haram threat. Moreover, the UN Human Rights division should actively investigate claims of violations of human rights by both government and the separatist militia groups.

The government of Cameroon must also commit to undertake key institutional reforms in governance. The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance adopted by the AU in 2007, presents an ideal referential framework to guide sustainable political reforms in Cameroon. This research has demonstrated that one of the underlying causes of political dissent is the failure for the government to uphold the treaty on federalism as was envisaged during the unification era. It is therefore appropriate, that the government reconsider a federalism that is supported by institutional frameworks guiding cooperation between national and federal governments. Such a framework ought to be established with provision for equitable revenue allocation, clear

separation of powers between the federal states and the national government, as well as a guarantee of a free political ecosystem where grievances can be raised and rights to peaceful dissent are respected.

The various interactions between communities in the Anglophone regions with the police have resulted in several allegations that security forces have demonstrated total disregard of human rights and freedoms and have been involved in the death of several civilians. Such allegations are far-reaching and if proven true, would be in direct contravention of international laws on the protection of human rights and freedoms, particularly with respect to the sacred right to life. Pursuing a course of justice for the victims of police brutality falls within the capabilities of the Cameroon government. As such, it is imperative that the government commit itself to undertaking impartial and speedy investigations so that security officers found culpable of violating these rights are charged under the existing judicial laws that guide the conduct of security officers. Additionally, the central government that has a monopoly over the use of force must ensure that all security operations conducted in the Anglophone region adhere to the provision of international human rights and freedoms. Importantly, there is need for the security operations to uphold the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Firearms. The government can also deploy judicial police officers to monitor such security operations.

For progress to occur, three scenarios, based on the efforts put forward towards resolving the conflict, may be considered. At best: the conflict can be resolved through a politically negotiated settlement that will see the re-establishment of the previously conceived federal system at independence. This will perhaps highlight the utmost commitment of the government to re-

establish peace in the country and significantly contribute to other efforts to deal with security threats posed by terrorist groups such as al-Shaabab in the northern regions of Cameroon.

Secondly, the most likely is a reform scenario: radical change to federalism will be suppressed, but there will be some allowance for decentralization and promotion of both official languages. The government will then rigidly insist on its mandated power, guaranteed under national, regional, and international laws on self-determination. The issuance of a presidential decree in 2018, establishing the Ministry of Decentralization and Local Development indicates a partial reform agenda. Further reforms would include acceleration of decentralization through implementation of the General Code of Regional and Local Authorities which allocates 'Special Status' to Anglophone regions as well as the Promotion of Official Languages in Cameroon that designates both English and French as official languages in all public institutions. These concessionary moves may well succeed in pacifying groups calling for the re-establishment of the federal system, but radical secessionists are likely to continue soon.

The third scenario, considered by this research as the worst, would be the failure to achieve any significant progress in the implementation of political, economic, and social reforms by the government and a subsequent outcome would be continuous attacks on government institutions by militia groups or a significant increase in civilian casualties from the conflict between the state and armed groups. This can trigger a much larger possibility of violent unrest in Anglophone regions, thereby leading to violent civil war. This research emphasizes that the ideal solution would be a middle-ground reached on concessions from both the government by implementing political, economic, and social reforms, and abstinence from further attacks by armed groups. Equally, we discourage a secessionist agenda because it will not only attract strong opposition

from the state, but also because it would set a dangerous precedent, especially for regions already challenged by other secessionist groups, such as Biafra.

The conflict has for several decades impacted a lot of people either directly or indirectly in Cameroon and it is necessary that a lasting solution be found. Compared with reactions to other conflicts in the continent, such as to the South Sudan conflict, the Somali conflict, and the Boko Haram conflict, international response to the Anglophone conflict remains minimal. A few European countries (the UK, France and Germany) and the US have only from time to time issued statements calling the government and separatist groups to negotiate. On the multilateral front, the UN is also yet to take concrete measures to resolve the conflict. Attempts by Norway and Netherlands to introduce it as an agenda item in the UN Security Council were shot down(defeated) after failing to garner the minimum 9 out of 15 of the votes. Côte d'Ivoire, China, Ethiopia, France, Russia, and Equatorial Guinea all voted against.

However, while this research places an emphasis on the potential role of external actors in facilitating a solution to the conflict, the researcher underlines that an internal national dialogue initiated by the government in collaboration with dissenting groups, particularly from Anglophone Cameroon regions, hold the key to finding a sustainable solution. To initiate such a process at a national level, the government must extend a hand and demonstrate goodwill by ensuring that political detainees are released or given access to all the rights of accused persons including the right to legal representation. Separatist groups must also cease from engaging in illegal activities such as targeting government installations and kidnapping individuals suspected to be pro-government. These concessions can provide a good foundation upon which a process of national dialogue can be initiated and advanced.

To sum up, the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is a complicated case that shows how local stories and national unity interact, along with the historical issues that caused the conflict. The different ways of speaking used by important leaders, like President Paul Biya, who focuses on national unity, and Anglophone activist Mark Bareta, who pushes for separation, highlight significant social and political divides and show the complexity of identity in Cameroon. This examination points out the problems that arise from not addressing regional desires, as shown by the internal tensions worsened by outside influences, like the Bakassi Peninsula ruling. Furthermore, images like thematic maps that show militia control and settlement dangers highlight the urgent need for a better understanding that includes both public health and economic factors, which can help shape future policies aimed at fostering peace and stability.

People from outside an environment may be judged to be better mediators or interlocutors simply because they are not perceived to be stakeholders in the society. It is unlikely, for example, that member states of the Organization of the American States would have a deeper interest in the resolution of conflict in Cameroon, than the African Union or other African sub-regional organizations. This is particularly the case in a post-Cold War era, where many states no longer have strategic importance for other countries or regional alliances. However, African solutions to African problems should not be misled as calls to indigenize African political economy and shun 'western' forms of government. Actions such as name changes and calls for the renaissance of African socialism should be restricted to the social and cultural spheres. In the light of the failure of African leaders to successfully introduce and implement an African form of government, the so-called western-style liberal democracy remains the only viable route for sustainable development, peace and security on the continent which Cameroon should adopt. It is

hardly possible to invent a desirable, viable and exclusively African form of government or economic system. Given the fact that we are living in a globalized world with universal principles of human rights, modernization unfortunately has become synonymous to westernization. Besides, modernization, hence westernization, is irreversible. Peace and security are a human problem, not just an African or Cameroonian problem. African countries face the same problems that the rest of the developing countries including South America and Asia are facing. There is hardly any political and economic problem uniquely idiosyncratic to Africa. In as much as it is important to encourage and strengthen the capacity of Africa countries to respond to the problems that plague the continent, it is unrealistic to assert that solutions to these problems must be sought and implemented by African leaders. Hence, we should look for solution and not just African solutions.

The way forward therefore is not to abandon ideals of the African renaissance but to empower and strengthen the capacity of institutions on the continent to tackle conflict. However, African leaders need to incorporate existing African socialist and humanistic systems into global existing political and economic models to enhance development and prevent conflict. There is also a need to decentralize the highly centralized political systems on the continent to foster a communal spirit inherent in African indigenous communities. Also, the African Union needs to be capacitated to tackle conflict. Funding for the organization needs to be sourced largely from within the continent and member states must be urged to pay their dues. However, intermittent assistance in the form of funding and foreign troops (preferably UN-authorized), should be welcomed as it will play a key role in addressing transnational crime. The organization also needs to act promptly to condemn and intervene in conflicts such as fraudulent elections, human rights

violations and coups d'état. If African solutions are to be taken seriously, the African Union needs to send a strong message to African leaders to respect their country's constitutional provisions. This is the bedrock for peace and stability on the continent.

Africa also needs a dominant power which is willing to intervene militarily, if need be, to restore law and order on conflict hot spots on the continent. A powerful state like South Africa can be instrumental in playing a hegemonic role. It can utilize its economic prowess and military capacity to pressurize dictators and long-serving rulers in countries like Zimbabwe and Cameroon, to respect constitutional provisions and respect human rights. Transparent independent and effective democratic institutions must be made a priority. The international community should continue to send out a clear message that tyrants and brutal dictators will no longer be supported or tolerated. By and large, it is through altruism and a strong political will that peace and security on the continent can be achieved. Besides, overcoming the complex challenges raised by war and conflict in Africa will be more likely if the search for African solutions is replaced by the search for effective solutions.

#### 5.12 Summary of Key Findings and Future Prospects for Resolution

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon has shown many direct and indirect effects, seriously impacting social stability and public health. Important findings show that the conflict has caused a lot of displacement, leading to issues like gender-based violence and lack of education, security, healthcare access, especially for women and children. The chances for a resolution depend on a multi-faceted approach that includes talks between separatist groups and government officials, focusing on humanitarian help and social reintegration programs. Also, it is essential to tackle the

root problems related to cultural exclusion and economic inequality. The link between, education, security, freedom of speech, public health responses and peacebuilding efforts is very important, as shown in the image below, which clearly illustrates the health issues that arise from the crisis. By creating inclusive spaces for negotiation and fair resource sharing, there is a possible way to stabilize the area and improve its social and economic conditions.

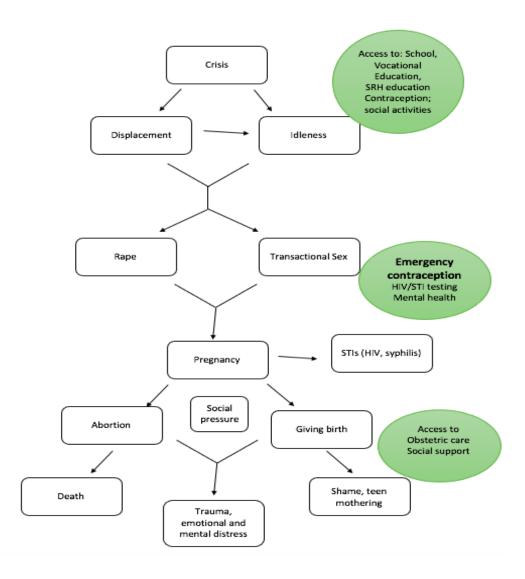


Figure 10. Flowchart depicting the effects of crisis on women's health and social outcomes

### **5.13 Implications for Future Research, Peace and Conflict Resolution Strategies in Cameroon**

The ongoing problems in Cameroon highlight the need to look at peace and conflict resolution methods again, especially with the tricky issues of ethnic, language, and regional identities. Futuristic plans need to take a more diverse approach that puts emphasis on open dialogue, making sure all groups, especially those often left out, can express their worries. Also, adding community-led reconciliation programs can help build trust and create a peaceful environment at the local level. Turning to top-down solutions has often made issues worse, showing that boosting local leaders and community organizations could lead to better results. Furthermore, international players should change how they engage, focusing on local efforts instead of forcing outside ideas, which have not worked well in the past. By connecting with the specific social and political situation in Cameroon, plans can not only tackle current conflicts but also help create a base for lasting peace and coexistence.

Looking at successful and not successful peace processes shows important things about how conflicts get resolved and how mediation works. While much past research has focused on big factors like how close countries are and their historical conflicts, it is also very important to dig deeper into the skills of individual mediators to understand why mediation efforts have different results. Knowledge, skills, and behavior are very important for how well a mediator does their job. Also, with the increase in social and environmental factors in investment strategies, a varied approach to peacebuilding is necessary, where both sustainability and inclusivity matter the most. By looking closely at how mediating factors work alongside larger sociopolitical issues, this will help to explain the reasons for both failures and successes in peace processes, thus providing useful lessons for policymakers and those working in conflict resolution.

When thinking about future research and practice in peace and conflict resolution, it is important to see that conflicts today are complex and ever-changing. New technologies, changing political situations, and increased global connections require researchers and practitioners to modify their methods to deal with these issues. Future studies should focus on combining different fields like psychology, sociology, and environmental studies to better understand how conflicts work. In addition, creating open dialogue methods that include voices from marginalized groups will improve peacebuilding efforts. Practitioners should use data-driven methods while being aware of local contexts to make sure their interventions are suitable and effective. Ultimately, focusing on preventing conflicts instead of just responding to them will be key in helping to create a more peaceful world

#### **CHAPTER SIX**

#### Conclusion

The issues related to the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon show that armed conflict does not solve problems. Though armed conflict might briefly quiet opposition, it does not tackle the real issues and often makes societal divisions worse. Pursuing talks and reforming institutions appears to be a better and more sustainable way to achieve true peace and reconciliation. In summary, the complicated mix of stories about peace and fight in Cameroon shows a need for a varied approach to solving conflicts. The research shows that both old and new systems are present and change as tensions continue, especially between the Anglophone areas and the central government. These tensions usually come from a history that has led to different stories, seen in the different views of state officials and local leaders, with President Paul Biya stressing national togetherness while Anglophone activists push for separation. Additionally, these conflicts get worse due to environmental and social issues, particularly seen in the mixed conflicts between farmers and herders in the grassfileld area, where lack of resources and gaps in laws increase violence. Thus, combining traditional conflict resolution methods with modern political systems is an important suggestion for creating lasting peace and better governance in Cameroon.

The findings from this study also highlight the complicated relationship between leaders and community strength in areas after conflict. By looking at how civil society leaders promote peace, good leadership relies on a deep understanding of the local situation, especially in places filled with conflict and division, as noted in the literature review. The study indicates that leaders need to handle complex social interactions, using techniques of both separation and unity to

create spaces that support peacebuilding. Additionally, this research points out how media portrayals affect public views on minority groups and female victimization, showing how these images shape community identity and activism during times of change. The relationship between leadership actions and media messages is shown to be vital for improving peace and resolving conflicts, opening avenues for further studies and real-world uses in various conflict environments.

The area of peace and conflict resolution includes many methods and theories that seek to understand and improve the complexities found in social conflicts. It looks at the main causes of disagreement, like ethnic tensions and political exclusion, and it also studies how media representation affects public views and actions regarding these conflicts. For example, news framing has shown that certain stories can worsen ethnic divides, contributing to ongoing violence. Additionally, the importance of domestic and international laws in safeguarding the rights of displaced people has increased, particularly in places like Anglophone Cameroon, where legal inconsistencies have been shown to worsen ethnic conflicts. Therefore, peace and conflict resolution as a field is not only a space for academic study but also an important tool for real-world actions aimed at creating lasting peace.

When looking at theories in peace and conflict resolution, it is important to question the drawbacks of well-known models, especially the liberal peacebuilding model. Critics have pointed out the problems within this approach, which aims to create stability by promoting democracy and economic growth but often leads to more conflict. The comprehensive method, a key part of liberal peacebuilding, shows some flexibility but can also increase existing tensions when used in different situations. This mismatch is particularly clear in cases where local social

and political factors go against the assumptions of these frameworks, as seen in Cameroon's internal displacement crises caused by conflict. By examining these inconsistencies, researchers can clarify how legal and policy strategies based on standard theories might need to be reconsidered to address the complexities of local conditions. This critical look helps in creating more tailored approaches to peace and conflict resolution.

Educational systems can have a major impact on community unity and conflict resolution results. Better teaching methods and suitable instructional materials improve how well the curriculum works in dealing with community conflicts, pointing out the need for a curriculum review to address current problems in Cameroon. These analyses together stress the important relationship between social-political situations and educational methods in promoting lasting peace. School boycott and threats on students and teachers who try to foster education in the conflict zones of Cameroon is not a positive step towards conflict resolution as it only increases the level of illiteracy.

This dissertation shows the complicated nature of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon, which goes beyond simple stories of ethnic identity and points to deeper issues within institutions and regional factors. Acknowledging the important role of the diaspora and online organizing, this analysis indicates that the conflict's lasting nature depends not only on local feelings but also heavily on international links and social media platforms. Moreover, understanding these complexities highlights the need for detailed strategies in resolving the conflict that encourage inclusive political discussions and decentralization. The impact of this research goes further than just Cameroon, urging scholars and policymakers to rethink how local and global influences interact in modern conflicts. In the end, a thorough approach to building peace must address both

the historical background and the new communication methods used by affected communities to create a path to long-term peace. Dealing with the difficulties of settling disputes in Anglophone Cameroon takes a real focus on both short-term and long-term issues. Real peace cannot come just from military action or short-term ceasefires; it needs true attention to the complaints that cause the conflict. Involving local communities in real discussions, creating job chances, fostering proper education and boosting political participation are key steps toward a lasting fix. The way to lasting peace in conflict-ridden areas like Anglophone Cameroon needs a varied strategy that involves tackling the main causes of the conflict, encouraging open dialogue, and making sure everyone gets to take part. By focusing on these parts, those involved can create a strong system that not only eases current tensions but also sets the stage for a fair and just society, thus assisting in healing and bringing together the area. Bate Besong in "Bole Butane's And Palm Wine Will Flow as Revolutionary Prophecy" opines:

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must ever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again, and again. We must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. (p. 22)

In "Culture of Peace Initiative" Albert Einstein's philosophy does not stray from the above. He opines "No great problem has ever been solved using the same consciousness that created it.". (p. 13)

#### **APPENDIX**



Figure 11. Protest by Anglophone lawyers in Cameroon advocating for civil rights and justice

This appendix shows the complicated situations of conflict and peace in Anglophone Cameroon. It highlights the need for careful methods to handle intervention and resolution. The serious social, economic, and political effects of the ongoing crisis call for policy frameworks that focus on inclusion and community strength. Additionally, the role of civil society, especially efforts led by women for peace, proves to be important in promoting discussion and reconciliation. As shown by image below, these collective actions from women represent not just a push for peace but also challenge traditional gender roles, which adds depth to the conversation about gender in conflict situations. In the end, the findings from this study support a broad view of peacebuilding that incorporates local viewpoints, honors cultural settings, and tackles the complex factors that affect both conflict growth and possible solutions in Anglophone Cameroon.



Figure 12. Women protesting for peace, demonstrating the role of gender in social movements

#### **Methodological Approaches in Researching Conflict and Peace**

| Method                | Description   | Case Study Examples  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Qualitative Research  | Involves interviews, focus groups, and participant observation to gather in-depth insights. | Field studies in conflict zones, narratives of affected populations.       |
| Quantitative Research | Utilizes surveys and statistical analysis to quantify attitudes and behaviors.              | Large-scale surveys on public opinion during conflict.                     |
| Mixed-Methods         | Combines qualitative and quantitative approaches for comprehensive understanding.           | Surveys followed by interviews to validate findings.                       |
| Case Study Analysis   | In-depth analysis of<br>specific instances of<br>conflict and peace                         | The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation |

| efforts.                                 | Commission.   |
|--|---|
| conflicts or peace processes to identify | Comparative studies on post-conflict reconstruction in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. |

Table 16. Methodological Approaches in Researching Conflict and Peace

#### Methodology: Sample Interview and Questionnaire Design

The method for making interview samples and questionnaires to study conflict and peace in Anglophone Cameroon needs a careful look at the local political scene and different views of those involved. Using a mixed-methods approach helps gather richer data, combining qualitative information from ethnographic fieldwork and structured interviews. Creating open-ended questions in interviews helps participants share their experiences better, while closed-ended questions make it easier to analyze data and compare results. Additionally, it is important to consider cultural sensitivities and local conditions when designing questions to reduce potential bias and power issues. This way, we can ensure the findings are valid and reliable, and it allows participants to take part actively, leading to a deeper understanding of the complex aspects of conflict and peace in their communities.

| Question Type | Purpose | Advantages | Example Question |
|---------------|---------|------------|------------------|
|               |         |            |                  |

| Open-Ended Question         | _  | Encourages rich, qualitative data.          | Can you describe a significant event that shaped your view on peace in your community?   |
|-----------------------------|--|---|--|
| Closed-Ended Question       |  | Easier to analyze statistically.            | On a scale of 1-5, how important do you think dialogue is for conflict resolution?   |
| Multiple Choice<br>Question | To offer respondents several options to choose from. | Facilitates quick and clear responses.      | What do you believe is<br>the primary cause of<br>conflict in your<br>community? (A) Ethnic<br>tensions (B) Economic<br>disparity (C) Political<br>issues (D) Other    |
| Likert Scale Question       | •  | Provides nuanced understanding of opinions. | To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Peacebuilding initiatives have effectively addressed community tensions.' (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree) |

Table 17. Sample Interview and Questionnaire Design Metrics

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