

Intrastate Conflicts: A Critique of the Cameroon Government Responses in Stabilizing Peace in the Anglophone Region of Cameroon

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Abstract

This study evaluates the Cameroon government's responses to the Anglophone conflict, highlighting the strategies employed to stabilize peace in the regions. The study adopted a mixed-method approach, combining a cross-sectional and descriptive survey design. The findings of this study revealed that the state of Cameroon, alongside its partners, has identified and laid down mechanisms geared towards solving the Anglophone conflict. These mechanisms identified within the study include the major national dialogue, the creation of the DDR centers, and the implementation of effective decentralization, as well as the granting of special status. Other mechanisms identified are intense and organized military operations of separatist hideouts. The findings also revealed that the state has also put in place other mechanisms such as the creation of Bilingualism Commission, the releasing of prisoners, and translation of OHADA into the English Language, creation of Common Law Bench in ENAM, creation of Faculty of Laws and Political Science (FLPS in the University of Buea. Based on the findings of this study, although the government has established mechanisms to provide lasting peace to the Anglophone conflicts, these efforts have been insufficient in addressing the root causes of the conflict. The study recommends a return to federalism and genuine and inclusive dialogue, which must reflect the true representation of the local population, such as the church leaders, local or traditional leaders, civil society organizations, international organizations, Cameroonians in the diaspora and most importantly, the separatists.

Keywords

Anglophone Conflict, Cameroon Government Responses, Peace Stabilization

1. Introduction

Conflict is a process of social interaction involving a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desire (Bison, 1988). Conflict exists when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponent are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Kazimoto, 2013). Different types of conflict exist, namely political conflict, religious conflict, resource conflict, ethnic conflict, goal conflict, human conflict and civil conflict, also known as intrastate conflict, which is a point of focus for this thesis. Intrastate conflict is no longer new to us. Also, Conflict occurs in situations where two or more interdependent parties (either individuals or groups) have interests, outcomes, and/or goals that are incompatible in some way (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000).

Conflict in reality is by no means a negative force; rather, it is a natural expression of social difference and of humanity's perpetual struggle for justice and self-determination (Miller, 2003). If managed non-violently, it can be a positive source of immense creativity and progress, but if not managed nonviolently, it can lead to a lot of disasters such as loss of lives, destruction of properties and many others. Conflict resolution can be viewed from the point of reduction, elimination, or termination of conflict; it involves mediation, negotiation, peacekeeping, bargaining, and arbitration, which are some of the processes and procedures of conflict resolution (Rubin & Sung, 1994). Also, conflict resolution method is a combination of precise behaviours and orientations used to address conflicts arising under a particular situation. Conflict management, however, does not necessarily imply avoidance, reduction, or termination of conflict, but it designs effective macro-level strategies to reduce the negative aspect of conflict and enhance its constructive functions so as to boost learning and effectiveness in an organization (Rahim, 2002).

Contextually, many nations in the world are experiencing diverse crises and conflicts. In the context OF Cameroon, the Northern part of Cameroon is also faced with stiff attacks from the terrorist group Boko Haram. On January 12th, 2015, a military base in Kolofata was assaulted by Boko Haram (Al Jazeera, 2015). The Islamist group had attacked towns in Northern Cameroon in December 2014 but the attack was repelled by the military forces of Cameroon Reuters (29th December 2014). The two Anglophone regions of Cameroon are also faced with a conflict that began in 2016. The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon is a prime example of an intrastate conflict. This conflict came as a result of loss of identity, social exclusion, and marginalization, which grew and escalated to a conflict. This conflict is also known as the Ambazonian war (Ambazonian war drowns SDF 28th Anniversary Archive 25th October 2018). The conflict has resulted in significant human suffering, with approximately 3000 people killed and over half a million displaced (Journal du Cameroun, 2020). Despite efforts by the Cameroon government to resolve the conflict, including the establishment of a national dialogue, bilingualism and multiculturalism commissions, and disarmament, demobiliza-

tion, and reintegration centers, the conflict persists (Journal du Cameroun, 2020), the creation of Bilingualism Commissions and Multiculturalism Commissions (Journal du Cameroun, 2020). According to Mwagiru (2001), certain mechanisms employed by many conflicting countries globally ended up resolving their conflicts. Based on the aforementioned, this study is aimed at investigating the processes and procedures in resolving intra-state conflict, laying emphasis on the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon and, more specifically, looking at the mechanisms, how the mechanisms have been managed, and the extent to which these mechanisms have provided solutions to the problems above.

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research Design

The study employed a mixed methods research approach, which enables the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). The mixed methods design was chosen to comprehensively address the research the research topic. Qualitative research allowed for in-depth interviews with municipal authorities collaborating with the Cameroon government to promote peace in the Anglophone regions. Quantitative research involved administering questionnaires to community representatives working towards bringing peace to the regions.

2.2. Target Population

The targeted population of this study was made up of inhabitants directly affected by the conflict of the Northwest and Southwest Regions and representatives of these inhabitants of the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon (mayors, first-class traditional rulers, civil society organization leaders, and religious leaders). Data was collected from the mayors. The mayors are part of the Cameroonian stakeholders who are working with the Cameroon government to bring peace to the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon and are representatives of the population that elects them. The reason why the researcher chose mayors was because they are at the grassroots level and have understood what the population needed, and the researcher believed that their information would greatly help out in this research. In this view, 65 mayors made up the target population, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Target population for mayor.

Regions	Councils	Number of Mayors
Southwest	31	31
Northwest	34	34
TOTAL	65	65

Source: National Statistics Center Southwest and Northwest Region (2021).

First-class traditional rulers are also acknowledged as stakeholders who are

working in collaboration with the Cameroon government to bring peace to the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The traditional rulers here represent the villagers of each village in the two Anglophone regions, and since they are custodians, the researcher believed that their information would also help greatly in the research in coming out with solutions in other to finally bring peace to the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The target population of first-class traditional rulers for this study consisted of 969 chiefdoms (**Table 2**).

Table 2. Target population for traditional rulers.

Regions	Villages	Number of First-Class Traditional Rulers
Southwest	542	4
Northwest	417	6
TOTAL		10

Source: National Statistics Center Southwest and Northwest Region (2021).

Religious leaders are also part of the Cameroonian stakeholders; they are representatives of the inhabitants of these regions. They, too, have been the target of this conflict. In their own capacity, they have been working in collaboration with the Cameroon government right from the beginning of the crisis to bring peace to the two Anglophone regions. It was in this regard that the researcher believed that their information would help in a great way in bringing a solution to the conflict in the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon. According to research conducted by the “Cameroon International Religious Report 2018,” the target population for religious bodies was made up of 5 major bodies, being the Catholics, followed by the Presbyterians, the Baptist, the Pentecostals, as well as the Muslims (**Table 3**).

Table 3. Target population for religious leaders.

Regions	Religious Bodies	Number of Religious leaders
Southwest	5	5
Northwest	5	5
TOTAL	10	10

Source: Cameroon International Religious Report (CIRP) (2021).

Civil Society: They are there to ensure that peace is maintained in society. They have been advocating for peace right from the very beginning of the Anglophone conflict. For example, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as the Center for Human Rights and Development, Orphanages, Noella Lyonga Foundations, Reach Out Cameroon and Foundation for Inclusive Education, and Plan Cameroon Bulu Blind Center have been advocating for peace and justice to be brought to the Anglophone region of Cameroon (**Anyangwe, 2018**). The researcher believed that their contributions would also go a long way in finding a solution to

the conflict, and also for the purpose of this research. According to the National Statistics Center 2021, a total of 59 civil society organizations made up the target population within these regions (Table 4).

The second part of the target population was made up of the population directly affected by the conflict in the Southwest Northwest regions (Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 4. Target population for civil society organizations.

Regions	Civil Society Organizations	Number of Civil Society Organizations leaders
Southwest	30	30
Northwest	29	29
TOTAL	59	59
GRAND TOTAL OF TARGET POPULATION		144

Source: National Statistics Center Southwest and Northwest Region (2018).

Table 5. Target population for the Southwest.

Divisions	Total Population
Fako	1412
Koupe Muanenguba	5579
Lebialem	3734
Manyu	2039
Meme	2734
Ndian	1602
Total	17,100

Source: National Institute of Statistic Southwest Region NIS (2015).

Table 6. Target Population for the Northwest.

Divisions	Total Population
Mezam	3157
Momo	2692
Ngokentunja	2348
Donga Mantung	1503
Bui	8807
Menchum	4908
Boyo	4720
Total	28,135

Source: National Institute of Statistic Southwest Region NIS (2015).

2.3. Sampling Technique

This study employed two sampling techniques, which are purposive sampling drawn from non-probability sampling which is purposive in nature, and the simple random sampling technique. This is a technique where the researcher purposely targets institutions (Municipal leaders and traditional leaders, civil society organizations, and religious leaders.) believed to be reliable and secure for the study. The purposive sampling technique was used to choose mayors, first-class traditional rulers, Civil Society Organization, and Religious Leaders from the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The simple random sampling technique drawn from probability sampling was also used to get the inhabitants (respondents) of the two Anglophone regions for the administration of questionnaires.

2.4. Sampling Size

Within the first sample population, a total number of 15 respondents were purposively selected from among the stakeholders that are: Mayors, First-class traditional rulers, civil society organizations, and religious leaders within the six (6) divisions such as Manyu, Meme Fako, Mezam, Momo and Bui of the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The researcher collected data from both primary and secondary sources, which were synthesized and analysed using both qualitative methods for the purposive sampling Technique and quantitative for the Random sampling technique to draw valid conclusions and references. Data that was collected by the researcher and with the help of friends was then analysed using SPSS version 20 (Statistical Package for the Social Science) tools for questionnaires for quantitative research and thematic analysis for qualitative research with tables, percentages, a pie chart, and a bar chart.

This was based on the fact that they represent the population and also work in collaboration with government policies (**Table 7**).

Table 7. Sample size for stakeholders.

S/N	Some Stake-Holders in both North West and South West region of Cameroon	Number of Stake-Holders in North West	Number of Stake-Holders in South region	Sample stakeholders
1	Mayors	3	4	7
2	Religious leaders	2	2	4
3	Traditional rulers	1	1	2
4	Civil Society Organization	1	1	2
Total		7	8	15

Source: National Institute of Statistic Southwest Region NIS (2015).

The second sample size comprises 340 inhabitants of the Northwest and Southwest regions directly affected by the conflict. This was arrived at following the [Krejcie and Morgan \(1970\)](#) chart for determining the sample size of a study. The quantitative data that was collected by the researcher and with the help of friends

was then analysed using SPSS version 20 (Statistical Package for the Social Science) tools for questionnaires for quantitative research and thematic analysis for qualitative research with tables, percentages, a pie chart, and a bar chart.

With a 95% level of confidence and 5% margin of error and with a total population of over 1,000,000, a total of 340 respondents were drawn to represent the second sample size of the study (Table 7).

2.5. Data Collection/Analysis

The researcher made use of an interview guide and closed and open-ended questionnaires. The interview guides were used to gather qualitative data from the stakeholders and the Questionnaires for the inhabitants of the two Anglophone Regions of Cameroon who are affected by the conflict in one way or the other. The questionnaire and interview guides were structured to find answers to research questions and meet objectives. The researcher made use of varied Likert scales of measurement and statements was formed to answer research objective one and four responses were coin to answer the statement which are: The questionnaires were closed and open-ended this was so because the researcher aimed at getting both qualitative and quantitative data form the respondents, it is free from the bias of the respondent, with the questionnaire, the respondents have adequate time to give well thought out answers, again, with the questionnaire, respondents can be reached conveniently and lastly, it suits large samples which in the case of the study is 350 respondents thus, the results can be made more reliable and dependable.

2.6. Data Analysis

The researcher collected data from both primary and secondary sources, which were synthesized and analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative purposive sampling techniques to draw valid conclusions and references. Data that were collected by the researcher and with the help of a friend were then analyzed using SPSS version 20 (Statistical Package for the Social Science) tools for questionnaires for quantitative research. The researcher used Thematic Analysis to analyze data that were collected from the interview guide. The data was represented by Tables, percentages, and graphs for both qualitative and quantitative research. Data are collected using the approaches above. According to Nana (2012), categorical variables and descriptive statistics present the distribution of subjects between and within subsets using frequencies and proportions, and more specifically, Multiple Response Analysis (MRA) (with multiple response analysis with the possibility of more than one response to a question) for Likert-scale conceptual components was mostly to compute aggregate scores.

3. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

3.1. Mechanisms Put in Place by the Cameroon Government in Bringing Lasting Peace to the Anglophone Conflict in Cameroon

Based on the devastating effects of the conflict on the state, to resolve the Anglo-

phone conflict, the Cameroon government has put in place several mechanisms to provide lasting peace in the North West and South regions of Cameroon (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020). In an address to the nation in September 2019, President Paul Biya outlined the government's efforts to resolve the conflict in the North West and South West regions (**Table 8**).

Table 8. Mechanisms put in place by the Cameroon government in bringing lasting peace.

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1. Organization of the major national dialogue.
 2. The organization of the grand national dialogue in Yaoundé
 3. Creation of the multiculturalism and bilingualism.
 4. Creation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration commission.
 5. Granting of amnesty to prisoners.
 6. Translation of the OHADA Uniform Act to English.
 7. Creation of a Common Law Bench at ENAM.
 8. Creation of the common law Department in the University of Buea.
 9. Creation of the Faculty of Laws and Political Science in the University of Buea.
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3.1.1. Grand National Dialogue

In an attempt to solve the Anglophone conflict in the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon, in January 2017, the Cameroonian government set up a committee to initiate a dialogue with the law activists. The lawyers refused to talk, demanding that all arrested activists be released before any dialogue. The lawyers submitted a draft for a federal state, and the government responded by banning their movements altogether. The protesters were now openly regarded as a security threat by the Cameroonian government, and more arrests followed. In September, President Paul Biya to solve the conflict announced the Major National Dialogue, a political dialogue that would be held before the end of the month (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020) While separatists were quick to reject the initiative, citing the recent life sentences handed to the separatist leaders (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020) opposition parties in Cameroon showed interest in the initiative and started submitting proposals (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020).

President Paul Biya called for dialogue, and his government organized talks that took place from 30 September to October 4, leading to the adoption of recommendations to restore peace. BBC Monitoring reported on 19 September 2019 that to ensure the participation of all Cameroonians in the national dialogue announced by President Paul Biya, the site www.nationaldialogue.com was created on the initiative of Prime Minister Joseph Dion Ngute. The aim is to allow all Cameroonians to contribute to the national dialogue. The digital platform has been set up so that Cameroonians can submit proposals to resolve the security crisis in the North-West and South-West regions. The debates are scheduled to take place in Yaoundé's Palais des Congrès from 30 September 2019 to 4 October.

The five days of talks presided over by the prime minister were boycotted by most separatist leaders but gathered more than 1000 participants. They recommended “spatial status” for the North West and South West regions, home to most of the Anglophone minority that makes up 16 percent of Cameroon’s population.

The call for a national dialogue was also reported by *Journal du Cameroun* (2020); based on the report, President Paul Biya has said in a rare public address that he is organising a “national dialogue” on all the crises facing the country, including violence that has killed thousands in its Anglophone regions. The president added that the national dialogue would address more than just the separatist crisis. “The dialogue to be presided over by the prime minister will bring together all Cameroonians, especially traditional rulers, lawmakers, the clergy, and all elected officials,” Biya said. Nkongho Agbor Balla, an Anglophone activist, told Al Jazeera that “the call for an all-inclusive dialogue is very appreciated”, saying the announcement “should signal the end of arrests of Anglophones for their political ideas”. “*Whilst my expectations were not fully met in the speech, we should give peace a chance by supporting the dialogue process,*” he said, “*I urge those who will be attending the national dialogue to call for the release of all those detained in connection with the crisis, the need for constitutional amendment and also to ensure that the form of the state is equally discussed at the dialogue table,*” he said.

As revealed by the findings of this study, R2P, in a report from August 2020, stated: “In an attempt to ease tensions, between 30 September and 4 October 2019, President Paul Biya organized a national dialogue, followed by the adoption of several measures, including granting ‘special status’ to the Anglophone regions.” R2P report of August 2020 is in line with a letter addressed from the UN Security Council in a letter dated 19 July 2019 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General *since the last meeting in N’Djamena in December 2018, the Government of the Republic of Cameroon, to resolve the crisis in the North-West and South-West Regions, has continued to carry out initiatives aimed at stabilizing the situation and ensuring a gradual return to normal life. These initiatives include the establishment by presidential decree of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism on 23 January 2017 and the implementation of the emergency humanitarian assistance plan for the North-West and South-West Regions, developed in June 2018, in conjunction with an emergency humanitarian assistance coordination center. Six months after its establishment on 30 November 2018, the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Committee, which concerns former Boko Haram fighters and former members of armed rebel groups in the North-West and South-West Regions, has centers in Bamenda, Buea, and Mora, welcoming many former secessionist and jihadist fighters.*

The International Crisis Group, in a May 2019 article on the Anglophone crisis, stated: “In March 2018, President Paul Biya created a ministry for Decentralisation and Local Development had appointed Anglophones to ministerial posts that

no Anglophone had previously occupied.” In June (2018), the prime minister announced a Humanitarian Response Plan with a budget of FCFA 13 billion (€19.8 million) for the Anglophone regions; in November (2018), President Biya created a disarmament and demobilization committee for ex-combatants of Boko Haram and the separatists; and in December (2018), he released 289 of the around 1000 detained Anglophone activists. Finally, in his end-of-year speech, he announced that elections for regional councils would be held in 2019.

The escalation of the conflict has shown that the organization of the major national dialogue has failed because it failed to meet the elements of a successful dialogue, as was applied by (O’Driscoll, 2020). To them, the inclusivity principle is critical for an effective national dialogue to take place; the process must accommodate a broad spectrum of stakeholders without leaving any groups out of the talks, political parties, and civil groups, amongst others. According to their findings, to achieve the maximum dialogue’s full potential to tackle the actual causes and drivers of conflict, all key stakeholders should be allowed and encouraged to participate, including youth, religious groups, and women. For this mechanism to eventually bring peace to the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon, the Cameroon government should call for another dialogue to employ the inclusivity principle and involve all stakeholders without leaving any groups out of the talks, including political parties, civil groups, and many others.

3.1.2. The Creation of the Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

The creation of the Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism was another step taken by the Cameroon Government to solve the Anglophone conflict. One of the grievances of Anglophones in Cameroon is total neglect of the use of the English Language, which is one of the official laws enshrined in the constitution. The president created these Commissions to follow the strict respect of the use of both languages, especially in offices, Government communication, and other official documents. The president also gave humanitarian aid to both internally displaced persons and refugees (Journal du Cameroun, 2020). The Cameroon government needs to cease fire and provide an atmosphere where people can move freely and people can make resolutions without any fear. Especially in the educational domain teachers can also go and teach without being scared of their lives.

3.1.3. The Creation of Decentralization/Special Status

Decentralization/ Special Status is another tool used to resolve conflict. In recent years, decentralization has become a prominent tool for conflict resolution. Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of conflict appears to have changed, as evidenced by the proliferation of civil wars and conflicts rooted in ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity (Kaldor, 2012). These new wars have thus necessitated the development of new tools for managing and resolving ethno-cultural conflicts. Within one country (rather than between different countries), the potential of decentralization to facilitate the accommodation of differences, protect minority

groups, prevent territorial disintegration, and maintain political stability has rendered decentralization one of the international community's preferred conflict-ameliorating strategies (Kaldor, 2012). Decentralization, therefore, has not only become a tool of conflict resolution but is also strongly linked to elements of peacebuilding, state-(re)building, and democratization.

According to Brancati (2009), decentralization is the most efficient strategy for managing contemporary conflict. The Cameroon government also created a decentralization Commission to resolve the Anglophone conflict (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020). Aside from Cameroon, other countries have also used decentralization to bring peace to their countries. In light of this increase in violent intrastate struggles, decentralized governance, including federalism and devolution, has been touted as a conflict-resolving mechanism (Bakke, 2015; Bermeo, 2002; Brancati, 2009; Lapidoth, 1997). Countries as diverse as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Colombia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iraq, Macedonia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Sri Lanka, South Africa, and Sudan, amongst others, have all utilized some form of political decentralization to contain conflict and reduce ethno-political enmities.

3.1.4. The Creation of Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Centers (DDR)

Another step in resolving the conflict by the Cameroon government is the creation of Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration centers (DDR). These centers were created for the ex-rebel fighters to be sent there. The centers are located in Buea, Bamenda, and Maroua. This was an olive branch extended by the president to ex-rebel fighters to drop their weapons and be admitted into this center, where they would not be punished but rather receive training in various fields and rehabilitation for eventual reintegration into society. Although DDR is mostly used as a post-conflict resolution tool, in its broader sense, it can also be used to maintain peace during armed conflict. A clear example can be seen in the case of Bosnia, South Africa, Rwanda, and many other countries (Manson, 2000).

The creation of the English Law department in the Universities of Douala, Maroua, Ngaoundere, and Dschang, and the Public Law department in the Universities of Bamenda and Buea. The creation of the English Law department in the Universities of Douala, Maroua, Ngaoundere, and Dschang, and Public Law department in the Universities of Bamenda, and Buea. The creation of the faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Buea was a measure taken by the Cameroon government to resolve the conflict. The creation of the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) in 2017, the creation of a common Law Section within the Magistracy and Court Registry Division, the provision of the official English versions of the OHADA Uniform Acts and the Cameroon Penal Code; in an attempt in resolving the conflict the Cameroon adopted the above mechanisms and many more (*Journal du Cameroun*, 2020).

3.1.5. Granting of Amnesty to Prisoners

Another measure employed by the Cameroon Government in resolving the An-

glophone conflict is the granting of Amnesty to Prisoners. This is evidenced by a France24 report on 5 October 2019 that: “Cameroon’s president on Thursday (3 October 2019) freed more than 300 separatist fighters from the country’s Anglophone regions to calm a conflict that has killed nearly 3000 people in the past two years.” ‘President Paul Biya made the decision in a bid to ensure that peace returns to Cameroon’s restive English-speaking regions,’ according to a statement by Secretary-General Ferdinand Ngo. The order discontinues court proceedings against 333 fighters accused of misdemeanors but does not apply to their leaders who were sentenced to life in prison by a military tribunal in August.

73 Human Rights Watch, in a report “Cameroon: Political Opponent Freed” published on 7 October 2019 reported that: President Paul Biya ordered the release on October 4, 2019 of a prominent opposition leader, Maurice Kamto. The president also ordered the release of other members and supporters of Kamto’s party, the Cameroon Renaissance Movement (MRC). Kamto and the other detainees were released on October 5. Kamto, along with over 200 MRC members and supporters, was arrested between January 26 and 28 after countrywide peaceful protests. At least 350 more party members and supporters, including its vice president Mamadou Mota, were arrested between June 1 and 2 after they tried to hold demonstrations across the country... In another case, Abdul Karim Ali, an outspoken Anglophone activist and political analyst, was arrested on September 25 (2019) and denied access to a lawyer for five days, in violation of Cameroonian law. Abdul Karim Ali was taken to the State Defense Secretariat (Secrétariat d’État à la défense, SED) in Yaoundé. His whereabouts were finally made public on September 30 when he was taken before the Yaoundé Military Court and charged with acts of terrorism, financing terrorism, and secession. 74 The USSD human rights report for 2019 noted that on October 3, President Biya announced the pardoning of 333 lower-level Anglophone detainees, and on October 5, the Military Tribunal ordered the release of Kamto and hundreds of his associates.’

The state-run media outlet, Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV), reported on 18 April 2020: that Prime Minister—Head of Government, Joseph Dion Ngute has commissioned the coordinators of Presidential plan for the Reconstruction of the [North] West and South West regions. During the installation, Paul Tasong and Njong Donatus were instructed to present their annual plan of action to the Head of Government. The target of the Presidential Plan for the reconstruction of the North West and South West regions to build and rehabilitate: 350 schools, 115 health centers, 40 bridges, 400 water points, 600 km of rural roads, 45 markets, 17,000 private homes, 25,000 hectares of farm, and grazing land, 300,000 personal documents. The Coordinator, Paul Tasong, said they will begin work immediately in the green areas where there is sufficient stability, peace, and, security to allow rehabilitation and construction to go on unperturbed. The plan will cost some 89 billion CFA francs and will be funded by the government of Cameroon and development partners.

The United Nations Development Program is a key stakeholder in the design and follow-up of the execution of the project. The UNDP resident representative says it is their responsibility to ensure that instruments are available for the projects to be carried out in all accountability, transparency and, efficiency. The Prime Minister called on the Ministers of Finance and Economy, Planning and Regional Development to support the project. The Presidential plan for the reconstruction of the North West and South West regions is a fulfillment of some of the recommendations of the Major National Dialogue to tackle the crisis in the English-speaking regions. The coordinator and his assistant, who have the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the project, were appointed on April 3, 2020 by the Prime Minister.

The coordinator and his assistant who have the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the project were appointed on April 3, 2020 by the Prime Minister. "Minister Paul Tasong and former Mayor of Jumbo Donatus Njong are expected to revitalize the economy and rehabilitate basic infrastructure destroyed during the sociopolitical crisis."

The Extent to Which the Implemented Mechanism Has Provided Solutions to the Anglophone Conflict in Cameroon).

3.2. Perception on the Extent to Which the Mechanisms Put in Place Have Provided Lasting Solutions to the Anglophone Conflict

The result of the descriptive statistics based on the information obtained from the field indicates the level of satisfaction with mechanisms put in place by the Cameroon government, as per the respondents of the interview from the stakeholders. **Tables 9-16** indicate the various levels of satisfaction with the mechanisms put in place by the Cameroon government as per the responses from the interview.

Table 9 presents data relating to the organization of the Major National Dialogue as a solution to the Anglophone Conflict. In item 1, which sought to find out respondents' perception regarding the impact of the Major National Dialogue, a majority of the respondents, that is 230 (67.6%) agreed that the organization of the major national dialogue has provided solutions to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, meanwhile, a total of 110 (32.4%) disagreed with this opinion regarding the impact of the resolutions on the Anglophone conflict, item 2 sought to investigate respondents' opinions on the effects of the resolutions of the Major National Dialogue on the conflict. 226 (66.5%) of the respondents agreed that the resolutions of the national dialogue had provided solutions to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, whereas 114 (33.5%) disagreed with this opinion.

Item 3 sought to investigate the impact of the major national dialogue on the situation of ghost towns in the conflict regions. 193 (56.8%) of the respondents agreed that the major national dialogue has solved the problem of ghost towns in the Anglophone regions; meanwhile, 147 (43.2%) disagreed with this opinion.

Table 9. The organization of the major national dialogue has brought solution to the anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

S/N	Item	Agree		Disagree	
		Frequency	Percentage %	Frequency	Percentage %
1	The organization of the major national dialogue has provided solutions to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon	230	67.6	110	32.4
2	The resolutions of the national dialogue have provided solutions to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon	226	66.5	114	33.5
3	The major national dialogue has solved the problem of ghost towns in the Anglophone regions	193	56.8	147	43.2

Item 3 sought to investigate the impact of the major national dialogue on the situation of ghost town in the conflict regions. 193 (56.8%) of the respondents agreed that the major national dialogue has solved the problem of ghost towns in the Anglophone regions, meanwhile, 147 (43.2%) disagreed with this opinion.

Table 10. Respondents' views on how the organization of the major national dialogue has provided solutions to the anglophone conflict.

Themes (How the Dialogue has provided Solutions)	Meaning	Quotation
Decreased deaths	Reduction in the number of people that get killed during confrontation between separatists and the military	"Decreased in human killing"
Normalcy of life	Situation where the people carry on their day-to-day activities the way they used to do	"Kick off of economic activities"
Improved security	Better social security within the community where people's lives and property are less endangered	"Enhanced some level of security"
Return of calmness	Reduced incidence of tension and uncertainty	"Decreased in careless shooting"
Reduced crime wave	Reduction of non-ethical and wayward behavior	"Limited kidnapped cases and harassment"

Table 10 presents respondents' views on how the organization of the Major National Dialogue has provided solutions to the Anglophone conflict. Respondents generally agreed that the organization of the major national dialogue has had an impact on their economic and social lives. Some respondents expressed that

due to the holding of the dialogue, there has been a low killing rate in the two Anglophone regions. Others added that the holding of the dialogue has led to the resumption of economic activities such as farming “kick off of economic activities”. According to some respondents, the national dialogue has helped to reduce the level of inhuman acts by both military and armed men and “decreased careless shooting”. Again, others believed that with the organization of the major national dialogue, there had been some visible improvement in the security systems of the communities “enhanced some level of security”, and also accompanied by a decrease in crime wave “limited kidnapped cases and harassment”.

Table 11. The creation of the Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (DDR) as solution to the anglophone conflict in Cameroon.

S/ N	Item	Agree		Disagree	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
5	The creation of the Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (DDR) has reduced the number of Armed Separatist in the Anglophone Regions	247	72.6	93	27.4
6	The DDR Centers have not reduced the circulation of arms within the region	209	61.4	131	38.5
7	The former separatist fighters from the DDR are successfully being Reintegrated back into the society	191	56.2	149	43.8

Table 11 presents data relating to the creation of DDR as a solution to the Anglophone crisis. In item 5, which sought to investigate the impacts of the creation of DDR on the number of armed separatists, 247 (72.6%) of the respondents out of the 340 agreed that the creation of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (DDR) has reduced the number of Armed Separatist in the Anglophone Regions, meanwhile, 93 (27.4%) of the 340 respondents disagreed to this opinion. In item 6, the researcher sought to find out whether respondents think that the DDRs have not reduced the number of armed separatists in the restive regions, 209 (61.4%) of the 340 respondents agreed that the DDR centers have reduced the circulation of arms within the region. Meanwhile, 131 (38.5%) of the respondents disagreed with this opinion. In item 7 relating to the fate of former armed separatists in DDRs, 191 (56.2%) of the 340 respondents agreed that the former separatist fighters from the DDR are successfully being Reintegrated back into society, whereas 149 (43.8%) of the 340 respondents disagreed with this opinion.

Table 12 presents respondents' views on how the creation of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Commission (DDR) has provided solutions to the Anglophone crisis. Based on the findings, a good number of the respondents expressed that due to the creation of the DDRs, there has been a reasonable in-

crease in the social reintegration of the youths that are ex-into the society, “disarmed and reintegrated separatist fighters”, and “some of the ‘*Amba boys*’ are now in DDRs for return to their normal life”. Equally, some respondents mentioned that the creation of DDRs has brought about a reduction in the rampant circulation of illegal arms “reduction of arms circulations”. Again, according to some respondents, thanks to the creation of DDRs, there has been a return of calmness in some areas in the Anglophone areas, “reduced chaos in the regions”. In addition to that, some respondents hold that the creation DDRs has brought about economic restoration as it has led to some economic stability in the two regions, “economic activities are rising gradually”. Finally, there is a group of respondents who hold the opinion that the creation of DDRs has not had any impact on the crisis (null effect), as they describe it as “inconsequential to the crisis.”

Table 12. Respondents’ views on how the creation DDR has provided solutions to the anglophone crisis.

Themes (How the DDR has provided Solutions)	Meaning	Quotation
Social reintegration	Readmission of ex-combatants into the rest of the society such that they behave as every other member of the community	“Disarmed and reintegrated separatist fighters”. “Some of the <i>amba boys</i> are now in DDRs for return to their normal life”
Rigidity in circulation of arms	Improved control over the transportation of arms such that only authorized persons can transport them	“Reduction of arms circulations”
Return of calm	Reduced incidence of tension and uncertainty	“Reduced chaos in the regions”
Economic restoration	Improvement of economic activities and income generating practices	“Economic activities are rising gradually”
Null effect	Has no significant and visible effect	“Inconsequential to the crisis”

Table 13 presents data relating to the impact of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission on the armed conflicts in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. In item 9, related to the impact of the creation of the Anglophone crisis on solving the Anglophone grievances, 88 (25.9%) of the 340 respondents agreed that the Creation of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission has helped solve the Anglophone grievances, meanwhile a majority of 252 (74.1%) out of the 340 respondents disagreed to this opinion.

In item 10, relating to the effect of the Multiculturalism Commission on Bilingualism in Cameroon, 53 (15.6%) of the 340 respondents agreed that the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission has affected effective Bilingualism in the An-

glophone Regions. Meanwhile, a majority of 287 (84.4%) disagreed with this opinion. In item 11, relating to the impact of the Reconstruction Commission on the phenomenon of ghost town in the restive regions, 29 (8.6%) out of the 340 respondents disagreed that the Reconstruction Commission has assisted in solving the Ghost towns phenomenon. Meanwhile, 310 (91.2%) disagreed with this opinion.

Table 13. The creation of the bilingualism and multiculturalism commission as solution to the anglophone crisis in cameroon.

S/N	Item	Agree		Disagree	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
9	The Creation of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission has helped solved the Anglophone grievances	88	25.9	252	74.1
10	The Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission has affected effective Bilingualism in the Anglophone Regions	53	15.6	287	84.4
11	The reconstruction Commission has assisted in solving the Ghost town phenomenon	29	8.6	310	91.2

Table 14. Perception on the organization of major national dialogue per division (Cross tabulation).

Division					Total
	SA	A	D	SD	
Fako	11	5	12	0	28
Kupe-Muanenguba	6	6	10	6	28
Lebialem	11	10	5	2	28
Manyu	8	12	5	2	27
Meme	10	11	8	0	29
Ndian	10	15	2	1	28
Mezam	7	12	6	0	25
Momo	4	12	6	3	25
Ngoketunja	2	13	9	0	24
Donga-Mantung	3	12	9	1	25
Bui	7	12	4	1	24
Boyo	2	14	8	0	24
Menchum	4	11	10	0	25
Total	85	145	94	16	340

Table 14 compares respondents' views on the organization of the Major National Dialogue as a solution to the Anglophone conflict concerning their Divisions of residence. From the results, the division with the strongest adherence to the claim that the organization of the Major National Dialogue has created an impact on the Anglophone conflict was Ndian (25) followed by Meme (21) and Lebialem (21). The divisions with the least degree of adherence to this assertion were Kupe-Muanenguba (12), Menchum, Ngookentunja, and Momo (15).

Table 15. Creation of the DDRs as solution to the anglophone conflict.

Division	SA	A	D	SD	Total
Fako	10	10	7	1	28
Kupe-Muanenguba	4	13	8	3	28
Lebialem	17	6	5	0	28
Manyu	14	11	2	0	27
Meme	17	9	1	2	29
Ndian	12	14	2	0	28
Mezam	12	11	1	1	25
Momo	2	15	7	1	25
Ngoketunja	7	11	6	0	24
Donga-Mantung	3	12	6	4	25
Bui	4	10	7	3	24
Boyo	4	4	14	2	24
Menchum	5	10	8	2	25
Total	111	136	74	19	340

Table 15 compares respondents' views on the creation of the DDRs as a solution to the Anglophone conflict concerning their Divisions of residence. From the results, the division with the strongest adherence to the claim that the creation of DDRs has created an impact on the Anglophone crisis was Ndian and Meme (26), followed by Manyu (25). The divisions with the least degree of adherence to this assertion were Boyo (8), Bui (14), and Donga-Mantung (15).

Table 16 compares respondents' views on the creation of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission as solution to the Anglophone crisis with respect to their Divisions of residence. From the results, the division with the strongest adherence to the claim that the creation of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission has created an impact on the Anglophone crisis was Fako (13), followed by Lebialem (11) and Meme (9). The divisions with the least degree of adherence to this assertion were Menchum (2), Bui (3), and Donga-Mantung (4).

Table 16. Creation of the bilingualism and multiculturalism commission as a solution to the Anglophone conflict.

Division	SA	A	D	SD	Total
Fako	5	8	14	1	28
Kupe-Muanenguba	1	3	14	10	28
Lebialem	2	9	11	6	28
Manyu	1	5	19	2	27
Meme	5	4	15	5	29
Ndian	3	3	13	9	28
Mezam	2	5	13	5	25
Momo	1	7	13	4	25
Ngoketunja	1	7	14	2	24
Donga-Mantung	1	3	11	10	25
Bui	1	2	8	13	24
Boyo	1	5	7	11	24
Menchum	0	2	14	8	25
Total	24	63	166	86	340

3.3. Respondents' View on How the Mechanisms Can Be Rightly Managed

Based on the results, 27% of the respondents identified being satisfied with the mechanism; while 73% saw the mechanisms as not satisfactory. When asked if the measures implemented by the government can be rightly managed such that peace and normalcy can return to the two Anglophone regions, 47% of the respondents suggested that in order for the mechanisms to be rightly managed and for normalcy to return to the Anglophone regions, the state must call for another more genuine and inclusive dialogue while 40% percent adhere to federalism and 13% responded that these mechanisms can be rightly managed if individuals within these regions can be sensitized. They identified Granting of federalism, calling for another major national dialogue, and also sensitization as means through which the mechanisms can be rightly managed, such that peace can return to the Anglophone regions plagued by the socio-political conflict (**Figure 1**).

The Translation into English of the OHADA instruments which are now available in the two official languages; the creation of a Common Law Section at the Supreme Court to handle appeals filed against the decisions of lower courts in Common Law matters; regarding the training of judicial and legal officers, the creation of a Common Law Section at the National School of Administration and Magistracy. This measure was accompanied by a program for the recruitment of

English-speaking pupil judicial and legal officers and court registrars; the launching of the special recruitment of Bilingual teachers in secondary schools; at the level of the judiciary, the stay of proceedings against some persons arrested in connection with the demands; the setting up of a national Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multi-Culturalism to, among other things, carry out an in-depth review of all the sources of frustration suffered by our compatriots in the North-West, and South-West Regions (**Table 1**).

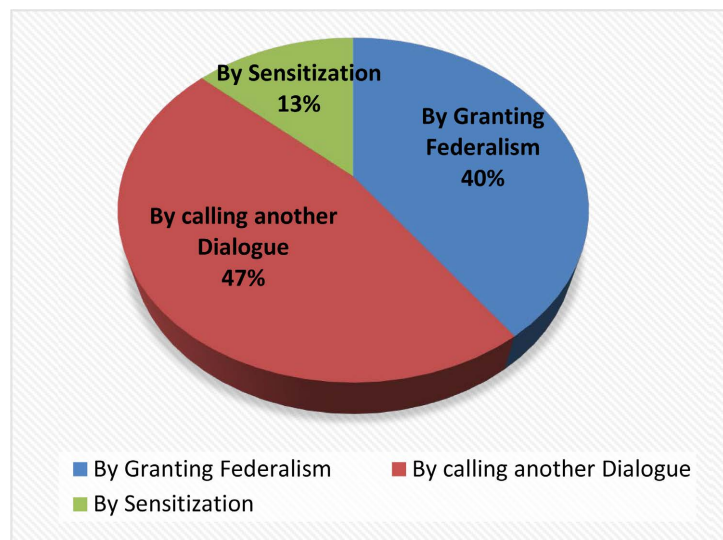


Figure 1. How the Mechanisms can be rightly managed.

As illustrated in **Table 1**, the degree signed for implementation of these measures was done on different occasions within the course of the conflict.

4. Conclusion

The study concludes that despite the efforts put in place by Cameroon's government to resolve the Anglophone conflict, including national dialogue, DDR centers, decentralization, and military operations, those mechanisms, to an extent, have been ineffective in addressing the conflict. A genuine and inclusive dialogue, potentially including federalism for the Anglophone regions, is essential for a sustainable solution. The study recommends a ceasefire to facilitate meaningful negotiations and reconciliation, allowing for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Without such an approach, the conflict will continue to persist, underscoring the need for a new path forward that prioritizes dialogue and cooperation. By adopting this approach, the Cameroon government can work towards a lasting peace that addresses the root causes of the conflict and promotes national unity and stability. This entails a comprehensive and inclusive process that engages all stakeholders and ensures that the concerns and aspirations of the Anglophone population are fully addressed. Ultimately, the study emphasizes that a peaceful and negotiated settlement is the most viable path to resolving the Anglophone conflict and fostering long-term stability and development in Cameroon.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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