

Cultural Pluralism in State Formation, a Perspective in Resolving the Anglophone Conflict in Cameroon

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Abstract: African state was born from decolonization unlike the European states that were born from civil state and ethno-state system by homogenizing all the different identities that existed. African states were heterogeneous before the European colonization of Africa, the content was partition among the European nations without taken in to consideration the different identities that existed in Africa and the homogenized them with their notions and idea to form a single entity as a state. In context of Cameroon it was colonized by the Germans but following the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Germans were defeated and all their territory sized and handed to Britain and France and they partition the territory. France took majority while Britain took the smaller part. And each introduces their culture, administrative styles and values. On the eve of independence British Southern Cameroon gained independence by joining French Cameroon that had already had independence a year earlier. This created the majority and minority issues in a pluralistic society as each tries to exercised their cultural values and maintain their identity but the majority marginalized and suppressed the minority. This resulted to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. The research explored conflict management mechanism that can mitigate and resolve the conflict. The research used a qualitative approach, a case study design was employed, the researcher interviewed 15 respondents, thematically, and the article used the Centrepetalist theory. Finding revealed that, negotiation, mediation, problem-solving workshop, reconciliation, restorative justice, and conflict resolution in a worst case situation. The article recommends that the both parties most show and demonstrate political willingness to see the conflict resolve.

Keywords: Cultural Pluralism, State Formation, Anglophone conflict. Conflict Resolution, Conflict Management.



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Introduction:

Cultural pluralism is viewed from lenses of differences, heterogeneity, diversity and multiculturalism. It entails the existence of different ethnic groups, tribes, clans, religion, gender, and color's, each of these different groups seek to survive and to be independent. Meanwhile, the state according to Charles Tilly view states as "coercion wielding organization that are distinct from households and kinship groups and exercise their priority. There is a nexus between cultural pluralism and state formation, the smallest unit of a state is the family, a combination of several families makes up a village, a combination of several villages makes up a sub-division, a combination of sub-division makes up a division and a combination of division makes up a region or state, while the combination of regions or states makes up a country. Each of these are coming from different cultural backgrounds with diverse way of life, beliefs, values, history and traditions. If these diversity and differences within these groups are not well manage conflict will raised since each of them strives to project their culture as the best and struggle to assimilate the others.

In the human science there is always the clash of different cultures which often time emanate in conflict. Conflicts often occurs as a result of misunderstanding between two or more parties, misunderstanding which leads to irreconcilable differences between the parties is further exacerbated when the conflict is linked to culture or ethnic conflict. Each of the parties clench to their cultural values, beliefs, and ways of life that are different from the other parties, hence there is a clash of cultures. The parties clash due to the fact that one culture tries to dominate the other culture (majority-minority) and the interest of the minority is not taken in to consideration. A conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values, cultural beliefs, identity, resources and power in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rival.

The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon emanate from the clash of culture based on the way the state of Cameroon was formed. The Germans colonized Cameroon but with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Germans were defeated and all their territories apprehended and handed to League of Nations as mandated territories. Britain and France were given these territories as caretakers, in Cameroon the territory was partition between Britain and France. France took 4/5 of the territory while Britain took 1/5 (Awason2020). Both of them introduce the various cultures, system of governance, and way of life. This continued after the Second World War as trusteeship territory under the United Nations. The crux of the conflict emanate on the eve of independence as British Southern Cameroon had to achieved independence by joining French Cameroon which had it independence on 1st January 1960. Southern Cameroon got independence following the plebiscite in 1961(Awasom, 2011).This laid the foundation of the Anglophone conflict as it created the majority-minority conflict, due to the fact that in the process of state formation cultural differences was not taken in to consideration.

Objectives of the Study

The article is guided by the following objectives

1. To assess the effective or ineffectiveness of the conflict resolution mechanism put in place by the state of Cameroon in resolving the Anglophone conflict.
2. To examine the practical conflict resolution strategies in resolving the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon,

METHODOLOGY

This study made use of qualitative research approach, which is particularly well- suited phenomenon under investigation as it gives an in-depth understanding of individual experience, knowledge and perspective (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A case study research design was adopted

focusing on cultural pluralism in state formation, a perspective in resolving the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. To select respondents their knowledge and experience and academic publication on the phenomenon was taken in to consideration, a purposive sampling technique was utilized. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, which facilitate and give in-depth as the respondent expressed them self and the researcher prop in with question for further clarification (Seidman, 2013). A total of 30 interviews were administered and the research made used of thematic analysis,

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Propounded by Donald L. Horowitz and Benjamin Reilly in 1985, Centripetalism stresses on the believe that the ideal way to manage conflicts in divided societies is not to replicate existing ethnic divisions in the legislature and other representative organs, but rather to put in place institutional incentives for cross-ethnic behavior in order to encourage accommodation between rival groups in societies. Centripetalism reinforces believe that an actor or leader in a country should accept the diversity of other people, build structures that accommodate the various elements in a society.

A Centripetalist becomes part of the central government and promotes national unity in its diversity. The goal is to build a collective identity by identifying different cultures associated with different people within that society, accept such diversities by instituting governance mechanisms to govern and manage the people without any discrimination. Benjamin Reilly (2018: 201) opines that centripetal approach to ethnic conflict management seeks to promote inter-ethnic accommodation and moderation by making politicians dependent on the electoral support of groups other than their own base. Matthijs (2013: 2) opines that the best way to manage democracy in deeply divided societies is to depoliticize ethnicity by promoting liberal leaders in the country who will accept the existence of other ethnic groups within the country. Centripetalism is applicable because it seeks ways of governing and managing the ethnic diversity in Cameroon and how two peoples can overcome their differences, coexist within the same country without the feeling of discrimination, marginalization from a superior culture.

Acceptance and accommodation of are the values on the theory of centripetalism, which if well applied in the ongoing conflict in Cameroon it will leads to the de-escalation of the conflict. Mechanisms such as power sharing, equal representation and active participation to decision making processes will create the feeling of belongingness among the Anglophone minority group. Federalism and confederation in a diverse society like Cameroon guarantee the existence of both Anglophones and Francophones within the same country and their different identities, languages will be upheld thus living together in unity and harmony.

To assess the effective or ineffective of the conflict resolution mechanism put in place by the state of Cameroon in resolving the Anglophone conflict.

The state of Cameroon has employed conflict resolution mechanism in resolving the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon and how effective or infective has the mechanism been.

Problem-solving workshop

The problem-solving workshop implies that it is facilitation and consultation as means of responding to conflict; it is based on the philosophy that conflicts can best be approached as shared problems to solve rather than contests or cases to win. To buttress further, this problem workshop is a situation where the parties to the conflict seek solutions to the problem and the parties at this level are equal and contribute positively in redressing the situation. This approach in managing conflict or resolving conflict placed emphases on different principles and practices and often time it takes the form of workshops, consultations or facilitated dialogues between the conflicting parties and these dialogues that adopt a fundamental orientation, which is usually in

sharp contrast to bargaining and negotiation and to the application of legal norms, rules or sanctions (Mitchell, 2003). Problem-solving approaches as a contrast to the more familiar responses to conflicts, such as coercion, deterrence, the enforcement of law and order, or power-based bargaining. Problem solving workshops, sustained dialogue or facilitated encounters between the conflicting parties to change their view point from a conflict to be won to a problem to be solved. To some respondents the major national dialogue was problem-solving work but not well planned;

From my knowledge in conflict studies, problem-solving workshops entail that the parties in conflict come together in finding a solution to the problem. But that was not the case; all ten regions were involved when they were not in conflict. Expectations were for the Anglophone leaders, diaspora and other stakeholders in the conflict to meet with the government on a neutral ground to seek a solution to the conflict.

The national dialogue was a monologue. This is because the other party to the conflict was not represented, the Anglophone leaders were in captivity and so it was a one-man show or government show.

In conflicts that encompass identity issues, the parties in conflict find it difficult to shift from their position as well as the other conflicting parties, as they are always on dilemmas. In this context of Anglophone conflict, separatists or armed groups and governments are not willing to shift from their position. To these respondents they are in line with this;

The government is on the stand point that they cannot negotiate with terrorists, but are the Anglophones that are crying for being marginalized in this union terrorist.

From another angle the war economy has made both factions to continue with the conflict. During conflict time war mongers always fan the flames of the conflict for their own. Can they instrumentalized the conflict to make gains, war entrepreneurs have used the conflict as a source of business; both government officials equally gain from the conflict and mission allowance to these conflict areas.

The problem-solving workshop entails that the conflicting parties reconceptualise their situation, which is of paramount importance in solving conflicts. Accepting that there is inevitable existence of such psychological and political processes in any conflict strongly indicates that the problem-solving workshop involves the examination of the perceptions and the causes of the conflict. With problem workshop it is a zero-sum game. This implies that the interest of the conflicting parties is not to win or lose but both parties committed in finding mutual ground for the parties in conflict. This was lacking during the major national dialogue. Problem-solving work – should equally do not apportion blame or faults, faults are not a key element in the problem-solving work shop. The focus is to engage in meaningful dialogue in addressing the problem.

The Major National Dialogue, the Special Status and Decentralization

The respondents pointed out that the national dialogue was a problem-solving workshop but its timing and planning process were not well done. The national dialogue or calling for dialogue with the conflicting parties was a welcome moved by the president of the republic. The major National Dialogue by the president of the republic on September 30th 2019, as a means of bringing the government and the Anglophone people to dialogue about a way out of the conflict in Anglophone Cameroon was a great move, which demonstrated that the government was willing to resolve the conflict. But Anglophones as a people during this time had the leadership they followed. According to some respondents, the fact Anglophone leaders were not at the initial stage of planning the process, the dialogue was meant to fail;

The major national dialogue failed before it stated, Anglophone leaders were in captivity and equally they were not part of the planning process, it was more a government thing. Dialogue or

problem workshop of this entails that the conflicting parties or the major stakeholders are involved at the initial stage.

The agenda for deliberation was expected to be drafted by the conflicting parties backstage before deliberation but in the case of Cameroon, the government drafted the agenda and presented.

As a conflict resolution strategy (problem-solving-work shop), the dialogue processed flawed at its inception, For instance, the agenda seemed pre-prepared and predetermined. Major stakeholders in the conflict, such as the separatist leaders, were still incarcerated, while the deliberations were on-going (Enonchong, 2021). Stakeholders like the diasporas and local leaders were not present at the dialogue table. The dialogue was a stage to manage the Anglophone conflict but the root causes of the conflict were not discussed. Anglophones present at the dialogue were not given the opportunity to express their worries and grievances.

The major national dialogue, which was aimed at discussing the way out of the Anglophone conflict, was organized in the midst of the conflict. In a problem-solving work shop, it is expected that both parties to the conflict cease-fire when deliberations are going on. This was not the case in the Cameroonian context, while the dialogue was going on; both parties were on the ground actively fighting. The government that was a lead player or actor in the conflict would have called for a cease-fire prior to the national dialogue. This goes further to prove the government is ineffective in the management of the conflict. The conflict areas of the North West and South West regions were heavily militarized with the presence of military men and women carrying heavy firearms.

Paffenholz et al. (2017) contend that national dialogue (problem-solving work shop) usually involves key national elites, including the government and the largest opposition parties, occasionally the military. However, it should be underscored that the parties to the conflict both internal external actors as well as civil society are all important actors to the conflict and involvement is paramount. National dialogues are inclusive throughout the entire negotiation processes. This implies that the conflicting parties and other stakeholders to the conflict must be involved in all the phases (Paffenholz et al. 2017). The respondents, however, accepted that the national dialogue was viewed as a beacon of hope in providing solutions to the Anglophone conflict that was not the case, as the dialogue failed from inception due to the fact that it was not inclusive, it was non-representative, the agenda was premeditated and the form of state, which has been the pressing concern of Anglophones was not open for discussion of negotiation at the dialogue. The fact that the conflict Anglophone conflict is still on-going is a testament to the failure of the national dialogue.

They held a drama in the name of a national dialogue with CPDM members, I remember the delegation of Momo west constituency.

Since the national dialogue, the conflict still rages on, which is to show that the dialogue was not effective based on the fact of the inclusivity of the stakeholders of the Conflict.

The government organized the national dialogue to talk about possible solutions to the Anglophone conflict, which we are still experiencing given the fact that the conflict has not come to an end.

The government spokesman, Rene Emmanuel Sadi said, “We don’t envisage any dialogue more inclusive than the one that just took place in Yaoundé,” (Africannews, 2019). Hence proving that the government was only hypocritical in organizing the national dialogue, because the components of inclusive dialogue were not taken into consideration, in newspapers it states that the government is doing all what it can to manage the Anglophone conflict but in the real essence of it, there is nothing substantial to back that claim.

Most of the respondents are of the strong opinion that the national dialogue held from September 2019 was a mere monologue given the fact that those detained in connection to the conflict were not given the opportunity part taken in the dialogue. National dialogue provided an inclusive, broad and participatory official negotiation framework, which can resolve and lead countries into peaceful political transitions (Paffenholz et al., 2017). After the dialogue 333 detainees linked to the conflict were released. This was a good move but the timing was wrong. The fact that not all the detainees were released, especially the front line actors, was another issue. The expectation was that all the detainees were to be released before the national dialogue in order for the separatist leaders to be part of the dialogue, hence inclusivity.

The national dialogue came up with recommendations instead of resolutions; the recommendations are still to be implemented. It recommended the translation of all official and legal instruments into both English and French. But that is not the situation as pointed out by some respondents;

At the level of the university, we still received official documents from the ministry of higher education in French language.

This implies that the government preaches virtue and practices vices, it goes beyond the university environment to other institutions of the state, as French is considered the dominant language in Cameroon. The government has projected Cameroon to the international community to be a French-speaking country. As pointed out by some respondents;

Do you know that Gabonese students that wish to study English instead go to Rwanda and other English countries in Africa, rather than Cameroon, because the government has projected the state of Cameroon to be a French-speaking nation.

Information gathered on the field revealed that an important legal instrument like the OHADA has not yet been fully translated, as only portions of it exist in the English language. The findings equally revealed that there are still some Francophones in Anglophone regions occupying important decision-making positions. Our diversity and cultural differences should be a source of strengthening, occupying positions by others not from the region brings in the theoretical aspect of centripetalism, which allows people out of their region to hold positions of responsibility but the interest of the people must be of paramount importance, hence building national consciousness and cohesion.

One of the outcomes of the national dialogue was the granting of special status to the North West and South-West Regions of Cameroon. A special status is semi-autonomy. By this the government acknowledges that Anglophone regions have a distinct identity. A special status implies that special regional autonomy. It means that in a country that has got several regions, such as Cameroon's ten regions, some of those regions (Northwest and Southwest) acquire certain powers, functions or competences that are not granted to the rest of the regions of the country. Special status is typically done because of the historical specificities of the regions of the country, in order to accommodate their peculiarities and to keep them within the state (Tazo et al., 2019). Some respondents are of the view that the special status did not end the conflict;

The passing of a law to create special status regions has not been enough to bring peace to the conflict regions; the conflict is still going on.

There is nothing about the special status, from 2019 that the law was passed, things are still the same.

Tazo et al. (2019) opines that special status is not enough in resolving the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. In most countries where conflicts or intrastate conflicts have already occurred between the group with specificities and the central state, there is usually a Peace Agreement that is signed between the government and the fighting forces, and the law that granted special status or

Regional Autonomy to their region. Special Status was applicable in the resolution of several conflicts, for example; special status was used in resolving the 30-year conflict between Indonesia and armed groups seeking independence in its island province of Aceh through a Peace Agreement in 2005 and a Special Autonomy law in 2006. In the same light, the conflict between the Philippines and its Bangasmoro region through a Peace Agreement in 2012, Special Autonomy law in 2018. But that of Cameroon did not end up in a peace agreement.

A Peace Agreement is paramount because that is what obtains and there are core elements that are building up to the Peace Agreement, such as (one) a cease-fire, (two) the withdrawal of offensive forces by all sides to the conflict, (three) the effective beginning of safe Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants, (four) amnesty, release and rehabilitation of prisoners held because of the conflict and (five), a national process of reconciliation and healing, and reparations for victims of the conflict to repair the wrongs done to one another. In the Cameroonian context, all these measures were not taken into consideration, and the special status given to Anglophone regions was not accompanied by a peace agreement; hence, the conflict rages on.

Appeasement Strategy by the government of Cameroon

The term appeasement refers to a relation between states involving political and material concessions to an aggressive power to avoid a larger conflict. The term is infamously associated with Chamberlin's policy towards Nazi Germany during the Sudetenland Crisis. The term comes from the French ("the act of satisfying"). Morgenthau was hard on appeasement, defining it as a policy of compromise (Dimuccio, et al. 1998). In the context of this study, appeasement is viewed from the perspective that the government engaged in making compromises in others to avoid the further escalation of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon; it is also viewed from the lens of satisfying the demands of Anglophones in Cameroon. According to some respondents, the government engaged in appeasement by making some compromises to meet the aspirations of Anglophones, but the appeasement strategy by the government came late;

The government has adopted the policy of appeasement to avoid the escalation of the conflict, but these strategies are ineffective because of poor timing.

The creation of the common law bench at the supreme court, the creation of a bilingual and multicultural commission and the decentralization of power.

The Anglophone conflict that emanated and escalated in 2017 went past the issue of language. In the interactions with the respondents, it was observed that the Anglophone conflict cannot be reduced to a mere language issue, as it goes beyond that, as its cultural identity issue. Reducing the conflict to be as a result of language cannot really address the crux of the conflict; hence, the conflict continues. In using the conflict analysis mode of a tree model, which states that the root causes of a conflict should be properly addressed to avoid conflict relapse, the structure and the impact of the conflict but if the root causes are not addressed, the conflict continues, the creation of the bilingual and multiculturalism commission was a means to appease Anglophone but the root or the crux of the conflict has not been addressed. Incorporating the theoretical perspective, the Anglophone conflict is said to be instrumentalized by political war economists, elites, and ethnic activists. On the part of the government, there are individuals that act as spoilers aimed for their economic gains. The appeasement strategy has not been effective in the sense that the conflict is still going on despite the appeasement strategies.

Another appeasement strategy used by the government of Cameroon as a conflict resolution mechanism was the creation of The National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism (NCPBM), by decree number, 2017/013 January 2017, and this commission is placed under the authority of the President of the Republic of Cameroon. The organ is a consultative organ charged with the responsibility for the promotion of Bilingualism and

Multiculturalism in Cameroon, with the lens of maintaining peace; consolidation of the country's unity and strengthening its people's willingness and day-to-day experience with respect to living together in Cameroon. The goals, vision and mission of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism, which include the submission of reports and recommendations on issues related to the protection of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism to the president of the republic, monitoring the healthy implementation of article (1) sub (3) of the constitution on the equal status of French and English as the two official languages, conduct studies and surveys and proposing measures likely to strengthen the bilingual and multicultural character of Cameroon, prepare and submit draught instruments on bilingualism, multiculturalism and togetherness; received petitions against discrimination arising from noncompliance with the constitutional provisions on bilingualism and multiculturalism and report thereon to the president of the republic; perform any other tasks assigned to it by the president of the republic, including mediation.

The mission of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Cameroon is well designed on the basis that it takes into consideration the aspect of living together, hence building collective identity in Cameroon; however, the building of collective identity those not necessarily mean that the various identities, such as Anglo-Saxon and French identities west of the Mungo at the national level, will or should be abandoned but they can live together side by side and build a collective identity which both Anglophones and Francophones will be in the spirit of belonging. These could be done through national symbols, emblems, and other national features. Equally, the mission of the commission evokes the aspect of discrimination, which was one of the springboards to the on-going Anglophone conflict in Cameroon.

Despite the lofty mission of the National Commission for the promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Cameroon, there are some limitations, as pointed out by some respondents in the field;

Bilingualism in Cameroon is on paper. Can you imagine that official texts that are sent to the University of Buea and Bamenda are sent in the French language, and we are talking of bilingualism.

The implementation of the mission of this commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism has not been that effective; they are good on paper but putting them into practice has been a measure issue due to the fact that the impact has not been felt by the common man on the ground. There are two official languages in Cameroon as stated by the constitution but are they fully been used; it is a question that is looming in the air. The current Anglophone conflict emanated due to discrimination from the majority against the minority and unequal usage of both languages was viewed from the lens as discrimination and marginalization, which created anger, fear and frustration. The instrumentalist explored these laminations and used it as a galvanizing factor to rally Anglophone populations to call for their secession from the state of Cameroon. From the pan-African perspective, there is an ideology that seeks to achieve the United States of Africa (USA); hence there is no need to factionalized Africa into smaller factions before regrouping to achieve the United States of Africa.

Conflict Rehabilitation and reconstruction

Conflict rehabilitation focuses on the recovery and rebuilding of societies and communities that have been devastated by the conflict. In this context, the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. It is a multifaceted process that goes beyond simply ending the fighting; it focuses on addressing the long-term consequences of conflict and fostering sustainable peace. Rehabilitation equally aimed at repairing the damage done to individuals, communities, and institutions. According, Collier et al. (2008 :461–478), economic recovery, established democracy, and rebuilding the public sector

and justice system are a few of the challenges faced by post conflict societies. In July 2020, the Presidential Plan for Reconstruction and Development (PPRD) targeting both Anglophone regions of Cameroon was launched. The government of Cameroon appealed for financial support from its development partners and friendly countries in the implementation of the presidential plan for the reconstruction of the Northwest and Southwest regions, destroyed by Anglophone conflict (Journal du Cameroon, 2020). On Wednesday, July 22, 2020, the Prime Minister (PM) Head of Government, Chief Dr. Joseph Dion Ngute, revealed in a consultative meeting concerning the launch of the reconstruction plan, in which he stated that the plan will run for ten years in three different stages, including recovery, reconstruction and development (Journal du Cameroon, 2020). Conflict rehabilitation is also known as post conflict reconstruction (PCR). In the context of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, post conflict reconstruction measures are employed when the conflict is still on-going, as pointed out by some respondents;

In my opinion as an expert in conflict studies, conflict rehabilitation or reconstruction comes after the conflict has ended; the government created the DDR centres and the presidential plan for the reconstruction of North West and South-West Regions when the conflict had not ended.

It is impossible to reconstruct when the conflict is still on-going; both parties need to engage in meaningful conflict resolution mechanisms such as mediation before reconstructing.

Reconstruction in the post-conflict context is a process of rebuilding and addressing development needs while being sensitive to the post crisis of political, economic, security, gender and justice (Lund and Brun, 2008). Reducing political and economic risk through PRC interventions could attract new investors. In the context of Cameroon, the move towards rehabilitation and reconstruction by the state of Cameroon is a good move but for the timing and applicability. Reconstruction and rehabilitation can only be effective after the conflict has ended. The reconstruction through the presidential plan for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of combatants through the DDR centre has been good but what is worrisome is the fact that there are psychological experts that are able to talk them out from the trauma they are going through and the conflict-affected regions. Physical infrastructure reconstruction is not sufficient to achieve sustainable peace. According to these respondents from Douala university governance is a major tool in post conflict reconstruction (PRC);

If there is no governance in the process of the PRC, there is going to be an increase in political exclusion at all levels, hence creating an increase in the divide and prone to conflict.

The inclusion of minority groups as well as gender is equally part of the governance process.

According to Hoglund and Orjuela, (2011), suggests that the PRC can be used as an opportunity to address the root causes of conflict and lay the foundation for political reforms. Economic stability achieved through physical reconstruction is essential to form the stable state, through which the government can address root causes of the conflict and provide political solutions. The president had launched a plan for the reconstruction of two English-speaking regions of the country following the destruction as a result of the conflict. While it was a good measure and initiative to be undertaken to reconstruct these regions due to Anglophone conflict, the challenging issue, which was a major obstacle to this plan, lies in its poor implementation timing.

The government wants to reconstruct the affected Anglophone regions when the conflict is still much actively on-going; there cannot be any meaningful reconstruction when hostilities between the state armed and the separatist armed groups are still going on. For meaningful reconstruction to take place things must return to normalcy in the two Anglophone regions and there is peace. The government flops or fails to realize that it is out to ensure effective management or effective conflict resolution strategies in resolving the conflict before meaningful reconstruction can take place. The reconstruction process can be achievable if the crux of the conflict is properly addressed, which led to conflict and destruction in the first place. Without effective conflict

resolution strategies of the conflict, the reconstruction phase will not be sustainable. In the resolution of this conflict, if the Anglophone identity is not insured and the cultural security grantee, the reconstruction and rehabilitation phase will be a waste of time. Even if things come back to normalcy, there will be a conflict relapsed.

At this point in time, the rehabilitation of ex-combatants through the creation of the DDR centres in the Northwest and the Southwest is a great move but the process is slow and politics has entered into it. The process would have been faster if the conflict was resolved through conflict resolution strategies. Equally, the government has to channel resources directed at the building and the promotion of diversity.

The reconstruction plan was aimed at repairing the damages of the on-going Anglophone conflict. On-going because the conflict still rages on with violent confrontations; thus, what is striking is the sustainability of the reconstruction plan based on the fact that conflict or war comes with destruction, as the Anglophone conflict is still on-going. Undertaking recovery and rehabilitation strategies while the conflict is still on-going will not bring about an end to the conflict. What is imperative for the government is to focus its efforts by giving to conflict resolution strategies that will bring out the root causes of the conflict and to ensure a proper governance system that will encourage and promote the diversity state of Cameroon. When the conflict has been resolved, effective reconstruction and rehabilitation can take place that will be sustainable.

Negotiation

The term negotiation is often used interchangeably with peaceful conflict resolution, dialogue, consultations, talk deliberations, bargaining, bartering and mediation, although there are slight differences in their usage. It generally conceived by many to be synonymous with formal dealings between diplomats, business operators and politicians. However, that is not the case. Whenever there is a divergence of views between two or more persons over a specific issue, and they attempt overtly or covertly, to settle the matter through dialogue, they are said to be actually negotiating (Boniface, 2021).

The Joint Union of Teachers and Lawyers to form the Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) met to dialogue or negotiate with the government in Bamenda in 2017. A commission was created to this effect to look extensively into the problem of Anglophone lawyers and teachers' concerns and propose appropriate solutions. According to some respondents, the crisis escalated because the negotiations between CACSC and the government did not work out for the fact that;

The government could not allow the form of the state to discuss. There were 21 points presented by the consortium leaders and the government accepted all the points expected of the last point that talked about the form of the state.

The government accepted some of the points and proposed a 2 billion CFA franc subvention to confessional schools and promised to the recruitment of 1000 bilingual teachers. The government also produced an English version of the OHADA Uniform Act, which existed only in the French language, which questions the bilingualism of Cameroon. The government has implemented some of the worries raised by Anglophone civil society, such as the recruitment of bilingual teachers, the translation of the OHADA Uniform Act and the creation of the common law bench at the Supreme Court. But these measures have not ended the conflict. To some respondents the government could not equate itself in the negotiation table;

Negotiation is a process that the parties in disagreement have to seat and dialogue as equals, superiority and minority cannot work on a negotiation table. The government felt superior and could not steep down low to discuss with teachers and lawyers. The failure to come to a consensus between the government and CACSC, CACSC remained implacable and refused to lift the call to

strike, insisting on having a two-state federation as the best way to guarantee their demands. In addition, they called for civil disobedience and a shutdown of all economic activities in the two Anglophone regions. The ad hoc commission submitted its report to the government, since the outcome of the negotiations was not favourable to the government. On 17 January 2017, the Minister of Territorial Administration and Decentralization signed a ministerial order banning all the activities of CACSC and the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) throughout the national territory. The government arrested some key leaders, including Barrister Nkongho Agbor Balla and president of the consortium, Fontem Neba Aforteka'a, Paul Ayah Abine and Mancho Bibixy the leader of the coffin protest in Bamenda. The other leaders fled the country. Following the ban of the Anglophone consortium, the operation of the consortium was transferred abroad, where others continued to organize and led anti-government protests and directives to the population to engage in civil disobedience. And in 2017 the conflict escalated and is still on-going

To examine the practical conflict resolution strategies in resolving the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon

Negotiation/inclusive dialogue

Negotiation is one of the Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms that are often used by parties in conflict. Negotiation is a form of social interaction. It is the process by which two or more parties try to resolve perceived incompatible goals (Carnevale and Pruitt, 1992). Negotiation is a private, voluntary, consensual process involving the parties in conflict. In the case of this study, the parties are the Cameroonian government and the armed group leaders and their representatives. Unlike interaction that a third party is needed to moderate the discussion of which the third part acts unilaterally, the parties in negotiation must work together to resolve their dispute. According to some of the respondents, the conflict in Anglophones in Cameroon can be resolved through negotiation.

Negotiation is the possible way out of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon.

Negotiations give both parties in the conflict to sit on the same table and look eye bore to eye bore and the truth to one another.

Negotiation gives the opportunity for the root causes to be brought on the table for discussion.

In a negotiation, the parties provide their own process and resolve their own disputes or conflicts. They do not seek the help of a neutral third party, either to direct the discussion or to resolve conflict for them. The parties in the conflict provide their own process and create their own rules, generally, the rules in a negotiation process are unstated, but are implicitly created as the negotiations unfold. In the context of this study, the government and the armed groups (separatists) need to sit down and discuss by examining the crux of the conflict and chatting away out of the conflict. The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon has presented several ripe moments for belligerence to negotiate. But what is lacking is the will of the parties in conflict to see negotiation as a way out of the conflict. Both the government and separatists must be ready to make compromises. In a negotiation process that involves different cultures, like the case of a plural state like Cameroon, it's encouraged that it should be a win-win-based, the parties can distribute the "fixed pie" or the parties can "increase the pie".

When people from two different cultural groups negotiate, each brings to the table his or her way of thinking about the issues to be negotiated and the process of negotiation. Some of that thinking is affected by the negotiator's cultural group membership and the ways in which issues are typically assessed and negotiations carried out within that cultural group. Figure 1 represents intercultural negotiations as a function of differences between parties with respect to preferences on issues and negotiation strategies. Cultural values may result in preferences on issues that are quite distinct. For example, negotiators from cultures that value tradition may be less enthusiastic

about economic development that threatens to change valued ways of life than negotiators from cultures that value change and development.

The same values that generate cultural differences in preferences may also act as cultural blinders. Members of one culture expect preferences to be compatible, and cannot understand the rationality of the other party, whose views on the same issue are at odds with their own. It is generally always unwise in negotiation to label the other party as irrational (Zartman, 2001); such labelling encourages persuasion to get the other party to adopt the first's view of the situation, rather than the search for trade-offs that are the foundation of integrative agreements. Cultural values and norms may also affect negotiators' strategic negotiation processes. For example, negotiators from cultures where direct, explicit communications are preferred may share information by stating and reciprocating preferences and priorities, by commenting on similarities and differences and values.

The aspect of irrational as postulated by (Zartman, 2001), to him, this aspect of irrationality arises when there is that strong belief in one other party in conflict that they cannot compromise their position. This makes it difficult for the parties to clearly see and take advantage of the ripeness of the moments. In the context of this study, the separatists are viewed by the government as irrational based on the fact that their position of one and indivisible Cameroon, while, on the other hand, the separatists view the government as irrational as the hold ties to their position that their identity must be preserved at all costs. The lack of compromise and the willingness from the parties in the Anglophone conflict have brought the conflict into a stalemate.

When it comes to negotiation, the parties in conflict need to define the conflict. By this it implies that they need to make their perspective of the conflict known. This links to the position based (distributive) negotiation; the parties in conflict do not need to stay static and hold firm on their original position but should be able to have multiple positions that can be switched too. Negotiation is all about pulling the strings to your own end. You should be able to have a starting position and the extreme you can go. In the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, that is a plural society; the armed separatists' fighters are pulling and holding on to their position to form a separate state, which they call "Ambazonia," and the government of Cameroon too stands firmly on their position of one an indivisibility of Cameroon. As a panacea out of the Anglophone conflict negotiation could be a possible way out, where both parties seat and try to find a solution to the problem (integrative negotiation), and should be ready to shift from their original positions and adopt new positions for the sake of peace.

In trying to seek a panacea to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, there are questions that the parties in the conflict must be able to consider, which include when, where and how will the negotiation take place. On a negotiation table, the parties are equal and they should be able to respect one another. The setting positions should be arranged in a way that depicts equality among the conflicting parties. The parties in the conflict should come to the negotiation table with an open mind not come to negotiate in bath faith. In the Anglophone conflict, the government and the separatists must be willing to negotiate and the aspect of a credible commitment should be encouraged and each party should be credible to up hold the terms of the agreement as a way out of the Anglophone conflict, if not, there will always be a conflict relapse.

Mediation

Mediation can be defined as a "complex process of conflict management that purports to facilitate a voluntary agreement between conflict parties at different levels" (Bercovitch and Houston 1993). In the context of this definition, peace mediation is typically understood as a process in which two or more parties to a conflict are assisted by a neutral third-party mediator to pursue a cease-fire or peace agreement (Bercovitch, 1991). It can also be used more broadly to

describe neutral third-party support of national dialogue or other types of peace initiatives (Lehti, 2019). According to some respondents, mediation can be a way out of the Anglophone conflict;

Both the government and the separatists can engage in mediation talks with the help of neutral third parties. Africa has some wise men that can act as mediators.

The mediation talks in Canada, Switzerland and South African if any of these mediation talks were carried out, the conflict would have ended.

Mediation is the key to unlocking the stalemate in the Anglophone conflict.

There are a few widely agreed-upon prerequisites for effective mediation. The first is that the parties to the conflict must have arrived at a point where they have recognized the need to seek a negotiated solution and where they themselves choose to enter into a mediation process. This implies that they have reached what Zartman (2001) termed a “mutually hurting stalemate.” This is a point in the conflict where neither party can achieve victory over the other(s) through violence or other coercive means, and the positions they are in are unsustainable. It is thus a point in the conflict where each of the parties themselves comes to the realization that their best option is to pursue a negotiated end to the conflict. In other words, when weighing all their options, they must come to the conclusion themselves that they are more likely to secure their interests through a negotiated outcome than through violent conflict or other means. In negotiation theory, this is also known as considering the Best Alternative to a Negotiated Settlement (BATNA), that is, if a party believes there is a better alternative than a negotiated settlement, they will pursue that option (Fisher et al. 2011).

BATNA is also used to analyse the specific options and choices a party may have during a negotiation or a mediation process when faced with certain decision points, but the first decision is, of course, whether to negotiate or not. Zartman uses the mutually hurting stalemate analysis to assess the degree to which a conflict is ripe for resolution. If the parties have not reached this point, they are unlikely to opt for mediation. If they do engage in mediation, for instance under international pressure, then the process is unlikely to succeed. If they reach an agreement, it is unlikely to hold for long if one or more of the parties believe they can achieve a better outcome for themselves through other means. This is not an idle concern. Collier and colleagues have found that approximately 50 per cent of all peace agreements fail within ten years (Collier et al. 2003). Adaptive Mediation is an approach to mediation that is particularly concerned with enhancing the self-sustainability of the agreements reached, and laying the foundation for this self-sustainability through the mediation process itself. The second prerequisite is that the parties to the conflict must choose mediation as opposed to, for example, direct negotiation or arbitration if that is an option and agree on the choice of the mediator.

Mediation is a complex process and in choosing the mediator, the parties in the conflict must agree on the mediators. It could be an individual or group of individuals or state or group of states; the mediator must understand the cultural and societal dynamics of the Anglophone conflict. They must take into consideration the historical, societal and the diversity or plural nature of the state and someone that is versed with such underlying factors can best mediate in the conflict. The neutrality of the mediator is the key to solving the Anglophone conflict, as they must be neutral, impartial and objective.

Equally, in a mediation process where, how and when are important questions that the parties in conflict often concern themselves with. Every little thing counts in a mediation process from the decoration and setting arrangement in the hall matters. The time allocated for each of the parties in conflict must be the equal and the mediator(s) do not come with a premeditated and they are not to impose their views on the parties in conflict; rather they are there to facilitate discussion with the parties in conflict. Before the process even starts, the parties are presented with the rules of the

mediation process in which the parties accept and sign and the process continues. If the parties are not comfortable, they have the right to back down.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation can be understood as both a focus and a locus. As a perspective, it is built on the orientation toward the relational aspects of a conflict. As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet. Reconciliation, in essence, represents a place, the point of encounter where both conflicting parties look into the past and see how they can build a stronger relationship in the future. Reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on their relationship and share their perceptions, feelings and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating and building new perceptions and new shared experiences (Lederach, 1999). Reconciliation is a paradox in the sense that it meant being proactive not reactive. It is from these lenses that some respondents held the view point that the Anglophone armed conflict would not have been at the level if it is today; however, some of the respondents still viewed reconciliation as a panacea for the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon;

It is time we bury our differences as people that were brought by colonialism and reconcile for the better future.

Reconciliation is a workable solution to the Anglophone conflict.

Both the government and Anglophones can seat on a table and say to one another I am sorry for my wrong doings and forgive each other through the reconciliation process.

In the historical context, Anglophone and Francophone have been for more than four decades now and what is lacking is the willingness for both parties to reconcile their differences.

In the context of this study, reconciliation has been viewed as a possible way out in ending the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, evoking the reactive nature of reconciliation. Most reconciliation processes come after the conflict has ended; however, a reconciliation dialogue can as well end a conflict. Wars and conflict and state repression have left many societies traumatized and shattered. In Cameroon the on -going conflict has many atrocities and injustices on both sides of the conflict. Reconciliation is the way out by engaging in an honest and truthful process where both parties can forgive one another. If the process is hot championed by truth, then there will be a conflict relapse.

Mistrust and hatred between the conflicting parties inhibit reconstruction. The way out of the Anglophone conflict is compromise and reconciliation, which may be necessary to ensure the end of hostilities but past injustices that are never addressed can easily become a source of renewed conflict. In order to empirically explore the relationship between trust, reconciliation, and peace-building, the first step then is to establish empirically how a social factor can act as a buffer to post-conflict or post-peace agreement risks. To do so, trust needs to be treated as an independent variable. A second step is to establish what domains of trust are involved and isolate their effects on key processes and expected outcomes of transitions to peace, such as reconciliation.

Reconciliation has been identified as a key ingredient of successful post-conflict societies. By its very nature, the concept remains undefined, as reconciliation has been considered to be both an outcome and a process (Bloomfield et al., 2003; Lederach, 1998). Most accounts convey the idea that reconciliation consists in the re-establishment of interaction between antagonists or improbable actors in a post-conflict era (Aiken, 2010)

Pertinent and effective peace building policies in such a context may benefit from this observation. Since reconciliation is something that can only be seen in the long run, after a protracted armed conflict, it materializes in the establishment of peaceful interactions, not their

restitution. Given the long-term conflicts, after a peace agreement, antagonists face the challenge of overcoming the barriers that block the generation of peaceful relations among old enemies.

Prospective reconciliation is the perceived likelihood that future reconciliation is possible in settings where conflict demands the development of new peaceful ties between former enemies. It is useful to explore expectations and dispositions between actors that have previously interacted through the harsh interactions of violent settings. The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon has caused a lot of hatred and division among the Anglophone and Francophone in Cameroon at the national level, Anglophones have been described as “cubes of sugar in a basin of water” they have used derogatory statements about them that have not gone down well with them, and marginalization and the lack of respecting the rights of the minority can be overcome with a proper reconciliation process. Hence as pointed out by some respondent’s reconciliation is a possible way out of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon.

Post-conflict peace is typically fragile: Nearly half of all civil wars are due to conflict relapsing following a peace agreement (Collier & Hoeffler, 2008). In 2015, Pettersson and Wallensteen (2015) reported that in spite of a positive trend regarding the amount of peace agreements reached, several peace processes remained unstable. Many countries fail to overcome political and social violence falling into “conflict traps” (Collier and Sambanis, 2002; Hegre et al., 2011), while the social divisions produced by the war continue to deepen (Walter, 2011). There is little consensus on the most effective policies to avert conflicts or promote post-war recovery (Blattman and Miguel, 2010). As Collier and Hoeffler (2008) have argued, post-conflict societies face two important challenges, namely economic and the fear of conflict relapse; however, the power of political measures and institutional reform to manage conflict are some sceptical for the fear of conflict relapse. In the context of this study, reconciliation is seen as a means of ending the Anglophone conflict.

Restorative justice

Restorative justice is a movement to address the needs and roles of victims of crime, offenders, and communities, rather than the legalistic system that holds offenders purely in relation to violation of the state and law.

Victim needs include a sense of increased involvement and empowerment with the criminal justice process, including learning the facts contributing to the crime and allowing healing through the telling of their story.

Offenders need centre around having the offender empathize with the victim and take responsibility for their actions.

The community is involved as a “secondary victim” and is encouraged to have their voices heard, while also contributing to how a safer, healthier community can be achieved. It is a bottom-up social movement, as pointed out by Roche (2001). According to some respondents, restorative justice should be called as a means to an end;

Restorative justice can be used by the state of Cameroon as a means to an end to the conflict in Anglophone Cameroon (interviewed, 2024, BYD).

Restorative justice helps to build a broken relationship and it can be used in Cameroon to build the relationship Anglophone and Francophone in Cameroon.

Parties in conflict recognized their wrong doing and restorative justice can help build broken relationships.

Restorative justice may sometimes lead to beneficial products, such as reconciliation and forgiveness, as well as decreased recidivism and repeat offences, but these are not necessarily required or central to the process.

The reason for RJ is that it is the best thing to do to heal and address the needs of stakeholders involved in a crime.

Also, in contrast to misconceptions, RJ is not meant as a substitute for the legal system or prisons necessarily (it can often work well in parallel with these).

Importantly, RJ does not imply a return to past experiences of a status quo, which may, in fact, be troubled, but rather a transformation to our better selves and communicate which are always available to us as a potential.

From the stand points of some respondents, restorative justice comes at the end of the conflict due to the fact that it uncovers the hidden facts about the conflict. With the escalation of the Anglophone conflict in 2017, there are a lot of atrocities that have been committed by the parties in conflict, both the government and separatist armed groups; hence restorative justice will help build the broken relationship between both factions. In truth, the reconciliation commission is the key in uncovering and reconciling the factions in the Anglophone conflict. It is worth underscoring that it would be lopsided to discuss restorative justice without the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, if established in Cameroon, is going to help the country heal from the atrocities and it is going to bring about reconciliation. Most often the truth and reconciliation commission is set up at the end of the conflict. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established in South Africa in 1995 following apartheid the TRC set up in Rwanda following the genocide in 1994. But the context of the Anglophone conflict TRC was viewed on the lenses on which it can actually end the conflict. The TRC gave the opportunity for all the stakeholders to be brought on board and hidden atrocities uncovered for reconciliation and forgiveness to take place.

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution as a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other (Wallenstein, 2002). This implies that conflict resolution that comes at the end of the conflict. Conflict resolution does not necessarily identical with peace. There is considerable overlap, however, as most notions of peace are based on the absence of war. A conflict is not resolved if it does not include an end to armed struggle. At the same time, it is not sufficient that it only contains the ending of the fighting. Conflict resolution is more than the limiting it to peace. According to some respondents, the Anglophone conflict should be resolved;

Both the government and separatists need to resolve the conflict.

Conflict resolution is the way out of the current conflict.

The disparities that exist between the parties in conflict can be resolved.

The parties can resolve their cultural differences and still live together as a state.

Conflict resolution is more just the absence of war; the parties must be committed in resolving the conflict by agreeing to respect each other and prepare for living together with one another. In the context of the Anglophone conflict, the conflict can be resolved and both the Anglophone and Francophone live together by respecting the rights of the minority. There are disparities that have existed between the two factions of former West Cameroon and East Cameroon on the Economic, cultural and political domains in which the minority has felt marginalized. The conflict can be resolved by respecting the rights of the minority and accepting their wrongs and ready to work on it to and live together.

Conflict resolution is often time use interchangeably with other concepts, such as conflict management and conflict resolution. All these concepts are related to the field of conflict resolution. Conflict management entails the mechanisms that are put in place to avoid further escalation of the conflict; this implies that measures put in place to avoid escalation. Conflict transformation from violent to non-violent states, conflict resolution is a situation where armed conflicting parties in a (voluntary) agreement resolve to peacefully live with and/or dissolve their basic incompatibilities and henceforth cease to use arms against one another (Wallesteen, 2002).

The central point of conflict resolution is focused on an agreement. It is quite challenging to imagine that parties in a war would end their armed conflict and live side by side without a minimum form of understanding, and this form of understanding is finalized with a formal treaty and this based on the commitment of the parties in conflict. As much as conflict management tries to limit the spread of conflict, thus containing it. Conflict resolution is more ambitious, as it expects the parties to jointly face their incompatibility and find a way to live with or dissolve it. The significance of entering agreements illustrates how conflict resolution is different from other concepts.

In a worst-case scenario, conflict resolution means separation. Separation comes when the terms of the agreements are not respected by the parties in conflict or by one party to the conflict. Conflict resolution that entails separation has actually taken place in Africa, like the case of Sudan and South Sudan, and Ethiopia and Eritrea. The parties to the Anglophone conflict need to resolve the conflict through an agreement. This can only be when the parties are willing and committed to the terms of agreements, because if the terms of the agreement are not respected, then there will be conflict relapsed.

CONCLUSION

The study equally looked at measures put in place by the government of Cameroon in finding a solution to the conflict, and several reasons were advanced, such as the problem-solving workshop, which could be termed the national dialogue, appeasement of Anglophones, conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction as well as negotiation; however, all these measures were not implemented due to the fact that the conflict continued. The research equally looked into forms of state formations that can promote collective identity and, as well, maintain different distinct identities. The federated state system was advocated for as well as the confederated state system, consociationalism, even though, in the context of Cameroon, it cannot be applicable but it was raised by some respondents. Decentralization was equally pointed out but the issue with decentralization is that it needs to be effectively applied to have the desired outcome. The last objective of this study reveals that the way out of the Anglophone conflict can be through negotiations on equal terms, which is a win-win negotiation and that will all depend on the willingness of the parties in conflict to look for a compromise and find a midpoint by abandoning their original positions. Mediation was equally viewed from the lens of finding a way out of the conflict. Mediation should be held on neutral ground, and mediators should be highly natural and non-partisan in the mediation process.

Reconciliation was equally advanced based on the fact that the grievances and atrocities that were committed by both parties in the conflict. The need to forgive each other and build a new relationship by living together was equally evoked. Restorative justice was equally advanced and a truth and reconciliation commission should be set up to find the hidden facts. Victims and offenders should be able to forgive one another, and start a new relationship through forgiveness and reconciliation. Conflict resolution was equally pointed out through the lenses of a panacea to Anglophone conflict. Conflict resolution is complex and often times the concept of conflict management and conflict transformation is used interchangeably. Conflict management refers to limiting the escalation of conflict from a higher intensity to a lower intensity, while conflict transformation deals with the moving from a violent conflict to a peace-building process with

limited or no conflict. Conflict resolution deals with the mechanisms that help to solve a conflict between the parties in conflict; however, in the real sense of the word in conflict studies resolution means separation and separation only come when all the necessary measures and agreements are not respected by the parties in conflict. Hence, the worst-case scenario is the separation of the parties in conflict because all measures that can enable both parties to live together did not work out.

The study aimed at looking for a solution to the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon that has been for more than 8 years since it started in 2016 and escalated in 2017. In the build up to the prescriptions to the conflict, the study looked at the drivers of cultural pluralism in state formation in Cameroon. The mechanisms and measures put in place by the government of Cameroon in resolving the Anglophone conflict were also examined. Not living out a form of state that can promote living together and build a collective identity through symbols and other emblems that will reflect the cultural diversity or plural society in Cameroon.

Conflict Resolution mechanisms such as negotiation, mediation, reconciliation, and truth and reconciliation commissions are viewed from the lens of conflict management. These mechanisms are used to resolve conflict; hence that interconnection between conflict management and conflict resolution. Conflict resolution per se means separation. In Africa conflicts were resolved through conflict resolution (separation), for example, the case of Eritrea and Ethiopia and most recently Sudan and southern Sudan in 2011. Conflict resolution becomes applicable in a situation where the conflict was resolved through conflict management strategies for both parties to live side by side through comprehensive peace agreements but when there is a lack of credible commitment to respect the terms of the agreements and a constant defaulting of the agreements, the worst-case scenario is separation.

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