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The Genocide that Everyone Should Have Seen Coming: How the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis Extends Colonial Forces of Domination and Consent

Selena Gould

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The Genocide that Everyone Should Have Seen Coming

*How the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis Extends Colonial Forces of Domination and Consent*

by

Selena Gould

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for the Sociology Department
Dickinson College

Professor Susan Rose, Advisor
Professor Daniel Schubert, Reader
Professor Ed Webb, Reader

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Preface

I would like to preface my thesis with the acknowledgement that I am a privileged, white American writing on a topic that does not greatly impact my culture nor country. For this reason, I intend for this project to be read with the assumption that I bring a privileged, Western perspective to this conflict that affects the livelihood of millions in Cameroon. I aspire to recontextualize and bring awareness to the Anglophone Crisis for an audience of Americans, to challenge their perceptions on an issue that is not extensively represented in media in the United States. For some who have not heard of the conflict, I intend to draw awareness, criticism and empathy to this developing civil war and genocide. In this sense, I am using my privilege to shed light on an issue that is illegal and dangerous to speak about for Cameroonians. This thesis, however, does not attempt to speak on the experiences of Cameroonians, but rather illuminate ways in which the international communities can interpret the dynamics of the Anglophone Crisis. Perhaps with greater awareness and nuanced perspectives, there can be more intentional and informed involvement in the peace process with and in Cameroon.

*What is the value of studying consent?*

While many papers examine phenomena through a lens of domination, consent is seldom included. The study of domination provides insight into how powerful groups manifest and maintain a hierarchical advantage over others. However, consent contributes that subordinates are produced to internalize and transmit forces of domination. Further, consenters execute the agenda of the dominant unto themselves and others, without the need of direct force from the dominant. Without the understanding of how consent compounds domination, there will be unexplained manifestations of power that continue unnoticed. The perpetual relationship of domination and consent combine to influence hierarchical systems of inequality that marginalize and enable violence. In the case of Cameroon, hegemonic relations (domination and consent) and systems were established during colonization and continued after independence. When colonists (the dominators) left the region, those who were formerly colonized consented through the reproduction of the same domination that they had endured. The reproduction of these relations of force enabled extensive inequalities that produced the Anglophone Crisis as we see today. When we include consent in the discourse of this escalating conflict, there can be greater understanding of its origins and manifestations. With this awareness, we may engage in more critical and productive dialogue to promote de-escalation and peacebuilding.
Acknowledgements

I would like to make several acknowledgements to those who directly helped as well as inspired me to pursue this project. Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Schubert for instilling my passion for sociology and social justice. As my professor and academic advisor, he never ceased to empathetically encourage my personal and academic development, for which I am very grateful. I would like to thank Professor Staub, who ignited my interest in conflict analysis and resolution. With his personal and professional advice, I was able to envision an interdisciplinary education and potential career path that united my interests and values.

I would also like to thank Professor Rose as my thesis advisor for her nurturing and passionate approach to thesis writing. With her inspiring guidance, I was able to experience the thesis writing process as an academic adventure. I would like to thank the students in my thesis seminar and particularly Mollie Montague, my peer reviewer, for their thoughtful comments on previous drafts that significantly contributed to the development of my writing. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Jacob and President Margee Ensign of Dickinson College for sharing their life experience with me on African relations and peacemaking.

From my time abroad in Cameroon, I would like to thank Professor Dze-Ngwa for sharing his work on the Anglophone Crisis, which inspired me to begin this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the many others in Cameroon who greatly impacted my life and whom I cannot name to protect their identities. I dedicate this thesis to these amazing individuals that I have met along this journey, who have taken moments to share their experiences with me, even if they may currently be unable to do so publicly.
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Introduction

“They burned the houses, raped women and executed people at random. Those who had the chance to flee are hiding in the jungle,” she says. She could not tell how many were killed. “Many. This is a genocide.” — Anonymous Anglophone Cameroonian Woman (Zongo 2018)

Cameroon, a country once considered to be a harmonious state and a “safe haven” amongst turmoil in Central Africa, is now at the brink of a “full-blown revolt” (Dominion Post 2018), as the Anglophone “problem” has escalated into an intractable crisis. When I began this project in May of 2018, it was estimated that 40,000 people were displaced or killed as a result of the Anglophone Crisis (Zongo 2018). By January of 2019, the United Nations crisis report determined the number affected to more than 4 million with 1.3 million in need of aid; 160,000 targeted; 437,500 “internally displaced” (Journal du Cameroun 2019); and over 2,000 killed (Egbejule 2018).¹ In addition to those directly affected, the lives of Francophone² and Anglophone Cameroonians have been drastically transformed while living under a regime of fear.

My interest in studying the Anglophone Crisis began during my study abroad experience in Yaoundé, Cameroon, in the spring of 2018. I felt the impact of the conflict escalating throughout my time there, as my ability to freely travel and spend time in public became more limited despite living in a Francophone region. However, these minor inconveniences were a constant reminder of how truly distanced I was from the local reality of the conflict as a privileged white, American visitor. My restriction of movement throughout Cameroon could never amount to the grief of those who were uprooted or lost

¹ These numbers are low estimates, due to the daily escalatory trend of the conflict as well as the intimidation that likely prevents Cameroonians from reporting incidences.
² When stating “Francophones” within this paper, I denote the Francophone Cameroonian population rather than the French or French speakers worldwide.
their lives amongst showers of bullets. Even though I knew that the crisis would worsen, I could not imagine the devastation that was to come. The conflict became more personal to me in the months following my return, I heard of the same neighborhoods that I walked through every day experiencing raids and increasing armament. I heard of personal contacts who were targeted by death threats, voter intimidation and arson. These were the same individuals who had expressed such hope, claiming that “by this time next year, [the Anglophone Crisis] will all be cleared up.” This minimization of the destructive capability of the Anglophone Crisis was not uncommon, as I engaged in many conversations with Cameroonians and Americans who appeared unconcerned and surprised by the escalation. The more I pursued this project the more I realized that perhaps we should be more concerned and unsurprised, as this conflict had been long historically established.

The socio-historical origins of the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis are critical for understanding how it escalated, how it currently manifests, and how the conflict may be managed. In particular, it is necessary to examine the role of colonization in the political trajectory of Cameroon that transformed it into a system of glaring disparity. Since its occupation by France and Britain beginning in 1916, Cameroon was developed and treated as separate territories with different agendas, institutions, cultures and even languages, that have continued long beyond the colonial era. Following the independence and unification of both territories by 1961, the hope for a unified and joint government and nation disintegrated with Francophone domination. As the majority population and colonial territory, Francophone Cameroon dominated the new-country’s societal structure. Simultaneously, Anglophones have been systematically eliminated from public discourse and subjugated as “second-class citizens.”
After several decades of increasing political, economic and social marginalization, peaceful Anglophone protests against the government of Cameroon have erupted into overt violence and calls for secession. Over 2018 in particular, tension and violence has escalated significantly and has grabbed international media attention. With increasing unrest and exposure, the Francophone-majority government is both internally and externally attempting to conceal the gravity of the crisis and punish defectors. Recent dialogue has not led to de-escalation or conflict management as the region propels further towards civil war and genocide, with no peaceful resolution in sight. How did such a profound transformation occur within the last few years? Sociological theory can be employed to understand that this change was not spontaneous, and the current political state reflects the increasing tension and marginalization that has been occurring for decades.

This thesis will be framed by social philosopher, Antonio Gramsci’s definitions of hegemony, domination and consent to uncover the social forces that birthed and perpetuate the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis. The foundation of Gramscian theory subsequently is supported and contrasted by contemporary scholars and critics of Gramsci’s work: Sassoon and Scott. In order to understand colonization in the context of the Anglophone Crisis, I explore both the academic institutions of the colonizer and the colonized. Furthermore, my review of literature intentionally aspires to balance western (Foucault, Bourdieu, and Butler) and post-colonial black theorists (Fanon, Lorde, and Césaire) who contribute to sociological discourse. The historical contextualization within this piece is highlighted by Anglophone Cameroonian academics: Fanso, Dze-Ngwa and Atanga.3 In an alternative style of many

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3 Although I do not provide a Francophone intellectual within my literature review, V.G. Fanso’s work distinctly characterizes a Francophone perspective, as his work is reflective of his assimilation to Francophone culture, which is not unusual in the world of Cameroonian academia.
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literature reviews, my own analysis is interwoven into the framework of the explication of literature.

I begin this paper with definitions of hegemony, domination and consent and briefly explain how these forces are applied to the Anglophone Crisis. I then account the historical legacy of the Anglophone Crisis through a sociological lens, from French and British colonization to Cameroonian independence and the dissolve of the federal republic. Building from a historical framework, I describe the current political and economic manifestations of the crisis, which encompasses internal marginalization and the “hidden” neocolonial agenda. In this section, I also explore the various conflict dynamics and consequences, including violence, displacement, secession and protests. Contributing to the historical and contemporary understanding of the conflict, I then provide a sociological interpretation of prospective peace. I outline the methodology and research protocol used as a qualitative analysis of online news media articles. I then compare and contrast my findings regarding the framing, availability and major themes of the newspaper articles from various publishers. I discuss how the different conflict narratives that emerged from these article characteristics reflect and impact the dynamics of the Anglophone Crisis.

In this thesis, I analyze the following research questions: 1) How do colonial forces of domination and consent shape the political, economic, and social manifestations of the Anglophone Crisis? 2) How do Cameroonian and international media narratives reflect and impact the crisis as an extension of colonial forces and institutions? I argue that tactics of domination used during the French colonization are being consented to and reproduced by the current Francophone-majority government, whose marginalization of Anglophones has led to a violent crisis embedded in drastic inequalities. The discourse and institutions within
the colonial legacy of the conflict perpetuate forces of domination and consent in
Cameroonian society. Further, the manner in which the Anglophone Crisis is portrayed in
online news articles both reflects and reproduces colonial institutions, as well as perpetuates
sentiments of violence while minimizing the conflict’s root causes, manifestations, and
potential for peacebuilding.

**Hegemony, Domination and Consent**

The oppressed get a tree, but the dominant keep the forest. — *Professor Daniel
Schubert, Dickinson College*

Antonio Gramsci explains how normal oppressive social reality and power are
maintained through the hegemonic “relations of force” of domination and consent in
economic, political and social contexts. The “study of dominance” as a social force is
necessary to understand how “political intervention” might occur in a particular situation
(Sassoon 1980). In order to explore possible solutions to the Anglophone Crisis, it is crucial
to analyze the relations of force that maintain and escalate the political tensions as Cameroon
propels towards committing a genocide.

While normative discourse of hegemony often only includes the force of domination,
Gramscian theory describes *hegemony* as the “dynamic… combination of force* and
consent*” that manifests in societies with hierarchical classes (Forgacs, as cited in Gramsci
1988: 424). When referring to “hegemony” or “relations of force” within this thesis, I am
acknowledging this perpetual relationship of both domination and consent. The power of a

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*Anne Showstack Sassoon provides greater understanding through a more user-friendly interpretation of
Gramsci’s theories. A significant barrier to using Gramsci as a theorist is that the language he employs is
inaccessible to those outside of the “intellectual elite” in political philosophy.

Referring to domination

Classes do not exist exclusively in the economic sense but rather also in racial, linguistic, gender and ethnic
hierarchies, for example.*
“State,” such as the Cameroonian government, is birthed from the initial presence of hegemonic forces (Sassoon 1980: 116). The availability of domination and consent in the context of a society determines the conditions in which a power entity may be formed, such as a colonial power or an independent state. Hegemonic forces set the stage for the existence of the exploitive systems of colonization and the current Cameroonian Republic, which have led to decades of extensive suffering. Through a Gramscian lens, hegemonic forces are the most pervasive in a society when the “current ruling class” is in “crisis” (Sassoon 1980: 129). As Anglophones revolt in the western and southern regions of Cameroon, the power and authority of the Francophone government is questioned and subsequently threatened. Within this conflict escalation, forces of domination and consent strengthen to consolidate power and “push forward hegemony to its fullest possible extension” (Sassoon 1980: 129). The Anglophone Crisis reflects the heightening of domination and consent in Cameroon, that has developed since colonization.

_Domination_ and “intellectual and moral leadership” maintain the supremacy of particular social groups (Gramsci 1988), such as the “Francophones” in the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis. Tactics of domination like “intellectual and moral leadership” include the establishment of superior and exclusively legitimate social institutions, whose relations of force shape its subjects (individuals in a society). In the context of this paper, the “intellectual” and “moral” component of domination refer to the Eurocentric valuation of European institutions, such as those imposed by French and British colonists. The discourse

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7 When referring to the Cameroon Francophone government, I indicate the governing body of Cameroon post-independence and reunification beginning in 1961. Although the Cameroon government is not entirely comprised of Francophone representatives, Anglophones have been systematically eliminated from representation and the most powerful roles are only occupied by French representatives, at this time. Furthermore, political control is administered almost exclusively by Francophones as the majority, which is how I will be referring to the government of Cameroon.
of “intellectual” and “moral” legitimize French institutions as the dominant ones, to be superior to their subjectively-determined subordinates, which often are distinguished by differences such as race, religion and class. Examples of dominant institutions in Cameroon include the majority and economically-superior Francophone government, French education system and primary use of the French language. Domination and its respective institutions are accompanied by the force of consent, that functions to strengthen a system of hegemonic relations.

As a force within domination, consent involves the “passive subordination implied by dominant ideology” (Forgacs, as cited in Gramsci 1988: 424) and in some cases “active and direct” subordination (Gramsci 1988: 244). Rather than power exclusively being an external force that is exerted on the subordinate, effective power is found in the consent of subordinates to their own domination. Whether conscious or subconscious, consent to domination perpetuates marginalization by contributing to the “relations of force” that oppress societally-determined “inferiors.”

Passive consent involves the receiving and transmission of dominant institutions and culture that occurs in everyday life, for example, when Anglophones speak French in most contexts in accordance with the dominant language. This form of consent often is transmitted through low-power groups (the subordinate), to satisfy the dominant pressures of a high-power group (the dominant). Passive consent may occur unintentionally or intentionally in which case a subordinate may consent out of “fear of retaliation” from “powerholders” (Scott 1990: 140). Active consent, on the other hand, is prominent in the context of a state that seeks and uses excessive control. The active form involves the “participation” of “individual members” that form a “collective consciousness” through the unification under dominant
ideology (Gramsci 1988: 244). This phenomenon implies a relationship between “the governors and governed, in which there is “an identification between the individual and the whole” or represented leaders (Gramsci 1988: 244). When the governing and the governed have this symbiotic relationship of domination and consent, a system of hierarchical relations is formed. An example of active consent may include the endorsement or implementation of dominant policies or institutions. Active consent often involves the desire to partake in the benefits of the dominant.8

In many ways, passive consent still involves active decision-making and self-adjustment. For example, passive consent often requires the active modification of behaviors and attitudes to fit dominant discourse. Referring to the previous example, Anglophone Cameroonians speaking French may be the result of an active decision to comply with dominant culture, despite its categorization as “passive consent.” The more substantial difference to note, however, is whether consent is transmitted through a dominant (high-power) or subordinate (low-power) member. When this distinction is made, the question of responsibility for consent to domination may be investigated.

Why do people consent to domination? Consent to domination, may or may not imply responsibility depending on the context of power. Firstly, the subordinate may practice “impression management in power laden situations” and consent as a “survival skill” and sense of protection (Scott 1990: 3). Subordinates may fear the repercussion of dissension, which could include torture or death within colonization or a dictator-like regime, as in the

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8 Although I do not often note the difference between active and passive consent directly, I primarily allude to active domination in relation to the Francophone government and elite, and passive consent in relation to others. However, there are certain cases of Anglophone active consent that will be referenced.
case of the Anglophone Crisis. The second motivation for consent to domination, is
described by post-colonial theorist, Frantz Fanon:

[The colonized] are hungry for reassurance, They want their wishful thinking to be
recognized. They want for their wish for virility to be recognized. They want to flaunt
themselves. Each and every one of them constitutes an isolated, arid, assertive
atom… Each of them is. Each of them wants to be… Every act of [the colonized] is
dependent on “the Other” — not because “the Other” remains his final goal… but
simply because it is “the Other” who asserts him and his need to enhance his status

Fanon illustrates how acts of subordinates are dependent on acts of the dominant (“the
Other”), thus consent by subordinates occurs in reaction to the force of domination. In
essence, subordinates are shaped by their relations to domination and subsequently act in
accordance to their relationship with domination. The colonized desire to raise their social
status and by nature of domination, are influenced to believe that consent will relieve their
suffering and improve their lives. Furthermore, I am not implying that Anglophones are
responsible for their own demise, exploitation and death. Rather, consent is a lens through
which one can understand how social realities are formed, and subsequently how they may
be deconstructed.

Although the forces of domination and consent contribute to the subordination of
particular groups, they also provide conditions for resistance. Scott asserts that “relations of
domination are, at the same time, relations of resistance” that “can be sustained only by
continuous efforts at reinforcement, maintenance, and adjustment” (1990: 45). Relations of
domination are constantly strained by reciprocal forces of resistance, that threaten the
structural integrity of systemic dominance. In order to maintain a particular establishment of
hierarchical relations, forces of domination must continuously adjust to adapt to relations of
resistance.
Subordinate groups form “resistant subculture” through their communication of mutual experiences of “anger, humiliation, and fantasies” that occur due to their inferior social status (Scott 1990: 119). However, these the mutual expression of grievances are a part of the “hidden transcript” (subordinate discourse) that is shared “beyond direct observation of powerholders” (Scott 1990: 4). The often hidden nature of resistance, as seen through the “hidden transcript” can minimize the efficacy of resistance and potential revolution. Furthermore, “the development of a thick and resilient hidden transcript is favored by the existence of social and cultural barriers between dominant elites and subordinates” (Scott 1990: 132). The dominant are able to control resistance in the form of the “hidden transcript” as dissatisfaction of the current system is concealed. Consequently, the “hidden transcript” may actively reinforce dominant discourse as the only legitimate public discourse. Although a form of resistance, the “hidden transcript” may also be perceived as a form of consent, as its omission from the public eye perpetuates the dominance of the “public transcript.” In Cameroon, it may appear as though resistance began with the Anglophone separatist movement; however, resistance has existed in private discourse since colonization. The emergence of the “hidden transcript” from the shadows of Cameroonian society is a significant contributor to the escalation of the Anglophone Crisis, as Francophone-powerholders struggle to balance growing resistance to dominant discourse. In addition to the variations of subordinate consent, such as the “hidden transcript,” the dominant consent through their interactions with other high-power groups.

High-power groups consent to dominant beliefs and actions in order to preserve their dominant status. While “the inferiorized one believes he has to enhance his standing” through consent, “‘the Other’ is determined to keep his own superiority” (Fanon 2008: 186). The
Francophone elite, both today and historically, have consented to the French government in order to maintain a dominant status in Cameroonian society. Fanon claims that, “the black man who strives to whiten his race is as wretched as the one who preaches hatred of the white man” (Fanon 2008: xii).” To “whiten his race” implies to participate in the institutions of European racial domination, such as colonization, which some black elite have historically done. Further, Fanon argues that black people who aspire to partake in white domination through consent, are ultimately as dissatisfied and subordinated as lower-power groups. Sociology can provide insight into these issues regarding responsibility for consent to domination, and I explore this in the analysis of this thesis.

When Francophone Cameroonians (both the elite and non-elite) consent, they act as the transmitters of dominant institutions and ideologies, which subjugates Anglophones as inferior to the Francophone regime. Many Cameroonians today value and reinforce the dominance of French institutions due to the French colonial policy that strived for the “assimilation” of the people in the region of Cameroon. Anglophone Cameroonians may also consent to domination, in their active collusion with the unequal government or participation in French culture and institutions. Since those who “best” assimilated to French culture received the most socio-economic benefit from the colonial system, the greatest consenters to French domination are still at the top of the Cameroonian social hierarchy. This hierarchy is accompanied by economic benefit (for the dominant) in the French-founded system, which financially fuels the success of the relations of domination in present-day Cameroon. This history of domination has structured a system of inequality, whose stratification has exacerbated tensions between Francophones and Anglophones.

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9 Often, Anglophones who consent to dominant power experience elite socio-economic status or relationship to elite Francophones.
The Francophone elite and majority government in Cameroon play unique roles as both dominators and consenters. Following the departure of colonists and reunification in 1961, the Francophone elite have served as the primary dominators in the region until today. Scott explains that domination (through a Gramscian lens), “represents an institutionalized arrangement for appropriating labor, goods, and services from a subordinate population,” who do not enjoy “political or civil rights” (Scott 1990: x). The Francophone government and elite in Cameroon establish and enforce institutions that exploit Anglophones politically, economically and socially for the benefit of Francophones. Consequently, Anglophones do not share the same political and civil rights, as they are prevented from running for many political roles. In addition, thousands have become refugees (Atanga 2011; Journal du Cameroun 2019). Although Cameroon is legally considered to be independent, France and the French colonial legacy are still very relevant in the discourse of domination. The origins and framework of Cameroonian society today are derived from (French) colonization and hence the accompanying systems and governance may be attributed to (French) colonists as the dominators. The Cameroonian Francophone elite gained societal power from their collusion with colonists, which allowed them to climb the social hierarchy designed by the French. In the colonial era, the Francophone elite were still subordinate to French colonists and could only progress through consent to their own domination. In addition, Cameroon is still economically and politically dependent and indebted to France, in the manner of a neocolonial relationship. Although the Francophone elite are the dominators in the current political context, the historical legacy of colonization and continued economic dependence on France also defines them as consenters. Furthermore, I analyze how the Francophone elite
and government’s dominating relationship with Anglophones is also consent to colonial domination.

*From Gramscian “Hegemony” to Foucauldian “Structuralism”*

While Gramsci provides the foundation for the understanding of hegemonic forces in relation to Marxist class conflict, social theorist Michel Foucault contributes critical aspects of structuralism to the discourse of domination. Although both are included within this paper, Gramsci and Foucault come from notably different historical and theoretical traditions. Firstly, Gramsci wrote most of his works between 1916-1937 from the confines of Italian prisons (Forgacs 1988). In accordance with the rise of fascism during this period and his personal state of incarceration, his writing involves the idea of a working-class revolution. On the other hand, Foucault as a writes as a prestigious academic during a of French intellectualism and structuralism between the 1960-1980s (Rainbow 1984). Due to Foucault’s differing historical conditions, he suggests more theoretical and distanced perspectives on the deconstruction of domination than the revolutionary thought of Gramsci.

From these differing theoretical conditions, Gramsci and Foucault contribute separate yet important aspects to the nuanced understanding of domination as outlined in this paper. While I employ Gramscian theory to define hegemonic forces and the conditions of revolution,10 I utilize Foucauldian theory to explore the construction of discourse and social systems, in addition to the productivity of power. One way in which I discuss the structuralist aspects of discourse is through the examination of classification and identification. For example, in order to understand the forces of domination and consent, I deconstruct the concept and meaning of colonization within the historical contextualization of Cameroon.

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10 The “War of Position” and the “War of Manoeuvre.”
**Historical Legacy**

*“Colonization,” “Occupation” and “Administered Territories”*

The French and British mandate and trusteeship systems in Cameroon and throughout Africa occurred outside of traditional definition of “colonization.” Both nations legally considered themselves to be “administering” the territories rather than as colonizing. However, the act of occupying a territory without informed consent and administering the territory with exploitive policies is reflective of the colonial era. “Colonization,” describes the forceful invasion of a territory, involuntary submission and subjection, political and economic domination, and cultural genocide (Delgado and Stefancic 1998). All of these processes occurred during the mandate and trusteeship periods. Through the use of the term “administering territory” rather than “colony,” France and Britain are perpetuating a certain type of dominant discourse that normalizes and rationalizes colonialism.

James Scott, a contemporary political scientist who develops and critiques Gramscian theory of domination, refers to dominant discourse as the “public transcript”:

> The public transcript is — barring a crisis — systematically skewed in the direction of the libretto, the discourse, represented by the dominant. In ideological terms the public transcript will typically… provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse. (1990: 4)

The use of the “public transcript” or dominant discourse in literature or conversation legitimizes its worth and application to particular scenarios. For example, the dominant discourse of “administration” legitimizes the colonial structures that France and Britain created as “acceptable” institutions. Although France and Britain did not consider Cameroon a colony, it is important to understand that it was treated as such and that the manifestation of their occupations reflect that of imposed colonization. Recognition of the reality of colonization is crucial to understanding its impact on the communities that it victimized.
Similarly, the acknowledgement of colonial history in current public discourse of the Anglophone Crisis, can initiate the deconstruction of colonial institutions and progression towards peace. A key product of colonial dominant discourse was the creation of the terms and ethno-lingual identities of “Francophone” and “Anglophone.”

“Francophone” and “Anglophone”

The understanding of “Francophone” and “Anglophone” identities can be explored through Michel Foucault’s social theory of “genealogy,” which is situated within the body’s “imprint” and “destruction” by history (Foucault 2010: 83). Genealogy, as a tool to understand identity construction, is derived from a series of historical forces such as domination and consent. As “genealogy” reestablishes systems of “subjection” through “the hazardous play of dominations,” (Foucault 2010: 83) relations of force are ingrained into a historical timeline. These perpetuating histories of domination and subordination have continued and developed into modern inequalities, such as the Anglophone Crisis.

While the terms “Anglophone” and “Francophone” appear to describe the difference between being a native speaker of English or French, this definition lacks the complete sociohistorical context of Cameroon. Rather, the terms denote if someone originates from a Cameroonian region that was previously occupied by the British or French, and subsequently their socialization into their respective institutions. Furthermore, one can have the native language of English while living in a Francophone region and vice versa.

“Francophone” and “Anglophone” are products of colonial genealogy that has forced two separate identities by different imposed institutions. The genealogy of the Anglophone Crisis has developed a system of domination and subordination that has perpetuated the differences between the two populations even in their categorization. Categorization is
ingrained within the “order of things” in our taxonomy and social systems and that over time, garners legitimacy in its reproduction in societal institutions (Foucault 2010). The classifications in the taxonomy of a language allow for the possibility to “name, speak, and think” (Foucault 1970: xix). The two populations of “Francophone” and “Anglophone” are categorized with consequent power distinctions within their names. While each could be referred to as “Cameroonian,” the power distinction is made between “Francophone” and “Anglophone” as dominant and subordinate, not to be confused with one another. The separation between the two cultural groups is legitimized through official and unofficial discourse, which perpetuates the conflict and differences between them. Additionally, the use of colonial discourse is consent to the dominators that initially categorized Cameroonians as “Francophones” and “Anglophones” under such a devastating system.

Similar to the genealogy of discourse, people do not exist separately from their historical context that has formed their bodies and selves. Rather than a unique and “coherent identity,” the self is created in part from a series of forgotten events of history (Foucault 2010: 81). The individual identities of Francophones and Anglophones cannot be removed from their historical context; thus, the terms do not only pertain to language but to their colonial legacies as well. Following these separatist categorizations of “Francophones” and “Anglophones,” the contradictory concept of unity through the “reunification” of the colonial territories was imposed by France and Britain.

**Forced Separation to Forced Unity**

Preceding colonization and occupation, Cameroon did not have the same national and territorial boundaries that exist today, nor did it have a unified national government (Fanso 2017). Instead, Cameroon was inhabited by more than “150 distinct peoples” as “one of the
most pluralistic African states” (Atanga 2011: 1), with respective social, political, judicial, and religious institutions (Fanso 2017). The conceptualization of Cameroon as a cohesive state and people, rather than a series of independent ethnic groups is an imposition of colonial discourse and law that has birthed the “Cameroonian” identity.

The terms “unification” and “reunification” are notably distinguished as concepts with separate meanings. “Unification,” refers to the physical unification of the territories of British and French Cameroon, “that was realized in the formation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961” (Fanso 2017: 310). Comparatively, “reunification” carries the symbolic meaning of the “dream” of reuniting the territories in German Cameroon (Fanso 2017: 310). All roots of nationalism and a unified Cameroon identity are derived from this German colonial era, as no Cameroonian nation existed before this time (Fanso 2017). Along with the unnatural separatism encouraged by French and British occupation, “reunification” also imposes a colonial ideal to a territory that had never been unified. Although national unification was eventually realized, the sentiment of “reunification” and togetherness has arguably yet to be achieved due to the hostilities between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon, heightened during the crisis.

Instead of through a natural development, the discourse of colonial Cameroon manufactured the ideas of both separation and unification. Even the name “Cameroon” did not exist until the German colonial masters named the prescribed territory as such in 1884. Linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, grants explanation that language as a social system and

11 French and British colonization in Cameroon occurred as reparation for German war crimes during World War I (Fanso 2017). Although German colonization is important in the history of Cameroon, I have chosen to focus on French and British colonization, as they are more relevant to the development of the Anglophone Crisis.
institution creates our reality through signification (1916). The signified, which are ideas such as the nation of Cameroon and its political separation and unification, do not exist without its signifiers such as, “Kamerun,”\textsuperscript{12} “unification” or “reunification.” The people of this region had a separate distinct discourse of “tribe,” “chief” or “village” that was overhauled by the colonial system of signifiers. For Bourdieu, a “nation” itself is merely an “abstract group based on law,” that normalizes “the products of linguistic habitus”\textsuperscript{(1991: 48)}. From the foundation of the state, language permeates all social institutions from politics and economic affairs while primarily reproducing through educational practices. Today, the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis can be seen as a struggle to conform to the colonial ideals that have produced “Cameroonians” as one nation with two separate colonial identities: “Anglophone” and “Francophone.” These two separate identities were formed through different colonial policies and relations of force, that ultimately produced Francophones as the dominant group.

\textit{French Colonial Policy}

The relations of domination and consent within French colonial strategy assured its strength and longevity in comparison to British colonial policy. The most prominent French colonial policy was “assimilation,” which aimed to develop colonies into “political divisions of the French state,” by “assimilating or absorbing French colonial subjects [as] Frenchmen linguistically, culturally, politically, and legally”\textsuperscript{(Fanso 2017: 215)}. These policies were routed in French domination and subsequently the subordination and consent of perceived inferior civilizations. Over time, assimilation developed into a “selective policy that was applied only to those Africans who ‘proved worthy’ of it” through their adaptation to French

\textsuperscript{12} Original name for German Cameroon

Assimilation developed through the colonial policy of “association,” that produced a categorization of Franco-African elite. Association seeks for the “collaboration between French rulers and the indigenous elite,” and represents more as a placeholder towards assimilation rather than a separate colonial strategy (Fanso 2017: 216). The Cameroonian “indigenous elite” functioned as an “intermediary group between the French officials and the traditionally oriented masses,” who often assimilated so much that they forgot their own culture (Fanso 2017: 217). Through the administration of colonial practice and collusion with colonizers, the Francophone elite internalized and consented to the transmission of domination to indigenous groups. Although the elite reaped the greatest potential benefit from the colonial system, they were still subordinate to the dominant interests that they reinforced. Simultaneously as Francophone elite took hold of society, colonists excluded Cameroonians who did not consent to domination.

The final concept of “differentiation” is “a feature of assimilation and association,” with the objective to separate people “who had advanced closer to assimilation” than traditional Africans (Fanso 2017: 217). Cameroonians with “French citizenship or a good education” were considered as “‘assimilated’” or “‘evolved’” (Fanso 2017: 217). These individuals were treated differently than those who had not assimilated (as successfully) and were subjected to “native treatment,” “compulsory labor,” or arbitrary “disciplinary penalties” (Fanso 2017: 217). The colonial strategy of differentiation is a precursor to modern social stratification as the colonized were physically separated, rewarded or
penalized depending on their degree of assimilation. The greater the consent to French domination and interest, the more reward would be bestowed unto the individual and furthermore a higher societal status. On the other hand, those who did not comply were subject to difficult labor, at the bottom sector of both the economic and social hierarchies. This policy is also racist, as it views the adoption of French culture as superior and demonizes those who practice indigenous cultures. As a historical consequence, the stratification exercised through differentiation created the systemic conditions for the overwhelming Francophone majority in power today. Differentiation as a sub-policy of assimilation, contributes to power relations that perpetuate hegemonic forces.

The various components of assimilation may be viewed as the transmission of power relations and discourse, which may be applied to Foucault’s concept of the “docile.” Over time, the individual internalizes and reproduces the power relations of punishment and the gaze of the dominant class, creating the “docile body.” Politics, “as a technique of internal peace and order, [seeks] to implement the mechanism of the perfect army, of the disciplined mass, of the docile” (Foucault 2010: 185). The social institution of the “state” aims to transform populations into “acceptable” versions that will serve the agenda of the societal order. Docile bodies do not require the same level of external governing and will also govern others in place of the state. For this reason, assimilation fostered a greater relationship of domination and subordination than the British, “indirect rule,” because Francophone Cameroonians learned to discipline themselves to serve the French colonial agenda.

Foucault’s concept of “the docile” is similar to the embodiment of the relation of consent. The consent transmitted through “the docile” strengthen domination and the perpetual hegemonic relationship. In Cameroon, Francophones and Anglophones self-
regulate as “docile bodies,” reflecting the internalization of their subjection to domination by assimilation. The success of assimilation as a colonial policy has contributed to the Francophone domination in Cameroon today. This position of domination is maintained and strengthened as assimilation has been adopted as the political strategy towards the Anglophone Crisis. The legacy of assimilation is reproduced through the French education system that was established in French colonial Cameroon.

The traditional Cameroonian education system changed drastically under French rule, which created certain “benefits” through forced submission to French language and culture. The French administration expanded upon previous German establishments, which included missionary-founded Christian schools (Fanso 2017). Public schools (“lycées”) were also implemented based on the French education system, including primary and eventually secondary and post-secondary education (Fanso 2017). However, as many schools were aligned with missionaries and churches, colonial education came with the price of Christian conversion and indoctrination. Education is highly influential in the internalization of a language and its political context. Pierre Bourdieu identifies the schoolmaster as a “teacher of speaking [and] thinking,” who functions to indoctrinate the “common consciousness of the nation” into children through legitimate language and law (1991: 49). For French colonists, the ultimate goal of education was the assimilation of Cameroonians to the dominant language of French.

Official languages are politically normalized as, “the language;” imposing a singular “legitimate language” on a “whole population,” that is inherently bound to the state and “social uses” (Bourdieu 1991: 45). While Cameroon is categorized as a bilingual country, French is the only recognized language in major national affairs and furthermore is treated as
a “legitimate language.” From the foundation of the state, the legitimate language penetrates all social institutions from politics to economics and is especially reproduced through education. Even in public schools, “the leading aim of French education was to spread… knowledge of the French language throughout Cameroon” (Fanso 2017: 223). Furthermore, it is difficult to conclude that occupiers had pure intentions to provide “progress” to the children of Cameroon, but rather used education as a means of French and Christian assimilation. Colonists and missionaries believed they were providing such “progress” by introducing established institutions of the Christian religion and European education in Cameroon, because they perceived the existing tribal institutions to be inferior. Rather, the teaching of the French language allowed colonists to attain better political, economic and social control over the regions they occupied. What is unique about the education system, is that it serves as a reproduction of collective ideals, institutions, values, beliefs and worldview. Thus, the colonial infiltration of this system is essential to perpetuate both domination and consent of the subordinated with the interests and values of the dominators.

French colonial education also played a role in the docility and susceptibility of Cameroonians to consent to domination, through the enforcement of Christianity. The discourse of Christianity establishes its subjects as “sinners,” in need of unending humility, forgiveness and repentance. The imposition of Christianity is justified by racist assumptions, as outlined by Martinican post-colonial theorist, Aimé Césaire:

Le grand responsable dans ce domaine [de supériorité] est le pédantisme chrétien, pour avoir posé les équations malhonnêtes : christianisme = civilisation ; paganisme = sauvagerie… dont les victimes devaient être les Indiens, les Jaunes, [et] let Nègres.13 (2004: 10)

13 “The chief culprit in this domain [of superiority] is Christian pedantary, which laid down the dishonest equations Christianity = civilization, paganism = savagery, from there which could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences, whose victims would be the Indians, the Yellow peoples, and the Negroes.”
Christianity perpetuated racial domination through the demonization of black peoples, who did not ascribe to its religious doctrines. Black people were characterized as “primitive” (Césaire 2004) and in need of saving by whites who brought the supposed truth of Christianity. The Christian justification employed during colonization, rationalized the infliction of colonial domination and necessitated the submission of blacks to a “higher power” that was administered through colonists as religious leaders and educators.

The nature of missionary schools in Cameroon parallels the evangelization of the Tswana people of present-day South Africa, as exposed by historians John and Jean Comaroff. Missionaries in this region believed in the “elevation of a people from a state of barbarism to a high pitch of civilization [that] supposes a revolution in the habitus of that people” (Mackenzie, as cited in Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). Similar to Césaire, Comaroff and Comaroff explain how missionaries justified their actions through the perceived inferiority of African peoples and their civilizations, which necessitated their complete cultural and societal transformation. Transformation occurred in this Christian doctrine through labor, as “cultivation” and “salvation” were associated with one another (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). When missionaries in South Africa were able to justify forced labor with the salvation of the Tswana people, they created an opening for the economic exploitation of colonialism. As explained by colonist, William Somerville, the greater the infiltration of Christianity to Tswana, the “greater benefit would accrue to Society as well as themselves” (Somerville, as cited in Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). Furthermore, the imposition of Christianity in Tswana and other indigenous cultures around the world functioned more as an economic benefit to colonists than a “gift” of salvation. One of the
primary modes of societal exploitation through Christian indoctrination occurred through Christian education.

Christian education taught in colonial contexts as a power utility to discipline the colonized into consent to domination, often physically punishing those who did not worship properly. Power becomes more effective when “subordinate” populations internalize domination and self-discipline without external authority. Through Christian education, Cameroonians learned to self-correct potential deviance from French rule and to humble themselves to authority. In this manner, power “invests” in the dominated, “is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure on them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them” (Foucault 2010: 174). Foucault suggests that while power is exercised directly from one group to another, subordinated groups transmit and internalize power. By the pressure of power relations, subjugated populations learn to modify their (and other’s) bodies, actions and beliefs to fit the dominant “gaze”\(^{14}\) or “political utopia” (Foucault 2010: 192). Subsequently, subordinates internalize the agenda of the dominant and transmit power by modifying their behavior to fit the political objectives of a system of domination.

Christian French education in Cameroon promoted power relations of domination and consent as a socio-political strategy. These relations of power encompass “bodies… acts, attitudes, and modes of everyday behavior,” that both precede and “extend beyond the limits of the state” (Foucault 2010: 64, 66). Power and consent to domination may be seen in every

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\(^{14}\) The “gaze” describes the system of relations that maintains a hierarchy of domination and subordination in a society. In the “gaze,” subordinate peoples police their own and other’s actions, thoughts, and bodies to fit the political machine of the dominant (Foucault 2010). The internalization of the “gaze” is an example of consent to domination, where subordinate peoples modify themselves and others in accordance with the agenda of the dominant.
interaction and level of Cameroonian society including language, interpersonal relations, and politics. The French education system in Cameroon functioned to both reproduce the legitimacy of one language and prepare Cameroonians to consent to domination. The policy of assimilation within French institutions (such as education) strengthened power relations, while colonial policy fostered different relations of domination and consent.

**British Colonial Policy**

As assimilation transformed indigenous groups into cultural and linguistic “Frenchmen,” the British colonial policy of “Indirect Rule” lacked the same intensity of relations of force. Indirect rule involves indigenous representatives in administration and the semi-maintenance of traditional institutions (Fanso 2017), while securing direction from and allegiance to their colonial masters. An indirect administration was believed to be adopted due to a shortage of British administrators to oversee colonial implementation directly, as well as the denial of the capability of a shared “identity” between Africans and Europeans (Fanso 2017: 240). However, preservation of traditional practice was merely an effect of the racial justification of the colonial policy. The colonial policies of “assimilation” and “indirect rule” both share alarmingly racist assumptions, from two different approaches. For example, the French assimilated Cameroonians because they believed that traditional cultures were invalid and “savage” (Césaire 2004). Conversely, the British colonists ruled indirectly due to the assumption that Cameroonians could not share the same culture and sense of identity as Europeans (Fanso 2017). Similar to British opinion, however, assimilation did not value equality as very few Francophone Cameroonians ever obtained equal citizenship (Markovitz, as cited in Atanga 2011: 39). Although “indirect rule” was implemented due to insufficient
economic development and racist assumptions about indigenous peoples, the policy preserved more local cultures and institutions.

In British Cameroon through the “evolution of political institutions: the ideal African rural life was to be disturbed as little as possible, and at the same time, Africans were encouraged to disrupt the traditional pattern of the economy” (Markovitz, as cited in Atanga: 31-32). While indirect rule was implemented due to resource shortage,\(^\text{15}\) the policy itself valued a more “hands-off” approach through the partial maintenance of traditional African institutions. Thus, the Anglophone regions did not experience the same assimilation into colonial institutions and cultural genocide of their traditional practices, as in Francophone Cameroon. This key difference in policy did not promote the same level of consent to colonial domination, which influenced Anglophone susceptibility to Francophone domination upon unification of the territories.

It is important to note that in addition to an indirect approach to colonial policy, the subsequent domination of Anglophone Cameroon was influenced through economic neglect from Britain. As Cameroon was considered a sub-territory of British-Nigeria, little investment and development was made to it, leaving British-Cameroon “neglected,” “poor,” “isolated,” and “dominated” (Fanso 2017: 251). Consequently, the lack of economic infrastructure and investment during colonization significantly contributed to the current Francophone government’s ability to almost exclusively control economic affairs in

\(^{15}\) As Cameroon was considered a sub-territory of British-Nigeria, little investment and development made to it. Additionally, implementation of “Indirect Rule” had not been as successful as in Nigeria, particularly in Southern Cameroon, as it was confronted with resistance (Fanso 2017). The insufficient economic infrastructure and investment during colonization plays a significant role in the current government’s ability to almost exclusively control economic affairs in Anglophone regions. Although Anglophone Cameroon resisted total economic colonization, it was more vulnerable to the aggressive nature of French economic policy upon unification.
Anglophone regions. In addition to minimal economic infrastructure, the nature of the educational system in British Cameroon weakened potential colonial domination.

While the French education system laid a strong foundation for the reproduction of domination, the Anglophone education system did so to a lesser extent due to insufficient investment and preservation of traditional practices and languages. The goals of the British-Nigerian\textsuperscript{16} education system were to teach English and provide “practical training,” while adapting the curriculum to “the African cultural background” and local vernacular (Fanso 2017: 244). Although the British education system was similar to the French which required the acquisition of the colonial language, the British administration committed greater effort to incorporate local realities into the system; for example, the inclusion of local dialects into instruction. The varying approaches to education are a key difference between assimilation and indirect rule, in which assimilation aspires to completely transform the “subject.” Comparatively, indirect rule relies on the local population to implement authority while maintaining some traditional culture. British colonial policy still undeniably fostered relations of domination through its racist origins that demeaned the intellectual and cultural capabilities of blacks. In their transformation of local institutions, however, the education system in Anglophone Cameroon promoted a greater degree of cultural preservation and autonomy. With greater maintenance of indigenous institutions and culture, dominance was reproduced to a lesser extent within the British education system than in the French. But as assimilation strengthened the institutions and domination of Francophone Cameroon, indirect rule left Anglophone Cameroon unprepared to negotiate the power disparity upon unification.

\textsuperscript{16} The Cameroonian education system was based on the system already present in Nigeria, which was another British colony at the time.
Following unification of French and British Cameroon in 1961, the newly-independent government quickly enforced the continuation of Francophone dominance. Over time, French colonialism “has come to affect every facet of contemporary politics in Cameroon” (Atanga 2011: 54). The creation of the Constitution was a significant historical event that structured inequality into the base of Cameroonian politics. At the 1961 Federal Constitutional Conference, discussion lasted merely “95 minutes” and the Constitution had only been drafted in French (Dze-Ngwa 2006). This amount of time did not allow for proper translation or deliberation regarding the Constitution’s content, which historically excluded Anglophones from equality in the federation. In fact, the finalization of the Constitution was held in Yaoundé without the invitation of “the entire Anglophone delegation,” omitting the “wishes of the Anglophones” from the content of the Constitution (Dze-Ngwa 2006: 94).

The Cameroonian Constitution is an example of how French was ingrained as the “legitimate language” (Bourdieu) from the beginning of independence. The lack of inclusion of the English language is a dismissal of both the British colonial legacy and disregard for Anglophone people as Cameroonians. Since French colonialism viewed Cameroon as an extension of themselves in the colonial policy of “assimilation,” Francophone domination required the total assimilation of Anglophones in addition to their own people. This perpetuation of French institutions in the new Cameroonian government required the dominance of Francophone culture through the silencing of Anglophones. During the Constitutional conferences, Francophone representatives consented to French domination through the marginalization of Anglophones. Francophone representatives reproduced the
same kind of colonial system through the Constitution that marginalized particular groups for
the benefit of the dominant.

Through a Gramscian lens, people may not always consent passively but rather
actively consent to their own domination. As Francophones consent to their historical
colonial masters, Anglophones simultaneously consent to Francophone dominance.
Anglophone author, Mufor Atanga,17 argues that the “Anglophone elite” in particular entered
a “hegemonic alliance” with the Francophone “post-colonial regime,” that contributed to the
domination of Anglophones while Cameroon forged its independence (2011: xiv). Atanga
suggests that Anglophone elite actively consented to Francophone domination, which
reinforced the hegemonic relations of force. Regarding the first Constitutional conference,
Atanga noted that Anglophones minimally expressed opposition to the contents of the
Constitution (2011). For example, Dr. E. M. L. Endley, opposition leader of Southern
Cameroon, even made a press statement referring to the conference as “successful” (Press
Release No. 1468, as cited in Atanga 2011). The support for and insufficient opposition to
the federal Constitution is an example of how the Anglophone elite have consented to
Francophone domination, despite the negative impact it would have on the Anglophone
population. This formation of the federation based on unequal conditions significantly
impacted subsequent Anglophone subordination in Cameroonian society.

17 Atanga provides a rare opportunity at understanding the Anglophone Crisis through an Anglophone
perspective, whose voices are often censored by the Cameroonian government. In this piece, Atanga dispels the
myth that Cameroon was always one but rather a region of ethnic and tribal diversity, where colonists imposed
the idea of separate linguo-ethnic identities and then unity. Further, he argues that the union of the two countries
was not necessarily welcomed as a product of colonization. Atanga states that rather than colonization itself, the
conditions of the constitution and constitutional negotiation permitted the inequality that compounded into the
crisis. However, this author also critiques Anglophone elites in Cameroon politics, arguing that Anglophone
collusion, apathy and disorganization ultimately are responsible for the Anglophone “predicament.” While the
Anglophone elite may have contributed to marginalization, his argument places more blame on Anglophones
than the institutions that founded and primarily perpetuate inequality (including colonization and the current
Francophone system).
Although the consent of Anglophones to their own domination is a critical contribution to the discourse of the Anglophone Crisis, there may also be other explanations for Anglophone activity during the Constitutional conferences. As mentioned, the draft of the Constitution was only originally written in French, thus it is unlikely that Anglophone representatives would have substantive responses to the document. Additionally, Atanga mentions that the Anglophone elite likely supported the Constitutional conference because they believed that collaboration with Francophones would limit the subordination of Anglophones and create societal harmony (Atanga 2011). Perhaps in this case, consent to domination may have occurred due to this hope to equalize power relations. Nonetheless, the silencing and insufficient contribution of Anglophones in the Constitutional process propelled historical inequalities into a system of domination.

As democracy withered, Cameroon prioritized Francophone discourse and excluded Anglophone discourse. Foucault asserts that different types of discourse produce different systems and “ways of being” (2010); but what if one “way of being” is completely eliminated? Through a Foucauldian lens, limitation of discourse pertains to a “‘regime’ of truth” that involves a “circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain [dominant discourse]” (2010: 74). Foucault’s circular relation of systems may be perceived as Gramsci’s reinforcing powers of domination and consent. As dominant discourse prevails, subordinate realities are “displaced” in a “profusion of lost events” (Foucault 2010: 81). Furthermore, as a “regime of truth” is created from the Francophone narrative, Anglophone culture loses power and is diminished.

Early Cameroonian government encouraged a “regime of truth” (Foucault) with the elimination of multiple political parties and the Federal Republic. The forceful formation of
the single Cameroon National Union (CNU) party in 1966 was a tactic of political domination by Francophone leaders (Dze-Ngwa 2006). The CNU’s next strategy as a single party, under the leadership of President Ahidjo, became a “political weapon for usurping the powers of Anglophone leaders and marginalizing them” (Dze-Ngwa 2006: 145). Once the parties merged, Anglophone representatives were assigned “second-class” positions (Dze-Ngwa 2006), allowing Francophone leaders to assume the most powerful positions. The elimination of egalitarian political representation indicated the diversion from democratic practices, which escalated Francophone domination. With one political party and insufficient Anglophone representation in the government, Anglophone discourse was removed from the domain of power. The permission of only one discourse promotes a “regime of truth” that only legitimizes dominant (Francophone) ideologies and structures. However, this “regime of truth” was also a tool of French colonial masters, who had previously destroyed many tribal cultures through the enforcement of French culture by assimilation. Francophone Cameroon’s adoption of this colonial-like policy of domination consents to the desires of their colonial masters, as they strive to physically and culturally control all the territory of present-day Cameroon. This political homogeneity in the government would translate into social and economic marginalization in the rest of Cameroonian affairs.

Along with the elimination of multiple political parties, independent Cameroon ended the federal republic. The federation was the sole condition that unification of French and British Cameroon was founded upon, which quickly dissolved with the increase of Francophone political control. Before the unification of previously occupied territories and the birth of the federation, Francophone Cameroon had named itself “La Republique du Cameroun” or “the Republic of Cameroon” (Dze-Ngwa 2006). This is the name that the
federation was changed to when current president, Paul Biya, ascended to power in 1984 (Dze-Ngwa 2006). The name change did not initially accompany policy changes as elimination of federal policy occurred slowly over time. The change from “federal republic” to “republic” is a prime example of how the signifiers create the signified (Saussure 1916). The removal of “federal” only carried significance in its name, whose symbolic categorization granted the legitimacy to the elimination of democratic practice. In addition, categories and signifiers indicate meaning through the symbols and meanings they exclude (Saussure 1916). “The Republic” indicates that Cameroon is not “federal” and thus not democratic or equitable. The symbolic removal of the name of the “federation” enabled the erosion of federal and democratic practices over time.

Symbolic categorization and its accompanying societal impacts are a component of language. Languages, as systems of thought and classification that precede reality, are determinants of social order which can reinforce institutional marginalization (Foucault 1970). Within every culture, language involves the use of “codes” and “reflections upon order itself” that creates particular “ways of being” (Foucault 1970: xxi). The categorization of “republic” from “federal republic” allowed for the legitimization of the social reality of inequality, by signifying that dominant Cameroonian discourse does not support equitable political participation. Consequently, the elimination of the federal republic set the stage for the Cameroonian government to deny the suffering that instigated the Anglophone Crisis.
Current Crisis Dynamics

Political Response

The likelihood of [Biya’s] victory is beyond reasonable doubt. I am confident that the game is already done. — Issa Tchiroma Bakary, Cameroon Government Spokesperson (Maclean 2018b)

The attitude of President Paul Biya and the Francophone-dominated government has been to deny and suppress the existence of the Anglophone Crisis. Part of the government strategy has been to reduce unrest by force in a sense of artificial peace, also known as “negative peace” (Dze-Ngwa 2006). “Negative peace” encompasses imposed and inorganic measures of peace, for the sake of internal security that ultimately lead to escalation or the resurgence of conflict (Dze-Ngwa 2006), as resolution does not consider the needs and interests of all parties involved and is rather focused on the interest the dominant within their own institutions.

“Negative peace” can be viewed as a form of “warlike domination” (Foucault 2010), as the dominant class determines the discourse and conditions of “peace.” Peace often being the silencing of the subordinated in order to continue dominant “ways of being.” While armed suppression of violence is a form of negative peace, Foucault helps us to understand that true “negative peace” and “warlike domination” by the state is waged within institutions. One way that war is waged in institutions is through censorship. Judith Butler explains that the State can “not only [constrain] speech, but in the very act of constraining, produces legally consequential speech” (1997: 97). Through censorship, the Cameroonian government makes certain types of speech and thus certain types of discourse illegal. However, censorship does not reduce the desire to produce alternative speech and discourse and invites the violation of prohibition (Butler 1997). While the Cameroonian government aspires to
reduce what they describe as the Anglophone “problem,” the silencing of the Anglophone voice will only escalate the conflict and desire for radical change.

Following the drastic escalation of the Anglophone Crisis, President Biya and the Cameroonian administration have changed their tactic of silence to denial and suppression of deviants. One manner that the dominant attempt “to atomize subordinates [is] by removing or penetrating any autonomous domain of communication” (Scott 1990: 127). In recent revolutions and uprisings such as the Arab Spring and the Libyan Revolution, the internet and social media have been critical to the organization of protest and revolt. By removing this source of autonomy and power from subordinates, the dominant are able to concentrate their sphere of influence and restrict dissent. In Cameroon, the government responded to protests with three months of severed internet connection and “repressive curfews” in Anglophone regions, which resulted in the death of 40 civilians (Zongo 2018). Cutting internet is a method to isolate people from information and communication, as well as to silence the communication of alternative discourse. Rather than acknowledging the problem, these government tactics attempt to eliminate certain discourses by force and “negative peace.”

The administration’s manipulation of the dominant narrative though goes beyond the attempt to block certain voices to the criminalization of deviation. Sociological theory depicts how incarceration is an adaptation of “the asylum,” that functions to remove and hide societal deviants from the dominant population (Foucault 2010). Foucault describes that “the asylum” as a “domain of pure morality [and] ethical uniformity. Everything that might retain the signs of the old differences [is] eliminated” (2010: 148). President Biya’s administration, similarly to “the asylum,” demands uniformity with Francophone domination in all aspects of
society in the same manner as French colonial assimilation. In this way, the Cameroonian government attempts to erase the “old differences” (Foucault) of a separate British colonization.

Particularly, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications in Yaoundé has actively penalized the spread of subjective “false news” with the notification of punishments such as “long jail terms” (BBC News 2017). This censorship and criminalization of speech is an example of how the government is attempting to silence narratives that criticize them, by either killing or confining deviants of the regime. In order to maintain the current system of domination, Francophones attempt to neutralize forces of resistance that threaten the balance of hierarchical power relations; however, such maintenance requires the silencing of Anglophone discourse through the extreme punishment of death and detainment.

Francophones consent to their previous domination through the erasure of the Anglophone voice and culture, in a manner that is reminiscent of the erasure of tribal histories and livelihoods during colonization.

**Economic Marginalization**

A socio-political conflict, such as the Anglophone Crisis, may not exist without an economic foundation to fund it. Gramsci expresses that “fundamental historical crises are directly determined by economic crises” (1988: 208). His work concerns the Marxist conception of the structure (or economic base) and the (cultural) superstructure. Those who own the means of production or the economic base (capitalists) are mutually reinforced by all aspects of society or the cultural superstructure (Gramsci 1988: 192-193). Every part of

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18 The enforcement of the criminalization of false news in Cameroon rose after the Trump Administration the demonized “fake news” in the United States (O’Grady). The actions taken by President Biya and his administration are legitimized in-part by international discourse, that sets the acceptable conditions for a democratic state.
society including religion, language, media, and politics are part of the “superstructure” that is determined by who controls economic affairs (the “structure”). In Cameroon, the Francophone government’s exploitation of Anglophone resources is part of the economic base for the cultural Francophone domination throughout its institutions. As understood through its historical legacy, French-colonized Cameroon had more sophisticated infrastructure and was more financially successful than British Cameroon. Due to the success of French colonial Cameroon, Francophones had the advantage to become economically dominant after independence.

In order to better understand the conflict and why the Francophone-dominated government is insistent upon national “unity,” the placement and use of natural resources must be acknowledged. Over time the Francophone-majority government has slowly siphoned the Western economy towards the Eastern, Francophone (Dze-Ngwa 2006). Approximately, “60% of the GDP of Cameroon is earned in Ambazonia as the “oil and wood are exploited by foreign companies, but the profits go to Yaoundé” (Ayaba as cited in Zongo, 2018). In fact, the entirety of the oil in Cameroon is located in the Anglophone South-West region, which has “reduced” Anglophones to “sorry spectators of events in the management of their oil wealth” (Cameroon Concord News 2017). While the majority of natural resources are found in Anglophone Cameroon, they are accessed and capitalized by the Cameroonian government and industries in Francophone Cameroon. Administrative incentive to repress the conflict or abstain from secession, is derived from the economic benefit to the “structure” through the exploitation of resources and marginalization of

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19 “Cameroon formerly under French administration was economically more viable than Cameroon formerly under British administration.” (Dze-Ngwa 2006: 148-149)
20 Between Anglophones and Francophones.
21 Ambazonia is the separatist name for their independent state
Anglophones. The exploitation of Anglophones for the benefit of Francophones is consent to domination through the reproduction of the very system that the Francophones were once subject to.

_The “Hidden Hands” of the Crisis_

While France and Britain may have left Cameroon in the early 1960s, Western nations still have political and economic stakes in the country long after colonization. This continuance of international forces of domination within the nation have consequently strengthened President Biya’s regime and exacerbated the conflict.

Although France is no longer a direct colonizer of Cameroon, its economy continues to be dependent on France through neocolonial relations. Perhaps one of the most distinctive examples of the extension of colonization is the use of the franc in “all former French colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa” (Atanga 2011: 56). The franc is “an enormous advantage to French firms” with a substantial profit margin due to the continued use, inflation, and devaluation of the franc (Atanga 2011: 56).22 Through this dependency on the colonial economy, France can exert “economic and political leverage (Atanga 2011: 56). As Cameroon has fallen into significant debt with France, owing over 400 million dollars23 by 1993 alone (Le Messager, Atanga 2011: 58), France has become more directly involved in their economic affairs.

In the model of colonization, colonizers create a demand for their products and then charge a premium for the importation of those products post-colonization, compared to the low rate of exportation of the colony’s products. For this reason, the high import price of

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22 While France has joined the stable euro zone, its former colonies were left behind as the franc devalued over time.
23 Cameroon owed 273 billion FCFA, specifically.
French products has contributed to the high level of debt (Atanga 2011). As a result of this economic control, the French government has attained control over representatives of Cameroonian industries. Atanga describes this economic neocolonialism as “recolonization,” in which France has appointed directors Cameroon Airlines, the National Water Corporation, the School of Health Sciences, the Custom, and the Treasury (Cameroon Post, as cited in Atanga 2011: 58). France carries an indisputable “hidden hand” in the outcome of the Anglophone Crisis due to the continued use of the colonial franc, subsequent Cameroonian debt and French industrial control.

France has a significant grip on Cameroon as a former colony, while the Cameroonian economy has become dependent on the French as it emerged from the chains of colonization. Fanon explains that the term dependency must be put into context, as it is often a racialized argument to claim that blacks are psychologically inferior and are dependent on the superiority and wealth of whites. The subordinate does not create the dominant, rather, “it is the racist who creates the inferiorized” (Fanon 2008: 73). Throughout history, “the colonized Black Man” has “always [been] dependent on the presence of ‘the Other.’ … Every self-positioning or self-fixation maintains a relationship of dependency on the collapse of the other” (Fanon 2008: 186). A primary reason that Francophones consent to French domination is this notion of dependency on the (former) colonizer in order to survive. Due to the exploitative nature of colonization that financially binds the colony and the colonizer together, the state of Cameroon is economically unsustainable on its own. Through the lens

24 While studying abroad in Yaoundé, I was struck by the difference in price when shopping at local vendors than at the supermarket. When shopping at Cameroonian vendors or local markets, I was always able to eat a full meal with fresh ingredients for under the cost of 500 FCFA, or one U.S. dollar. Comparatively, when I craved chips or cheese at the supermarket, I often paid significantly more than I would in the United States for these products, as they were imported from France. For example, I might have paid 3500 FCFA for a small piece of cheese, which is about seven U.S. dollars.
of Fanon, this “dependency” occurs as a consequence of history, rather than a biological, racial or psychological incapability of the peoples of Cameroon. Before Western nations entered the region of Cameroon, various tribes had established methods of trading, that were disrupted by colonial agendas. In regards to responsibility for what Fanon describes as the “so-called dependency complex,” he believes “it’s colonization that needs to be put on trial!” (Fanon 2008: 77). If colonization had not occurred, it is unlikely that there would be any relationship of dependency between Cameroon and its former colonizers. In the model of Gramscian hegemony, economic domination is the basis to extend political, social and cultural domination. Then, in order to continue a relationship of economic domination and dependency, Western nations manipulate and reinforce political elections to secure representatives that will reproduce their economic agenda.

The United States in particular, as an ally of French and British interest, has played a role in the support of Paul Biya, the dictator-like president. In October of 2018, Cameroon held symbolic elections to continue the rule of President Biya, who has been in office since 1982. The Biya administration assured a “71 percent” victory through house raids, mass detainment, intimidation and voter fraud, along with many who (Anglophones and Francophones alike) were too afraid to vote (Maclean 2018c). Despite these overt violations of human rights and democracy, the United States continues to consider Cameroon as an “important partner” (O’Grady 2018a). Following the election, the U.S. State Department

25 Preceding colonization, the people living in the territory of Cameroon did not have imposed boundaries or trade restrictions, allowing goods and communication to flow more freely (Fanso 2017). The restriction of traditional trade with the imposition of European trade regulations, conveys the lack of regard for the indigenous people and their practices to pursue colonial interests: regardless of whether European methods would provide greater profit. The imposition of trade restrictions and lack of roads between the British and French sections is also an example of how the two occupying countries encouraged “othering” and separation. This practice set the stage for economic incompatibility and conflict as the two occupied regions were prevented trade and contact, which set the stage for the economic dysfunction that characterizes the Anglophone Crisis.
Spokeswoman, Heather Nauert, tweeted to congratulate Biya on a “‘largely peaceful election’” (Nauert, as cited in O’Grady 2018a). This discourse of “negative peace” is dangerous to the conflict narrative, as peace is so distant from the reality in Cameroon.

In addition to its relationship with previous European colonizers, the United States also has interest in Cameroon as a partner in counter-terrorism efforts. Fighting “Islamic religious extremism” has become a central part of the United States’ agenda particularly since the attacks on September 11, 2001. In order to encourage a sense of international security against the terroristic actions of Boko Haram, the United States and Israel have trained the “elite” Cameroonian military force (Searcey 2018a). However, this same military force trained by the United States and Israel has also been accused of “human rights abuses” (Searcey 2018a). While the U.S. intended to minimize the growth of Islamic terrorism, they also enabled the military to subsequently control and marginalize the Anglophone population. In addition to training, the United States government has also been accused of providing arms to the Cameroonian military (Searcey 2018a). The training of the Cameroonian military provided the foundation for militarized agenda that was reinforced through the provision of weapons. The United States as a third-party and “hidden hand” involved in the Anglophone Crisis has the privileged position to either escalate the conflict or

26 These two countries could also be accused of human rights abuses, both within their borders and internationally.
27 However, in a personal correspondence with Sibóhán O’Grady, a journalist for The Washington Post who reports on the Anglophone Crisis, explained that this dynamic has changed since U.S. involvement in Cameroon has been made public. Since the release of the articles in The New York Times and The Washington Post that expose this militarized relationship, the U.S. largely has ended support for the Cameroonian government and forces (O’Grady). Although the U.S. may have ceased to continue to provide weapons for the Biya regime, the Cameroonian military has become stronger and Anglophone lives have been lost as a result. Nevertheless, the change of U.S. policy towards Cameroon reveals the impact that the media can have on the dynamics of the conflict by indirectly placing pressure on state actors. Additionally, this change highlights that it is possible for the “hidden hands” of the crisis to contribute to conflict de-escalation by withdrawing support for violence.
encourage peacebuilding. By supporting the militarization of the Cameroonian forces, the United States is supporting further domination by the Biya administration.

Dominance is reinforced when “compliance” or consent to domination is “perceived as freely chosen” (Scott 1990: 109). When United States officials present Paul Biya — who is essentially a dictator from a country that many Americans may have never even heard of — peacefully to the media, they are contributing to the same dominant discourse that internally marginalizes Anglophones. The American consumers of this media are in turn less likely to question the dominance of the Biya administration, as they internalize a dangerous and unrealistic narrative. The discourse of “negative peace” also reinforces reproduction of domination in the government of the United States, because representatives do not denounce the Cameroon administration that has been cited for human rights abuses against its own people (Human Rights Watch 2018). The United States plays a key role (as a former colony of Britain and a colonist itself29) in the extension of domination in former colonies, through the reinforcement of a system that has been historically problematic and violent.

As illustrated by the “hidden hands” of the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis, the effects of colonization do not end after decolonization. Rather, the effects of colonization perpetuate a hegemonic relationship of domination and dependency, in which a former colony consents to the economic power of a former colonizer out of necessity. In addition, former colonizers do not wish to terminate their dominant status and actively manipulate a former colony’s economy and political narrative, in order to continue to exploit profit from their perceived

28 Simultaneously, the media consumer is a product of the nature of institutions, discourse, and power relations within a society as projected through the media. Furthermore, I argue that consumers do not choose attitudes towards events that are reported on, rather their attitudes are produced from the information that is available.

29 Due to its administration over the territories of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands (Department of Homeland Security 2018).
subordinates. For this reason, Francophone Cameroonians (particularly the elite) are still consenters to domination, because former colonizers perpetuate a colonial relationship from abroad and manipulate the internal power relations within these nations.

**Violence, Displacement, and Secession Movements**

We don’t recognize Biya as the president of the republic. We want Cameroonians to know that things will start happening now. We wouldn’t take this lying down. — *Maurice Kamto, Leader of the Opposition (Maclean 2018c)*

Cameroon is on the brink of a simultaneous genocide, civil war and revolution, after years of power inequalities building from colonial history. If the conflict has been occurring for so long, why has it now reached its “breaking point?” Rebellion begins with awareness of one’s own relationship to and transmission of domination. Gramsci states that subordinated “people already ‘feel’” the effects of domination “but do not ‘know’” the extent of its damage (1988: 323). Over time, members of marginalized populations are aware of the challenges of their daily lives. Simultaneously through the nature of consent, subordinated groups are coerced, both in formal and informal settings, to attribute this misery to their own shortcomings or to the “nature of things,” rather than societal domination. In order for the marginalized “to break out of [this] state of ‘moral and intellectual passivity’… an ideological struggle [of political hegemonies] must take place” (Gramsci 1988: 323). The first stage of the subordinate “ideological struggle” includes the “consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force” which will allow for progression towards a greater “self-consciousness” (Gramsci 1988: 334). Once a marginalized group, such as the Anglophones in Cameroon are aware of how they consent to their own domination, they may be able to critically challenge dominant structures and their interaction with them. In the case of the
Anglophone Crisis, greater awareness of societal injustices has ignited movements to counter the current establishment of power relations, namely Francophone domination.

According to Gramsci, a “crisis” does not function as a “breakdown,” but rather a “reorganization of society” (Sassoon 1980: xi). The peak of the Anglophone Crisis represents a turning point in history, in which the colonial institutions of Cameroonian society are disfavored and are being rejected. This “disunity” that characterizes the escalation of conflict or crisis is in essence “a reaction to unity” (Sassoon 1980: 131). As Francophone Cameroon consolidated power for the purpose of “unity” (for example, with the elimination of the federal republic and political parties, imposition of curfews and censorship), Anglophones could no longer maintain the status quo. Disunity and crisis are a reaction to domination that embody fabricated unity or “negative peace.”

In response to decades of consent to Francophone domination, Anglophones are no longer willing to tolerate the level of systemic exploitation that has spiraled into violence. Forced “compliance[,] not only fails to produce attitudes that would sustain that compliance in the absence of domination, but produces a reaction against such attitudes” (Scott 1990: 109). Years of political, economic and social marginalization by the Francophone-majority has left many Anglophones desperate for a solution. The most radical Anglophones who do not see an end to institutional marginalization have created a secessionist movement and have named Anglophone Cameroon, “Ambazonia,” which is equipped with its own lightly-armed militia, the “Ambazonia Defense Forces” (ADF) (Zongo 2018). The republic army and rebel (separatist) forces have recently become engaged in armed conflict which has led to death of combatants and civilians, as well as the displacement of inhabitants of the Anglophone regions. Communities located near rebel groups have attested to “village
burning,” “raping,” and random execution upon the arrival of republic reinforcement (Zongo 2018). Some are even beginning to call the conflict, “genocide” (Zongo 2018). As a result, an estimated 34,000\(^{30}\) Anglophones have fled to Nigeria to escape the violence, and to 40,000 people who are separately displaced in the South-West region (International Crisis Group 2018). This migration to Nigeria occurs despite that many Nigerians in recent years have fled to Cameroon to escape the danger of Boko-Haram.\(^{31}\) The increase of Anglophone Cameroonians risking Boko Haram, a militant terrorist group rather than their own government, is a testament to the grave nature of the inequality and violence existent in Cameroonian institutions. The Anglophone secessionist movement may be analyzed through the lens of Gramscian revolution. For Gramsci, a successful revolution of the subordinated class occurs in two phases: 1) the “War of Position” and 2) the “War of Manoeuvre” (1988). The former describes a unified shift in collective consciousness of the oppressed towards revolution and the construction of a new social system (Gramsci 1988). In this lens, the “masses” of revolutionaries must coordinate solidified plans for “political,” “organizational,” “industrial,” and “administrative” societal transformation (Gramsci 1988: 226, 230). In the next phase, the “War of Manoeuvre” requires a sense of mass ideological determination in the face of great risk:

A crisis cannot give the attacking forces the ability to organize with lightning speed in time and in space; still less can it endow them with fighting spirit. Similarly, the defenders are not demoralized, nor do they abandon their positions, even among the ruins, nor do they lose faith in their own strength or their own future. (Gramsci 1988)

Gramscian theory asserts that in order for a revolution to occur, the marginalized must be willing to morally commit to the cause. Without this shift in collective consciousness,

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\(^{30}\) This figure is representative of early 2018 and is likely to have risen since this time. There are no new statistics on Anglophone refugees in Nigeria, as the number changes with time.

\(^{31}\) Boko-Haram, the Islamic militant group, is considered an imminent threat to Nigerians.
revolutionaries would not have the organizational and subsequent physical force to
overthrow the dominant and ruling class. When the subordinated have appropriately unified
ideologically and organizationally, there is potential for a successful “War of Manoeuvre.” In
this stage, the revolution has shifted to war-like confrontation which may enable a “breach in
the enemy’s defenses” and “definitive (strategic victory)” (Gramsci 1988: 225). With
adequate preparedness with the “War of Position,” rebellion will accompany a stable
transformation of governance and social systems. If revolutionaries do not have a certain
level of organization and ideological unity, there is potential for the dominant class return to
power stronger than before. Due to the disorganized nature of the Anglophone separatist
movement (as well as the excessive retaliation of the Cameroonian government), an effective
revolution in Cameroon has not been able to occur.

The limited success of the Anglophone separatist movement may be attributed
partially to ideological difference. As described in the “War of Position,” Gramsci argues
that revolutionaries must be ideologically unified, which is far from the reality amongst
Anglophone activists. While many are largely unified by awareness of their subordination
and role of consent, Anglophones have vastly differing opinions as how to approach the
危机. While separatists take up arms, others prefer to peacefully protest or even maintain
silence. Ideological conflicts occur even among separatists, as some prefer to engage in
violence as a defensive stance, while others are actively pursuingterroristic acts.
Furthermore, the “War of Manoeuvre” attempted by separatists has not been successful to
obtaining societal change or to proceed after such change. Since colonization, the concept of
“unity” has been forced on the peoples of Cameroon which has been a cause of the tensions. I
argue that it would be consent to colonial domination to expect Anglophone Cameroonians to
be unified in ideology to execute a revolution. While collective unity may be effective to achieve a particular outcome, it does not account for the variations in perception that currently exist in Anglophone communities.

**Anglophone Teachers and Lawyers Protest**

The legacy of the French colonial education system can be attributed to a considerable portion of the reproduction of French colonialism in Cameroon today. Through the colonial policy of “assimilation,” Cameroonians learned to discipline themselves to adhere to French culture and language. Cameroonians transmit power relations through their assimilation to colonial institutions (Foucault), including the French language. In this way “power is productive” (Foucault 2010) as those who best assimilate to French culture were the most adapted to the working conditions. In order for the Anglophones to be exploited as laborers for the Francophone economy, they must be capable to work within Francophone institutions through indoctrination in the French education system.

In December 2016, Anglophone teachers and lawyers went on strike against marginalization, due to the imposition “of the French language on their schools and courts” (Kindzeka 2017; Al Jazeera News 2016). This strike is about more than just the “French language” (Al Jazeera News 2016); but rather it is about the systematic elimination of Anglophone institutions from Cameroon. Teachers comment on withheld salaries, as well as their exclusion from positions due to “limited French language skills” (Al Jazeera News 2016). While Anglophone teachers struggle to find work, the government has freely sent French and Pidgin -instructing teachers to Anglophone regions (Al Jazeera News 2016).

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32 Pidgin is not a “native language,” but a mix of languages when conversing parties do not share the same language (Schiffman 1997). In Cameroon, Pidgin often involves words and phrases in French, English, and local African languages.
The systematic elimination of Anglophone teachers is an example of the imposition of a “legitimate language” (Bourdieu) on a population. In this manner, “conformity is created and maintained by shared linguistic practices” (Scott 1990: 130). Although the nation claims to be bilingual, the government is very clear in which language the future generations of Cameroonians should be instructed in.

Additionally, the withholding of salary and discrimination from job access is a form of economic marginalization based on cultural identity. Economic exclusion is the first step to societal expulsion, as economic activities form the basis of all other societal affairs, including the political and social spheres. Through Anglophone exclusion from or assimilation into the workforce, Francophones increase their economic and subsequent political and social domination.

Anglophone lawyers also complain that the national legal system is primarily “based on French law,” despite Anglophone regions still utilizing “English common law” (Al Jazeera News 2016). Different colonial legacies had left different systems of law within Cameroon, constituting different institutional practices and values regarding justice. The marginalization of the Anglophone law system denies the people and historical legacy that are associated with it, in exchange for Francophone judicial domination. Like teachers, lawyers claim that the government is sending “French-educated civil law judges who do not understand English” or the Anglophone justice system to their courts (Al Jazeera 2016). This strategy represents the systemic elimination of the judicial system through the replacement of Anglophone lawyers with Francophone lawyers and accompanies the educational elimination of Anglophone teachers. These two occurrences suggest that the government is aggressively pushing policies that will allow for more Francophone domination and subsequently the
assimilation of Anglophones into its institutions. Considering the escalation of tensions between Francophones and Anglophones, peace efforts have been minimal and largely unsuccessful.

**Prospective Peace**

**Unsuccessful Peace Attempts**

With the support of the Cameroonian people as a whole and convinced that there is an honorable way out in everyone’s interest, I will strive to restore peace and calm in the two regions concerned, with due respect for the institutions of which I am guarantor. — *Paul Biya (Shaban 2018)*

A large part of understanding the trajectory of a conflict and how peace may come to be, is to analyze what methods of conflict resolution have already been attempted and why they have been unsuccessful (as well as which aspects have been successful). Conflict management as a peacebuilding strategy, often “becomes a tool of the privileged used to maintain their privileged positions, leaving the less-favored the unsettling choice between acquiescence and costly, often destructive, action” (Ross 1993: 1). Unsuccessful or “negative peace” involves the elimination of the subordinate voice so that the dominant has less defection, rather than considering the needs of all parties involved. The illusion of sincere conflict management, such as the exclusive dialogues organized by the Cameroonian government, reinforces domination as it functions to maintain the same hegemonic structures that have historically developed. The subordinate in reaction have the choice to either continue to consent to domination or to rebel, in the case of Anglophone separatists. Conversely, successful peacemaking strategies involve the deconstruction of forces of domination and consent that perpetuate systems of inequality.
Dialogue is a crucial practice of conflict resolution that allows parties to be acknowledged and listened to by the other, with the goal of greater mutual understanding. Effective dialogue involves the equal representation and participation of disputing parties, as well as the exploration of long-term causes of a conflict (United Nations Development Program 2009). Who is included in the table of dialogue is symbolic of which voices of the conflict are being effectively listened to and which are being excluded. Foucault asserts that the homogeneity of institutions is maintained through the elimination of certain types of discourse, namely deviation (Foucault 2010). Previous peace efforts made by the Cameroonian government have excluded the narratives of Anglophones most impacted by the crisis from the discourse of peace which has exacerbated conflict tensions.

The Biya administration has conducted a series of dialogues between selected delegations of elites to [fabricate] a message of peace (Biya 2017), that has only served to perpetuate the current structure of domination. Discourse and public statements surrounding the dialogue distort the dialogues as a collaboration and egalitarian discussion, arguing that they are sharing “solutions” and “ideas” between both parties (Biya 2017). However, Anglophone activists do not recognize the legitimacy of the Anglophone “elites” selected by the government to participate and feel that the dialogue is not inclusive (Biya 2017). The selection of government-approved elites is a tactic of domination, as participants in the dialogue are chosen because they will comply with the interests of the Francophone government and consent to their dominance. While the government attempts to bring a “‘message of dialogue,’” the national army is actively “fighting separatists” in the South-33 In addition, dialogue only among elites reproduces the dominant economic structure (that is outlined in Gramscian theory) by excluding those that it subordinates. When subordinates do not continue to dialogue, they are not able to envision and propose a new social system that will restructure a fair economy.
West region (ENCA 2018), suggesting that these discussions merely function to serve the public transcript. Through the state, “every visible, outward use of power… is a symbolic gesture of domination that reinforce[s] a hierarchical order” (Scott 1990: 45). The organization of supposed dialogues are inherently hypocritical, as overt violence continues to be pursued in Anglophone regions. Thus, the nature of constructed dialogue is symbolic, as the hierarchy of dominance is reproduced in Cameroonian society. The construction of the dominant discourse of peace as demonstrated through ineffective dialogue is also perpetuated by the intellectual elite.

Furthermore, Foucault urges that “intellectuals” or elites of society not participate in the establishment of laws or proposal of solutions, as it “only [contributes] to the function… of power” (Foucault 1981: 147). The Cameroonian government comprised of the dominant class of Francophones should not be the coordinating peace efforts because their strategies only reinforce their institutional power. Instead, peace efforts should stem from a third party or from subordinated Francophones and Anglophones within society.

Conflict Management and Peacebuilding

Peace does not come before social justice. If there is social justice, peace just falls naturally...We should not be spending time talking about peace, because it does not exist; we should be talking about peacebuilding and insisting practically on peacebuilding... [With] the first step to acknowledging peace, is acknowledging that there is a problem. If you do not acknowledge there is a problem, what solution are you going to provide?.. You cannot reconcile without getting into the root causes of the crisis. — Professor Willibroad Dze-Ngwa (Foretia Foundation 2018)

The first step of peacebuilding is the acknowledgement of the historical legacy of the Anglophone Crisis, as well as the reconciliation of the products of colonization. History enables a better understanding to how systems have arisen and subsequently how they may be dismantled. G.W.F. Hegel claims that, “’the course of history does not show us the
Becoming of things foreign to us, but the Becoming of ourselves and our own knowledge’” (Hegel, as cited in Bourdieu 1997: 46). The greater the consciousness of historical systems of domination, the less passive and unconscious consent will occur to them. For example, awareness of history may allow for Cameroonians to question the colonial categorizations of “Francophone” and “Anglophone” that have produced separate and unequal identities. The analysis of historical institutions allows for informed and effective solutions to promote lasting peace.

Potential solutions to the Anglophone Crisis must emerge from culturally appropriate rather than colonial systems of justice. Audre Lorde questions whether “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (1984: 110). This means that consent to and the reproduction of dominant institutions (“master’s tools”) is not a solution to domination, rather, solutions must come from the subordinate. Until this point, peace efforts in Cameroon have been organized by members of dominant institutions and structured in a manner to resist societal changes, reinforcing the reproduction of domination. Foucault adds that in order to overcome our societal limitations and to experience “positive truth,” we must transgress our limits (Foucault 1977). Our limits are the classifications that come to frame our experience of reality that emerge from dominant institutions like colonization. The “regime of truth” (Foucault 2010) maintained by dominant institutions of Cameroon define and limit ways of being in the world. However, they at the same time establish limits that can be transgressed in the hope of finding justice and peace. Through a Foucauldian lens, limits are reinforced by trying to find solutions within these dominant institutions. For example, the dominant construct the conditions of Francophone and Anglophone dialogue which functions to their hierarchical status of privilege. Instead, groups in crisis must find new, innovative conflict
resolution strategies that are not derived from the dominant structures and discourse that emerged with colonial history.

Often, the peace-efforts that come from the dominant class only reinforce existing inequality. While there have been peace-efforts aside from the Cameroonian government, they still contribute to consent as they are embedded in dominant institutions, which is why they have been minimally successful. One of the most notable attempts towards management of the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis was made by religious leaders. The Roman Catholic Bishops of Yaoundé have taken a political position on the Anglophone Crisis, emphasizing the importance of “inclusive dialogue,” “peace,” “nation building” and “concrete solutions” (Ajumane 2018) for the “socio-political problem” (Rev. Bibi as cited in, Ajumane 2018). International Crisis Group supports this approach, as it believes that Cameroonian clergy, as one of Cameroon’s “strongest institutions,” can “project a position of neutrality” and “win trust from both sides” (International Crisis Group 2018). The rationale behind the use of Catholic leaders was to unify Francophones and Anglophones, who each have a substantial Catholic following. However, Catholicism is a “master’s tool” (Lorde) as it was a racist utility of colonization to subordinate the population (of Cameroon) to consent to French domination. The use of Catholic leaders reinforces one of the main institutions of Christianity within the historical legacy of the Anglophone Crisis, which can only at best contribute a temporary sense of relief rather than true conflict resolution.34

Foucault does not provide an example of what “transgression of limits” would actually look like, because such outcomes are always specific to the classifications being transgressed. Foucault abstains from imposing elite solutions to political issues yet does not

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34 Conflict management is “the steps disputants or third parties take in order to direct disputes toward certain outcomes, which may or may not produce an end to the conflict” (Ross 1993: 80).
provide any framework for concrete solutions through a sociological lens. This is particularly challenging due to the reality of historical legacies and institutional progression. It is likely impossible to erase all the damage of slavery and colonization. Furthermore, it may not be possible to completely avoid conflict resolution strategies that do not come with at least some vestiges of the dominant systems being transgressed. As previously stated, Anglophones and Francophones are a product of their colonial legacies. Any peace effort to try to unify Cameroon is thus is inherently limited by these historical legacies. Perhaps it may not be possible to completely transgress every limit, but Foucault offers one way to confront the consequences of history.

Methodology

This thesis is an extension of two previous projects: 1) A 30-page historical analysis of the Anglophone Crisis written while I studied abroad in Cameroon in spring of 2018, 2) My final paper for my senior seminar, “Language and Power,” which focused primarily on the discourses of the Anglophone Crisis. My previous work with this project encompassed the development of the crisis from the beginning of French and British colonization (1916) through the date of my departure from my study in Cameroon (June 2018), as the conflict was escalating. In order to expand on this previous knowledge, I have chosen a time frame to focus on the more recent development of the crisis. This inclusion of recent events permits a more complete timeline of the Anglophone Crisis from its historical origins through the most recent events. Further, I have chosen to examine a time frame from late 2018, which reflects a period of increasing escalation and international attention towards the Anglophone

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35 The most recent refers to the completion of this thesis in April of 2019.
Crisis. Through media analysis, I answer my second research question: how do Francophone, Anglophone, and international media narratives reflect and impact the crisis as an extension of colonial forces and institutions?

I have opted to pursue content analysis because it can promote greater understanding of the meaning and messages of history directly from the source, rather than through the interpretation of personal accounts such as in an interview.\textsuperscript{36} I have more specifically chosen to examine a sample of online news media through a qualitative media analysis, focusing on the presentation and impact of various “conflict narratives.”\textsuperscript{37} The analysis of news media is intended to build upon the understanding of the crisis from a historical context through the analysis through its contemporary manifestation.

Online media has become one of the most important methods to share information, which has become more relevant with increasing internet access and technological development. Through the use of devices connected to the internet, consumers are granted “immediate” and (sometimes) unlimited access to news media (Altheide and Schneider 2013). Access to media greatly depends on a nation’s censorship policies such as in Cameroon where news content is filtered. In many societies around the world, “major news media… has pervaded every social institution” and influences how many people understand “daily life” (Altheide and Schneider 2013: 75). The news that consumers read and are granted access to influences how populations perceive particular phenomena. The representation of online media can provide insight into which narratives are made public, as well as which may be notably absent. Exposure to specific narratives through the news

\textsuperscript{36} Additionally, conducting interviews with Cameroonians would pose meaningful risk and would be ethically questionable, due to the repercussions for “false news” in Cameroon.

\textsuperscript{37} The concept of a “conflict narrative” is defined on pages 59-60.
impacts collective opinion towards an event (in this case the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon) and subsequently the action taken to either escalate tensions or promote peace. Thus, the content analysis of the conflict will enable greater comprehension of the conflict in its proper historical and social contexts, which it is often missing.

**My Media Sample**

The media sources that I have analyzed include internal (Anglophone and Francophone) and external (broader Africa, Europe and the United States) perspectives on the progression of the crisis in online newspaper articles. Additionally, the selected articles feature publishers based in nations that were former colonists (France and Britain) and colonized peoples (Cameroon and broader Africa). Documents are evaluated in both French and English (the official languages of Cameroon) and translations in footnotes are provided for the French excerpts included within the analysis. The time frame of reference for my sample extends from October 1, 2018 until November 30, 2018. The newspaper articles are individually filtered by date on their respective websites, I use the key words “Cameroon Anglophone Crisis” and “Cameroon” for English sources and “la crise anglophone” and “Cameroun” for French sources.


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38 Themes were coded exclusively in English for the purpose of consistency.

39 I originally attempted to filter sources using “Nexis Uni;” however, the database did not provide a meaningful selection and quantity of newspapers and articles related to the Anglophone Crisis. Furthermore, I determined that it would be more effective to find articles by hand from newspapers that I wanted to analyze. During my time in Cameroon, these newspapers appeared the most often in my online search for articles about the Anglophone Crisis, which is why I chose to include them.
Times have been combined to create a “United States Mainstream News”\textsuperscript{40} category. From these five newspaper categories, I have analyzed a total of 23 articles.\textsuperscript{41} The target sample size from each publisher was five articles, however, in the case of more than five articles per publisher, the subjectively-determined most relevant five articles were selected for content analysis. In the case of only four articles available from the news source, a fifth article was omitted from the sample. Articles that exclusively feature video content were purposely excluded from the sample.

Due to the limited quantity of articles and subjectively-filtered content (as opposed to a randomized sample), the results of the analysis are not generalizable to a broader population.\textsuperscript{42} The data that I have analyzed do not attempt to prove media trends. Further, the results determined from the newspaper articles cannot describe the characteristics of an entire population, nation or even newspaper publisher overall. However, the articles evaluated provide understanding to how various framing in the media can illuminate and influence different aspects of the Anglophone Crisis, as a reflection of history. There are many potential alternative explanations for the content of news media outside of a lens of narrative production through historical hegemonic relations. One of the most notable alternatives includes that many of the articles I examine are written by news agencies rather than single authors. While I do examine each newspaper as an example of a political or historical

\textsuperscript{40} “U.S. Mainstream News”
\textsuperscript{41} The distribution of articles per publisher are represented in Table 1.2 (Appendix B)
\textsuperscript{42} The small size of the sample is largely due to the limited time I had to conduct this study. In addition, it is also difficult to find a consistent sample within the news media due to the limited reporting on the Anglophone Crisis.
narrative, it is important to acknowledge that the newspapers and publishing organizations selected here represent respective ideological tendencies within their countries.43

Protocol

The protocol model I adapted evaluates the following identification details: the source, title, author, date, location, length, and original language of publication.44 Each source I utilize includes the definition of the problem, or what the news source or author considers to be the noteworthy aspect or development of the crisis. Next in the protocol, I acknowledge the language that is employed to describe the conflict. Themes are identified using a spiral model of analysis, in which I derive themes from coding and then recode previously analyzed documents. The themes are coded and sorted using MAXQDA. The frame of each article is categorized into either “economic,” “event,” “historical,” “intervention,” “political” and “description.”45 Trends of persons or organizations that are frequently directly or indirectly cited such as individual persons, government officials, Anglophone separatists, and international involvement are each noted. Each article is identified with a distinctive quote that characterizes an important theme expressed. Newspaper articles with photos are indicated and a description is provided for each photo present. In the final stage of the protocol, impactful quotations and notes are subsequently provided for the purpose of coding and analysis.46

43 These ideological tendencies and descriptions of each newspaper and publisher are outlined in Appendix C, Table 2.
44 The protocol model is outlined in Appendix A.
45 The categorization of “description” as a frame describes an article that is focused around a description of the Anglophone Crisis as a phenomenon. These articles read more like a story rather than an event-focused news-report, which many of the articles are framed as.
46 In the protocol, I originally was going to categorize each article into overall bias including Francophone, Anglophone, Third-Party/Neutral and No Bias Detected. The further I delved into literature and my own analysis, the more I realized that this form of categorization was too reductionistic and subjective. Few articles fit cleanly into specific categories of bias which did not result in meaningful results. What I found to be more
Data Analysis

The information currently available online news media about the Anglophone Crisis reflects what content is being communicated to the public, which impacts how conflict and international actors respond to progressing events. Due to the minimal availability of information on the Anglophone Crisis included in international media sources, the perspectives that are published possess greater influence. The messages that each newspaper chose to frame the crisis often depended on the historical and political context of the country of origin, as a reflection of colonial history and accompanying hegemonic forces.

The various descriptions of the crisis, including the representation and depiction of unfolding events, combine to form a “conflict narrative” (Cobb 2013). A narrative is structurally comprised of a “plot,” “character roles,” and “themes” (Chatman, as cited in Cobb 2013). These aspects of the narrative construction may be seen in online media through the description of events, situating of conflict actors, and the inclusion of themes that are portrayed as relevant. Narratives (or stories) function as more than an account of history but rather a way to reinforce institutions, as well as to rationalize political action and violence (Cobb 2013). In the context of the Anglophone Crisis, the way in which the conflict is chosen to be represented in the media impacts subsequent policy and potential conflict escalation or de-escalation.

The following analysis highlights trends in article characteristics and the relevance of specific themes, in the production and impact of conflict narratives. First, I describe the most important than the subjective bias of an entire article, was trends of bias within particular publishers or themes. For example, I explored how the overrepresentation or underrepresentation of particular themes contribute to certain conflict biases.

Cobb provides a very detailed outline for conflict narrative analysis, including the syntax of a narrative. For the purpose of this analysis, I do not use the lens of “conflict narratives” in this depth; however, I do explore how the framing of conflict narratives reflect and impact the crisis, particularly in reference to prominent themes and conflict actors.
pertinent characteristics that emerged from the content analysis, including trends in the framing, availability and diversity of articles. Then, I explore the most relevant themes including the origins and greatest concerns of the crisis, in addition to the depiction of conflict perpetration. I conclude with commentary on the common negative perception of the trajectory of the Anglophone Crisis.

**Framing of Articles: Focus on Current Events**

The period of October 1, 2018 through November 30, 2018 represents a timeframe of several major conflict events along with increased escalation and international involvement. The primary events covered in the newspaper articles include Paul Biya’s reelection (Oct. 2018), the death of an American missionary (Oct. 2018), and kidnapping of Anglophone students (Nov. 2018), as well as general violence and economic instability. The majority of the articles analyzed are framed by current events (60.87%) while the minority focus on economic (13.04%) and political concerns (4.35%), conflict description (8.7%), historical consequences (4.35%), and calls for intervention (8.7%). More than 50% of the articles from the French, British and United States’ newspapers focus on current events of the Anglophone Crisis, whereas the African newspapers (*Africanews* and *Journal du Cameroun*) have a larger variety of publication frames.

**Availability and Diversity of Articles**

Perhaps the most glaring aspect about this sample of articles is the insufficient availability and diversity of articles on the topic of the Anglophone Crisis. While determining the size and date range of the sample, it was difficult to even find five articles within a two-month time frame (October - November 2018) from each newspaper. While I was able to

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48 Appendix D: Table 3
49 Appendix D: Table 3
find eight articles on *Africanews* directly related to the crisis, I was only able to find two articles from *The Washington Post*.\(^\text{50}\) Despite that late 2018 was a definitive period in the escalation of the conflict, the results found that international news publications are not extensively reporting on it if at all.

In addition to the few articles available in online news publications, the diverse representation of journalists reporting on the crisis appear even fewer. The only newspaper to feature a separate author for each article is *Africanews*.\(^\text{51}\) Comparatively, the articles in *The Guardian, The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have only one journalist reporting on the Anglophone Crisis each, including Ruth Maclean, Dionne Searcey and Sibohán Grady, respectively.\(^\text{52}\) If one author has a particular perception of the Anglophone Crisis, consumers of their media publication are only exposed to that author’s available information and bias. The absence of multiple journalists (authors) perpetuates the monopolization of specific narratives and biases within international news media. Although *Journal du Cameroun* and *Le Monde* each have two publishing companies or authors reporting on the Anglophone Crisis, four (out of five) articles from *Le Monde* and two (out of four) articles from *Journal du Cameroun* are written by Agence France-Presse (AFP).\(^\text{53}\) Agence France-Presse, an international news agency based out of Paris, France, is often a publisher whose article content leans towards a Francophone bias.\(^\text{54}\) This insufficient representation of multiple authors between *Le Monde* and *Journal du Cameroun* manifests in the domination of often Francophone-biased content as published by AFP. The minimal availability and

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\(^{50}\) Appendix B: Table 1.1
\(^{51}\) Appendix G1: Table 6.1
\(^{52}\) Appendix G1: Table 6.1
\(^{53}\) Appendix G1: Table 6.1
\(^{54}\) Agence France-Presse (AFP) is the main contributor of the coverage of the Anglophone Crisis for both *Journal du Cameroun* and *Le Monde*. 
diversity of articles on the Anglophone Crisis may contribute to the consolidation of thematic concerns in each newspaper.

**Origins of the Crisis: Neglect of the Colonial Narrative**

The newspaper articles that I studied dispute the origin of the Anglophone Crisis, as well as neglect the role of colonization in the conflict dynamics. Some news articles suggest that the origins of the crisis began as the conflict escalated in 2016. For example, O’Grady wrote in two articles for the *Washington Post*:

> Unrest broke out in that region in late 2016 over complaints that the Anglophone community was being marginalized by Cameroon’s central government, which is largely controlled by French speakers. (O’Grady 2018b)

Both of *The Washington Post* articles mention the year of 2016 as a point of origin while colonization is not referenced in another point within the text. Whether or not O’Grady intended to notate 2016 as the origin, an uninformed American consumer of these news publications would likely interpret the statement as such, if not placed in its proper historical context.

In general, colonization is seldom referenced within newspapers I sampled and analyzed. In the rare event of a colonial allusion, the phenomenon is treated more as an afterthought than a major theme and concern. Colonization is featured as the central topic of only one article and it comes from the newspaper, *Journal du Cameroun*. In *The New York Times*, the colonial period is described briefly at the end of the article:

> Cameroon’s two official languages, French and English, are a remnant of a complicated colonial legacy dating to post-World War I when the League of Nations appointed France and England as joint trustees of what was then German Kamerun. Colonialists enforced their own cultures on each region. (Searcey 2018b)

Although colonization is technically mentioned within this article, it is pushed towards the end and not integrated well within the text. This intentional placement suggests that
colonization may not be considered as an important part of the narrative of the Anglophone Crisis, but instead a historical fact hardly worth mentioning.

As depicted by the framing of the colonial period within Cameroon’s “official languages” (Searcey 2018b) *The New York Times* situates colonization as a cause for linguistic differences rather than completely separate colonial institutions. While the Francophone and Anglophone regions largely reflect differences in language, further examination into colonial history and the Cameroonian reality reveal that colonists produced vastly different institutions, ones that stood in conflict with one another. The colonial policies of “assimilation” and “indirect rule” that accompanied these institutional divisions, compounded forces of domination and consent that created the societal divisions we see in Cameroon today. The explanation of the Anglophone Crisis as a conflict of linguistic differences, contributes to misinformation that perpetuates the root structural differences in the “Francophone” and “Anglophone” regions. For this reason, the historical French domination that has morphed into contemporary Francophone domination is likely to be ignored by media consumers. The omission and misrepresentation of colonization within news articles encourages the maintenance of the structures that are driving the crisis, that were formed by hegemonic relations. Awareness of domination and consent as seen through colonial history would permit the deconstruction of systematic oppression, that was often concealed.

It is not a coincidence that the French, *Le Monde*, and the British, *The Guardian*, are the only newspaper categories that have omitted colonization entirely. French and British

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55 In addition to *AfricaneWS*.
56 Although *The Washington Post* omits colonization, I have placed it within the same “U.S. Mainstream News” category as “the New York Times,” which references colonization a few times.
media content is an example of discourse that is produced by the former colonists of Cameroon. To include colonization in the media discourse acknowledges (French and British) historical responsibility in the creation systems of inequality that are embedded in relations of domination. Furthermore, these newspapers are likely wanting to avoid implicating themselves as former colonizers in the crisis because if they do, they would be expected to participate in the peacebuilding process.

**Greatest Concerns of the Anglophone Crisis: Physical Violence over Inequality**

While analyzing the articles within the sample, eight particular themes emerged of the greatest concerns of the Anglophone Crisis, both collectively and for each individual newspaper. I define the greatest concerns in the articles by how much of their content is devoted to each particular topic. I noted the proportion of representation collectively and for each individual publisher, for each of the thematic concerns that I identified within the articles. The eight greatest concerns of the manifestation and impact of the Anglophone Crisis that were found in the articles are listed from greatest to least concern: violence, security, impacted civilians, marginalization, displacement, corruption, socio-political and economic instability, and human rights abuse.

**I. Violence**

Violence was the most prevalent and equally covered issue of concern amongst every publisher that was investigated. Of the eight identified major concerns of the Anglophone Crisis, violence occupies 31.62% of the focus of these concerns. However, the

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57 Appendix E
58 Appendix E: Table 4.1
59 Within each publication, violence consumes from 28% (*The Guardian*) to 36.36% (*Le Monde*) of the primary concerns (Appendix E: Table 4.2).
60 Appendix E: Table 4.1
manner in which the perpetrator and the victims of such violence are portrayed depends on the particular framing of the statement, which is informed by bias. *Journal du Cameroun* describes the conflict as “une ‘sale guerre’ [où] le sang n’arrête pas de couler sur le front séparatiste”61 (AFP 2018f; APA News 2018a). *Journal du Cameroun* implicates the “separatist front” or Anglophone separatists as a cause of violence, with the imagery of unending blood. Comparatively, an interview from *The Guardian* depicts the personal impact of armed conflict and boycotts, where separatists “‘have tried with guns and this has taken [them] to the graves and to the bushes’” (Maclean 2018a). While *Journal du Cameroun* often discusses violence in reference to separatist perpetration and confrontation, *The Guardian* illustrates the detriment of violence within the Anglophone region.

Although violence is described in different frames in the various newspapers, the representation of violence in each publisher functions in the same way to normalize and disempower, which reflects colonial tactics of domination. Violence develops as a primary mode of communication or narrative “when speech is no longer functional” and personal suffering is “delegitimized” (Cobb 2013: 95). The overrepresentation of violence in the media contributes to the normalization of such violence, as the narratives of groups of peoples become atomized subordinates in a larger system of domination. Consequently, the livelihoods of the peoples affected by the Anglophone Crisis dissolve as their stories are sensationalized with narratives of blood and bodies. Genocide, as in the developing case of Cameroon, is “the ultimate step taken to erase a people and their narratives, their capacity to speak, [and] to be a speaking subject” (Cobb 2013: 96). The dominant portrayal of the Anglophone Crisis as statistics of violence further minimizes the experiences and humanity

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61 “A dirty war where the blood does not cease to flow on the separatist front” (AFP 2018f; APA News 2018a).
of those who are the most impacted by it. As colonists dehumanized their subjects for political and economic exploitation, the media sensationalizes the violence against oppressed people for profit. The disempowerment of marginalized speakers is an example of how media extend and consent to a strategy of colonial domination, that actively silenced the colonized. This narrative may be informative to readers when used appropriately, however, when violence becomes the dominant form of discourse, the nuances and personal impact of a conflict are delegitimized.

II. Security

The second most common theme of concern found within the articles is the narrative of “security,” which overall dominates 13.68% of the major concerns. However, the amount of coverage that security receives drastically depends on the newspaper publication. The focus on security in Le Monde and Journal du Cameroun are included within 24.24% and 21.74% of the articles respectively, whereas “U.S. Mainstream News” concentrated on it only 6.59% of the time.62 In many of the articles security is indicated as a concern in reference to physical violence, particularly between Anglophone guerrilla fighters and the Cameroonian military, as outlined by Africanews:

The conflict between Anglophone separatists who want to create an independent state called Ambazonia and government forces has killed hundreds since last year and emerged as Biya’s greatest security problem in nearly four decades in power. (Reuters 2018)

The African news publication in collaboration with Reuters, a British international news organization, characterizes the conflict as the Cameroonian president’s “greatest security problem” which emerges from the rejection of the separatist movement. However, the

62 Appendix E: Table 4.2
discourse of “security” in the Cameroonian state provides a sense of justification for
President Biya to engage in militarized conflict in the Anglophone regions:

Secessionist grievances… “[were] followed by successive acts of terrorist violence to
which the Government responded by taking the necessary measures to ensure public
law and order, as well the safety of people and their property” (Biya, as cited in
Shaban 2018).

Biya utilizes the narrative of security within the media as an explanation for the potential
atrocities committed by the Cameroonian military, defining his actions as “necessary” to
regain a sense of control. As described by Professor Ed Webb of Dickinson College, these
notions of security do not actually promote security, but “may temporarily displace or ease
the problem.”

Security promotes a form of discourse that frames the Anglophone separatist
movement and Anglophone protests as an unwelcomed deviance from normative societal
functioning. Before the emergence of resistance movements, the normalized “ways of being”
(Foucault) in Cameroonian society manifested in Francophone institutions and the gradual
assimilation to French culture, as established during colonization. The growing and
demonstrated unrest of Anglophones, as seen through calls for reform and separatism, are
subsequently viewed as a disruption to the pre-determined (yet forced) societal order. The
perception and portrayal of such resistance as deviance 63 justifies the Cameroonian
government and military to fight to reestablish the status quo of national relations, regardless
of how violent or costly the approach. Furthermore, the narrative of security may enable
Cameroonian forces to commit war crimes and human rights abuses for the purpose of law

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63 As described on page 78, separatists are overwhelmingly portrayed as threats by international news media
regardless of Francophone or Anglophone bias.
and order. In this way, media producers consent to the domination of a group that seeks to physically assert control over a population.

**III. Impacted Civilians**

The impact of the crisis and active violence was a prominent point of discussion amongst the articles from *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News,” consuming 16% and 16.48% of the identified major concerns, respectively. This likely is impacted by Britain’s role as a former colonizer of Anglophone Cameroon, as well as the United States’ relationship to Britain as a former colony and its neocolonial relationship with Cameroon. Although all of the articles included from *The Guardian* are event focused, the content of the articles primarily include interviews with Anglophone residents on the personal impact of the crisis. A young student of Anglophone Cameroon describes the fear of voting during the latest presidential election: “Who can vote when our brothers are dying? How can we even vote, when you don’t know how safe it will be?” (Ngum, as cited in Maclean 2018a). The personal interviews from *The Guardian* illustrates how Anglophone residents are further excluded from participating in democracy due to the surrounding violence.

Another point of personal impact on civilians included the kidnapping of students by suspected secessionists. In an interview with the British newspaper, an Anglophone mother articulates her increasing distress:

“I am very confused. I am all alone,” said one woman, a widow whose 16-year-old daughter was taken. “I went to the school and she was not on campus. I can’t even talk. I just want them to free my daughter. She is innocent.” (Anonymous Anglophone Woman, as cited in Maclean 2018d)

The description of the Anglophone student’s “innocence” describes the association of Anglophone civilians as victims of the crisis, in comparison to separatists or the military who

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64 Appendix E: Table 4.2
are perceived as threats. However, this concern of Anglophone victimization which is empathetically illustrated by *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News” is not mutually shared by other newspaper publishers. Both *Journal du Cameroun* (4.35%) and *Le Monde* (6.06%) devote little explicit content to the impact of the Anglophone Crisis on non-acting bystanders.\(^{65}\) While *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News” tend to lean towards an Anglophone perspectives, *Journal du Cameroun* and *Le Monde* tend to lean towards a Francophone narrative. Within the Francophone narrative, these publishers tend to not express personal narratives which often minimizes the civilian experience of the conflict and consents to the colonial silencing of the oppressed. In place of personal stories, *Journal du Cameroun* and *Le Monde* frame their articles in terms of security, as previously clarified. In this manner it appears that Francophone leaning narratives favor concerns that maintain the current Francophone-dominated institutions, such as security. On the other hand, *The Guardian* is biased towards their colonial relationship with Anglophone Cameroon, which includes the presentation of the disenfranchised Anglophone voice.

**IV. Marginalization**

The specific naming of and allusion to marginalization occurs in every news publication and occupies 10.68% of the major thematic concerns.\(^{66}\) The greatest difference of the included discourse of marginalization occurs between the articles in *The Guardian* (16%) and *Le Monde* (6.06%).\(^{67}\) This difference in media coverage also reflects previous colonial alliances, where French Cameroon was more developed and subsequently dominant in power and influence to British Cameroon. Furthermore, it is logical that a British newspaper may

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\(^{65}\) Appendix E: Table 4.2  
\(^{66}\) Appendix E: Table 4.1  
\(^{67}\) Appendix E: Table 4.2
discuss such marginalization by Francophones more liberally than the French, whose
historical institutions perpetuate this systematic domination.

Depending on the news publication, the presentation of marginalization may appear
as either alleged or factual. For example, Africanews conveys the concern as “perceived
marginalization of English speakers” (REUTERS 2018), whereas The Washington Post states
it as more as a fact that “the Anglophone community [is] marginalized by Cameroon’s
central government” (O’Grady 2018b). These alternate framings of marginalization may
impact the consumers of these news publications which may contribute to differing
perceptions of the structural inequalities that surround and inform the Anglophone Crisis.

The use of marginalization as a conflict narrative may be perceived as a tool to
promote the consciousness of societal domination and consent. As described by Gramsci,
awareness of one’s place within a system of hegemonic relations is necessary to overcome
and deconstruct them (1988). Relations in force perpetuate societal inequality as seen in the
context of the Anglophone Crisis. The discussion of marginalization in international media
outlets promotes greater consciousness of the power dynamics and institutions perpetuating
these systems in Cameroon. This awareness facilitated by the media encourages criticism for
Cameroonian and international consent to such domination, which is the first step to dissolve
inequality and to promote peacebuilding.

V. Displacement

Of all the selected newspapers, the “U.S. Mainstream News” (including The New
York Times and The Washington Post) was found to be overwhelmingly the most concerned
about the displacement of Anglophones due to armed conflict in the Anglophone regions.
While displacement prominently encompasses 21.98% of the “U.S. Mainstream News”
articles, *Journal du Cameroun* does not reference displacement once.\(^{68}\) A chief from the city of Buea (a large Anglophone city), “estimated that only about 10,000 of Buea’s 200,000 residents remain in the city, a normally quaint mountainside area where the violence has been unrelenting,” as depicted in an interview with Derick Woteva Wambo in *The New York Times* (Searcey 2018a).\(^{69}\) This article encompasses the mass devastation of Anglophone regions such as Buea, and the subsequent refugee crisis that is emerging from the ashes of these “burnt homes” (Searcey 2018a). In comparison, the absence of the concern of displacement in *Journal du Cameroun* (the often Francophone-biased publication) may exist due to a reluctance (and censorship) to expose the human cost of the Anglophone Crisis. The omission of displacement in the discussion of the conflict may occur as a form of consent to the Cameroonian government to conceal the gravity of the subordination of Anglophones. This also decreases the awareness of the manifestations of the crisis that contribute to societal change. Further, the absence of displacement as seen in *Journal du Cameroun* helps to maintain the integrity the dominant Francophone narrative, that often demonizes Anglophones as a threat to justify national military action.

**VI. Corruption**

Corruption of the Cameroonian government was found to be proportionally of greater concern within *The Guardian* (18%) followed by “U.S. Mainstream News” (10.99%).\(^ {70}\)

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\(^{68}\) Appendix E: Table 4.2

\(^{69}\) When studying abroad in Cameroon through Dickinson College, student groups were annually scheduled to take a trip to Buea. I vividly remember seeing pictures of blissful students from previous years abroad, riding horses and playing soccer with the locals. Although there was great anticipation amongst our students to take this trip, that day never arrived due to the escalating overt conflict in the region surrounding Buea. It is hard to believe that nearly a year after the trip cancellation, the once bustling beach neighborhoods have since turned into a complete “ghost town” (Searcey 2018a). It is difficult to even imagine the devastation that the displaced people of Buea and the surrounding areas have experienced particularly over the last year as a consequence of the Anglophone Crisis.

\(^{70}\) Appendix E: Table 4.2
However, the exposure of corruption is not a prominent topic overall and only reflects 8.97% of the concerns.\footnote{Appendix E: Table 4.1} The context of corruption includes the suspected fraudulent election in October of 2018, where President Biya won by a 51 percent margin, in addition to his extended rule since 1982 (O’Grady 2018a; Maclean 2018a).\footnote{Paul Biya has served as president for seven terms for a total of 37 years (as of 2019).} The Guardian depicts the inequality of access to polling stations between the Francophone elite and the general population as a concern:

> Government officials in Bamenda cast their votes at a polling station in the administrative headquarters, a highly secured area. Prime minister Philémon Yang voted there despite being initially registered to vote in his home village. (Maclean 2018b)

While government officials and ministers who would vote for Biya were granted exclusive access to secured polling stations, the reality was not the same for those who are most affected by violence. For example, an Anglophone from the city of Bamenda recounted the horror of election day: “We [had] been on the floor since the morning due to the gunshots. I felt like the bullets were passing all over my head. Now I know I cannot vote again” (Fru, as cited in Maclean 2018b). For these Anglophones who had not been intimidated into an insincere vote or out of voting entirely, voting was nearly impossible due to the risk of being caught in violence on the street.

Contradictory to the concern expressed by The Guardian and “U.S. Mainstream News” publishers, the other newspapers I selected did not devote as much attention to corruption. The articles within Le Monde and Africanews were found to be minimally concerned having referenced corruption only once, while Journal du Cameroun did not mention it at all.\footnote{Appendix E: Table 4.2} Le Monde as a French newspaper has a responsibility to consent to French
interest to maintain its rapport with the Cameroonian government, in order to preserve its economic domination over Cameroonian affairs. Furthermore, it would not serve the historical and current hegemonic relationship between France and Cameroon to expose the potential fraudulence of Paul Biya.

However, due to France’s international status of domination, French media experiences a level of power and privilege that would allow them to publish content about corruption with little cost to French lives. Thus, the choice to not publish a narrative of corruption allows for the continuance of domination in Cameroonian politics for the purpose of economic profit. On the other hand, journalists from *Journal du Cameroun* in particular may not have that same privilege and are likely not able to publish such content due to the false news laws in Cameroon. Therefore, the omission of the corruption of President Biya in the Cameroonian newspaper is a form of consent motivated by harm avoidance. If the journalists and editors of *Journal du Cameroun* were to expose flaws in the current government, they would risk their own lives as well as their loved ones.

**VII. Economic Insecurity**

As a whole, economic insecurity in Cameroon receives limited attention, receiving only 5.15% of the total coverage of the major concerns of the crisis. Nonetheless of all the major themes, *Journal du Cameroun* (21.74%) proportionally grants a considerable amount of attention to the economic decline of Cameroon. In addition, both *Journal du Cameroun*

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74 As described to me by a personal correspondent, journalists in Cameroon are particularly restricted and in a constant state of risk for the content that they publish. The personal correspondent, who cannot be identified for safety purposes, mentioned that the Cameroonian government can swiftly kill defectors for leaked information.

75 Appendix E: Table 4.1

76 *Journal du Cameroun* may choose an economic framing of their articles due to the probable censorship that they experience as a Cameroonian newspaper. Economic hardship may be one of the few issues of the Anglophone Crisis that Cameroonian newspapers are permitted to report on.

77 Appendix E: Table 4.2
and Africanews have at least one dedicated article to the impact of the Anglophone Crisis on the economy. Comparatively, “U.S. Mainstream News” publishers barely reference the economic toll of the Anglophone Crisis (2.2%) while The Guardian and Le Monde do not at all.

In an article from Journal du Cameroun, the economic state is described more generally in terms of debt and unemployment, in which “la crise sociopolitique qui secoue les régions anglophones du Nord-ouest et du Sud-ouest depuis deux ans a déjà fait perdre 270 milliards de francs CFA à l’économie camerounaise et 6500 emplois” (APA News 2018b). Africanews reveals the effect of the conflict on markets in the Anglophone region, as described by a butcher: “All the customers have gone. Most of the time we come out but there is no customer to buy. So it is not making work because the customers are out, they have gone. The place is empty” (Eron, as cited in Oteng 2018). Although many news publishers do not focus on the economic impact of the Anglophone Crisis, Journal du Cameroun provides insight into the societal and national consequences of this period of turmoil.

VIII. Socio-Political Dysfunction

In addition to economic insecurity, socio-political dysfunction is not often identified as among the major concerns of the Anglophone Crisis, as it may only be attributed to 5.15% of these concerns overall. The socio-political dysfunction of Cameroon is only identified in

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78 Appendix D: Table 3
79 Appendix E: Table 4.2
80 “The socio-political crisis that has rocked the English-speaking regions of the North-West and South-West for two years has already lost 270 billion CFA francs to the Cameroonian economy and 6,500 jobs” (APA News 2018b).
81 Appendix E: Table 4.1
certain articles in Le Monde (12.12%), Africanews (8.11%) and Journal du Cameroun (8.7%). In a plea to the Cameroonian government, Nkengmeyi, who writes for Africanews, demands leaders to “immediately initiate dialogue with Anglophone community leaders to address legitimate grievances and ameliorate the root causes of the conflict as well as initiate socio-economic programs and political reforms” (Nkengmeyi 2018). As expressed in a few of their articles, Africanews takes an interventionist approach by asserting the need for dynamic solutions to ameliorate the nature of socio-political dysfunction in Cameroon and its institutional inequality.

**VIII. Human Rights Abuse**

Human rights abuses and crimes against humanity are among the least prevalent issues raised, as they only appear in 3.42% of the major concerns in the articles that I selected. The concern is directly referenced or alluded to in less than 6% of the time in three newspapers, U.S. Mainstream News (5.49%), Africa News (5.41%) and Le Monde (3.03%). The absence of discussion of human rights abuse in a case such as the Anglophone Crisis, suggests that either the killing is not bad enough yet or the international community has not become aware of the atrocities committed on Cameroonian soil. However, for many Anglophone residents of Cameroon the immense scale of violence is a constant threat to their livelihood. In an article in The New York Times, Chief Wambo of Buea articulates that “it is unacceptable to commit a crime and unlawful killing today, tomorrow or after tomorrow,” he said. ‘No army in the world is immune against misbehavior

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82 Appendix E: Table 4.2
83 Appendix E: Table 4.1
84 Appendix E: Table 4.2
85 I know of personally of two families who have been forced to move because of the violence and who are unable to continue their work.
in a handful of its elements”’ (Searcey 2018a). The continuous spree of killing occurring in Cameroon has ignited great concern of human rights abuse for many Anglophones and in some cases entire villages, while the international community remains relatively silent.

The omission of human rights abuses from the discourse of the Anglophone Crisis is an example of consent to domination. While awareness can promote dialogue and subsequent action to address it, silence permits the abuses to continue to occur without accountability or question. Moreover, the narratives included within the media have the potential to shape the trajectory of the crisis, through either consenting to or deconstructing forces of domination.

**Conflict Perpetration: Dualism between the Cameroonian Military and Armed Separatists**

“If you decide you want to fight your [own] people: you will have to kill all of them.”
— *Personal Informant*

In a personal interview with Dr. Jacob, a specialist in peacebuilding and communication from Nigeria, he expressed to me that many nations do not have particular political interest in nor see the strategic importance of Cameroon. He argued that this lack of interest may further explain minimal coverage of and intervention in the Anglophone Crisis. Dr. Jacob explained that in order for an international issue to receive coverage in the media, it must be framed in a manner that fits the narrative of the country of publication. He noted that dualism between two opposite sides is a common depiction of a conflict in the media. In accordance with Dr. Jacob’s presumption, a prevalent theme that characterized the Anglophone Crisis within the newspaper sample, was a concept of dualism between the Cameroonian military and armed separatists. Although referenced in each of the newspapers (with *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* being merged into one category: “U.S. Mainstream News”), this dichotomy was found to be most pervasive in *Le Monde* and the “U.S. Mainstream News” categories.
Moral culture in American contemporary society reinforces notions of duality in social institutions and social thought (Baker 2010). Duality as outlined by sociologist, Wayne Baker, may be defined as “division into two interrelated and opposing categories” expressed in “dual social organization” or “polarities of logic and experience, social thought, ideologies, and social action” (Needham, as cited in Baker 2010). This dichotomy is considered a strategy of internal “conflict management” by “balancing contending forces in a perpetual equilibrium” (Maybury-Lewis, as cited in Baker 2010). In the context of Cameroon, the perception of the conflict as manifesting between two opposing parties allows foreigners to logically categorize and understand the problem. Cultural duality in the United States enables Americans to divide and assign judgement unto one or more parties in a particular situation (Baker 2010). By presenting international affairs in an oppositional manner, American journalists wish for the audience to choose how and unto whom they cast moral judgement and responsibility. At the same time, the nature of duality encourages reductionist thinking and arguments, that may contribute to collective misunderstanding of specific issues, such as the Anglophone Crisis.

When describing recent armed confrontation, The Washington Post asserts:

The military responded violently to Anglophone protests, killing some demonstrators and rounding up others. The harsh reprisals only enraged Anglophones, who have given growing support to an armed movement trying to create an English-speaking breakaway state called Ambazonia (O’Grady 2018a).

The depiction of opposing sides represents a cyclical narrative where the Cameroonian military and secessionists violently react to actions of the other. This description suggests to readers that the conflict exists as an armed struggle exclusively between the Cameroonian military and secessionist fighters, as is also commonly portrayed in Le Monde. Recent violence in Anglophone regions, are portrayed as “des affrontements entre armée et
séparatistes, regroupés en groupes épars dans la forêt équatoriale, s’y produisent quasiment tous les jours depuis plusieurs mois” (AFP 2018b). While the explicitly violent side of the conflict has occurred between the Cameroonian military and separatists, the dualistic framing and overrepresentation of this narrative creates the sense that the conflict is primarily an armed battle of separatism. Armed confrontation is only a symptom of larger political, economic and social structural issues that impact various institutions and populations on diverse “sides” of the conflict. Consequently, when overly representing the Anglophone Crisis as a battle between the military and separatists, media producers and consumers are not understanding the root causes and perpetuations of the conflict.

Cameroon has experienced instability since its colonizers made landfall in the central-African region, who imposed the dominance of particular institutions and cultures over others. Furthermore, representing the crisis as a battle between armed fighters minimizes the impact of colonial history on the current nature of the crisis, as well as other parties who may be impacted. When the conflict is overrepresented as this dichotomy, the influence of hegemonic relations as seen through institutional inequality is also deemphasized. The depiction of the Anglophone Crisis in this way does not enable awareness of the complexity of the conflict to media consumers, which may be necessary to address relations of domination and subsequent peacebuilding. Within the theme of the “dualism between the Cameroonian military and armed separatists,” there are two major sub-themes that emerged

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86 “Clashes between the army and separatists, who have scattered and regrouped in the equatorial forest, have occurred there almost every day for several months.”
87 The representation of dualism, as a utility of moral authority (Baker 2010), also suggests that each party shares the same degree of power and responsibility as the other. If Anglophones do not experience the same privileges as Francophones, should they be scrutinized at the same level of the Cameroonian state?
88 However, until the escalation of the Anglophone Crisis in 2016 it was considered to be one of the safest nations in Africa. (Dominion Post 2018)
including, the “portrayal of separatists as a threat” and the “perception of excessive use of force by the Cameroonian military”

I. Portrayal of Separatists as a Threat

In every newspaper that I sampled, Anglophone separatists are overwhelmingly described and treated as threats, which functions to maintain Francophone dominance. Separatists are accused of threatening the unity of Cameroon, state officials, members of the Cameroonian military, regular civilians and children. In an article titled, “Présidentielle au Cameroun: Biya favori malgré la crise anglophone,”89 AFP accuses separatists of:

Multipliant les attaques contre les symboles de l’État... et les enlèvements de fonctionnaires, ces groupes ont forcé de nombreuses autorités locales à fuir leur administration dans certaines localités anglophones (AFP 2018e).90

AFP implicates Anglophone separatists of being a threat to the Cameroonian state as it currently exists, including state symbols and members of the Francophone-dominant administration. The language in this article reinforces the dominance of the Cameroonian state through the legitimization of its institutions and demonization of separatists. As articulated by Gramscian politics, the “State” and its accompanying symbols represents “hegemony armored by coercion” (Sassoon 1980: 110). The description of leaders of the Cameroonian state as “officials” and “authorities,” reinforces Francophone dominance and legitimacy to continue to “coerce” and dictate national affairs. Through the demonization of separatists as threats to state legitimacy, Journal du Cameroun perpetuates current hegemonic forces that rank Francophones as superior and Anglophones as inferior.

89 “Presidential Election in Cameroon: Biya is the favorite (candidate) despite the anglophone crisis”
90 “Increasing attacks on state symbols... and the kidnapping of officials, these groups have forced many local authorities to flee their administration in some English-speaking localities.”
A common portrayal of separatists in the sample of news articles includes their comparison to or direct classification as “terrorists.” Although present in each news category, separatist characterization as “terrorists” occurs most pervasively in “U.S. Mainstream News,” *Le Monde,* and *Africanews.* In an article published in *Le Monde,* AFP directly states that, “les autorités, qui qualifient les séparatistes de ‘terroristes,’ ont procédé depuis début 2018 à un important déploiement de forces de sécurité pour ‘rétablir l’ordre’” (AFP 2018d). Similar to articles written by AFP in *Journal du Cameroun,* the use of the term “authority” in reference to the Cameroonian military and “terrorist” in reference to separatists distinguishes a particular hierarchy of domination. The former grants legitimacy to a dominant regime, while the latter subjugates all separatists as ruthlessly violent. In addition, the employment of the term “order” communicates the need to maintain institutions in their current state. Disorder, as seen through the separatist movement, is a reaction to excessive “unity” and order (Gramsci, as cited in Sassoon 1980). However, when presenting the word “order” and “authority” in relation to “terrorism,” media consumers are led to perceive the maintenance of order as necessary and just. Thus, the framing of Anglophone separatists as “terrorists” within the media illustrates them as violent threats in need of “order,” sustaining dominant discourse that justifies Francophone domination against (all) Anglophones. The Cameroonian military and government also receive noteworthy criticism within the newspaper sample, yet not as often as criticism of separatists.

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91 The employment of “terrorism” in reference to separatists is a natural fit with the narratives of the United States and France. The two countries have each struggled with terror attacks within their recent histories, which has transformed their national discourse within the media. As a result, media and the United States and France may be more interested in reporting international events that involve accusations of terrorism.

92 “Since early 2018, the authorities who qualify the separatists as ‘terrorists,’ have a mass deployed security forces to ‘restore order’” (AFP 2018d).
Nonetheless, not all views about separatists function to shape the dominant narrative as some Anglophone civilians also perceive and experience separatists as a threat. The reality is that certain actions taken by specific separatist fighters have actively escalated conflict tensions and put civilians at risk. For example, some separatists were suspected of kidnapping dozens of students in November of 2018. As described in *The Guardian*, the “attack” at the Cameroonian boarding school “reminiscent of Boko Haram’s abduction of schoolgirls in Nigeria in 2014” (Searcey 2018d).  

93 Although *The Guardian* tends to express Anglophone perspectives (which usually includes an empathetic approach towards the separatist movement), they do not neglect that some separatists may be instigating violence against civilians. *The Guardian* even compares the acts of separatists to Boko Haram, an international terrorist organization. For many Anglophones, separatists have posed similar threats to their livelihood as the Cameroonian military has.

In personal correspondence with a few Anglophone Cameroonians as well as journalists close to the crisis, who may not be named for the protection of their identities, they explained how some view separatists as a threat to the stability and safety of the Anglophone regions. These individuals expressed to me that many young men, locally known as the “Amba Boys,” (Ambazonian Boys) have been easily persuaded to participate in the armed conflict.  

94 Due to the economic devastation of the Anglophone regions, young Anglophone people are more likely to become involved in acts of extremism (Dze-Ngwa).
addicted guerilla fighters. They described to me how the combination of drug abuse and violence poses a serious threat to civilians, who live in these armed communities. Furthermore, while some Anglophones praise separatists for combatting the Cameroonian government, others perceive separatist action as a threat. Although international media primarily focuses on violence propagated by separatists, there is also considerable news attention on the Cameroonian military.

II. Perception of Excessive Use of Force by the Cameroonian Military

Excessive action performed by the Cameroonian military is primarily acknowledged in *Africanews*, “U.S. Mainstream News,” and *The Guardian*. The newspaper articles often describe Cameroon military action as reactions to Anglophone protests, as well as attacks on civilians. In an article titled “On the Brink of Civil War,” Searcey expresses that:

> The government crackdown has been ruthless, with residents and local officials providing frequent accounts of troops burning homes and buildings in more than 100 villages, indiscriminately shooting or detaining civilians, and sometimes executing innocent young men as they search for separatists who scurry away into the dense forest after attacks. (2018a)

*The New York Times* author recounts threat and devastation through an Anglophone perception in regions of armed conflict. The description of government and military action as a “crackdown” has a completely alternative meaning and use of language than the maintenance of “order,” as described by *Le Monde*. While “order” in reference to “terrorists” connotes a sense of regaining control, “ruthless crackdown” in reference to “civilians” expresses injustice.

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95 I am not able to confirm this with a report or media source; however, this does not mean that drug abuse among separatists is not occurring. Instead it highlights that there are many things occurring in Cameroon that international communities are not aware of. Furthermore, it is very difficult to get an accurate perception of how the crisis is manifesting and experienced through the media.
When separatists are described as threats and the Cameroonian military granted authority, the “status quo” for hierarchical relations in Cameroon is maintained. However, when the Cameroonian military is criticized, the hegemonic relationship of unequal power relations is challenged. Although separatist fighters and the Cameroonian government both may be culpable of excessive violence, particularly involving civilians, there is a key power distinction between the two, armed groups. *The New York Times* mentions that:

Cameroon’s security forces have been accused of a heavy-handed response to the rebels, who are disorganized and carry homemade weapons. The military has burned dozens of villages and fired large caliber weapons indiscriminately, killing bystanders, according to human rights groups and numerous citizens. (Searcey 2018b)

Searcey notes that while the Cameroonian military is well-armed and organized, Anglophone separatist fighters do not possess the same amount of weapons and tactical experience. Anglophone separatist fighters do not have the ability to carry out the same level of destruction upon citizens that is depicted with the Cameroonian military. Furthermore, the Cameroonian military and Anglophone separatists are not equal in physical power and dominance over the Cameroonian region and population.

Another notable difference in prevalent discourse includes the juxtaposition between French and British framing of violent actors. In accordance with their colonial histories, *Le Monde* (French) more frequently presents statements that criticizes separatists, while *The Guardian* (British) more often criticizes the Cameroonian national military. The media continues to transmit and reflect colonial discourse by contributing to narratives that support the extension of their colonial institutions: the Cameroonian government as a product of French colonization and Anglophone separatists, as a product of British colonization.

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96 *The Guardian* claims that “many anglophone families in Yaoundé live in fear of contact with the authorities and try to venture outside as little as possible.” (Maclean 2018c)
The Difference and Impact of International Media Narratives

The most prominent narratives, framing, and bias of an account of the Anglophone Crisis present vastly different messages and information depending on the publisher of the article. This is likely exacerbated by the minimal diversity of authors who cover the Anglophone Crisis for each publisher. Each of the newspapers I selected for analysis (Africanews, Journal du Cameroun, The Guardian, Le Monde, The New York Times and The Washington Post) portray the crisis in unique ways with differing priorities on which aspects of the conflict are the most pressing. They show what is most important by how much content is devoted to it by directly or indirectly referencing a particular concern. While each of the publishers shares a relatively similar degree of concern for issues such as violence and human rights abuse, other concerns and narratives differ more drastically.

Le Monde and Journal du Cameroun appear to have meaningful similarity of their greatest concerns and general information that they present within their articles. Both Le Monde and Journal du Cameroun place the most emphasis on security and socio-political dysfunction, as well as similarly de-emphasize impacted civilians and human rights abuse. The concentration on narratives of security instead of narratives that indicate suffering represent the perpetuation of the colonial agenda. Le Monde (as a French newspaper) continues to depict contemporary issues in Cameroon as tactical concerns of national security and control. On the other hand, Le Monde does not reflect the personal impact nor scale of abuse occurring within the country. Journal du Cameroun consents to the dominance of these French

97 Appendix E: Each publisher references “violence” between 28% (The Guardian) and 36.36% (Le Monde), only an 8.36% range of difference. In addition, “human rights abuse” is only noted between 0% (The Guardian and Journal du Cameroun) and 5.49% (“U.S. Mainstream News”), whose difference is not great enough to suggest meaning.

98 Appendix E: Table 4.2
narratives through the representation and minimization of similar concerns in their articles. In many ways, the similar concerns of security and socio-political conflict expressed by these two publishers reveal the continuation of domination, as many of the articles *Journal du Cameroun* are written by the same publisher as *Le Monde*, “Agence France-Presse.”

Perhaps the most characteristically different publications in the articles that I analyzed, include *Le Monde* and *The Guardian*. While *Le Monde* describes the conflict primarily in plain, factual statements and statistics about the political and violent situation in Cameroon, *The Guardian* features primarily personal narratives from impacted Anglophones.99 When describing the recent election of Paul Biya, *Le Monde* states:

> Le président camerounais Paul Biya, 85 ans, dont 36 au pouvoir, prête serment ce mardi pour un septième mandat dans un climat de tension, au lendemain de l’enlèvement de 79 élèves en zone anglophone frappée par un conflit armé. « Le président élu » du Cameroun, Paul Biya, prêtera serment ce mardi à 11 heures (10 heures GMT), a annoncé la présidence dans un communiqué.100 (AFP 2018b)

*Le Monde* announces plainly that President Biya has been reelected and will soon be reinstated, despite growing Anglophone tensions. There is no emotion that is particularly communicated through this statement, which is characteristic of the simple, factual structure of *Le Monde* and *AFP* articles overall (about the Anglophone Crisis). On the other hand, *The Guardian* narrates the Cameroonian election through the personal narratives and statements. Rather than synthesizing the results of the election, *The Guardian* highlights:

> Many Cameroonians felt the election was meaningless as the result never changed. “Biya always wins,” said Suh Emmanuel, an anglophone driver. “His ministers voted in places they didn’t register but those of us who left Buea and Bamenda because of

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99 Despite that the topic of all *The Guardian* articles are about events, the content mostly includes personal narratives about these events (Appendix D).

100 “Cameroonian President Paul Biya, 85 years old, of which 36 years has been in office, will be sworn in on Tuesday for a seventh term in a climate of tension, following the kidnapping of 79 students in an English-speaking area hit by armed conflict. ‘President-elect’ of Cameroon, Paul Biya, will take an oath this Tuesday at 11 am (10 am GMT), announced the presidency in a statement.” (AFP 2018b).
“the war couldn’t. I am not interested in the results. Let him rule forever.” (Emmanuel, as cited in Maclean 2018c)

Emmanuel describes his personal frustration and apathy with the election process and results, articulating how “Biyà always wins.” From the inclusion of such narratives as featured in *The Guardian*, consumers of this British media publication are able to glimpse into the experiences of different Cameroonians. However, through the extensive inclusion of Anglophone personal narratives, *The Guardian* often projects information with an Anglophone bias to its readers.

**The Future of Cameroon: Conflict Escalation and the Absence of Peace**

Although the newspapers that I analyzed have differing narratives and concerns about the Anglophone Crisis, there is a consensus that the future of Cameroon appears grim. Throughout the articles, authentic peace, justice and dialogue are seldom suggested.101 However, *Africanews* features two articles that were categorized as an “interventionist” frame, which represents a focus on the need for peace and intervention in the Anglophone Crisis. For example, one of the articles expresses the concern of the United Nations special adviser on prevention of genocide, Adama Dieng:

“The crimes committed by both parties need to be properly and independently investigated and perpetrators of those crimes need to be brought urgently to justice so that people know that no-one is above the law… My worry is that we still have many people being killed, so far more than 400 people. We need to have political dialogue but also demand for justice.” (Dieng and BBC, as cited in Mumbere 2018)

In his statement included in *Africanews*, Dieng asserts the desperate need for dialogue and justice in Cameroon, given the grave nature of the violence there. Aside from these two articles from *Africanews*, other statements focus on the downward spiral of violence that

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101 Although peace is referenced a few times, it is often framed in the context of peaceful protests being met with violence and President Biya calling for “peace,” while stating that he will punish defectors. Furthermore, I did not qualify these statements as authentic peace (Appendix F).
consumes international narratives of the Anglophone Crisis. In an article in The Washington Post, O’Grady suggests that “frustrations are... mounting across the country, and the International Crisis Group warned in a report that ‘ordinary people’s opinions are increasingly radical’” (O’Grady 2018a). O’Grady finds that Cameroonians are becoming increasingly more frustrated with the current dynamics of the conflict, which is accelerating the polarization of viewpoints.

In addition to suggestions of conflict escalation, the juxtaposition of representation between extensive violence and minimal calls for peace contribute to pessimistic narratives. Senegalese writer, Boris Diop, describes the phenomena as Afro-Pessimism in which the international community expects violence to occur in African nations. Diop stresses that “Afro-Pessimism is just racism… and can be very deadly… [in the sense that,] oh, it’s just Africans killing each other and there’s no reason to intervene and stop massacres.”102 While each of the publications extensively expresses the horror of the violence occurring in Cameroon, there appears to be little urgency or push for intervention.103 Through the lens of Afro-Pessimism, insufficient attention is awarded to intervention in African nations results from predominantly-white nations’ apathy to the death of black and brown people. The attitude of Afro-Pessimism that is communicated in international news media is an extension of colonial relations of domination, where white colonists exploited bodies and souls of the black colonized. The stories of the Anglophone Crisis that I have analyzed largely appear to sensationalize violence, without expressing concern or language pertaining to peace.

Furthermore, a conflict may progress towards a genocide as it is not considered “bad

102 Dickinson College Africana Studies Conference 2019  
103 Appendix E and F
enough” for international communities to become involved. The question is, how many more Cameroonian will die before action is taken?

**Conclusion**

The way in which a major phenomenon is contextualized impacts perception of and interaction with relevant discourse. I chose specifically to frame the Anglophone Crisis in its proper socio-historical context to enable a nuanced understanding of the root causes, manifestations and possible solutions. Furthermore, I argue that tactics of domination as seen through French colonial assimilation are being consented to and reproduced by the current Francophone-majority government, that has erupted into a crisis as inequality between Francophones and Anglophones increases (while Anglophones become further excluded from or assimilated into Francophone society). The institutions and language that were established during colonization to subordinate the colonized continue to be perpetuated by relations of domination and consent in Cameroonian society.

The current Anglophone Crisis is a reflection of a historical legacy of tumultuous inequality that was imposed by French and British colonists in the region of present-day Cameroon. The conflict is perpetuated by hegemonic “relations of force” stemming from colonization that are being consented to and reproduced by the Francophone-majority in Cameroon. The very categorizations and identities of “Anglophone” and “Francophones” arose from a historical language and “systems of differences” (Foucault) that has determined them as dominant and subordinate peoples. Similarly, the categorization of “Cameroon” and

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104 However, any action of intervention must be focused around indigenous institutions, as well as the desires and needs of the parties involved in conflict. As expressed earlier, if previous colonizers attempt peacebuilding using the institutions of the dominant, lasting peace cannot be achieved.
“Cameroonian” as a unified people did not exist prior to colonization, which further drives these historically manufactured divisions between Anglophones and Francophones.

Although Cameroon had multiple colonial masters, the French policy of “assimilation” fostered greater subordination to domination than the British “indirect rule,” because Francophone Cameroonians were shaped as transmitters of French language and culture. Assimilation influenced Francophone domination after the independence and unification of the separate territories, as relations of force permeated and legitimized Francophone political, economic, and social institutions. Domination and the pervasiveness of the “legitimate language” (Bourdieu) is primarily reinforced through the French educational system, as established in French Christian missionary and other schools. Similar to their colonial masters, the Francophone government consents to domination through the systematic elimination of the British education and legal systems for the expansion of the French.

Since the beginning of Cameroonian independence, Francophones have dominated the political system through representation and law (primarily in the Constitution). Almost sixty years later, the Francophone-majority government increasingly limits and legally penalizes Anglophone discourse in the promotion of the dominant Francophone discourse, as manifested in “false news” policies. Socio-political tensions between Anglophones and Francophones are fueled by the economic marginalization of Anglophones in West Cameroon, as a basis for all other forms of domination. As the Francophone government siphons valuable resources in the West, the dominant discourse acquires the means to be promoted in all aspects of society. Institutional inequality continues in the form of direct
domination and neocolonialism by the “hidden hands” of the Anglophone Crisis, as expressed in the political and economic influence of France and the United States.

Enraged from years of marginalization and increasing domination, some Anglophone activists see no alternative to liberation than overt violence (which the government equally perpetuates). Other Anglophones such as teachers and lawyers, have led protests against their progressive elimination. The removal of Anglophone institutions reproduces and therefore reestabishes consent to colonial practices, which stripped the various Cameroonian tribes from their respective traditions and institutions. Additionally, this elimination enables Francophone institutions to become ever more powerful. The Biya administration has attempted to construct dialogue with Anglophone elites whose authenticity has been rejected by Anglophone activists. These dialogues maintain domination by excluding subordinates, in the way that French colonists had replaced and corrupted chiefs in the colonial system. The omission of intentional and egalitarian strategies of conflict management has only contributed to escalation, as peace appears to move further from the local reality in Cameroon.

While history laid the conditions for intractable conflict in the case of the Anglophone Crisis, relations of domination and consent must be perpetuated in Cameroonian society in order to sustain the colonial systems. The legacy of colonization is both reflected and extended in online news media articles about the crisis. Firstly, the minimal availability and diversity of online news content about the crisis suggests that international communities are receiving little information about the occurrences in Cameroon, from a narrow breadth of perspectives. From these few perspectives being published, particular and potent conflict
narratives are formed that have the potential to shape how the public understands and responds to the developing situation.

Narratives do not only reflect and legitimize certain aspects of history, but also imitate history itself by shaping the social relations of conflict (Cobb 2013). In this way, media narratives are an example of how history is written in the present. Further, the overrepresentation and omission of particular themes influences international discourse about the Anglophone Crisis. Through my content analysis of online newspaper articles, I found that while some narratives are equally represented (or not represented) across multiple media sources, the presentation of other conflict narratives drastically differed depending on the publisher.

In the articles I analyzed, colonization is overall neglected as an important narrative in the contemporary manifestation of the crisis. Consequently, media consumers are often under the impression that the Anglophone Crisis has recently and spontaneously emerged within Cameroonian society. The omission of colonization from the contemporary conflict perpetuates the power of colonial institutions, as they continue to dominate Cameroonian society unnoticed. The acknowledgement of colonization to the situation in Cameroon is crucial to dismantling the hegemonic forces of domination and consent that began during occupation.

Violence is proportionally the most prevalent and equally represented of the eight major concerns of the Anglophone Crisis that I identified. Although violence is described in relation to different causes and perpetrators in the various publishers, the narrative of violence functions to atomize and delegitimize the individual populations who are impacted by it. I am not implying that violence is not necessary in a conflict narrative, however, it
needs to be more moderately included in the media and supported by other narratives (such as institutional inequality and peacebuilding) that encourage the deconstruction of colonial relations of domination. On the other hand, discussion of “human rights abuse” was not a salient narrative among the articles that I analyzed. The disparity between violence and human rights abuse suggests that online news media is not focused on the future and intervention in the Anglophone Crisis. Further, the presence of violence becomes normalized because there is insufficient urgency for the end of such violence, as expressed through possible narratives of peacebuilding or human rights.

With the exclusion of “human rights abuse,” the representation of the other major concerns of the Anglophone Crisis greatly vary depending on the publication. Additionally, certain publications form what I would describe as “media alliances” where they present very similar content to another newspaper. These “alliances” of valued narratives often align with colonial history. For example, *Le Monde* and *Journal du Cameroun* often represent the same narratives in comparison to *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News,” that align their news content differently. These similarities exemplify a reflection colonial history where Cameroon (*Journal du Cameroun*) was a colony of France (*Le Monde*) and the United States was a colony of Great Britain (*The Guardian*), which suggests that media models the continuation of colonial institutions of thought. This is substantiated by the most contrasting representation of conflict narratives which occurs between *Le Monde* and *The Guardian* that embody the two former colonizers of Cameroon. The colonial legacy and its accompanying hegemonic forces are extended through the juxtaposition of these newspapers, who continue to construct different discourses of Cameroonian society.
Security is an important narrative in *Le Monde* and *Journal du Cameroun*, which justifies military action by the Cameroonian government to maintain a sense of “order.” The theme of security often accompanies a Francophone bias where the conflict is represented as a deviation from the natural function of society (which was instituted by French assimilation). On the other hand, Anglophone bias is illuminated in the narrative of impacted civilians as prominently illustrated in *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News.” These newspapers provide a more personal lens to maintain the identity of Anglophone victimization, rather than a holistic view of security as provided in the French-written publications. In the articles, I found that *The Guardian* references institutional marginalization more than in *Le Monde*, which is a symbolic representation of their colonial roles in Cameroon. While the Francophone system propagated inequality in its institutions through the forces of domination and consent, the Anglophone system was marginalized. *Le Monde* as an example of media from a former colonizer, maintains the current dominance of Francophone institutions in Cameroon through the omission of marginalization.

Overall, “U.S. Mainstream News” presented the most salient narrative of displacement in comparison to *Journal du Cameroun*, that does not reference it once. Although the minimalization of displacement in the Cameroonian newspaper occurs likely due to censorship policies, it perpetuates the silence of the grave reality of the Anglophone experience of the crisis. In accordance with their colonial relation to Britain, *The Guardian* and “U.S. Mainstream News” are found to be the most concerned with the corruption of the Biya administration. The narrative of corruption accompanies the rejection of Francophone dominance in Cameroon, which is not equally reflected in the French or Cameroonian newspapers. The focus on economic insecurity is most proportionally relevant (although not
prominent collectively) in *Journal du Cameroun* and *Africanews*, while it was barely acknowledged if at all by the other publishers. The description of the crisis as a socio-political manifestation of inequality is not found to be particularly important in the narratives of the publishers that I examined.

In addition to the eight major concerns that I identify, media discourse is also largely characterized by the dualism of conflict perpetration between the Cameroonian military and armed separatists. This dualism functions as a tool to understand the dynamics of a conflict by framing it as two opposing sides, but it simultaneously reduces the multi-factorial manifestation of conflict. The narration of the Anglophone Crisis that occurs between the military and separatists also detracts from the major root causes, including colonization. Throughout every news publisher, separatists are overwhelmingly represented as “threats” and even “terrorists” to established Francophone dominance, the military, and Anglophone civilians. The Cameroonian military is also perceived as a perpetrator and heavy-hand in the crisis, but to a lesser extent than separatists. When analyzed through a sociological lens, the criticism of separatists legitimizes the authority of the military while the reverse challenges the status quo of hegemonic relations in Cameroonian society. However, this does not mean that the war crimes from certain separatist groups should not be investigated along with the actions of the military.

Where do we go from here? While Catholic leaders have attempted a degree of conflict management, the use of colonial institutions is consent to domination and will not bring lasting peace. Peace and progress require the “transgression of limits” (Foucault), which involves exploring conflict resolution strategies beyond the limits of colonization. While full transgression may not be possible due to the permanence of colonization in the
genealogy of societies, there may be opportunities for partial transgression that may bring conflict management to the Anglophone Crisis. An aspect of transgression may include the alteration of the ways that conflict is traditionally discussed, which can be expressed through narratives. While narratives of violence and security may perpetuate existing forces of domination and consent, narratives of colonization and marginalization provide understanding to deconstruct the current system. The diversification of conflict narratives also empowers the voices and experiences of affected parties that are often neglected.

I argue that acknowledgement of colonial history and how it has produced systems of inequality is the first step in the peacebuilding process in Cameroon. When conflict resolution is framed around a comprehensive understanding of the past, potential solutions may be built around the root causes of tension. When facing the Anglophone Crisis, history reveals that Francophones have a privileged status in Cameroonian society. For the resolution process to even begin, the political, economic, and social inequality between Anglophones and Francophones must be reduced: Anglophones cannot be an equal participant in the process if they are marginalized. If Cameroon is to continue as one state of two designated identities, a new system must be created with representative institutions of different peoples than that of dominant and subordinate. Additionally, history can be a tool to understand that former colonizers are still extensively controlling Cameroonian affairs and perpetuating the crisis by maintaining the colonial systems that benefit them. I urge these countries to halt actions of conflict escalation such as the provision of weapons, promotion of a dictator, advancement of the colonial education, and appointing of directors to Cameroonian office. I
encourage France, Britain and Germany to evaluate and acknowledge their historical role in
the instigation of the Anglophone Crisis and to be a resource in peacebuilding efforts.\textsuperscript{105}

Beyond my own recommendations for the disinvolvement of the “hidden hands” of
the Anglophone Crisis, I believe it would be inappropriate for me, as a Western, white person
to pose more concrete solutions for internal conflict resolution. Additionally, I acknowledge
that the manifestation of this crisis extends far beyond my expertise and it would require the
collaboration of local people and intellectuals to be successful as an organic movement. It is
vital that the people of Cameroon are empowered to provide their own solutions to the
conflict, that align with culturally appropriate methods of justice. The reality is that
mainstream conflict resolution strategies are largely created from white institutions, which I
believe would perpetuate colonial relations of domination if applied in the case of the
Anglophone Crisis. At the same time, this conflict is deeply concerning and should be
granted more attention in international politics and media. I argue that we as bystanders
cannot turn a blind eye to the injustices occurring in Cameroon. Similarly, we must be
willing to support authentic and integrative peacebuilding while acknowledging our historical
contribution to global inequality.

\textsuperscript{105} However, these previous colonizers should not lead peacebuilding efforts because that would be a conflict of
interest as seen through a historical lens.
Appendix A: Newspaper Protocol

1. Number: (1-23)
2. Newspaper Source
3. Title of the Article
4. Author
5. Date of Publication
6. Location of Article
7. Length of Article
8. Original Language of Publication
   o English
   o French
9. Definition of the Problem
10. Language Describing the Crisis
11. Themes
12. Frame
   o Economic
   o Event
   o Historical
   o Intervention
   o Political
   o Narrative
13. Persons Directly or Indirectly Cited
14. Photograph and/or Video
   o Yes
      ▪ Description
   o No
15. Distinctive Quote
16. Notes
Appendix B: Frequency of Newspaper Articles

Table 1.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher Source</th>
<th>Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal du Cameroun</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New York Times</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher Source</th>
<th>Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal du Cameroun</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New York Times</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix C: Ideological Tendencies of Media Sources

Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper/Publisher</th>
<th>Ideological Tendency</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agence France-Presse</td>
<td>Center/Neutral</td>
<td>International News Agency subsidized by the French government and based out of Paris, France. Reputable factual and credible reporting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agence Presse Africaine</td>
<td>Propaganda</td>
<td>International News Agency with headquarters in almost every African nation as well as various Western nations. Content is considered to be irreputable and propaganda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Based out of London, England. Primarily publishes factual material but employs language to favor liberal causes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Center-Left</td>
<td>Based out of France and involves primarily neutral and factual reporting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>Center/Neutral</td>
<td>Based out of London, England. Content is considered to be reputable and neutral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Based out of Washington, D.C. and owned by Jeff Bezos. Primarily factual reporting yet tends to favor liberal causes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = Subjectively Evaluated

Source: Intégrer Sciences Po, Media Bias/Fact Check, and Pew Research Center
### Appendix D: Article Frames

Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Africanews</th>
<th>Journal du Cameroun</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Le Monde</th>
<th>&quot;U.S. Mainstream News&quot;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>20% (1)</td>
<td>50% (2)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>40% (2)</td>
<td>25% (1)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>80% (4)</td>
<td>60% (3)</td>
<td>60.87% (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>25% (1)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>40% (2)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>20% (1)</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>20% (1)</td>
<td>20% (1)</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (5)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (5)</td>
<td>100% (5)</td>
<td>100% (23)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Appendix E: Major Concerns of the Anglophone Crisis

Table 4.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Concern of the Anglophone Crisis</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>31.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacted Civilians</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Insecurity</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political Dysfunction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights Abuse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>233</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Concern of the Anglophone Crisis</th>
<th>Newspaper Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africanews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>33.33% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>13.89% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacted Civilians</td>
<td>8.33% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td>5.56% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement</td>
<td>11.11% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Insecurity</td>
<td>5.56% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political Dysfunction</td>
<td>11.11% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights Abuse</td>
<td>8.33% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100% (36)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Appendix F: Frequency of Potential Peace

### Table 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes of Potential Peace</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calls for Dialogue</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to Authentic Peace</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demands for Justice</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Newspaper Source</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Length (words)</th>
<th>Original Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>Investigate atrocities in Anglophone Cameroon: U.N. genocide expert</td>
<td>Daniel Mumbere</td>
<td>10/2/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>Cameroon govt urged to initiate dialogue and end ongoing crisis</td>
<td>Emilia Nkengmeyi</td>
<td>10/5/2018</td>
<td>Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>Cameroon's anglophone crisis hits economy</td>
<td>Eric Oteng</td>
<td>10/6/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>Clashes between separatists, army kill at least 10 in Cameroon</td>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>10/25/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Africanews</td>
<td>Cameroon president tells secessionists to abandon futile adventure</td>
<td>Abdur Rahman Alfa Shaban</td>
<td>11/7/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Journal du Cameroun</td>
<td>Présidentielle au Cameroun: Biya favori malgré la crise anglophone</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>10/1/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Journal du Cameroun</td>
<td>Cameroun: un passé colonial tumultueux à l’origine de la crise anglophone</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>10/2/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Journal du Cameroun</td>
<td>L’économie et la crise anglophone font de la résistance dans les journaux camerounais</td>
<td>APA News</td>
<td>11/23/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Les anglophones du Cameroun pris entre les feux de l’armée et des séparatistes</td>
<td>Cyril Bensimon</td>
<td>10/12/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Un missionnaire américain tué dans le Nord-Ouest anglophone du Cameroun</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>10/31/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Au Cameroun, Paul Biya prête serment dans un climat de tension</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>11/6/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Au Cameroun anglophone, 90 élèves enlevés puis libérés</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>10/7/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Cameroun anglophone : des combats font 25 morts chez les séparatistes</td>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>11/14/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>English-speakers boycott Cameroon election as violence worsens</td>
<td>Ruth Maclean</td>
<td>10/4/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>Gunfire in Cameroon's anglophone regions deters voters on polling day</td>
<td>Ruth Maclean</td>
<td>10/7/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>Biya wins again in Cameroon as crackdown disrupts anglophone vote</td>
<td>Ruth Maclean</td>
<td>10/22/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>Cameroon: 79 pupils kidnapped from boarding school</td>
<td>Ruth Maclean</td>
<td>11/5/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The New York Times</td>
<td>Cameroon Students Have Been Released, Officials Say</td>
<td>Dionne Searcey</td>
<td>11/7/2018</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>Cameroon is spiraling further into violence</td>
<td>Siobhán O'Grady</td>
<td>10/26/2018</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>U.S. missionary shot and killed in front of wife and son amid escalating Cameroon crisis</td>
<td>Siobhán O'Grady</td>
<td>10/30/2018</td>
<td>Bamenda, Cameroon</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Appendix G2: Newspaper Protocol Results (Part 2)

### Table 6.2:

**Key:**
- **Newspaper Source**
  - AN = Africanews
  - G = The Guardian
  - JC = Journal du Cameroun
  - LM = Le Monde
  - NYT = The New York Times
  - WP = The Washington Post

- **Frame**
  - Economic = EC
  - Event = EV
  - Description = D
  - Historical = H
  - Intervention = I
  - Political = P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>News Source</th>
<th>Definition of the Problem</th>
<th>Language Describing Crisis</th>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Persons/Organizations Cited</th>
<th>Photo and/or Video</th>
<th>Distinctive Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>The Government and Separatists are committing atrocities</td>
<td>&quot;concerning atrocities,&quot; &quot;clashes,&quot; &quot;crimes&quot;</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Adama Dieng, UN, CNN</td>
<td>Photo: Adama Dieng from UN speaking to CNN</td>
<td>&quot;We need to have political dialogue but also demand for justice&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Government crimes and inaction</td>
<td>&quot;crimes against humanity,&quot; &quot;civil war&quot;</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Global Centre for the Responsibility, African Union, Cameroonian Army, Ambazonia Defense Forces, Southern Cameroons Defense Forces, Anglophone guerrilla fighters</td>
<td>Photo: Paul Biya in front of national flag</td>
<td>&quot;armed conflict and identity-based violence continue to escalate in the North-West and South-West regions where security forces are committing potential crimes against humanity&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Quote</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Video</td>
<td>Note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Violence, Fighting</td>
<td>&quot;fighting,&quot; &quot;insecurity,&quot; &quot;unrest&quot;</td>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Personal (3), Separatists, GICAM</td>
<td>&quot;the economic outlook for Cameroon is far from rosy&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Fighting between Cameroon Army and Separatists</td>
<td>&quot;security problem,&quot; &quot;fighting,&quot; &quot;killing&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Separatists, Cameroon Security Forces, Paul Biya, Issa Tchiroma Bakary, Government Soldier, Cho Ayaba, ADF, League of Nations, Germany, France, Britain</td>
<td>&quot;Biya’s greatest security problem in nearly four decades in power&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Separatists are perpetuating violence</td>
<td>&quot;futile adventure,&quot; &quot;threat to national unity&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Boko Haram, Cameroon government, separatists</td>
<td>&quot;ces conflits armés ne sont que des « troubles », selon Paul Biya&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Separatists are preventing a peaceful and successful election</td>
<td>&quot;un violent conflit armé,&quot; &quot;troubles,&quot; &quot;les attaques contre les symboles de l'État&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Boko Haram, separatists, Cameroon government, Fred Eboko (politician), Joshua Osih, Fru Ndi, France, United States, Institute of Research and Development (IRD), Catholic Church, Ministers</td>
<td>&quot;ces conflits armés ne sont que des « troubles », selon Paul Biya&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Colonization, Francophones, and the Cameroonian State</td>
<td>&quot;Une sale guerre,&quot; &quot;sa plus grave crise sécuritaire&quot;</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Separatists, Germany, France, Great Britain, Titus Edzoa (ex-general secretary of the</td>
<td>&quot;Les anglophones se plaignent d’être traités comme des «&quot;</td>
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<td>JC</td>
<td>Separatists and the Government</td>
<td>&quot;la crise sécessionniste, &quot;le sang n’arrête pas&quot;</td>
<td>EC</td>
<td>&quot;le sang n’arrête pas de couler sur le front séparatiste&quot;</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>The Crisis is destroying the economy</td>
<td>&quot;une crise sociopolitique sur l’économie nationale&quot;</td>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Intitulé « Insécurité dans les régions du Nord-ouest et du Sud-ouest : conséquences économiques et impacts sur l’activité des entreprises »</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Violence between the Cameroon Army and Separatists</td>
<td>&quot;une guerre&quot;</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;« la situation » est en réalité une guerre qui ne dit pas son nom&quot;</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Separatists are committing acts of terrorism</td>
<td>&quot;terrorisme,&quot; &quot;conflit armée,&quot; &quot;défense et sécurité&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>&quot;Yaoundé, qui refuse le dialogue avec les séparatistes, qualifiés de « terroristes », a procédé depuis le début de l’année à un important déploiement de forces pour « rétablir l’ordre ».&quot;</td>
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<td>LM</td>
<td>Socio-political tension is causing unrest in Cameroon</td>
<td>&quot;résister par des actions pacifiques,&quot; &quot;troubles, &quot;une crise sociopolitique&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Cameroon Government, Cameroon Army, Separatists, Students, Terrorists, United States, Maurice Kamto (opponent), Mouvement pour la renaissance du Cameroun (MRC), Grégoire Owona (politician)</td>
<td>Photo: Biya casting his vote</td>
<td>L’opposant affirme que l’élection a été marquée par des « fraudes massives et barbares » en dépit desquelles « le Conseil constitutionnel a décidé de proclamer Paul Biya vainqueur sur la base des documents fabriqués pour la circonstance par des officines du pouvoir… »</td>
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<td>Separatists are perpetuating violence in schools</td>
<td>&quot;attaques,&quot; &quot;conflit armée,&quot; &quot;marginalisation,&quot; &quot;troubles&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Students, Separatists, Issa Bakary Tchiroma (minister of communication), Paul Biya, Foki Samuel Forba (reverend), Presbyterian Church, Authorities</td>
<td>Photo: Protest in Bamenda</td>
<td>&quot;Les attaques de séparatistes armés contre des écoles sont nombreuses depuis le début du conflit.&quot;</td>
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<td>LM</td>
<td>The Cameroon Army is mass-killing separatists</td>
<td>&quot;enfer,&quot; &quot;une guerre réelle,&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Separatists, AFP, Mark Bareta (propagandist of ambazonians), Cameroonian Army, Authorities</td>
<td>Photo: Cameroon map</td>
<td>&quot;Cette guerre est réelle. Ç’a été un enfer&quot;</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Paul Biya will not step down from his presidency</td>
<td>&quot;rebellion,&quot; &quot;activists,&quot; &quot;capitalize,&quot; &quot;threaten&quot;</td>
<td>EV</td>
<td>Paul Biya, Separatists, Personal, Cameroon government, &quot;Ama Boys,&quot; Teachers, Judith Mafor (personal), Robert Mugabe, Yoweri Museveni (Ugandan President),</td>
<td>Photos: Paul Biya election rally, Biya campaign billboard, Biya supporters fixing a car</td>
<td>“We have tried with guns and this has taken us to the graves and to the bushes.”</td>
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<td>“Disinformation has been a common theme throughout the conflict, and it was unclear exactly who was responsible.”</td>
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<td>NYT</td>
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<td>“The conflict has been particularly hard on students, many of whom have been kept out of school for two years because of the violence.”</td>
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| 22   | WP     |   | “Frustrations are now mounting across the country, and the International
| 23 | WP | Unrest in Cameroon has caused an American fatality | "control," "grief," "blame" | EV | "There’s no telling why he was singled out and shot. There’s just no way to tell at this point." |

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