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The Revolution Conundrum in Cameroon: A study of Relative Peace Under President Biya's Rule

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Abstract

This paper attempts to answer the question: What are the factors that have contributed to relative peace in Cameroon under the rule of President Paul Biya up until the civil uprisings in the Anglophone regions in 2016? Cameroon has witnessed consistent civil unrest in the forms of protests and strikes and yet the political structure remains strong against all opposition. Within the limitations of the research, the study finds three main explanations: state terror tactics and divide and rule strategies have quelled opposition, the survival culture of the population has resulted in creative economic alternatives that subsidize civil disorder, and the cultural legacies of two colonial powers, the British and the French, influence different citizenship understandings and relationships to defiance. However, although the political situation has remained intact, the country is not unified in the slightest, and the effects of years of corruption, fraudulent elections, and consistent marginalization of Anglophones is taking its toll. The stability of the Biya regime is currently being put to the test in the Anglophone Northwest and Southwest regions. Although the relative peace of the nation is being questioned with this rising Anglophone civil war, this study foresees that the aforementioned factors that have prevented disintegration before will likely prevent a revolution from succeeding once again.

Résumé

Cet article tente de répondre à la question suivante: Quels sont les facteurs qui ont contribué à une paix relative au Cameroun sous le règne du président Paul Biya jusqu'aux soulèvements civils dans les régions Anglophones en 2016? Le Cameroun a connu des troubles civils constants sous la forme de manifestations et de grèves et pourtant la structure politique reste forte contre toute opposition. Dans les limites de la recherche, l'étude trouve trois explications principales: les tactiques de terreur d'État et les stratégies de diviser pour régner ont réprimé l'opposition, la culture de survie de la population a abouti à des alternatives économiques créatives qui subventionnent le désordre civil, et les héritages culturels de deux puissances, les Britanniques et les Français, influencent les différentes compréhensions de la citoyenneté et les relations à la défiance. Cependant, bien que la situation politique soit restée intacte, le pays n'est pas du tout unifié, et les effets d'années de corruption, d'élections frauduleuses, et d'une marginalisation constante des Anglophones font des ravages. La stabilité du régime de Biya est actuellement mise à l'épreuve dans les régions Anglophones du Nord-Ouest et du Sud-Ouest. Bien que la paix relative de la nation soit remise en question avec cette guerre civile Anglophone croissante, cette étude prévoit que les facteurs susmentionnés qui ont empêché la désintégration auparavant empêcheront probablement une révolution de réussir une fois de plus.

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INTRODUCTION

Cameroon has commonly been referred to as the haven of peace; the exception in conflict-ridden central Africa. A country rich in natural resources, ethnic groups, and languages, Cameroon presents many of the elements that have led to civil conflicts in nearby countries. Yet, Cameroon has not experienced such internal instability under the rule of President Paul Biya. President Biya has been in power ever since he was peacefully transferred the position from President Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1982. The nation has sustained what I have termed a relative peace throughout the rule of President Biya. Relative peace as used in the study refers to a state of political stability; Cameroon has not experienced any disintegration of the internal state structure for the past 35 years. Though the structure has faced much internal turbulence and has been challenged on multiple occasions, it has remained intact and strong.

This paper seeks to understand why the crises the country has experienced have not led to political fragmentations and state collapse. Looking at what has maintained the status quo from two lenses: the statist and the cultural, this study unveils some of the dominant factors that have contributed to reestablishing relative peace in Cameroon. A tripartite of factors was discerned to access the reasons for sustained relative peace: state strategies of repression and divide and rule, Cameroonian's cultural tendency to create economic alternatives, and colonial cultural legacies of citizenship and defiance. Together these factors help explain the lack of a revolution as well as shed light on how the Anglophones have managed to coalesce into what many are calling a civil war. Ultimately, peace is always a state to strive for and thus, understanding the factors that have contributed to stability and instability in Cameroon is an important step to attaining this ideal state.

Definition of key terms

Relative peace: Peace has been anything but present in Cameroon because peace is not the absence of war. The country has witnessed economic, social, and political crises and these have led to reoccurring civil unrest. Instead, what this study terms relative peace is a state of political stability that has kept the country from descending into chaos. Relative peace is a stable internal state structure that has withstood external and internal turbulence.

Anglophones: Anglophones are Cameroonians who originate from the part of the country which lived under the British colonial administration, specifically the Northwest and Southwest regions of the country. Anglophones man not necessarily speak English.

Civil society: The non-governmental and/or not for profit organizations that are acting in the interest of the public and that have the ability to group citizens around particular social or political causes. Civil society is typically comprised of NGOs and a range of groups that are distinct from the government like church, youth, and service organizations.

Informal Sector: Three-fourths of Cameroon's economy is made up of the informal sector. There is the informal primary sector (e.g. agriculture, livestock) and the informal tertiary sector (e.g. small trade). Many of these clandestine micro-enterprises do not have status or pay taxes. Some common informal sector workers in Cameroon are moto-taxi drivers and street-vendors.

Tontine: This is an informal banking system comprised of community members meeting regularly to collect savings and share the dividends. This system of finances existed well before money was introduced in the economy. It also has a heavy social component and its functioning is completely based on mutual trust. These reunions do not always include money, some are groups to harvest or build houses together.[1]

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[1] In Cameroon, 58% of inhabitants prefer tontines to traditional banks, according to a document from the Ministry of Finances. Agency, Anadolu. *La «tontine», une autre forme de banque en Afrique*. 13 6 2016. Article. 5 2018.

Background

Theories of Revolutions

This research is framed within the context of theories of revolutions; in particular the structuralist and cultural arguments. A statist perspective would analyze preservation of peace in Cameroon in terms of the decisions made and strategies employed by President Biya and his government. The agency argument turns toward cultural and social phenomenon to help answer why people have not united to perform a revolution against the political leadership of President Paul Biya.

The first and strongest proponent of a structuralist view on revolutionary theories is Theda Skocpol. She defines causes of revolutions as purely at the level of state influences and inter-state relations. Skocpol's theory claims it is owing to a weakening of a state system, whether it be by an economic crisis, military intervention, or change in international support, that an opening arises in which popular uprisings can erupt and even succeed. Basically, only once a state system is triggered will a political opportunity gap open for the opposition to then have enough power to topple a regime.[2] Similarly, Jeff Goodwin presents a "state-constructionist argument" which claims that peoples grievances and ideologies are state created thoughts.[3] For instance, actions taken by the state, such as state violence or state corruption, in turn create the ideas that foster political mobilization. From this understanding, any agency belief seems to stem from the hegemonic power of the state.

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[2] Skocpol, Theda. "Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach." *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, p. 99-118., Cambridge University, 2005.
[3] Goodwin, Jeff. "State-Centered Approaches to Social Revolutions." *Theorizing Revolutions*, doi:10.4324/9780203206638_chapter_1.

On the other hand, Eric Selbin proposes that a completely structuralist perspective undermines the strength of ideas and disregards the actual actors in revolutionary processes. He believes people, not states, create revolutions through collective memories, symbols, and ideologies that amass to create a political culture that can be revolutionary in nature. [4] Potentially, such a political culture does not have to take the form of overt mass movements for it to be revolutionary. This is the perspective James C. Scott dives into through his analysis of peasant rebellions in Sedaka, Malaysia. Scott highlights the importance of "everyday forms of resistance" through actions such as foot-dragging, false compliance, slander, or evasion.[5] Even under the eyes of oppressive regimes, relatively powerless groups can find weapons within covert resistance activities.

Ultimately, sub-research questions were guided by these two theories, and the paper will unveil that a combination of both statist and cultural factors has influenced the relative peace Cameroon has experienced under President Biya since 1982.

History of Civil Disobedience in Cameroon

In 1982, Prime Minister Paul Biya became president through a peaceful transition of power from President Ahmadou Ahidjo. However, their relationship quickly became strained in 1983 when President Biya discovered the truth behind the political environment he inherited. President Biya would not follow Ahidjo's plan to maintain power in his Cameroon National Union (CNU) party instead of the presidency. Consequently, Ahidjo's supporters led a coup to regain control of the state, however the attempt was unsuccessful.[6] Henceforward, President Biya

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[4] Selbin, Eric. "Revolution in The Real World." *Theorizing Revolutions*, 1997, pp. 118–129.
[5] Scott, James C. "Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance".Yale University Press, 2008. p.29
[6] DeLancey, Mark W. *Cameroon: Dependence and Independence*. Routledge, 1989.

began his path of political reinforcement and concentrated more resources in the military. These measures contributed to the economic crisis the country faced in 1987 until 1990 after which ensued a period of even greater political instability. Since then, there has been a constant ebb and flow of resistance movements. The most noteworthy ones happened in the early 1990s and then again in 2008. There have been a plethora of smaller protests in between these years and post 2008. Most were led by civil society organizations or Anglophones in the Northwest region, but none have coalesced into larger movements, and their effects have petered out over the years.

The protests and strikes that characterized the uprisings from 1991-1994 and early 2000s were, for the most part, guided by political opposition parties representative of different provinces and ethnic groups.[7] Three main opposition parties were at play: the Social Democratic Front (SDF), headed by John Fru Ndi; the National Union for Democracy and Progress in Cameroon (UNDP), headed by Maigari Bello Bouba; and the newly revised Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC). These parties began their collective and open rebellions when they first demanded a sovereign national conference take place to establish rules and procedures for elections. As soon as President Biya refused, the movement dubbed *Operation Villes Mortes* (Operation Ghost Town) commenced in 1991 shutting down major cities and towns across seven regions.[8] This was the first of many protests started by the SDF and main opposition groups. Unfortunately, though these large-scale resistance movements forcefully launched a multi-party system in the country, there have been few political dividends since. Still today, l*a Politique du*

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[7] "Fru Ndi scheduled the launching of his party for 26 May 1990 in Bamenda. Despite the presence of about 2000 troops…between 30,000 and 40,000 supporters and sympathizers defied the ban and launched the party... as the crowds were retiring, agents of the security forces killed six young adults."
Akoko, Robert Mbe, and Timothy Mbuagbo Oben. "Christian Churches and the Democratization Conundrum in Cameroon." *Africa Today*, vol. 52, no. 3, 2006, pp. 33
[8] Krieger, Milton. "Cameroons Democratic Crossroads, 1990–4." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 04, 1994, p. 611

Ventre[9] remains the norm and a truly free and independent electoral commission has not been formed.

The strikes in 2008 are commonly referred to as the transport strikes because they were started by taxi-drivers against the high fuel costs and soaring levels of unemployment.[10] The latter also struck a chord with university and high-school graduates and brought many youth to the street in February 2008. Although the government would like the strikes to remain centered on economic and food insecurities, the reality is that the economic strike turned into a larger protest against political activities. Placards read "We Need Jobs" and "Halt the Cost of Living" as well as "No More Biya" and "No Constitutional Amendment."[11] President Biya had just attempted, on December 31, 2007, to repeal article 6.2 in the Constitution to allow his rule to extend for another 14 years.[12] The 2008 strikes were particularly impressive because they spread to hundreds of different cities around the country and most importantly, they spilled onto the streets of Yaoundé, the capital. However, through economic bandages and police brutality, state power was ultimately reconsolidated.

The Anglophone Case and Current Events

In 2016 there was an outburst of protests led by Anglophone lawyers and teachers in the Northwest region over the implementation of the French language in the Anglo-Saxon common-law courts and education system. The government responded immediately by imposing curfews, cutting off internet access, and performing raids. Then on October 1, 2017 the protests took a violent turn as security forces killed demonstrators leading a group of separatists to declare an

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[9] The phrase "Politics of the Belly" was popularized by Jean-François Bayart and is commonly used to describe the use of corruption and clientelism in African systems of power.
[10] Amin. "Understanding the Protest of February 2008 in Cameroon." *Africa Today*, vol. 58, no. 4, 2012, p. 21
[11] Ibid. p. 28
[12] Ibid. p. 26

independent republic of Ambazonia and begin guerilla style warfare against the state. Since then, about twenty five security forces have been reported dead, over 20,000 Anglophones have fled for Nigeria,[13] and villages have been burned to the ground with an unknown number of civilian casualties.[14] The leader of Cameroon's main opposition party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), John Fru Ndi claims there are "daily atrocities in this part of our country. Every day that passes, an innocent Cameroonian dies, a woman loses her husband."[15] Moreover, Cardinal Christian Tumi, the Archbishop emeritus of Douala, has gone so far as to denote the military's use of force against unarmed civilians as a "bloodbath and genocide… in the North West and South West regions."[16] Yet, the church is not united on its take of the Anglophone crisis as evident by the diluted remarks made by the Francophone Archbishop Samuel Kleda of Doula who condemned the violence but dismissed Anglophones' grievances by mentioning that all regions of Cameroon face problems and that dialogue for decentralization is the solution.[17] The Catholic Church is certainly not alone in this disunity and the Francophone belittling of Anglophone realities is an ever-present trend.

This Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy of mentality is parallel to the partition that dates back to colonial times. As a result of the victors of World War I, the German colony of Kamerun was split between the French and the British, the latter gaining a fifth of the territory near the Nigerian border. The territories were ruled under the policies of their respective colonial masters until the 1960s. The French section of Cameroon, the Republic of Cameroun, fought a

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[13] UNHCR. *Anglophone Cameroonians in Nigeria pass 20,000 mark*. 3 March 2018. 2018.

[14] Chimtom, Ngala Killian. *Cameroon cardinal accuses military of abuses in fight against Anglophone separatists*. 14 March 2018. 2018

[15] Shaban, Abdur Rahman Alfa. *Cameroon govt bears direct blame for Anglophone crisis - Opposition chief*. 25 February 2018. 2018

[16] Chimtom, Ngala Killian. *Cameroon cardinal accuses military of abuses in fight against Anglophone separatists*. 14 March 2018. 2018

[17] Chimtom, Ngala Killian. *English-speaking and French-speaking bishops divided over Cameroon crisis*. 7 December 2017. 2018.

brutal war for independence from France. The war was led by a group called UPC, the Union des

Populations du Cameroun, and in some "9 years of conflict, 15,000 (mostly rural civilians) were

killed and 25,000 were driven from their homes."[18] Then in 1961, Anglophone Cameroon gained

independence from Britain through the United Nations. Anglophones voted to either join the

Republic of Cameroon or the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the option for an independent state

was not given even though it was endorsed by a portion of the population. In 1961 the Federal

Republic of Cameroon was established with eight French-speaking regions and two English-

speaking regions, the Northwest and the Southwest.

Since then, there has been consistent marginalization of the 20% Anglophone population

by the majority Francophone government. The agreed upon federal structure was discarded in

1972 under Ahmadou Ahidjo and things have only worsened under President Biya. In 1984 he

renamed the country the Republic of Cameroon, just as it was before Anglophones joined French

Cameroon. This disregard of Anglophone history or culture has been further replicated in

deceitful political marginalization. These include the theft of the Social Democratic Front (SDF)

opposition leader John Fru Ndi's victory in the 1992 presidential election, the façade of the role

or power held by the Anglophone Prime Minister, and the monopolization of key posts by

members of the President's ethnic group.[19] There were two All Anglophone Conferences (AAC I

and AAC II) held in Buea in 1993 and in Bamenda in 1994 to discuss such political

marginalization, but the government refused to listen to their list of grievances and suggested

solutions, and instead insisted there was no Anglophone problem.[20] It is clear Anglophones have

been calling for dialogue and decentralization since the 1990s. With such historical neglect and

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[18] DeLancey, Mark W. *Cameroon: Dependence and Independence*. Routledge, 1989. p.41

[19] Konings, Piet et Francis B. Nyamnjoh. «The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon.» *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32.2 (1997): 207-229.

[20] Fonchingong, Charles C. «The Travails of Democratization in Cameroon in the Context of POlitical Liberalisation since the 1990s.» *African and Asian Studies* 3.1 (2004): p.44

blatant disrespect for an entire Cameroonian people, it is no wonder why so many Anglophones have turned to more extreme measures today.

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to independently understand the factors that have contributed to the lasting political situation in Cameroon through a four week long qualitative and quantitative study. Interviews and surveys were conducted and analyzed in Yaoundé, Cameroon in April of 2018.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Central Research Question: What are the factors that have contributed to relative peace in Cameroon under the rule of President Paul Biya up until the civil uprisings in the Anglophone regions in 2016?

Central Hypothesis: Relative peace in Cameroon under President Paul Biya can be attributed to both cultural and statist factors. Cultural factors have played a role in keeping the norm because they have led to creative ways in which Cameroonians can get by, and thus refrained from collective civil unrest. Statist measures have also played a role in ensuring relative peace in the country through President Biya's political strategies of divide and conquer between opposition parties. Today, civil unrest has amounted in the Anglophone regions because of a combination of state failures and cultural drives.

Sub-research questions:

1. In what ways has the informal sector helped sustain Cameroonians and maintain relative peace in the country?

2. What are some of the strategic political tactics President Biya has employed to preserve relative peace in the country?

3. What are some of the fears that prevent and what are some of the incentives that encourage participation in large-scale collective action?

4. What are some of the factors that have contributed to the large-scale uprising of the Anglophone crisis recently, in 2016?

Sub-hypotheses:

1. The informal sector has sustained much of Cameroon's economy through the creation of widespread informal jobs, such as moto-taxi drivers, street venders, and dress makers. These jobs have become invaluable to citizens in tandem with the financial growth available from tontines, Cameroon's well-known informal banking system.
2. President Biya has executed many savvy political strategies, such as tying himself to foreign powers and allowing for multi- party politics while pinning these opposition groups against one another too.
3. The state crackdown and violence unleashed against the opposition during the early 1990s and 2008 strikes remain huge factors in citizens' decisions to publicly demonstrate. Political corruption is one of the major problems that incentivize participation in large-scale collective action.

4. The large-scale uprising in the Anglophone region of the country is long over-due and has erupted now as opposed to earlier because of the upcoming Presidential elections.

Site Selection

This study was conducted in Yaoundé due to Cameroon's strong centralization of power and due to logistical factors. Yaoundé is where many political parties have their headquarters and where Cameroon's largest University can be found. I chose the University of Yaoundé I for its faculty of the arts, humanities, and social sciences and for its theoretically bilingual nature. I also chose this city because of the contacts and connections I had developed over the course of the two months spent studying and living in the city prior to this study. For instance, I selected the location to conduct surveys for moto-taxi drivers based on my previous experiences seeing groupings of moto-taxi drivers at certain hotspots, like gas-stations, where they are waiting for fuel and/or clients. These are opportune places to reach a larger sampling size while also limiting the participant's burden of having to take my survey in place of money from a customer.

Target Population and Sampling

The target populations for this study were separated into four main groupings comprised of smaller samples. The idea was to target a range of participants with different backgrounds and perspectives because the subject of political stability is influenced by numerous stakeholders.

Target population 1: Agents of change and academics

Justification: They form the population that is most likely to instigate large-scale movements for political change and has a history of engaging in protests.

  a) Civil society actors (interview): Civil society in Cameroon is a strong and important asset to the population that has historically been involved with collective action measures. Many civil society organizations have even turned into political parties as a loophole to keep their cause alive against government harassments.[21]

  b) University students (survey): The educated youth (ages 18-35) are extremely important stakeholders because of their well-known low action threshold. Moreover, this population is generally less disillusioned by time and has less to lose because they are likely unemployed and/or not as burdened by familial responsibilities.

  c) University professors (interview): Academics, especially those in the fields of political science, will have expert opinions on Cameroonian realities and historical contexts. These are also the experts that will be invaluable to providing an alternate system.

Target Population 2: Agents of stability

Justification: They are the government workers who keep the system running and preserve the same order.

  a) Official from the Ministry of Territorial Administration (interview): Decentralization and civil protection fall under the purview of this ministry.

  b) Official from the Ministry of External Relations (interview): Understanding relations with foreign countries, like France, is important to unveiling the external influences on Cameroon's peace.

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[21] Ewumbue-Monono, Churchill. *Men of Courage: the participation of independent and civil society candidates in the electoral process in Cameroon : a historical perspective, 1945-2004*. Buea : Center for Research on Democracy and Development in Africa (CEREDDA), 2005.

Target population 3: Political party representatives

Justification: A multi-party system was created in 1990 but the political opposition has not been able to win a single election or unite efforts against the leading party, the CPDM.

  a) Representative from the ruling party, CPDM (interview)
  b) Representative from the main opposition parties, SDF, UNDP, UDC (interview)

Target population 4: The informal sector

Justification: If people are able to provide for their families they will be less likely to risk losing their financial means and situation.

  a) Moto-taxi drivers (survey): Many have university degrees and should hold more suitable jobs. Potentially, they are discontent with job opportunities or potentially, their job provides them a financial status they are comfortable with, either way they are important stakeholders. They were also active in the 2008 transport strikes.
  b) Tontine member with treasurer title (interview): Tontines are a huge alternate to formal banking systems; "*Au Cameroun… 58% des habitants actifs préfèrent les tontines aux banques traditionnelles.*"[22]

As per my sample population: a total of 14 interviews were conducted with 5 university professors, 4 civil society actors, 4 political party representatives, and 1 tontine member. A total of 45 surveys were collected from university students and 16 surveys from moto-taxi drivers. The interview portion of this study was conducted non-randomly through various connections from my research advisor, academic director, program coordinator, and host family. I was unable to sample target population 2 because of topic sensitivity and time restrictions. With the increasing Anglophone crisis, I was uncomfortable reaching out to government officials letting them know I was interested in studying peace during this turbulent period. However, I did seek to interview a representative of the ruling party, CPDM. I went to their headquarters and left a

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[22] Agency, Anadolu. *La «tontine», une autre forme de banque en Afrique*. 13 6 2016. Article. 5 2018.

written request with a security officer who is the personal officer of a CPDM representative I wanted to interview. I contacted the officer by phone every day for a week and was continuously told that I would be receiving a phone call and appointment soon but never did. *(Instead the officer asked me out to lunch!)*

Data Collection Procedures and Analysis

Cameroonians highly value education and thus I found requesting interviews and surveys, when phrased strategically (i.e. as homework assignments instead of research), was welcomed by the population. Over the course of three weeks, I was able to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. In-person recorded interviews were conducted in English, French and/or a combination of the two depending on the preference of the interviewee. I used a translator during one interview in French with a political party representative. The interviews were semi-structured because I had a set of interview questions for each target population which allowed me to tailor questions to each interviewee. I used mostly open-ended questions to enable the interviewee to shape their own perspectives on the topic.

At the beginning of my research I used connections from my academic advisor, who is a professor at the University of Yaoundé I, to distribute surveys to university students and interview multiple academics. Printed surveys were used to reach a larger population sample and gather quantitative data anonymously. Surveys were administered in both English and French to two classrooms in the international relations major. One was an undergraduate class held in an amphitheater with over one hundred students, and the other a master's class in a regular classroom with around fifty students. Both were taught by multiple professors, including my research advisor. Collecting surveys was a challenge and although I administered one hundred and thirty, I only received forty-five surveys back. I also conducted interviews at the University

of Yaoundé I with university professors, a couple who are also the university's *Secrétaire Général*s, so as to obtain a deeper analysis on my research questions.

Through my program coordinator I was able to connect with one political representative and a snow ball effect ensued to connect me to many others. I contacted the main opposition parties listed under target population 3 but was ultimately only able to interview SDF from that list. Instead, I interviewed three other opposition party representatives by calling to set up an appointment or by showing up to their offices. I used similar methods to contact some civil society organizations. I was able to connect with the other civil society actors based on relations built earlier in the semester.

My host mother acted as a liaison between me and several tontines in our neighborhood where I observed the reunions and then later interviewed a tontine member that held the role of treasurer in at least one of her tontines. Lastly, I enlisted the help of my host brother and his friend to approach moto-taxi drivers, a predominantly adult male population, at a nearby gas-station in our quartier, Draggage. Printed surveys were used and all were read aloud to be inclusive to those who were illiterate and to best fit the street scenario as well as be considerate of the working participants' time.

Data collected from interviews was transcribed and then coded into comparative tables and then separated into nine categories that were condescended into three themes: state tactics, cultural influences, and economic factors. Data collected from surveys was coded using both qualitative and quantitative coding mechanisms. Nominal variables were analyzed and compared.

Ethical Considerations

Throughout the course of the study, critical consideration was given to the sensitive nature of my topic given the political climate in Cameroon. I referred to Cameroon as experiencing a state of "relative peace" to ensure I was using neutral language. Potentially sensitive survey questions also included a "prefer not to answer" multiple choice option. A document of informed consent was attached to the front of every survey (please see Appendix 2). The document of informed consent stated that participation was completely voluntary and data would be kept anonymous. After data analysis and coding, the survey documents were destroyed.

The interview participants received a brief description of my objectives and my study and they each gave verbal consent to be interviewed and to be recorded. At the end of every interview, I allowed interviewees to ask me any questions. I confirmed with all interviewees if it was acceptable to cite them by name or if they preferred to remain anonymous. All interviews were recorded using my personal, password-protected iPhone 6 and were transcribed on my personal, password-protected laptop. The document of informed consent stated that all participants could receive a copy of my paper upon completion if requested, and the same was stated verbally for interview participants. Contact information was given to all participants.

Strengths and Limitations

This study was successful in that it asked potentially sensitive interview questions in a comfortable manner that resulted in acquiring important and relevant information. One interviewer even thanked me for taking an interest in learning about the Anglophone crisis and how it is unfolding as we speak. Several university students informed me that they appreciated taking my survey because it made them reflect on their political involvement and sense of

citizenship. Another strength found in this study is that a combination of interviews and surveys was used to obtain information from a range of stakeholders and both qualitative and quantitative data was collected. Strategies were implemented to ensure reliability of survey data through the use of cross-checking questions and two test surveys were conducted on university students and edits were made prior to administering the surveys at the University of Yaoundé I.

At the same time, I must acknowledge my position as a white researcher from the United States who inevitably brings her own biases into the fieldwork and who, as a foreigner, cannot understand the Cameroonian context fully. It is critical to note that my presence may have influenced responses from interviews or surveys. Survey respondents may not truthfully report their political involvement or their political opinions because they do not know me and/or because of the nature of politics in the country. Around half of the survey participants chose the "neutral" or "prefer not to answer" option on several questions and more than half left the open ended questions blank; even though they were aware they would remain completely anonymous. These results may have been caused by the political tensions rising with the Anglophone crisis and the questionable relationship between law and practice in the country overall. Particularly Anglophone identifying students may have experienced uneasiness answering truthfully about political questions. These factors were a huge limitation to the survey responses and data collected.

There are also limitations to the study based on the time restriction of four weeks and based on geographical constraints as an American student. My target populations are limited given my time constraint and thus I was unable to interview stakeholders such as churches or religious organizations who have been actors in political protests. My surveys were restricted to two classrooms in the same university and budgeting restrictions limited the number of copies I

could print. The research was only conducted in the capital of Cameroon, and I am prohibited from traveling to conflict areas like the Northwest or Southwest regions of the country where the Anglophone crisis is actually unveiling. This study would be stronger had the sample populations been larger in Yaoundé and also expanded to include perspectives from every region and from both the rural and urban settings. For instance, chieftaincies in the Grass-fields Western region or patron-village relations along ethnic lines in the Southern region are interesting cultural phenomenon for future studies. Lastly, disproportionate gender representation was a limit to the study.

PRESENTATION OF ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed into nine different categories that were concentrated into three different themes. Surveys were coded and statistically tested for comparisons. The result of these qualitative and quantitative findings can be divided into three main factors that have influenced the relative peace in Cameroon under President Paul Biya's rule: 1) President Biya and his party's strategies of repression and divide and rule 2) Cameroonians' creative economic survival strategies 3) Colonial cultural legacies of citizenship and defiance. Together this tripartite clarifies the statist and cultural reasons that are the backbones to Cameroon's political stability. These criteria will also help explain how the Anglophones fighting in the Northwest and Southwest today have fractured this relative peace.

1) Authoritarian Strategies

When asked the question "what state factors influenced relative peace in the country," nearly every interviewee across target populations mentioned state force.

Interviewees	Responses
Interview 2 Yvonne Takang (ACDIC)	"You can't even take to the streets at this point. Forces of law and order take onto you."
Interview 5 René Bakota (PURS)	Il y « à une forte militarisation de la vie civile au Cameroun. On peut encore observer une forte implication des forces armées, de la police et de la gendarmerie dans la vie politique. Par exemple, on peut noter une intervention systématique des forces armées lors de manifestations, qui poseront des actes de violences (bastonnades, arrestations, etc.) à l'encontre des civils. »
Interview 7 Charles Kousseu (SDF)	"Revolution is not a joke. Many people died and when people lose their loved ones they start to rethink…"
Interview 12 Anonymous (Civil Society)	"People are generally so afraid. This 'peace' is a utopia just because of the fear. The Anglophones were complaining they are marginalized and they came out on the streets to express that and how were they treated? People were killed."

Severe violence has been used by the state to quell demonstrators in the past and it used today to prevent many discontented citizens from taking to the streets. The construction of state brutality has occurred over the years in response to constant civilian activism. Looking back to Bamenda in 1990, the massive SDF rally, around 20,000 strong, was peaceful until security forces shot and killed 6 Cameroonians.[23] Soon after, during Operation Ghost Town strikes in 1991, over 100 people were killed during the month of April alone.[24] Amnesty International described Cameroon's extreme violations of human rights in 2002 and 2003, referencing the harassment of citizens and political activists at the hands of security forces.[25] In 2008, repression was even stronger and the government recognized killing 140 people during a strike (NGOs claimed the death toll was much larger).[26] There have also been constant smaller protests by civil

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[23] Krieger, Milton. «Cameroons Democratic Crossroads, 1990-4.» *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32.04 (1994): 605-628.

[24] Dicklitch, Susan. «Failed Democratic Transition in Cameroon: A Human Rights Explanation.» *The John Hopkins University Press* 24.1 (2002): 152-176.

[25] Fonchingong, Charles C. «The Travails of Democratization in Cameroon in the Context of POlitical Liberalisation since the 1990s.» *African and Asian Studies* 3.1 (2004): 33-59.

[26] Kousseu, Charles. *Interview 7: Social Democratic Front (SDF) Political Party* Marianna Babboni. 24 April 2018.

society organizations, teachers, and Anglophones. Yvonne Takang, who works for the

Association Citoyenne de Defense des Interets Collectifs (ACDIC), has experience organizing

protests and has been arrested on multiple occasions. One of her successful protests brought

5,000 farmers to the streets of Yaoundé in 2002, but she claims "there is no one who is, at this

point, capable of mobilizing the number we mobilized a few years ago…no one will take to the

street… there is a fear."[27] René Bakota, the National Secretary for Public Relations at Parti

Unifie pour la Renovation Sociale (PURS), puts it best when he says, "Tous ces éléments de

construction de la peur peuvent expliquer le fait qu'on soit dans état de paix précaire."[28]

Another successful state tactic is that of divide and rule in ethno-regional politics.

Cameroon has over 250 ethnic groups but has surprisingly not witnessed ethnic wars like its

neighbor Nigeria, for example. The numerous ethnicities can actually be considered a benefactor

to keeping peace in the country,[29] but when it comes to uniting to form a coalition of opposition,

ethnicity has played a prominent role in haltering political reform. "Tribalism" or "ethnicities"

were the most common answers by university students to survey question 28 asking "what

cultural factors prevent Cameroonians from participating in political protests."[30] Moreover, when

addressing ethnocentricity, one interviewer stated, "those ethnic groups don't conflict in

themselves; but unfortunately, we are in a situation where the ruling oligarchy has tribalized

those ethnic groups."[31] This cleavage is present even amongst the marginalized group of

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[27] Takang, Yvonne. *Interview 2: Association Citoyenne de Defense des Interets Collectifs (ACDIC)* Marianna Babboni. 18 April 2018.

[28] Bakota, René. *Interview 5: Parti Unifie pour la Renovation Sociale (PURS)* Marianna Babboni. Trad. Murielle Gaelle. 22 April 2018.

[29] "The country is made up of about 280 languages with 250 ethnic groups so this diversity has made it in such a way that there is no one huge ethnic group that dominates the other… so crises between two groups of people are easily diluted by the other ethnic groups."
Dze-Ngwa, Willibroad. *Interview 14: University Professor* Marianna Babboni. 30 April 2018.

[30] "Tribalism" or "ethnicities" was the answer to question 24 a total of 7 times out of 45 surveys where 27 surveys left question 24 blank.

[31] Anonymous. *Interview 4: University Professor* Marianna Babboni. 20 April 2018.

Anglophones as "President Biya makes it in such a way that people from the Southwest cannot agree with the Northwest to protest against a particular cause."[32] Tribalism is alive and well through state sponsored corruption and favoritism that pins one against the other and encourages the choice of ethnic group over country.

The manipulation of groups during electioneering processes is not exclusive to ethnic lines. Several interviewees stated the population is discouraged from participating in elections because the opposition parties are also fractured. With historic moments to prove this, it is difficult to believe in change through the ballot. For instance, in 1997, after the leading opposition parties, the SDF, UNDP, and UDC, boycotted all elections as a symbol against the lack of an independent electoral commission, "UNDP leader, Bello Bouba Maigari and a handful of other UNDP and UPC members were made ministers in Biya's new cabinet."[33] Along the same lines, Bakota shared that parties have a difficult time uniting because "vous avez des gens qui peuvent être dans la coalition, qui sont même désigné en tant que leaders, et du jour au lendemain se rallie au pouvoir en place."[34] This pattern of buying over the opposition to CPDM was explained by one interviewee as possible because "political parties are poor" and their starvation is an effective state strategy. With the hard-fought advent of the multi-party system in 1990, no one could foresee that the state would turn this step towards democracy into another opportunity for division and thus, lasting rule.

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[32]Fonge, Norman-Mathew Che. *Interview 11: Africa Network against Illiteracy, Conflict and Human Rights Abuse (ANICHRA)* Marianna Babboni. 26 April 2018.

[33] Dicklitch, Susan. «Failed Democratic Transition in Cameroon: A Human Rights Explanation.» *The John Hopkins University Press* 24.1 (2002): 152-176.

[34] Bakota, René. *Interview 5: Parti Unifie pour la Renovation Sociale (PURS)* Marianna Babboni. Trad. Murielle Gaelle. 22 April 2018.

2) *Survival Creativity*

The state cannot solely be credited for the relative peace found in Cameroon for circa the last 35 years. People make revolutions, and Cameroonians are "just like a little chick in the egg; when the chick is ready to be hatched and to come out, it is not the mother chicken that breaks the egg, it is the chick inside that breaks the egg shell."[35] This study found that food security or insecurity is an essential driver in amassing large-scale opposition and breaking the egg shell. Three different interviewees shared this position.

Interviewees	Responses
Interview 2 Yvonne Takang (ACDIC)	"When you see people take to the streets there is an underlying factor, and it is food…"
Interview 4 Anonymous (Professor)	"For the people to really come together there must be something that really unites them, something that all various tribes will feel the pinch… it came up in 2008 during the general strike because everybody felt the pinch of food scarcity and economic hardship."
Interview 11 Norman-Matthew Che Fonge (ANICHRA)	"…even though there is unemployment, what Cameroonians are concerned with is that they don't go hungry for days so [many] Cameroonians do not protest because they have food."

This study argues that because Cameroonians have found creative ways to ensure a degree of food security, they are less likely to risk losing that for the unknown.[36] Scholar Francis B. Nuamnjoh touches upon Cameroonians propensity to be "always thinking of something to fall back on in the face of adversity" as he describes how most civil servants tend to "keep a garden, do some farming, indulge in formal or informal trading, and/or depend on supplies from relations

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[35] Kousseu, Charles. *Interview 7: Social Democratic Front (SDF) Political Party* Marianna Babboni. 24 April 2018.

[36] The French saying "on sait comment la guerre commence, mais on ne sait pas comment elle se terminera" is commonly used to express this uncertainty of the unknown, just as Alain Tedom expressed during our interview. Tedom, Alain Fogue. *Interview 8: Cameroon Renaissance Movement (CRM)* Marianna Babboni. 24 April 2018.

in the village who in turn look up to them for some of the benefits of being in the city."[37] This study chose to focus on the informal sector because it occupies more than 60% of the population.[38] Walking along the streets of Yaoundé, it is impossible not to encounter street vendors selling produce, clothing, or credit from a wheelbarrow or from under an umbrella. In this study, moto-taxi jobs were targeted in particular because they are a relatively new phenomenon and many Cameroonians are often noting that educated men, with bachelor and even master's degrees, are frequently turning towards this occupation because of high unemployment.[39] Moreover, moto-taxis are believed to have originated in Douala in the 1990s as "an innovative youth response to the economic crisis… [that] represented the ingenuity and creativity of young people."[40] I was able to survey a total of sixteen moto-taxi drivers from which the following information was sorted.

Sample Characteristic (N = 16)	Multiple choice options	Frequency
Age	Under 18 18-35 36-45 46+	0% (0) 50% (8) 50% (8) 0% (0)
Gender	Female Male	0% (0) 100% (16)
Number of children	0 1-3 4-6 7-8 9+	38% (6) 31% (5) 25% (4) 6% (1) 0% (0)

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[37] Nyamnjoh, F. B. "Cameroon: A Country United By Ethnic Ambition And Difference." *African Affairs*, vol. 98, no. 390, Jan. 1999, pp. 101–118.

[38] With high unemployment, a low growth rate, and declining agricultural jobs based on foreign trade agreements, Cameroonians have thrown themselves into self-employment in the informal sector. Lengue, Celestin Tchacounte. *Lesson: The Economy of Cameroon* Marianna Babboni. 7 February 2018.

[39] Moto-taxi drivers are generally educated. "Of the 50,000 drivers in Douala in 2010, roughly 80 percent had at least a high-school diploma, and of that number, half had university education." Amin, Julius A. "Understanding the Protest of February 2008 in Cameroon." *Africa Today* 58.4 (2012): 21-43.

[40] Ibid.

Highest level of education	No school	19% (3)
	Completed Primary School	31% (5)
	Completed Secondary School	44% (7)
	Completed Bachelor	6% (1)
	Completed Master I Degree	0% (0)
	Completed Master II Degree	0% (0)
	Completed Higher than a master's degree	0% (0)

Job Characteristics (N = 16)	Multiple choice options	Frequency
Q10 and Q11: Years spent working as a moto-taxi driver	1-3	31% (5)
	4-6	38% (6)
	7-9	25% (4)
	10+	6% (1)
Q13: What is your level of income for this work?	Less than 38,000 CFA per month	19% (3)
	38,000-74,000 CFA per month	44% (7)
	75,000-99,000 CFA per month	19% (3)
	100,000-149,000 CFA per month	6% (1)
	150,000 + CFA per month	0% (0)
	Blank	12% (2)
Q14: Do you earn enough money each week to live comfortably	Yes	19% (3)
	No	81% (13)
Q15: Do you earn enough money each week to buy food, clothing, and other things you want?	Yes	31% (5)
	No	69% (11)
Q16: Do you have another source of income?	Yes	12% (2)
	No	88% (14)
Q20: How much do you spend each day on food?	Less than 1,000 CFA	13% (2)
	1,000-2,000 CFA	50% (8)
	2,000-3,000 CFA	19% (3)
	3,000-4,000 CFA	6% (1)
	4,000 or more CFA	0% (0)
	Blank	12% (2)

Unfortunately, the data above is not enough to determine if these sixteen taxi drivers do or do not experience food security. Upon reflection, the survey should have directly asked such a question. Question 15 attempted to by asking if they make enough money each week to buy food, clothing, and other things they want, but while filling out surveys it became clear that this

question was misleading and unclear. About four participants asked me what I meant by "other things you want" and then proceeded to answer "no" because they expressed they wanted many things in life. The goal of understanding if basic needs are being met was not properly conveyed in the question's wording. The responses to income and money spent on food are also difficult to analyze in terms of food security. Taking the most frequent level of income, 38,000-74,000 CFA a month, finding the average of 56,000 CFA a month, and then dividing that by 28, the average days in a month, the result is an average salary of 2,000 CFA per day. The most frequent answer to how much money was spent each day was a range of 1,000-2,000 CFA. These calculations suggest a very low income is brought home and furthermore, 10 out of 16 drivers said they had at least one child to take care of. It is important to note that two participants responded to question 23, what are some of the benefits of the job, with something along the lines of "I can feed my family." Though food security does not seem realistic from the results of the small data sample collected, there are other social and cultural factors weaved into the fabric of the Cameroonian context that help shed light on how moto-taxi drivers, and other informal sector workers, may be experiencing financial stability and food security.

Tontines are one of these particular Cameroonian phenomenon that have a strong influence on the informal sector. In Cameroon, "selon des estimations non officielles, les tontines gèrent et opèrent des transactions à hauteurs de 190 milliards de Fcfa (327,7 millions USD)."[41] Many Cameroonians use tontines to take care of smaller financial worries, especially when unforeseen costs arise, such as funerals or hospital bills.[42] Out of the 16 moto-taxi drivers surveyed, 37% (6), answered they were members of at least one tontine, and all six answered that they benefited from the financial services provided by their tontine with answers varying in

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[41] Agency, Anadolu. *La «tontine», une autre forme de banque en Afrique*. 13 6 2016. Article. 5 2018.
[42] Observations by author

levels of agreeance (i.e. strongly agree, agree, or somewhat agree). Several other participants verbally shared they had previously been in tontines but were not members of any at the moment. Additionally, observations were made in a total of four tontines and one interview was conducted with a tontine treasurer to understand the nature of this informal banking system and understand if it served as a tool to cope with economic frustrations and thus contribute to relative peace in the country.

Aurelie Tekam is a member of five tontines and holds different leadership positions in each. Even though she works as a magistrate and has a steady income, she values the opportunities provided by tontines because they can "améliore la condition de vie." She described how tontines can aid one's financial situation with the example, "Tu peux acheter même un terrain et quand tu bouf [la tontine] tu construis. La ca améliore ta situation financière." Moreover, "D'autres femmes font la tontine et elles prendre et elles font les commerce …. Par exemple, je peux faire la tontine je pars on France je acheté les vêtements je reviens ici et je vendre." (Tekam) I personally observed and experienced many of the same examples during my visits to four tontines. In one group of twelve women, they spent about an hour discussing entrepreneurship skills and tips on being a woman in business. For instance, ideas were thrown around about the best methods for starting a small taxi business by sharing experiences with purchasing taxi cars from friends in Europe and then managing those drivers in Cameroon. [43] Many of these women, like Tekam, have their private sector jobs and then smaller businesses on the side. For example, in another tontine, a member was selling bedsheets before and after the meeting and I later confirmed that these goods were investments she had made with the help of her tontine(s). [44]

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[43] Observations by author on April 15, 2018
[44] Observations by author on April 8, 2018

Lastly, a university professor interviewed also expressed the positive role of tontines by stating that tontines "help keep peace to an extent [because] people's burdens are being shared [and] if you want to open up a business you are a member of that circle they give you money and you initiate that business interest free… now each person shares the other person's burden, so to an extent there is a stability piece."[45] The same professor expressed that the culture of certain Cameroonians, in particular that of the people from the Northwest region, "trains them to prepare for the rainy day." He described the anthropological differences between the grass field's people in the Northwest and the people from the forest regions in the South, Center, and East. According to him, the nature of their environment influences their work ethic and initiative. Those of the grass fields have to toil and farm in order to produce food while those of the forest have more immediate access to what they catch or find; viewing the forest as a place of plenty.

This cultural and geographical reference is important to understand the idea that "necessity is the model of invention." Discussed above are the creative jobs and alternatives to economics that form the culture of survival found in Cameroonians. Scholar Francis B. Nyamnjoh surmises this well in his piece *Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Difference*, when he claims, "Cameroonians are always able to avoid the worst by making ends meet somehow. But it also means that since they are seldom stretched to their elastic limits, no one can bank on their support to make political capital out of failed policies or from any social or economic crisis."[46]

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[45] Anonymous. *Interview 4: University Professor* Marianna Babboni. 20 April 2018.
[46] Nyamnjoh, Francis B. «Cameroon: A Country United by Ethnic Ambition and Difference.» *African Affairs* 98.390 (1999): 101-112.

3) Colonial Legacies

The influence of colonial legacies on tendencies to change the status quo was mentioned by interviewees across the board. All four civil society actors, four out of five university professors, and two of the four political party representatives interviewed pointed to the lasting cultural differences between Anglo-Saxon and French colonial systems in Cameroonian today.

Interviewees	Responses
Interview 4 Anonymous (Professor)	"The first thing is that historically Cameroon is a bicultural country, in the sense that this country is made up of two countries that came together on the first of October 1961; one from the British colonial background the other from the French colonial background."
Interview 5 René Bakota (PURS)	"Le système anglo-saxon lui prône une préparation au changement lorsque le système francophone lui prône une préparation à l'insertion politico-sociale."
Interview 9 Bernard Njonga (CRAC)	"The Anglo-Saxon culture makes them react because the same problem is faced by many populations in different parts but they don't react because of their culture, they are afraid…That is the big problem of French Cameroon today. They are not used to react. People are not used to react in the French system"
Interview 12 Anonymous (Civil Society)	"France had what you call the policy of assimilation and they had their own administrative setup which is when you are the leader you are all and you decide what people should do and they follow you. This is the legacy that was left in the large part of the French speaking country. But, in the English part of Cameroon people are used to asking tough questions to their leaders, holding them accountable. That was through the system of indirect rule that the British were using."

In general, the British and French are well known for having two different strategies of colonization, the former practicing indirect ruling while the latter promoting cultural assimilation. As was the case in British occupied Cameroon, British indirect rule entrusted authority in local leaders and did not express an interest in unifying colonies with the United Kingdom through law. French direct rule centralized authority inside the territory and this authority consisted of foreign colonial officials. The French had a particular style of rule that

aimed at assimilating Africans into French society because French laws were seen as upholding universal standards. This led to an education system that instilled different values and understandings of how a citizen should act. This was noted by many interviewees.

Interviewees	Responses
Interview 5 René Bakota (PURS)	Il y a une différence fondamentale entre la philosophie de l'éducation dans le sous-système anglophone et la philosophie de l'éducation dans le sous-système francophone, et cela est lié à l'histoire coloniale de l'une et l'autre partie. Chez les anglais, on donnait déjà la possibilité au peuple de s'administrer, il s'agissait de « l'indirect rule » alors que chez les français c'était une administration directe. Du coup on observe certains qui ont une culture à l'autonomie quand d'autre ont une culture à la servitude. »
Interview 10 Ibrahim Mohaman (ADDEC)	The French education system teaches us to restate not to create or imagine something different; we, the students, learn to repeat. We are not taught to create and imagine different strategies to change the system.
Interview 11 Norman-Mathew Che Fonge (ANICHRA)	"With the French system of ruling, with assimilation, they are brought up in such a way; the citizens are brought up in such a way that they have high respect for hierarchy. They don't even know their rights but they fear hierarchy and that if they come up for even a just cause, they fear they will be sent to jail… and they are in the capital city. "
Interview 13 Willibroad Dze-Ngwa (Professor)	"The Anglophones are putting up a huge resistance as a people because of a cultural issue, inheritance. We are talking about two groups of Cameroonians, one having the Anglo-Saxon inheritance, so they lived under the Anglo-Saxon legacies for a long time, over 50, to 60 years; they have a separate educational system different then the French system and a legal system of good governance that is different."

This difference in citizenship education leads to divergent relationships with authority and government, as several of these interviewees expressed above. While the Anglo-Saxon system imposed a culture of questioning, the French system imposed a culture of accepting. Perhaps this is why the famous and ever present Cameroonian saying in French goes "On va faire comment?"[47] The phrase epitomizes the idea that there is nothing to be done even when

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[47] Observations by Author

faced with disappointment and despair. On the other hand, it comes as no surprise that the SDF

was the first opposition party in the country because it originates from Anglophones in the

Northwest. One interviewee even stated that "most of the protests in Cameroon, when it comes

to democracy and such, always start with the English speaking people."[48]

This cultural difference in defiance can also be seen between universities and their

students. Civil society interviewee, Norman-Mathew Che Fonge is also a student at the

University of Yaoundé I. He claims that there is a noticeable difference between his university,

majority Francophone, and the University of Buea (UB) found in the capital of the Southwest

Anglophone region. He claims at UB, "the least concern, the students' revolt. That is how it is in

the Anglo-Saxon style."[49] A change in this Francophone mentality is what L'Association pour la

Défense des Droits des Etudiants du Cameroun (ADDEC) at the University of Yaoundé I is

fighting for. This student organization acknowledges their Francophone educational deficits and

is out to teach their university comrades to think differently. Their motto is the "arms we have

are to think."[50] A history of authoritarian governance at Francophone universities in Cameroon

has been documented by many academics. Piet Konings, in particular, writes that that the

University of Yaoundé was created in 1962 based on the French university system with a

matching structure with "excessive centralization… administered in an authoritarian manner with

little dialogue between the university authorities and the academic staff and students."

Meanwhile, UB was created in 1993 as the country's first only English-speaking university

based on the Anglo-Saxon educational system. Konings argues that "Anglophone university

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[48] Anonymous. *Interview 12: Civil Society Actor* Marianna Babboni. 27 April 2018.
[49] Fonge, Norman-Mathew Che. *Interview 11: Africa Network against Illiteracy, Conflict and Human Rights Abuse (ANICHRA)* Marianna Babboni. 26 April 2018.
[50] A Gerald W. Johnson's quote in French on their office's wall reminds students that "Si une universite n'apprend pas a un homme a concevoir sa proper pensee et a dire ce qu'il pense, elle ne lui apprend rien de premiere importance."
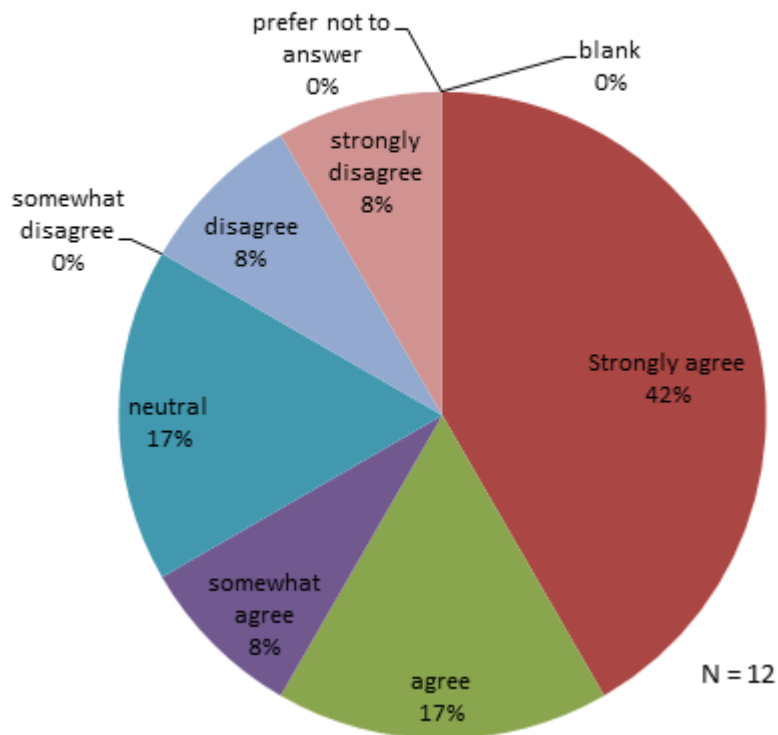
students have tended to be more militant than their Francophone counterparts since Cameroon's reunification in 1961."[51] In general, UB's strikes in 2005 and 2006 are famous for the high degree of state violence they were met with.

Additionally, the data collected from a total of 45 students at the University of Yaoundé I was statistically tested comparing nominal values. In the comparison between question 8, "do you identify as Anglophone, Francophone, or both," and question 24, "I believe there are reasons to participate in a political protest," there is a slight correlation between being Anglophone and feeling there is a problem worth protesting for. Out of 12 students who only identified as Anglophone, 67% expressed levels of agreeance (i.e. strongly agree, agree, or somewhat agree) to answer question 24. Out of 25 students who identified as both Anglophone and Francophone, 52% expressed agreeance in the same varying levels. Lastly, the 7 students who identified as only Francophone expressed 14% of agreeance. What is shown is that the percentage in agreeance decreases as the participants increasingly identify as Francophone, whether as half or as only Francophone. This could signify that that their experience in a Francophone environment or education system has impacted their relation to challenging authority. However, it is essential to note that participant numbers were not equal in all categories and that students may not have expressed their true opinion, especially Anglophone students given the current crisis and military crackdown. The current calamity could influence both the choice to strongly agree or disagree, and it could also explain the high percentage of "neutral" answers for all participants.
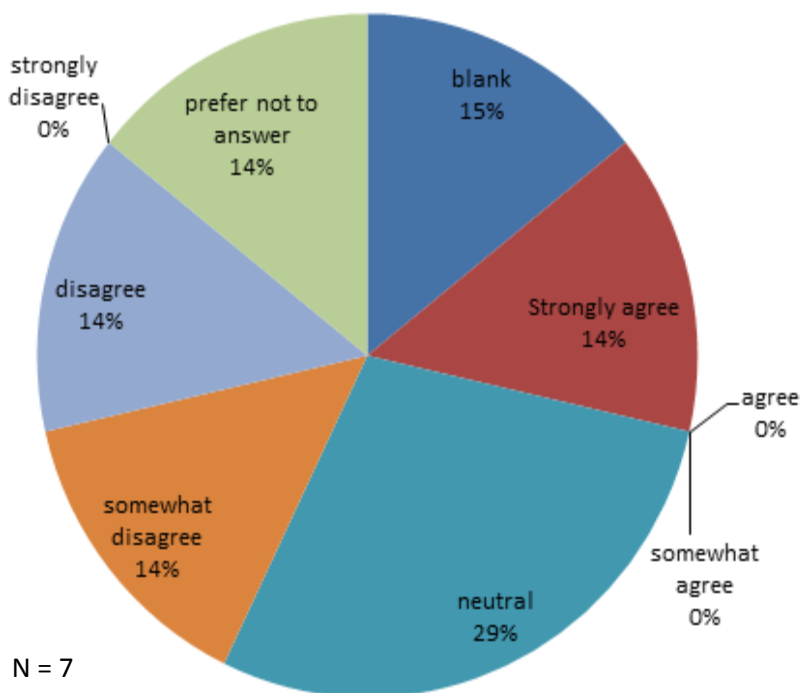
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[51] Konings, Piet. "University Crisis and Student Strikes in Africa: The Case of the University of Buea (Cameroon)." *JHEA/RESA* 7.1&2 (2009): 214-215
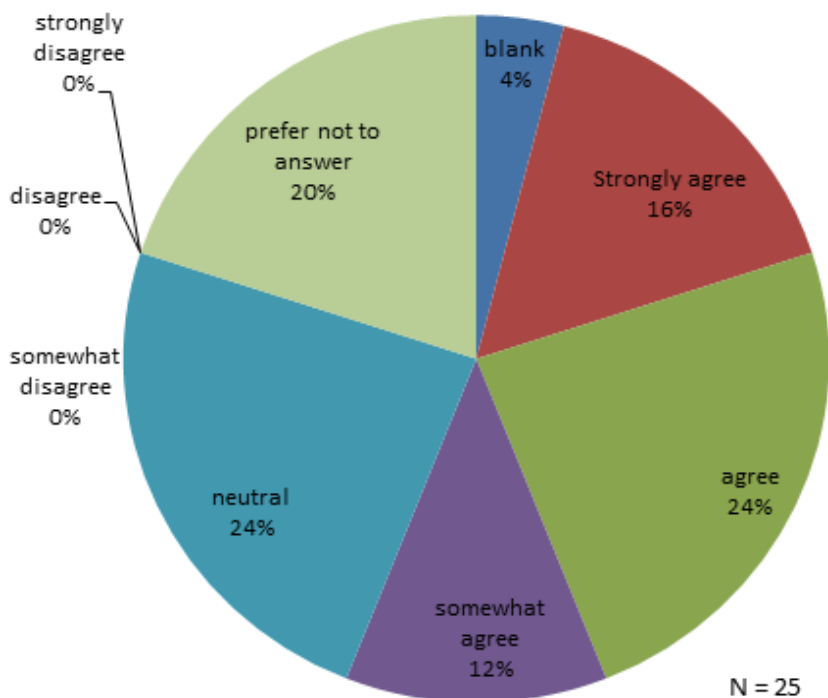
Students who identify as only Anglophone answering Q24: "I believe there is a reason to protest"

prefer not to answer 0%

blank 0%

strongly disagree 8%

somewhat disagree 0%

disagree 8%

neutral 17%

somewhat agree 8%

Strongly agree 42%

agree 17%

N = 12

Students who identify as only Francophone answering Q24: "I believe there is a reason to protest "

strongly disagree 0%

prefer not to answer 14%

blank 15%

disagree 14%

Strongly agree 14%

somewhat disagree 14%

agree 0%

neutral 29%

somewhat agree 0%

N = 7

Students who identify as both Anglophone and Francophone answering Q24: "I believe there is a reason to protest"

strongly disagree 0%

blank 4%

prefer not to answer 20%

disagree 0%

Strongly agree 16%

somewhat disagree 0%

neutral 24%

agree 24%

somewhat agree 12%

N = 25

Application to the Present-Day Anglophone Crisis

The difference in colonial legacies helps explain the overt activism of certain populations over others, and can shed light on the potential for uprisings along the Anglophone-Francophone line. With the Anglophone crisis in the Northwest and Southwest today, it is clear that a relative peace in Cameroon is being tested like never before. Regular civilians have taken up arms in the name of an independent state of Ambazonia or simply to protect themselves from military forces. The analysis of colonial legacies above makes it highly possible that as René Bakota explains, "C'est pour ça que là-bas [zone anglophone], les mouvements de revendication sont toujours violents, parce que eux ils sont préparés dans leur culture."

The Anglo-Saxon cultural legacy of questioning authority has been proven time and time again through Anglophones' history of resistance, making the current war absolutely foreseeable. When performing interviews, I asked participants why they thought this large-scale Anglophone mobilization started in 2016 as opposed to earlier. The majority responded by acknowledging that there is a history of marginalization that has gone unattended to by the government since the very start of the union of these two territories in 1961. Some interviewees even mentioned the cultural legacy of assimilation being adopted by this government to rule over Anglophones as opposed to acknowledging their different cultural systems of education or law, to name a few.[52] Given the history of discrimination, the situation "was like a powder store where even the smallest flame would set it ablaze; it was already in the minds of people, they were just looking for an opportunity."[53] The French colonial inheritance of assimilation can also convey whether Anglophones starting the fight in their region will catalyze into a larger, nation-wide crisis. This study foresees that uprisings in solidarity or in tandem to the Anglophone crisis are not likely.

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[52] Dze-Ngwa, Willibroad. *Interview 14: University Professor* Marianna Babboni. 30 April 2018.

[53] Fonge, Norman-Mathew Che. *Interview 11: Africa Network against Illiteracy, Conflict and Human Rights Abuse (ANICHRA)* Marianna Babboni. 26 April 2018.

CONCLUSIONS

The pacifying of crises that have occurred in opposition to President Biya all throughout his reign can be explained by a mélange of statist and cultural reasons. This study has unveiled three prominent explanations stemming from primary and secondary research conducted and analyzed over the course of a month. The very first factor that has maintained stability in Cameroon is the state's consistent use of force against collective action. State brutality has instilled a very present fear into the hearts and minds of the populace in Yaoundé. Along with perpetuating terror tactics, the state has implemented several successful strategies of division amongst ethnic groups and political parties. Both tribalism and corruption have contributed to keeping Cameroonians from uniting under one cause even though discontent seems ubiquitous.

At the same time, the fear and division the state has instigated have cultural undertones that the state cannot take sole credit for. This study's second discovery of the local urban context is that many Cameroonians have a culture of survival that has led them to acquire a degree of food stability through creative self-employment. Informal sector jobs have been growing yearly and this trend has unveiled the entrepreneurial nature of many Cameroonians. Whether they use tontines to start side businesses or begin riding moto-taxis to meet basic needs, a large percentage of Cameroonians are creating their own alternatives to the increasingly limited economic opportunities found under the current system. Though informal sector workers may not be content with their occupation, they tend to be able to feed their families through that job and mostly likely through the help of tontines or family members, given the strong collective spirit of the society. As their degree of food stability increases, the propensity to risk that level of certainty for political upheaval and the subsequent unknown decreases.

Last but not least, this study found a strong correlation between colonial rule and relationship to authority. The French colonial legacies of direct rule, characterized by assimilation and centralization of power, have been imbedded in the country's education policies. As a result, citizenship is viewed as respect for authority and defiance is not seen as the norm. Contrastingly, the indirect rule practiced by the British has instilled a nature of questioning what is taught and not just accepting information from the bottom-down. These cultural dichotomies have actually shown to be present between the two different university systems in Cameroon through their different student body's propensities to confront their respective universities. All the while, the dominant Francophone government has tried to dismiss and assimilate the Anglo-Saxon system, but Anglophones' resistance has been consistent and strong.

In most recent years, as the government sent French-speaking lawyers and teachers to infiltrate the Common Law structure and the English-speaking schools, Anglophones in the Northwest and Southwest have coalesced in a full blown separatist movement. This ongoing civil war is profoundly questioning the stability of Cameroon's single-party rule. The future of this war is extremely difficult to predict, but using the tripartite factors this study presented, it is possible to make more educated assumptions. With the combination of a French cultural legacy of maintaining the status quo, plus a tendency to find creative economic alternatives to prevent food insecurity, and strong state tactics of divide and rule along ethnic lines, a unified front for political disintegration and change appears like more of an ideal than a concrete possibility. That being said, this opinion is drawn within the many limitations of the study. For instance, a couple factors that this study could not focus on but are important to consider, include Cameroon's relationship with international players, the role of Cameroonian elite, the input of religious groups and organizations, and the power behind the mentality of 'othering.'

 Further study is absolutely needed to accurately predict the future of relative peace in Cameroon. Different regional perspectives must be included in order to prevent generalizing Cameroonian realities. For future research, looking at the "traditional" forms of governance, such as Chieftaincies in the grass fields, would be an interesting exploration of different cultural backgrounds influencing opinions on dissent and governance. There have also been interesting projects such as food banks started by villages facing hardships in the North and Extreme-North that are innovative economic alternatives to create food security when the state has failed to do its job. Of course, my biggest suggestion is to focus on the current Anglophone crisis in the Northwest and Southwest and how it is managing to challenge the regime's state of relative peace. Having lived in Yaoundé for the past three months it is clear that proper information about this civil war is not being shared or talked about at the level that this alarming conflict deserves. With more time and resources, I would hone in on the influence of the media, both news and social media, in maintaining a façade of peace or in breaking that silence during these formative years of conflict. I will end by imploring all readers to educate themselves in order to breach the gap in lack of information. Peace may be an ideal state but it is always one work fighting for. The first step in fighting for peace is trying to understand the true local realities.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guides

Appendix 1.1: University Professor Interview Guide (English)

My name is Marianna Babboni and I am a student at the School for International Training (SIT) in Yaoundé for the semester. This interview is part of a course requirement for my final research project. I am studying the factors that have contributed to the relative peace Cameroon has faced ever since independence. Cameroon is unlike its neighboring countries that have undergone civil unrest in the forms of civil wars or coup d'états. I am interested in understanding if Cameroon's uniqueness can be attributed to cultural factors, state measures or both.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you can choose not to participate, skip certain questions, or end the conversation at any time. You can choose whether to remain anonymous or not. You can choose whether this interview can be recorded or not. You are eligible for this interview if you are at least 18 years of age.

If you have any questions, wish to withdraw your interview, or wish to receive a copy of my final paper, you can contact me at mbabboni@oxy.edu, or contact my research advisor at dzewing@yahoo.com.

1. Could you please describe your position at the university and any research in relations to Cameroonian politics and/or political movements?
2. What group or population in the Cameroonian society do you think is most likely to unite and start a social movement or protest against the political regime?
3. What do you think they are most likely to unite against? What types of problems?
4. What is the likelihood of such a movement that demands political change happening in the future?
   a. What do you think might prevent such a movement from occurring?
   b. What do you think might incentivize such a movement to occur?
5. What do you think are the reasons for why there has not been a large-scale collective action since the last strikes in 2008 and before the 2017 Anglophone crisis? What are the factors that have kept people from initiating large-scale collective action?
   a. Are cultural factors at play?
   b. Are state factors at play?
6. Do you think there is a relationship between the role of the informal sector in Cameroon, which makes up the large majority of the economy, and the lack of large-scale uprising?
7. How would you describe the relationship between President Biya and the military today?
   a. Are there any signs of disaccord?
   b. Has the relationship changed over time/ do you foresee it changing?
8. What do you think spurred the Anglophone uprisings in 2017?
   a. Why now instead of earlier?
9. Where do you see the future of the Anglophone crisis going and what do you think may restore peace? Peace in terms of whatever peace may look like for you, whether that is the creation of a free and independent Ambazonia or not.

Appendix 1.2: Civil Society Actor Interview Guide (English)

My name is Marianna Babboni and I am a student at the School for International Training (SIT) in Yaoundé for the semester. This interview is part of a course requirement for my final research project. I am studying the factors that have contributed to the relative peace Cameroon has faced ever since independence. Cameroon is unlike its neighboring countries that have undergone civil unrest in the forms of civil wars or coup d'états. I am interested in understanding if Cameroon's uniqueness can be attributed to cultural factors, state measures or both.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you can choose not to participate, skip certain questions, or end the conversation at any time. You can choose whether to remain anonymous or not. You can choose whether this interview can be recorded or not. You are eligible for this interview if you are at least 18 years of age.

If you have any questions, wish to withdraw your interview, or wish to receive a copy of my final paper, you can contact me at mbabboni@oxy.edu, or contact my research advisor at dzewing@yahoo.com.

1. Could you please describe your work at your civil society?
2. Could you describe the right to protest in Cameroon as you understand it?
3. Do you or your civil society have any experience organizing and/or participating in social protests or movements in Cameroon?
    a. If yes, what types of protests or events?
    b. If yes, what was the process of encouraging participation from community members like? How did you spread information? Was it difficult to unite people?
    c. If yes, could you please describe what the process of obtaining authorization for your protest was like?
    d. If yes, did you or your organization face any backlash for your protest?
4. What group or population in the Cameroonian society do you think is most likely to unite and start a social movement or protest for political change?
    a. What do you think they are most likely to unite against? What types of problems?
5. What do you think might prevent such a movement from occurring?
6. What do you think might incentivize such a movement to occur?
7. What do you think are the reasons for why there has not been a large-scale collective action since the last strikes in 2008 until the Anglophone crisis in 2017?
    a. Do you think there are cultural factors at play?
    b. Do you think there are state measures at play?
8. What do you think spurred the Anglophone uprisings in Cameroon?
    a. Why now instead of earlier?
    b. Where do you see the future of the Anglophone crisis going?
9. Do you think there are other forms of protest occurring that are not as overt as large-scale social uprisings?
10. Do you know of any songs or chants that are used to protest the political situation?

Appendix 1.3: Political Party Representative Interview Guide (English)

My name is Marianna Babboni and I am a student at the School for International Training (SIT) in Yaoundé for the semester. This interview is part of a course requirement for my final research project. I am studying the factors that have contributed to the relative peace Cameroon has faced ever since independence. Cameroon is unlike its neighboring countries that have undergone civil unrest in the forms of civil wars or coup d'états. I am interested in understanding if Cameroon's uniqueness can be attributed to cultural factors, state measures or both.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you can choose not to participate, skip certain questions, or end the conversation at any time. You can choose whether to remain anonymous or not. You can choose whether this interview can be recorded or not. You are eligible for this interview if you are at least 18 years of age.

If you have any questions, wish to withdraw your interview, or wish to receive a copy of my final paper, you can contact me at mbabboni@oxy.edu, or contact my research advisor at dzewing@yahoo.com.

1. Could you please give a brief description of your role in your political party and what your party stands for?
    a. What kind of relation does your party have with the CPDM?
    b. What kind of influence in decision making does your party have? Any seats? How has this changed? Do you see this changing in the near future?
2. What does having a multi-party system of governance mean to you?
    a. How do you think this system is functioning in Cameroon?
        i. What are some successes? What are some challenges?
3. What has kept opposition parties from uniting?
4. What role, if any, did your party have in the protests and strikes from 1991-1994 and then in the early 2000s?
    a. These protests are known for being guided by political opposition parties.
5. What factors contributed to calming these protests and strikes and preserving relative peace under President Biya again?
6. What factors have contributed to relative peace in Cameroon for the past 35 years?
7. What roles have political parties in particular played in maintaining relative peace?
8. What roles do political parties play in the Anglophone crisis occurring as we speak?
    a. What do you think the role of government should be?

Appendix 1.4: Political Party Representative Interview Guide (French)

Je m'appelle Marianna Babboni et je suis une étudiante universitaire américaine. J'étudie le développement et le changement social au Cameroun avec l'École de Formation Internationale (School of International Training).

J'essaie d'étudier les facteurs qui ont contribué à la paix relative que le Cameroun a connue depuis l'indépendance. Le Cameroun n'est pas comme les pays voisins qui ont subi des troubles civils sous la forme de guerres civiles ou de coup d'Etat. Je suis intéressé à comprendre si le caractère unique du Cameroun peut être attribué soit à des facteurs culturels, à des mesures étatiques, ou aux deux.

Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et peut être interrompue par le participant à tout moment sans conséquences. Si vous vous sentez mal à l'aise avec l'une des questions suivantes, s'il vous plaît ne répondez pas et seulement fournissez des informations volontaires avec lesquelles vous vous sentez le mieux.

Si vous voudriez voir une copie de ma rédaction, ou vous voudriez retirer votre questionnaire, veuillez me contactez directement s'il vous plaît. Mon email est mbabboni@oxy.edu. L'email de mon superviseur de recherche est dzewing@yahoo.com.

1. Pourriez-vous donner une description générale de votre rôle dans votre parti politique?
   a. Quel genre de relation votre parti a-t-il avec le RDPC? Rassemblement démocratique du peuple camerounais
   b. Quel genre d'influence gouvernemental votre parti a-t-il? Comment a-t-il changé? Voyez-vous votre parti changer dans l'avenir?
2. Qu'est-ce qu'un système de gouvernance multipartite signifie pour vous?
   a. Comment pensez-vous que ce système fonctionne au Cameroun?
      i. Quels sont les succès? Quels sont les défis?
3. Qu'est-ce qu'a empêché les partis d'opposition de s'unir?
4. Quel rôle votre parti a-t-il joué dans les manifestations et les grèves de 1991-1994 et au début des années 2000?
   a. Ces manifestations sont connues pour être guidées par des partis d'opposition politique.
5. Quels facteurs ont contribué aux protestations et aux grèves relatives à la paix sous le président Biya?
6. Au cours des 35 dernières années, quels facteurs ont contribué à la paix relative au Cameroun?
7. Quels rôles ont joué les partis politiques particulièrement en matière de paix?
8. Quels rôles jouent les partis politiques dans la crise anglophone en ce moment même?
   a. Selon vous, quel devrait être le rôle du gouvernement?

Appendix 1.5: Tontine Interview Guide (English and French)

My name is Marianna Babboni and I am a student at the School for International Training (SIT) in Yaoundé for the semester. This interview is part of a course requirement for my final research project. I am studying the factors that have contributed to the relative peace Cameroon has faced ever since independence. Cameroon is unlike its neighboring countries that have undergone civil unrest in the forms of civil wars or coup d'états. I am interested in understanding if Cameroon's uniqueness can be attributed to cultural factors or state measures or both.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you can choose not to participate, skip certain questions, or end the conversation at any time. You can choose whether to remain anonymous or not. You can also choose whether this interview can be recorded or not. You are eligible for this interview if you are at least 18 years of age.

If you have any questions, wish to withdraw your interview, or wish to receive a copy of my final paper, you can contact me at mbabboni@oxy.edu, or contact my research advisor at dzewing@yahoo.com.

English:

1. What is your occupation? Is your job the primary source of income for your family?
2. Do you earn enough money each week to live comfortably?
3. Please describe your role in your tontine.
4. How many members are in your tontine and what is the minimum financial requirement to be a member?
5. Why did you choose to be in a tontine?
6. What benefits have you gained from being a member of a tontine?
7. What difficulties have you faced from being a member of a tontine?
8. How has your financial situation changed as a member of a tontine?
9. What have you generally tended to use your share of the tontine money for?
10. In what ways do bank services help you and your tontine?
11. Does your tontine receive any support from the government of Cameroon? Please explain.
12. In what was do you think tontines contribute to relative peace in Cameroon?

French:

1. Quelle est votre occupation? Votre travail est-il la principale source de revenu pour votre famille?
2. Gagnez-vous assez d'argent chaque semaine pour vivre confortablement?
3. Veuillez décrire votre rôle dans votre tontine.
4. Combien de membres font partie de votre tontine et quelle est la condition financière minimum pour être membre?
5. Pourquoi avez-vous choisi d'être dans une tontine?
6. Quels avantages avez-vous obtenus en étant membre d'une tontine?
7. Quelles difficultés avez-vous rencontrées en étant membre d'une tontine?
8. Comment votre situation financière at-elle changé en tant que membre d'une tontine?
9. Pour quels genres de chose utilisez-vous vos gains de votre tontine ?
10. De quelle manière les services bancaires vous aident-ils ainsi que votre tontine?
11. Votre tontine reçoit-elle un soutien du gouvernement camerounais? S'il vous plaît, expliquez.
12. Dans quoi moyens est-ce que les tontines contribuer à la paix relative dans le Cameroun ?

Appendix 2: Survey Instruments

Appendix 2.1: Consent Form for All Survey Instruments (English)

<div align="center">

Survey Questioner Consent Form

</div>

Hello,

My name is Marianna Babboni and I am a student at the School for International Training (SIT) in Yaoundé for the semester. First and foremost, I would like to thank you for taking the time to fill out my survey. This survey is part of a course requirement for my semester.

I am trying to study the factors that have contributed to the relative peace Cameroon has faced ever since independence. Cameroon is unlike its neighboring countries that have undergone civil unrest in the forms of civil wars or coup d'états. I am interested in understanding if Cameroon's uniqueness can be attributed to cultural factors, state measures, or both.

If you choose to participate, please fill out the attached survey. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can choose not to participate, skip certain questions, or end the survey at any time. If you choose to participate, your responses will be kept anonymous, and the data will only be accessible to me, the researcher, and to Professor Dze-Ngwa, my research advisor.
You are eligible for this survey if you are at least 18 years of age.
Please let me know if the survey made you feel uncomfortable in any way.

If you have any questions, you can contact me at mbabboni@oxy.edu, or my research advisor at dzewing@yahoo.com.

I have read and understood the above information about informed consent.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

I am at least 18 years old.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Printed Name (optional): _____

Signature (optional): _____

Appendix 2.2: Consent Form for All Survey Instruments (French)

Questionnaire Formulaire de Consentement

Bonjour,

Je m'appelle Marianna Babboni et je suis une étudiante universitaire américaine. J'étudie le développement et le changement social au Cameroun avec l'École de Formation Internationale (School of International Training). Cette étude est menée comme un devoir a rendre pour ma classe.

J'essaie d'étudier les facteurs qui ont contribué à la paix relative que le Cameroun a connue depuis l'indépendance. Le Cameroun n'est pas comme les pays voisins qui ont subi des troubles civils sous la forme de guerres civiles ou de coup d'Etat. Je suis intéressé à comprendre si le caractère unique du Cameroun peut être attribué soit à des facteurs culturels, à des mesures étatiques, ou aux deux.

Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et peut être interrompue par le participant à tout moment sans conséquences. Si vous vous sentez mal à l'aise avec l'une des questions suivantes, s'il vous plaît ne répondez pas et seulement fournissez des informations volontaires avec lesquelles vous vous sentez le mieux. Sachez que vos réponses resteront anonymes et tous les renseignements identificatoires seront omis dans cette étude. Si vous voudriez voir une copie de ma rédaction, ou vous voudriez retirer votre questionnaire, veuillez me contactez directement s'il vous plaît. Mon email est mbabboni@oxy.edu. L'email de mon superviseur de recherche est dzewing@yahoo.com. Je vous remercie de votre temps et vous souhaite une très belle journée.

J'ai lu et compris les informations ci-dessus sur le consentement éclairé.

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

J'ai au moins 18 ans.

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

Nom et Prénom (optionnel): _____

Signature (optionnel): _____

Appendix 3: Important Contacts

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