

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**ROLE OF UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN FUELLING
INTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF CAMEROON.**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this work to the almighty God, my dear husband Allison Ntuba, our boys - Rohi, Ranen and Reuel Ntuba for all their love and support. My mum Achare Susan for her never ending prayers.

I also want to dedicate this work to my younger sister Mrs Tchoffo Kafo Laetitia. You all have been the support I needed.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the role of undemocratic leadership in fuelling intra-state conflict. In addition, the study illustrates tangible policy measures that will mitigate against undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra-state conflicts from a national, regional, continental and international community levels, to restore long lasting peace. It further analyses the drivers of undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon, it examines the historical perspective, the role played by several pressure groups in an attempt to re-assert their identity in a bilingual Cameroon, constitutional perspective and political perspective amongst other drivers. This is critical in understanding the crisis in an in-depth manner so as to come up with sound solutions in attaining a middle ground of ending this problem and attaining permanent peace and maximum nation building in Cameroon. A cross-sectional descriptive research design and stratified sampling method with a sample size of respondents was used. Primary data was obtained via questionnaires, key informant interviews and focused group discussions interviews and quantitative data analysis were done with Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software version 21.0 and presented in tables, charts and graphs with a brief description thereafter. Qualitative data was analyzed by content analysis and presented as verbatim. The study found that Democratic leadership at all levels had a significant impact in promoting sustainable peace and security since it responds to the needs of the people without discrimination. The study establishes that measures that Cameroon has put in place are not sufficient to promote unity in the country hence the need for full implementation of the constitution in a just manner and enhancement of political goodwill for inclusivity in governance. Collective national dialogue with all stakeholders should be enhanced to express the interests of all the citizens so that frequent conflicts can be mitigated amicably.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| AU | African Union |
| AAC | Anglophone Conference |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| FDGs | Focus Group Discussions |
| ICJ | International Court of Justice |
| KANU | Kenya Africa National Union |
| SCNC | Southern Cameroons National Council |
| SCAPO | Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization |
| SCYL | Southern Cameroons Youth League |
| SNH | National Hydrocarbons Corporation of Cameroon |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Achieving good governance has remained one of the African region's greatest challenges and has continued to shape the success of programs and projects aimed at promoting development on the continent. Good governance and ethical leadership are central to the success of any nation. Despite substantial progress towards good governance in recent years, a lot of work still needs to be done to address poor practices being manifested via corruption, mass poverty and prevalence of curable diseases, sectional and ethnocentric maneuverings, high level of insecurity, electoral fraud and conflicts, poor intergovernmental relationships, and political interference in decision making.

The nexus between leadership and governance, particularly political leadership and good governance is crucial for the attainment of a peaceful, just and egalitarian society. They have become the crux of contemporary government and administration. Chiamogu observes that in addition to leadership, governance has become a significant area of research.¹ He rightly explains that one of the key outcomes of governance in democratic societies is that it opens up the political process and space and enables the formulation and implementation of more transparent and responsive public policies. Leadership and governance in Africa's scenario leave a sour taste in the mouth and depicts abject poverty and misery in the midst of abundance. The African political arena is primarily dominated by an ethnic politics or social formations such as religion or language rather than issue-based political parties.

¹Chiamogu, Amobi P., and OCP Policy Center from Thursday. "Political Leadership and Good Governance in Africa: The Role of African Intellectuals in Reinventing a New Dawn for African Renaissance."

In Africa, the elite class has predominantly dominated political institutions and the executive power structure. Lack of proper and well-grounded governance in Africa has been a great bottle neck for economic growth and improved welfare. Several studies have concluded that poor governance negatively impacts economic growth. In line with this finding is a study by Wilkins that observed that poor governance is directly linked to under development. A classic example in Africa is Zimbabwe. Under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, the country went on a downward spiral from 1998. Zimbabwe recorded the highest levels of hyperinflation in the world leading to a total economic collapse. Her citizens were largely negatively impacted as a result. From this example it's clear that poor governance negatively impacts the social welfare of citizens.

The United Nation Children's Fund notes, "Corruption and bad governance were among the causes of war. The majority of the people had no voice in the government and no opportunities in life and so they were easily provoked to violence". This statement has been observed in numerous states across Africa, recently failed leadership in Democratic Republic of Congo, and failed governance in South Sudan has witnessed prolonged conflict that has led to loss of life, property and generally stagnated economic growth.²

Poor leadership in Africa can also be witnessed in Liberia under the leadership of Charles Taylor, the country was rocked with the violent civil war in 1989. His leadership was characterized by ethnic tensions, corruption and high poverty levels among the citizens.³ This was followed by subsequent civil wars that left thousands killed, crimes against humanity

²Shekhawat, Seema. "Governance crisis and conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo." University of Mumbai, Working Paper 6 (2009): 7-17.

³Annan, Nancy. "Violent conflicts and civil strife in West Africa: Causes, challenges and prospects." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 3, no. 1 (2014).

beatings and abductions. Another African country where proper governance was lacking was Mali. The Malian government has witnessed prolonged civil wars and politicization of critical institutions such as security agencies and the army. Francis in 2015 stresses that “poverty, bad governance, marginalization, the exclusion of large sections of the Malian populace from the political and economic processes and the failure to address fundamental grievances by the ruling and governing class in Mali created the breeding ground for Islamist extremists to gain a foothold” in Mali.⁴

The liberalization of Cameroon’s political landscape in the 1990s led to the rise of several Anglophone pressure groups. Although their main aim was to re-assert the identity of Anglophones marginalized by the Francophone, there was a shift from their original goal: a return to a two-state federation to the secession option. None the less the following arguments were presented by the All Anglophone Conference (AAC) to the Biya government.⁵ Some of the arguments were real and others imagined, lopsided and biased. This study shall look into the role of undemocratic governance and leadership that has acted as a catalyst of intrastate conflict across Cameroon. The study shall critically analyze the underlying issues that have propelled undemocratic leadership, the impact on the political, economic, socio-cultural aspects experienced by the Cameroon citizens.

1.2 Problem Statement

In Africa, leadership and governance have been plagued by several issues such as the emergence of illiberal democracies, which have led to corruption, exclusivity to the

⁴Francis, David J. "The regional impact of the armed conflict and French intervention in Mali." Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (2015).

⁵ The document that was presented to the Biya government in 1993 which constituted the Anglophone Problem is called the Buea Declaration. The document detailed the grievances they held against the state and was published after the All Anglophone Conference in 1993. It should be borne in mind that the Anglophones accused the Francophones entirely for their political, economic and social underdevelopment.

management of state affairs. The emergence of undemocratic modes of governance jeopardizes the separation of powers, fundamental freedoms like the freedom of thought, religion, expression, association and assembly and the rule of law. These have led to political, economic, and social conflicts that directly and indirectly affect human rights in Africa.

Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth. A call for a focus on leadership and governance is timely, important and no doubt topical, reflecting the worldwide thrust toward political and economic liberalization. Majority of African governments have been undergoing serious and deepening politico-economic crisis, which are brought about by political, social and economic instability. The prevalence of ethnic, communal and religious crises, which have plagued Africa, brings attention to the problems of leadership and governance in the continent. The increasing wave of violence, insecurity, increasing crime wave, economic recession, coupled with the break in law and order are the attributes to the problem of leadership and governance in Africa.

The underlying issues of undemocratic leadership and governance that continue to advance the intra-state conflicts, will be the key focus in this study. The tensions in this conflict are deeply historical and have been woefully unaddressed to date. Failure to look into these historical and present grievances risks fuelling discontent and is likely to undermine the prospect of a sustainable solution. Thus, this study is critical in analyzing measures that have been put in place, and how the measures have not been fully implemented. The study will seek recommendations as to how effective democratic leadership and governance can be achieved and as to how peace can be promoted in Africa. The study will utilize the Cameroon conflict as a case study to explore the link between undemocratic leadership and intra-state conflict.

1.3 Questions

- i. What is the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra- state conflicts in Africa?**
- ii. What are the drivers of the undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing intra- state conflict in Cameroon?**
- iii. What policy measures will mitigate against undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon?**

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

To establish the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra-state conflicts in Africa.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To establish the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra state conflicts Africa.**
- ii. To investigate the drivers of the undemocratic leadership and governance advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon.**
- iii. To evaluate policy measures that will mitigate against undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon.**

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Introduction

This segment will review both theoretical literature and empirical literature and the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra state conflicts in Africa. This section will further provide a critical review and expound on the research gap by identifying the missing link in pre-existing literature that has already been undertaken. Lastly, the study will highlight the gap that exists in both the theoretical and empirical literature review.

1.5.2 Theoretical Literature Review

Structural theory of conflict tries to elucidate conflict as a creation of the tension which comes about when groups contest for limited resources. It defines the condition in which a society or community can create conflict just like the conflict which has been facing Cameroon up to date.

This theory pinpoints traits of undemocratic leadership and poor governance such as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political exclusion, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all of which often lead to conflict⁶. This theory helps to bring out the role played by undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing conflict in Cameroon. This emanated from the partition of the territory by Britain and France in 1916. The unequal partition of the country between the two powers with France getting the lion's share sowed the seeds of future problems: the emergence of a reunified Cameroon, of an Anglophone minority and a Francophone majority.⁷ The theory is however deficient in its one-sidedness of looking at the causes of conflict. It only sees the flaws. The

⁶Folarin, Sheriff F. "Types and causes of conflict." *Types and Causes of Conflict* (2015): 1-12.

⁷Nicodemus FruAwasom, "Colonial Background to the Development of Autonomist Tendencies in Anglophone Cameroon, 1916-1961" in *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. xv, No. 1, 1998.

structural theory thus is ideal and very relevant in bringing out the cause of the conflict however, it only gives a biased perspective and fails to look into the alternate causes of the conflict.

Classical realism explains conflict as an inherent attribute of man. The theory describes conflict as a product of the innate selfish nature of man, who continues to pursue his own best interests even if the ox of others is gored. This selfish nature of man leads to “competitive processes” between actors who seek to have all or most of available scarce resources. It is such attribute that is taken to the conflict in Cameroon, which has led to erratic behavior, political economic and social exclusion amongst other negative consequences as well as violent opposition and consequently stir up things nationally, regionally and internationally. The Anglophones for many years since independence due to their minority statuses had the lesser share to the few limited resources. Thus in this case where most of the citizenry are ambitiously seeking comfort or control of resources, conflict is inevitable.

1.5.3 Empirical Literature Review

1.5.3.1 The Impact of Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Fuelling Intra State Conflicts in Africa

African pioneers of the Pan African movements largely drawn from the Caribbean, North America and Europe were quite instrumental in shaping the political discourse of Africans; both native and those in diaspora. The first Pan African Conference was led by a Trinidadian born Barrister, Henry Sylvester William in 1900 who was able to assemble thirty delegates from Africa, West Indies and America in London. The conference was to allow formation of a forum to fight white aggression, unite Africans, foster better relations between Africans and

people of Caucasian descent, appeal for the end of plundering in Africa and Africa's freedom and liberty.⁸

The founding fathers of Africa were also intellectuals who believed in certain political ideologies and did their best to share and inculcate them in the citizenry. Their political ideologies have influenced a great deal the political cultures in most African countries. There is a lot of debate however whether their impact was positive or negative. Nkrumaism, an African socialist political ideology propagated by the founding father of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah underscored the belief that Africa was well able to manage its own affairs and promoted the principle of a united Africa.⁹ Nkrumaism was drawn from different sources; particularly the Marxist political theory and black intellectuals from Europe and North America like Marcus Garvey, W. E.B Dubois and Pad Moore among others. It was also influenced by African traditional cultures.¹⁰ Nkrumah's stay in the United States also shaped his political philosophy. He influenced the political discourse in Africa and beyond.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the founding father of Tanzania was considered a guiding spirit in all societal activities; economic, military, education and political by his people. He was a father figure whose leadership encouraged adherence to set moral values. He was known to be honest. The authenticity of Mwalimu Nyerere's political philosophy made the Tanzania people respect him and look up to him in almost everything they did.¹¹ He supported the growth of social attitudes that promoted harmonious living among people popularly known as Ujamaa.¹² He considered himself a "bourgeois liberal"; opposing Capitalism as he considered it exploitative

⁸ Fierce, Milfred C. (1993), *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1919: African- American Interest in Africa and the Interaction with West Africa*. New York, N.Y, Garland Pub.

⁹ Smith, Curtis C. (1991). "Nkrumaism as Utopianism". *Utopian Studies*. 1 (3): 31-36.

¹⁰ Rahman, Ahmad R A. (2007), *Regime Change of Kwame Nkrumah: Epic Heroism in Africa and the Diaspora*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹¹ Kosukhin, Nikolai (2005), "Julius Nyerere: Statesman, Thinker, Humanist". *Julius Nyerere: Humanist, Politician, Thinker*. Translated by B. G. Petruk. Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota. pp. 6-13

¹² Pratt, Cranford (1976)., *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*. Cambridge University Press.

and Doctrinaire Socialism which he perceived to promote conflict between people. He lived for the honor of Africa and went ahead to commit his country's meager resources to the liberation movement of other African countries.

Nelson Mandela is one of African Leaders who is counted as a revolutionary thinker. He is also an African democrat and a global icon for freedom, rule of law, peace, justice and respect for fundamental rights. He worked hard to deepen democracy in South Africa during apartheid as a young lawyer and as a Leader in the African National Congress (ANC).¹³ He consolidated democratic gains by setting up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as opposed to revenge, which was largely criticized by Anti-apartheid Crusaders. ¹⁴Unlike many African leaders, Nelson Mandela served for only a single term giving way to Thabo Mbeki's youthful Leadership.

Africa has had its own fair share of intra-state conflicts manifesting in different forms such as civil wars, violent ethnic conflicts, strife and political instability with political commentators branding Africa as a continent which is at war with itself. More than two million people on the continent have lost their lives in these intra-state conflicts while on the other hand more than 10 million people over the past decade have been victims of forced migration and starvation.

Majority of the governing class in Africa have succeeded in side stepping or doing away with the checks and balances that were established pre-independence, as they preferred not to go through constitutional established institutions such as parliament but by carrying out through vast systems of patronage¹⁵. In the process these leaders wielded great authority and power that

¹³ Mandela, N (1994). Long Walk to Freedom Volume I: 1918–1962. Little, Brown and Company.

¹⁴ Meredith, Martin (2010). Mandela: A Biography. New York: PublicAffairs.

¹⁵ Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2010). Why is Africa poor?. Economic history of developing regions, 25(1), 21-50.

gave them room to circumvent the checks and balances of good governance. As a consequence of their autocratic leadership, they have aided to lay down an unstable foundation of bad governance and intra-state conflicts felt in every social, economic and political pillar. Today, intrastate conflicts continue unabated in Africa due to weak or failed institutions that cannot put checks and balances from the autocratic and undemocratic leaders in those countries. Afro-pessimist have taken the view the African continent has been built on an unstable foundation of poor leadership and undemocratic governance which are catalyst of intra-state conflicts. The liberalization of Cameroon's democracy and governance in political landscape in the 1990s led to the rise of several Anglophone pressure groups.

Although some pressure groups and communities have been marginalized by the Francophone, due to poor leadership and governance there was a shift from their original goal: a return to a two state federation to the secession option. Nonetheless the following arguments were presented by the All Anglophone Conference to the Biya's government.¹⁶

During Biya's tenure of office he signed a presidential decree in 1984 changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This angered the Anglophones because this was the name French Cameroon adopted during independence. The Anglophone pressure groups accused the leadership of annexing them. Violation of human rights and undemocratic practices by the current government continues to escalate the crisis and widen the exclusion of the Anglophones. The government has used excess force to stop demonstrations and freedom of speech in the Anglophone region through, detaining its leaders and activists without trial, suppressing opposition politics, journalism and even contravening

¹⁶ The document that was presented to the Biya government in 1993 which constituted the Anglophone Problem is called the Buea Declaration. The document detailed the grievances they held against the state and was published after the All Anglophone Conference in 1993.

the right of information by curtailing the freedom of press through shutting down internet and forms of media.

Despite the fact that there been few studies undertaken in this study, there has been a significant role played by the Anglophone region. Studies have revealed that the region contribute around 60 percent of the gross domestic product of Cameroon. Undemocratic leadership and governance have led to negative economic consequences leading to discontentment among the Anglophone people. Despite the prolonged poor economic performance across the country affecting the two sides of the divide, Anglophones have felt that they have deliberately not been treated fairly at the level of management and distribution of the national cake.

Economic surveys and reports have shown that the labour market has been skewed especially in government owned companies and institutions in not only across the country but in the Anglophone region. The Anglophones especially have for a long time felt neglected and shortchanged when it comes to government appointments in decision making positions in the government companies such National refining company and the hydrocarbons cooperation based on the South West. In 2016 the government decided to shut down the internet in a bid to clampdown activists, bloggers and pressure groups that were using the internet to propel their agenda. This had a tremendous economic backlash as key commercial sectors and institutions such as banking making revenue losses up to three million Euros this majorly attributed to the poor levels governance to exclude the Anglophones from leadership positions and limiting the democratic right of expression by suppressing freedom of expression to contrary opinions.

1.5.3.2 Drivers of Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Fuelling Intra-State Conflict in Cameroon

African states have been affected by various political leadership failures that leads to the emergence of various conflicts in the society. Failures also exists in other domains, but they are linked to the deficiencies in the political leadership. The struggle for power over the use and management of state resources in various states in the continent has been seen as a source of conflict in the society. Various political contests have led to the rise of the governing class that lacks commitment but only puts their interest ahead. Politics has become a contested activity with many self-centered gains at the expense of the masses.¹⁷

Political leadership has been observed to be parochial rather than national and leaders divert national resources to their affiliates for selfish gains. Ethnicity, religion and language continues to be manipulated by the leaders so as to continue advancing their undemocratic motives that only benefits a few at the expense of promoting national integration and cohesion. This has enhanced animosity in various states like Cameroon in which civilians protests the unfair political space and national resources more so the protest by the Anglophone speaking Cameroonians that feels neglected and continues to call for secession.

Personalization of government and power in many African states clearly demonstrates that the national objectives have deficiencies in addressing the challenges in the society as leaders tend to fulfil the desires of their loyalists and ignore those opposing their opinions. This also means that governance structures are largely informal and are subjected to many changes that fulfil the desires of those in authority.¹⁸ The personalization and identity based leadership has led to

¹⁷Boone, Catherine. *Property and political order in Africa: Land rights and the structure of politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

¹⁸ Hayward, Fred M., ed. *Elections in independent Africa*. Routledge, 2019.

widespread violations of human rights. The violation of political, social and economic rights has led to the emergence of conflicts as people rise to fight for their space in leadership and governance, demanding for national cohesion and integration.

Lack of political will has emerged as a key driver of undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa. It leads to violation and upholding of the rule of law. Political will is the force that compels a sound leadership quality, the ability to do what is right, attainable in line with patriotism and nationalism. It entails groups or individual sacrifices to ensure that there is fairness and justice in the society. Political will ensures that policies are executed based on the rule of law and leaders are not driven by their pocket interests but policies are implemented to help in the realization of inclusive societal development. In Africa, Nigeria is an example of a country that has many genuine leaders and is also affected by the lack of political will. Nelson Mandela in the contemporary Africa is an example of a leader that represents personal sacrifices to save his people from slavery.¹⁹

Political Leaders majorly in Africa assume leadership and governance role with inadequate leadership skills, training and experience. Leadership has been termed as a science and art focused towards effective management of a country's affair. There is an urgent and delicate balance to develop capacity in African governance by incorporating the African values and good governance that must be undertaken by our countries. African leaders should continue to strengthen political parties as institutions of discharging good governance rather than individualize them where the president is supreme than all other organs and institutions of governance. This has led to lifetime presidency that is left unquestioned.

¹⁹ Tripp, Aili Mari. *Women and power in post-conflict Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kamuntu observes further that “consequent resistant to the concentration of power to the hands of one person, the President was brutally suppressed with greater violations of human rights, resulting in massacres and millions of Africans becoming refugees or becoming displaced persons and many qualified African’s seeking employment opportunities in foreign countries in search of personal security.” Various scholars have noted that the challenges of Africa are squarely an issue of leadership.

Nicodemus Fru Awasom argues that the genesis of the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon owes its root to the partition of the territory by Britain and France in 1916. This unequal partition of the country between the two powers with France getting the lion’s share sowed the seeds of future problems: the emergence of a reunified Cameroon, of an Anglophone minority and a Francophone majority.²⁰

The political grievances advanced by the various function groups in Cameroon are many but they included among other things the gradual process of assimilation adopted by the Ahidjo and Biya governments instead of safeguarding the cultural peculiarities of the two states. In order to obscure the federal structure and make it ineffective, in 1962 Ahidjo signed a presidential decree dividing the federation into six administrative units and each placed under a federal inspector.²¹ During Biya’s tenure of office he signed a presidential decree in 1984 changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This angered the Anglophones because this was the name French Cameroon

²⁰Nicodemus FruAwasom, “Colonial Background to the Development of Autonomist Tendencies in Anglophone Cameroon, 1916-1961” in *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. xv, No. 1, 1998.

²¹Verkijika G. Fanzo, “Constitutional Problems in the Construction and Legality of the Unitary State in Cameroon,” in *Cameroon Journal of Democracy and Human Rights*, p.10.

adopted during independence. The Anglophone pressure groups accused the leadership of annexing them.²²

However, it suffices to state here that before changing the name of the country Biya consulted the parliament although the deputies were of doubtful legitimacy since they were voted in a single list system and the national assembly itself was a rubber stamp. Other issues that have reverberated in the minds of the Anglophones since their union with French Cameroon have been the secondary role they exercise in matters of public affairs.

Since 1961 an Anglophone has never held the post of Minister of Territorial Administration, Defence, Education, Finance, and never has an Anglophone headed state parastatals like the Societe Nationale de Raffinage, and Societe National des Hydrocarbures. To confirm the secondary position of the Anglophones in Cameroon, Joseph Takougang asserts that “37 of the 47 Senior Prefects in Cameroon in 1991 were Beti (Francophones) as were three-quarters of the directors and general managers of the parastatals, and 22 of the 38 high-ranking bureaucrats who had been appointed in the newly created office of Prime Minister.”²³

This clearly shows a total failure of leadership and governance in enhancing inclusivity in government appointments.

The establishment of the federal system of government was more of a shadow than the reality. In 1962 further steps were taken by Ahidjo to obscure the federal system. The Franc CFA was introduced in West Cameroon and the West African sterling was squeezed out of the territory.

²²FonGorjiDinka, *The New Social Order*, 20 March, 1985. Cited in Nkwi, “The Anglophone Problem,” p191.

²³Joseph Takougang, “The Demise of Biya’s New Deal in Cameroon” in *Africa Insight*, Vol. 23, No. 2, (1993) cited in Konings and Nyamnjoh, “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon,” p.213.

In 1964 the metric system replaced the imperial system of weights and measures.²⁴ Moreover, many Anglophones accuse the Francophone of exploiting their resources without redress and commensurate regional development. The proceeds from oil which is produced in the Southwest region has never been re-invested in the area.

In other cases there was discrimination in education and training opportunities. The state system was completely centralized especially with the emasculation of multiparty politics in 1966. In 1972, Ahidjo hastily called for a referendum.²⁵ This led to a centralized state system dominated by the Francophones. His successor, Paul Biya continued the process of assimilation by changing the name of the territory in 1984 to Republic of Cameroon. This galvanized the Anglophone movements and by 1985 they started calling for a separate state.

The SCNC and its youth wing the Southern Cameroon Youth League adopted several strategies to create awareness and embolden support for the creation of an Anglophone state. SCAPO accelerated her efforts by aligning with other secessionist movements in the Bakassi Peninsula. SCAPO even denounced the ICJ 2002 verdict, which accorded the Peninsula to Cameroon. These pressure groups tried to gain recognition by courting international organizations. In 1995, they sent a delegation to the United Nations to protest against the change of the territory's name. This delegation was led by John Ngu Foncha and Solomon Tandeng Muna both widely considered Anglophone architect of the federal and unitary state.²⁶

²⁴Fanso, "Constitutional Problems" p.11.

²⁵ Although he was justified in accordance with the federal constitution, but it was however seen as an attempt by the Francophone to assimilate the Anglophone minority.

²⁶Ibid, 221.

Many pressure groups have found strength for agitating for better governance and leadership accountability from their leaders in the internet as a means of broadening their quest for nationhood. Numerous Anglophones in the Diaspora and at home have established websites and online blogs primarily to discredit the Biya government. SCAPO, SCYL and SCNC have established home pages of the Federal Republic of Southern Cameroon.²⁷ The advent of these elite associations have weakened the growth and evolution of dissent in Cameroon and it is worthy to note that these associations aligned to the ruling party of President Paul Biya. The major debacle of the Biya government has been to censure the online activities of Anglophone bloggers and other cyber nationalist websites. On 10 March, 2011, the Cameroon government suspended twitter messages on mobile phone networks. It accused the opposition parties especially the Social Democratic Front, which has a strong base in the Northwest region and the SCNC of planning a mass demonstration like that of the Arab world.²⁸

1.5.3.3 Policy Measures to Mitigate against Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Advancing Intra State Conflict in Cameroon

African states just like other regions of the world, the quality and features of governance in what defines the standard of peace, stability as well as prospects for economic development in the society. Governance is important since it is what defines whether there is a tangible connection between the state and the people it's supposed to govern. Governance structures are essential due to the fact that they determine if the practice of power is seen as legit or not legitimate. Conflicts in African states have been triggered by factors explained in the previous chapter and they apply to Cameroon as well. Addressing issues that negatively affects governance requires cooperation and coordination of various institutions with adherence to the

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸www.dibussi.com.

rule of law and respect to human rights. Mitigating governance issues require a legitimate authority that is guided by the accepted laws principles and norms as opposed to just power of the rulers. The embracing of good governance has importance dimensions for Cameroon and the region as a whole that relate to the structures of the institutions as well as norms that can help in guiding the country's challenges as well as help in shaping its political culture. Implementation of good governance principles are relevant to Cameroon since it is a state that is composed of two major factions; the francophone and the Anglophone . Hence there is the need for coordination in addressing national issues so as to minimize conflicts that are triggered by illiberal and undemocratic practices.²⁹

Division of Cameroon between the French and the British opened the floodgates of an eminent threat to national integration which was later witnessed at reunification. The cultural and linguistic differences between Anglophones and Francophones, and the determination of the Anglophone minority to assert itself on the political chessboard have threatened the national integration of Cameroon. Authorities who have consistently pursued policies that are detrimental to the interests of the Anglophones, have given the impression that the leadership is generally distrustful of Anglophones and hence taken concrete steps to destroy their identity.³⁰ Thus the government should adopt governance reforms in a medium to mitigate the undemocratic leadership which has been brought about by limitations of the presidential centralism governance. They should endeavor to ensure the ruling party accommodates the minority in structures of governance.

²⁹ Fukuyama, Francis. *State-building: governance and world order in the 21st century*. Cornell University Press, 2014.

³⁰ Chem-Langhee, "The Anglophone-Francophone Divide," p.97.

The leadership should take into consideration conciliatory policies; this will assist to rebuild trust and have genuine and honest dialogue before the general election. The political leaders especially Foncha and Muna, the architects of federalism and the unitary state respectively were naïve, impervious and greedy as we observed above. The 1961 Founban constitutional talks witnessed a division among the Anglophone delegation between the Foncha government and the opposition. Article 59 which gave the English Language a secondary position to French was voted by these leaders. Besides, if the elites could surrender their most cherished linguistic asset, the English Language then one could state that they did not have the interest of the Anglophones at heart.

The political liberalization policies should be encouraged rather than clamping down leaders and elites of the Anglophone region. The number of pressure groups created by Anglophone elites indicate the need for equal participation with their French counterparts and the political 9cyber has offered a unique opportunity to galvanize the Anglophone plight. It has broadened its appeal internationally and has made the SCNC and SCAPO gain recognition both from within and from without. Thus policies geared towards enhancing democracy should be drawn and implemented.

1.5.4 Literature Gap

The structural theory is however deficient in its on-sidedness of looking at causes of conflict and failing to not explain possible solution but also biased as it doesn't take into account views of both sides. Empirical investigations have divergent findings in their quest of bringing out the nature of the undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra state conflicts in Africa depending on which divide your perspective is based upon. Most of these studies differ

in terms of methodology, geographical location considered for the research, and duration covered.

1.6 Justification of the Study

For every academic research, the justification for it cannot be over emphasized. Consequently, the justification for this study will be viewed from three levels. These levels are the policy, academic and general justification levels.

1.6.1 Policy Justification

This study broadens the scope from the above-mentioned premise by critically examining the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa, to having a deeper understanding of the root cause and then to addressing the possible recommendations as to the subject of the study. It informs the existing policy and assist policy makers come up with rules and regulations that could help in addressing issues related to conflict resulting from undemocratic governance leadership not only in Cameroon but also other states in the African continent. In addition, it will come up with better approaches to settle or resolve those conflicts at an early stage so as to enhance peace and security in Africa. The study also intends to build the body of knowledge on governance as a method of conflict resolution in Africa that has become an untested phenomenon with respect to the state of Cameroon.

Therefore, the implications are that Cameroon must come up with sound policies, reform the existing agreements as well as set out clear strategies to enhance inclusivity and peace amongst its citizens. With clear policies in place, it will enable policy makers from both International and Africa to make clear decisions and guide their peace and security efforts in the regions.

1.6.2 Academic Justification

This study broadens scope from the above-mentioned premise by critically examining the circumstances that led to the emergence of this problem with emphasis on the role of the undemocratic governance and leadership in fuelling intra-state conflicts in Africa and more specifically in Cameroon. The study also looks at tangible solutions of ending the intra-state conflict crisis in pursuit of peace in Cameroon and in Africa as a whole. The study also intends to build to the body of knowledge on role of undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing conflict in Africa that has become a common phenomenon to the state of Cameroon.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

1.7.1 Idealist Theory

This study will be anchored on the Idealist theory. The theory describes how the world ought to be as opposed to how it is. One of the major proponents of the theory is Michael Doyle who likened idealism to a “family portrait of principle and institutions recognizable by certain characteristics”.³¹ The theory puts emphasis on the individual as opposed to the state. These individuals are moral and good.³² The Intellectual mind often tends to critically assess situations, see them for what they are and how they ought to be, it is this critical mindset that is required in Africa in the 21st Century and in Cameroon to assist in understanding how undemocratic leadership and poor governance correlate with intrastate conflicts.

This theory is also embedded on the concept of democracy and human rights, the elusive elements in Africa’s political culture whose absence has often resulted into violent political processes and stunted development. Former UN Secretary General, Koffi Anan said “In our

³¹Kaufman,J.P (2013), Introduction to International Relations: Theory and Practice, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.inc. USA, P54

³² Ibid

interconnected world, the human family will not enjoy development without security, it will not enjoy security without development, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.”³³

A second proponent of this theory is Immanuel Kant who argued that a world of good and morally responsible states would less likely engage in war.³⁴ The concept of moral principles and human reason propagated by this theory is what this study will rely on. Human beings have an assumed obligation to live by universally accepted moral principles and to use reason when tackling and advancing issues; the political process in this context. The whole idea on building democratic political cultures and good governance is idealistic. Realist would argue that this is a utopian aspiration because people are by nature sinful and wicked.³⁵

It is to this end that the study hypothetically proposes good governance and leadership as agents of peace not only in Cameroon but to the rest of the continent. The political players are assumed to have the necessary knowledge, understanding and capacity to critically assess situations, issues, history in a bid to find the possible solutions to this complex question.

1.8 Hypotheses

This study must test the following hypothesis.

H1: There is significant role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra-state conflicts in Africa.

H2: There are drivers of the undemocratic leadership and governance advancing intra- state conflict in Cameroon.

³³KoffiAnan(2005), Our world cannot have development without human rights, Independent, Wednesday 6July 2005. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/kofi-annan-our-world-cannot-have-development-without-human-rights-297355.html>.

³⁴ Op Cit, Kaufman J P, p 68

³⁵ Ibid, p44

H3: There are no policy measures that will mitigate against the undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon.

1.9 Research Methodologies

1.9.1 Research Design

Research design refers to a framework of methods and techniques chosen by a researcher to combine various components of research in a reasonably logical manner so that the research problem is efficiently handled. ³⁶This research applies a case study research method because this enables an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of a subject of study. Case study also enables investigations to be carried out on every phenomenon of undemocratic governance and leadership in this research within its real-life context. Therefore, the case study approach enables holistic investigation of the impact of undemocratic governance and leadership in advancing conflict in Africa.

1.9.2 Study Location

Study location refers to a geography for which data is analyzed in a report or study.³⁷ The study was conducted in both Yaoundé and the Southwest and north west regions as both regions represent the Francophone and Anglophone regions. The geopolitical locations are crucial to the investigating the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing conflict in the country and paints a clear insight of the conflicts in Africa as a whole. Besides, Cameroon is among the Central Africa economic giants and serves as a regional headquarters to several international organizations, hence ideal for this research topic due to data availability.

³⁶Lavrakas, Paul J. 2008. Encyclopedia of survey research methods.

³⁷Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2017. The Sage handbook of qualitative research. https://nls.idls.org.uk/welcome.html?ark:/81055/vdc_100045173335.0x000001.

1.9.3 Target Population

Target population can be defined as the total group of persons from which the study samples might be drawn.³⁸ These are the target research population that the researcher focused on in getting the primary data. They include residents of Yaoundé and residents of the north and south west regions of Cameroon due to their exposure and knowledge of the contemporary topics, University students due to their in-depth knowledge, ministry of internal security, political party officials, in order to capture the official data, CEMAC officials who will provide relevant information.

1.9.4 Target Population and Sampling

The preferred key informants for this study were officials from Cameroon's political parties, Ministry of National Security of Cameroon, as well as academicians from University of Nairobi and Yaoundé University. For the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), the respondents include doctorate students currently pursuing their doctorate degrees with a specialization in International Conflict management, international politics, security studies and international relations.³⁹ Similarly the participants of the FGDs were selected using the snowballing sampling technique. Each FGD will have a maximum of 10 participants for active participation as well as to ensure the period for the FGD is not too long.

The key informants for this study will be selected through snowball sampling. This is owing to the fact that it will be difficult to access the required respondents. Sampling of key informant interviewees will be halted when the ability of obtaining new information will be attained, all themes will be thoroughly discussed until no further coding is feasible, with due considerations

³⁸Daniel, Johnnie. 2012. *Sampling essentials: practical guidelines for making sampling choices*. Los Angeles: Sage.

³⁹Carlsen, B., &Glenton, C. (2011). What about N? A methodological study of sample-size reporting in focus group studies. *BMC medical research methodology*, 11(1), 26.

for the time frame to undertaking this study. In addition, chain referral method will be instrumental in obtaining a variety of responses in instances where getting all the key informants is limited. The study will interview a total of 25 Key Informants as well as hold 2 FGDs, one with 10 participants and the other with 9 participants. These interviews and discussions will provide critical information that will then be incorporated in the study. Each KII and FGD will have a moderator and a note taker. The note taker will ensure that comprehensive notes will be taken during the whole sessions which will later be used in the analysis process. Below is a summary of the target population for this study;

Table 1.1: Target Population and Sampling

| Target Group | Category | Number of respondents |
|---|--|------------------------------|
| Political parties officials Anglophone & Francophone * communication & Relation officers | Key Informant | 10 |
| Academicians and Scholars of security studies and International politics. (includes: lecturers, professionals and security analysts) University of Nairobi and Yaoundé University | Key Informants | 10 |
| Security studies and International relations Doctorate students (in their final year) University of Nairobi and Yaoundé university | FGD (Split into 2 separate groups of 9 members and 10 members) | 19 |
| Ministry of national security of Cameroon * communication & Relation officers | Key informant | 5 |
| Total Target Population | | 44 |

Researcher 2020

1.9.5 Tools for Data Collection

The researcher gathered information from a range of sources hence; there are a variety of tools and techniques that were used when gathering primary data. These include questionnaires which were administered to participants from the political parties, and the relevant ministry because of their time limitations, review of existing records and statistics from the Cameroon

National Institute as well as focused group discussions for University of Nairobi Academicians and Cameroon citizens, as they saw it fit to engage in debate over the subject matter under research.

1.9.6 Data Collection

This research relied on both primary source of data and secondary sources of information in gathering and measuring information on targeted variables. Primary data was derived from structured interview that is typically formal and organized unstructured interview and administration of structured questionnaire, unstructured questionnaire, open and closed ended questionnaire. This was conducted on the public, University of Nairobi academicians, ministry of internal affairs Cameroon, as well political parties' officials in Cameroon. Secondary data was sourced from; a collection and review of books, journals, academic and research paper.

1.9.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Appropriate data analysis methods were used in developing answers to the research questions through the analytical and critical examination and interpretation of the obtained data. The SPSS analytical process was used in identifying issues, determining the availability of suitable data, summarizing and communicating the results findings. Results of data analysis was published or summarized in formal Statistics, while results from surveys were presented on graphs.

1.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations will normally place certain burdens on the researcher. These burdens include ensuring that the respondent is given adequate information to enable him give an informed consent and that the privacy of the respondent is protected while the information he gives is treated with utmost confidentiality. These burdens include the right of the respondent

to remain anonymous without disclosing his identity and the researcher being sensitive to human dignity and well-meaning in his intentions. Bearing these ethical considerations in mind, the researcher strives to be guided by the highest form of restraint and utmost discipline towards the respondent in the course of the research.

1.11 Chapter Outline of the Study

Chapter One: This will basically be an introductory chapter. Here, the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions and research objectives, the justification for the study, literature review, as well as identifying the gaps in literature, the theoretical framework, hypotheses and research methodologies.

Chapter Two: In this chapter, a critical analysis of the first objective of the study will be carried out.

Chapter Three: The second objective of the study will be critically analyzed in this chapter.

Chapter Four: The analysis of the third and final objective of the study will be the focus of Chapter.

Chapter Five: The data analysis of primary and secondary data of all the three objectives of the study.

Chapter Six: This will be the last chapter of the study. It will contain summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN FUELLING INTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks into the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra-state conflict. This chapter will examine democracy, governance and leadership in Africa, and it will also look into the principles of good leadership. The study will further examine the impact of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intrastate conflicts in Africa.

2.2 Democracy, Governance and Leadership in Africa

More than 50 years after independence, African leaders still point a finger and blame the colonial legacy for the numerous challenges and problems bedeviling Africa at the prevailing moment. However, this study seeks to establish what the impacts of governance and leadership have contributed to the challenge of intra-state conflict in Africa. Different African leaders have exhibited various forms and styles of leadership in their stay in office. Swaziland, under the leadership of King Mswati, banned opposition political parties to ensure he is the centre of power and authority⁴⁰. Zimbabwe, for example, has witnessed repressive legislation against the media to deny freedom of expression of dissenting voices against the government through the introduction of the Access to Information and protection of privacy Act coupled with the Public Order Act. Numerous African leaders, instead of intentionally promoting democratic institutions after winning political independence, have quickly turned to dictators, tyrants, and one-party state rulers. This is evident in many African countries where opposition leaders have been charged with treason notably Morgan Tsvangirai of Zimbabwe, Uganda and

⁴⁰ Mbingo, M. M. (2017). Swazi media and political journalism: a textual analysis of the representation of political parties in elections coverage (Doctoral dissertation).

DRC. Opposition leaders amongst many other have been arrested for challenging the sitting president⁴¹.

Intra-state conflicts have prevailed and persisted in a majority of the African countries. These conflicts are anchored majorly on poor governance, undemocratic leadership, poverty and inequality, human rights violation, ethnic marginalization, small arms proliferation and corruption. These intra-state conflicts have brought numerous economies in the continent to the verge of collapse, creating humanitarian casualties and concerns. For example, countries such as Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, South Sudan, Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau were crippled by civil conflict in which numerous killings took place. Chinua Achebe described the challenges facing Africa as a continent is squarely an issue of leadership.

The first generations of African nationalist leaders were hailed for their positive contribution to good governance and enjoyed great prestige and high honour. They included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Houphet-Boigny, Guinea's Sekou Toure, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Modibo Keita of Mali, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, and Malawi's Hastings Banda⁴². However, slowly the African leadership started to take a different trajectory from one country to another, African leaders acted in contempt of the constitution upon which they had sworn to uphold to exert their power. Constitutions were rewritten, amended or ignored by African leaders.

⁴¹ Raftopoulos, B. (2006). Reflections on opposition politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Thoughts on democratic politics in Zimbabwe, 6-28.

⁴² Bute, E., & Harmer, H. J. (2016). The black handbook: the people, history and politics of Africa and the African diaspora. Bloomsbury Publishing.

The concept of governance and leadership globally predates the existence of human civilization⁴³. Governance is depicted in different levels such as corporate governance, local governance, national governance and international governance. The general definition of governance is a process in which in decision making, a decision is implemented or not implemented. There are various actors of governance and leadership, and they include; governments, non-governmental organizations, religious leaders, civil societies, political parties, military among other numerous actors. Governance and leadership can be classified into two distinct categories of good governance and leadership or bad governance and leadership.

Governance fundamentally entails the importance of a political regime, its mechanism for carrying out authority in taking control of social and economic resources of a state or a country. The degree of competence in public authority in formulation and execution of policy, and strengthening intuitions such as Judiciary, legislature and the executive to ensure they carry out their functions more effectively and efficiently.

The ingredients of good governance are; a system which is participatory for the entire population both women and men with no bias; good governance is a system that observes the rule of the law which is enforced impartially and not selective; Good governance is one which ensures equity and inclusiveness and should be void of marginalization; Good governance should ensure accountability amongst its population and citizenry where both leaders and electorate are held to account for their actions; Good governance should be responsive and effective in dealing with emerging and needs of the people irrespective of context, and good

⁴³ Held, D. (2006). Reframing global management: Apocalypse soon or reform!. *New Political Economy*, 11(2), 157-176.

governance should be consensus-oriented, this is to ensure that all parties of the society embrace a standard stand hence governance should embrace mediation to build consensus to come up with a unifying position in decision making⁴⁴.

Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as “the government of the people, by the people for the people”. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, an intellectual also said this about democracy: “Democracy is not just about one day every four or five years when elections are held, but a system of government that respects the separation of powers, fundamental freedoms like the freedom of thought, religion, expression, association and assembly and the rule of law ... Any regime that rides roughshod on these principles loses its democratic legitimacy, regardless of whether it initially won an election.” Democracy, therefore, is a government where sovereign power lies in the people who exercise it directly or through representatives elected by the people.

Political culture, on the other hand, is the set of attitudes, beliefs, shared values, of a group of people that define their political relationships and public policy. It helps determine how people live together; who holds authority, who has what responsibility and why. Political Culture gives order and meaning to political processes and provides basic assumptions and rules that govern people's behavior in a political system. Cultural attitudes toward power, authority and its legitimacy are a result of the political socialization, a process that could be shaped and controlled by interrelated leaders; intellectuals, clergy, public officials, media personalities, celebrities, business people among others.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Neumayer, E. (2003). *The pattern of aid giving: the impact of good governance on development assistance*. Routledge.

⁴⁵ Swedlon, Brendon S (2011). “Editor’s Introduction: Cultural Theory’s Contributions to Political Science.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (4): 703-10

Mahatma Gandhi, a London educated Lawyer, activist of Indian descent, led India into independence from British rule through nonviolent civil disobedience which he first applied in South Africa as an expatriate lawyer. He inspired civil movement around the world.⁴⁶ Gandhism was mainly seen to influence Martin Luther King Junior, in his civil rights movement in the United States.⁴⁷ King agitated against injustices that affected the lives of the black communities in the United States. He fought against economic inequality, imperialism, repatriations and agitated for voting rights, labour rights, welfare rights, social justice, among others, and the absence of all this undermined democratic political cultures.⁴⁸ Interestingly, most of the political and civic challenges faced by King relate to pressing political dilemmas of our present time. Many African leaders, civil societies, intellectuals and communities borrow a lot from King's literature and speeches.

African intellectuals-pioneers of the Pan African movements primarily drawn from the Caribbean, North America and Europe were entirely instrumental in shaping the political discourse of Africans; both native and those in diaspora. A Trinidadian born Barrister led the first Pan African Conference, Henry Sylvester William, in 1900. He was able to assemble thirty delegates from Africa, West Indies and America in London. The conference was to allow formation of a forum to fight white aggression, unite Africans, foster better relations between African and people of Caucasian descent, appeal for the end of plundering in Africa and Africa's freedom and liberty.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ McAllister, Pam (1982). *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence*. New Society Publishers. P 194

⁴⁷ Nojeim, Michael J. (2004). *Gandhi and King: The Power of Nonviolent Resistance*. Greenwood Publishing Group. p. 179.

⁴⁸ McKnight, G D. (1998). "The Poor People Are Coming!" "The Poor People Are Coming!". *The last crusade: Martin Luther King Jr., the FBI, and the poor people's campaign*. Westview Press.

⁴⁹ Fierce, Milfred C. (1993), *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1919: African- American Interest in Africa and the Interaction with West Africa*. New York, N.Y, Garland Pub.

Several Pan African Conferences followed organized by W.E.B Dubois in different cities of the world; London, Paris, Brussels and New York. They attracted a larger number of Africans all over the world and had a lot of publicity. This gave birth to many congresses in most parts of Africa by the natives. Africans began to have a voice in the colonial governments.⁵⁰ Marcus Garvey, the founder of Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) which had over six million members of African descent advocated for the rights of Africans through the Association's newspaper-'Negro World'. The Newspaper's slogan; Africa for the Africans was a call for Africans to unite and fight against European imperialism. Garvey had excellent organizational skills, and through his political propaganda, he made a permanent impression on the "collective consciousness" of Africans world over.⁵¹

The founding fathers of Africa were also intellectuals who believed in certain political ideologies and did their best to share and teach them in the citizenry. Their political ideologies have influenced a great deal the political cultures in most African countries. There is a lot of debate, however, whether their impact was positive or negative. Nkrumaism, an African socialist political ideology propagated by the founding father of Ghana- Kwame Nkrumah underscored the belief that Africa was well able to manage its affairs and promoted the principle of a united Africa.⁵² Nkrumaism was drawn from different sources; particularly the Marxist political theory and black intellectuals from Europe and North America like Marcus Garvey, W. E.B Dubois and Pad Moore, among others. African traditional cultures also influenced it.⁵³ Nkrumah's stay in the United States also shaped his political philosophy. He not only influenced the political discourse in Africa but even beyond.

⁵⁰ Lewis, David (2009), *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography 1868-1963*, Henry Holt and Company, LLC. pp. 414-15.

⁵¹ Martin, Tony (1976), *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

⁵² Smith, Curtis C. (1991). "Nkrumaism as Utopianism". *Utopian Studies*. 1 (3): 31-36.

⁵³ Rahman, Ahmad R A. (2007), *Regime Change of Kwame Nkrumah: Epic Heroism in Africa and the Diaspora*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the founding father of Tanzania, was considered a guiding spirit in all societal activities; economic, military, education and political by his people. He was a father figure whose leadership encouraged adherence to set morals values. He was known to be honest. The authenticity of Mwalimu Nyerere's political philosophy made the Tanzania people respect him and look up to him in almost everything they did.⁵⁴ He supported the growth of social attitudes that promoted harmonious living among people popularly known as Ujamaa.⁵⁵ He considered himself a "bourgeois liberal"; opposing Capitalism as he felt it exploitative and Doctrinaire Socialism which he perceived to promote conflict between people. He lived for the honour of Africa and went ahead to commit his country's meagre resources to the liberation movement of other African countries.

Nelson Mandela is one of African Leaders who is counted as a revolutionary thinker. He is also an African democrat and a global icon for freedom, the rule of law, peace, justice and respect for fundamental rights. He worked hard to deepen democracy in South Africa during apartheid as a young lawyer and as a Leader in the African National Congress (ANC).⁵⁶ He consolidated democratic gains by setting up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as opposed to revenge, which was primarily criticized by Anti-apartheid Crusaders.⁵⁷ Unlike many African leaders, Nelson Mandela served for only a single term giving way to Thabo Mbeki's youthful leadership.

Academicians in Kenya; Professor Ngugi wa Thiongo, Professor Maria Nzomo, Professor Micere Mugo, Nobel laureate Professor Wangari Maathai, Professor Ali Mazrui among others

⁵⁴ Kosukhin, Nikolai (2005), "Julius Nyerere: Statesman, Thinker, Humanist". Julius Nyerere: Humanist, Politician, Thinker. Translated by B. G. Petruk. Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota. pp. 6–13

⁵⁵ Pratt, Cranford (1976)., The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy. Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁶ Mandela, N (1994). Long Walk to Freedom Volume I: 1918–1962. Little, Brown and Company.

⁵⁷ Meredith, Martin (2010). Mandela: A Biography. New York: PublicAffairs.

were also instrumental especially in Kenya's reform agenda of the 1990s against the KANU regime that was considered authoritarian. They also sought to repeal the constitution to re-introduce Multi-Party Democracy. Unfortunately, most of these scholars were exiled, and those who remained were victimized by being excluded from the mainstream democratic processes.⁵⁸

2.3 The Impact of Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Fuelling Intra-State Conflicts in Africa

Africa has had its fair share of intra-state conflicts manifesting in different forms such as civil wars, violent ethnic conflicts, strife and political instability with political commentators branding Africa as a continent which is at war with itself. More than two million people on the continent have lost their lives in these intra-state conflicts while on the other hand, more than 10 million people over the past decade have been victims of forced migration and starvation.

Majority of the governing class in Africa have succeeded in sidestepping or doing away with the checks and balances that were established pre-independence, as they preferred not to through constitutionally established institutions such as parliament but by carrying out through vast systems of patronage⁵⁹In the process, these leaders wielded great authority and power that gave them room to circumvent the checks and balances of good governance. As a consequence of their autocratic leadership, they have aided to lay down an unstable foundation of bad governance, and intra-state conflicts felt in every social, economic and political pillar. Today, intrastate conflicts continue unabated in Africa due to weak or failed institutions that cannot put checks and balances from the autocratic and undemocratic leaders in those countries. Afro-

⁵⁸ Maathai, W. (2013). Unbowed. Field Actions Science Reports. The journal of field actions (Special Issue 7).

⁵⁹ Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2010). Why is Africa, poor?. Economic history of developing regions, 25(1), 21-50.

pessimist have taken the view that the African continent has been built on an unstable foundation of poor leadership and undemocratic governance which are catalyst of intra-state conflicts.

Intra-state conflicts emanating from poor leadership in Africa have had a vast impact on Africa's socio-economic development⁶⁰The never-ending political tensions, wars and conflicts in Africa have negatively affected both economic and social development due to the unstable micro and unstable macro environment of violence and insecurity.

Africa has been faced with the challenge of reconstruction after conflicts have occurred to ensure that recurrences of such disputes are avoided. During the occurrence, there is complete spread destruction of infrastructure, looting and destruction of property and lives. This also leads to destruction of loyalty, patriotism and mutual relations of a people living within the same national boundaries. African countries have been in a never-ending cycle of rebuilding destroyed infrastructure and undertaking numerous attempts to build bridges among their citizen in the process most resources that would have been put into economic growth are diverted for unproductive ventures. This has seen Africa experience economic stagnation and retarding economic growth and development in the region.

Another negative impact of undemocratic governance in fuelling intra-state conflicts is high levels of unemployment to the ever-increasing youthful population⁶¹Unemployment has been rising due to poor governance that has led to the skewed distribution of wealth in Africa where a few people own and control the majority of the wealth resource and the majority continue to

⁶⁰ Bereketeab, R. (2013). *The Horn of Africa: intra-state and inter-state conflicts and security*. Pluto Press and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

⁶¹ Rosenstein, J. (2005). *Oil, corruption and conflict in West Africa: the failure of governance and corporate social responsibility*.

grow poor. Unemployment, according to economic analysts, has been increasing at an average rate of 10% annually. Intra-state conflicts deny young people the opportunity to access education, access to acquire skills and economic opportunities. This has a domino effect as the majority of the unemployed are more likely to engage in crime, especially with the easy access of small arms in war-torn countries. This will further worsen conflicts in the continent due to economic inequalities that have denied the majority of the young people opportunities to engage in meaningful employment.

Africa has witnessed the loss of numerous lives across the continent due to intrastate conflicts usually associated with poor governance⁶²Africans from all walks of life young, old, female, male, civilian, military alike have lost their lives to various violent intra-state conflicts experienced in the continent. For example, in the Rwandan genocide of 1994, it is reported that over 800,000 people lost their lives in 100 days. In Burundian civil conflict claimed over 200,000 lives were lost by the year 2000. In the Liberian fourteen-year civil war of 1990-2004 more than a quarter-million Liberians lost their lives. In Sierra Leone, ten-year civil conflict between 1991-2001 saw an estimated 200,000 killed. Sudan has experienced the most protracted and most costly battle on the continent where more than two million lost in the never-ending conflict. Although Africa been endowed with vast amounts of resources, the political leadership has failed to put in measures to ensure that the resources benefit all citizens.

Another impact arising from intra-state conflict is that it led to the refugee problem, Intra-state conflicts have resulted in several people been displaced from their original places of occupation⁶³. The continent of Africa has seen neighboring countries to war-torn countries

⁶² Douma, P. (2006). Poverty, relative deprivation and political exclusion as drivers of violent conflict in Sub Saharan Africa. *ISYP Journal on Science and World Affairs*, 2(2), 59-69.

⁶³ Grundy-Warr, C. (1993). Coexistent borderlands and intra-state conflicts in mainland Southeast Asia. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 14(1), 42-57.

become host to refugees who are running away from their troubled nations. According to the convention of refugees “a refugee is a person owing to well-founded fear of been prosecuted for reasons of religion, race, nationality, political opinion and outside the country of his/her nationality is unable owing to such is unwilling to avail themselves to the protection of that country.” By 2003 it is reported that over 700,000 people in Liberia were internally displaced. The refugee problem in Liberia spilt over to the neighboring countries of Nigeria and Guinea. Sudan witnessed an estimated 4.7 million Sudanese displaced during the prolonged civil war. The UNHCR put the total number of refugees to be more than 20 million on the African continent.

After attainment of political independence, several African countries have witnessed poor governance that has contributed immensely to the mismanagement of state resources⁶⁴This has resulted in a skewed inequality among the people, political apprehensions and breakdown of social peace and stability. Poor governance and leadership factors have majorly been the cause of violent intrastate conflicts and civil unrest in many Sub-Saharan countries. Intrastate conflicts such as in Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, South Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra-Leone Liberia among other countries are hinged on bad governance and poor leadership. The sierra-Leonean war it was identified in 1999 by Fifteen that bad governance, corruption and poverty were the primary genesis of the conflict. Another study carried out in 2011 by Patrick Vinck, and Tino Kreutzer revealed that 64% of the population identified poor leadership, greed and corruption as the genesis of the Liberian war.

⁶⁴ Ndulu, B. J., & O'Connell, S. A. (1999). Governance and growth in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 13(3), 41-66.

The Niger Delta has been ravaged by conflicts despite being blessed with vast amounts of oil. In recent years emergence of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram that has unleashed acts of violence against their citizen in protest of ruling regime⁶⁵. Poor governance has led to significant corruption in Nigeria, the Nigerian Corruption Agency the Economic and Financial crime commission reported that an estimated 70% of oil revenues constituting about 14 billion US dollars were missing and unaccounted for. Majority of the beneficiaries were people who were entrusted to hold public office they entailed elected senators, ministers, commissioners, and individuals who politically highly connected. It is ironical to note that people charged with leadership position using their position to enrich themselves from public coffers.

Bad governance has been deeply entrenched in the social, political, judicial and economic spheres of numerous African countries such as it has been witnessed in a small country such as Guinea- Bissau where the citizens have expressed their bitter frustration through violence⁶⁶. In a report published in 2010 'Root causes of conflict in Guinea-Bissau: The voices of the people.' Some of the respondents were quoted saying: "The president steals: The governor steals: The minister steals: The prime minister steals: Who will not steal? Examples set by political leadership normally cascades down to the citizens who will engage in evils of poor governance such as corruption."

Lastly, poverty continues to prevail in the African continent due to continued political instability and intrastate conflict⁶⁷Africa has, over the years, continued to punch below her economic weight due to poor governance and leadership in resource allocation and

⁶⁵ Adebakin, M. A., & Raimi, L. (2012). National Security Challenges and Sustainable Economic Development: Evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 1(1).

⁶⁶ Diamond, L. J., & Plattner, M. F. (Eds.). (1999). *Democratization in Africa*. JHU Press.

⁶⁷ Aksu, E. (2003). *The United Nations, intra-state peacekeeping and normative change*. Manchester University Press.

exploitation. Political stalemates and contested elections have been a source of disruptive conflicts and this has had a negative cumulative impact on the economy. This problem has been worsened by the natural calamities such as floods, drought and famine across different Sub-Saharan countries. The insecurity fears and political instability have made prospective investors to shy away from investing in the continent. Africa has fallen short of raising the minimum threshold of economic growth rate of 7% annually, and the continent average growth rate has been 3.5% thus its inability to reduce poverty and achieve the Sustainable development Goals as 50% of the continent population live below the poverty line.

2.4 The Impact of Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Fuelling Intra-State Conflicts in Cameroon

The liberalization of Cameroon's democracy and governance in the political landscape in the 1990s led to the rise of several pressure groups. Although their main aim was to re-assert the identity of Anglophones marginalized by the Francophone, there was a shift from their original goal: a return to a two-state federation to the secession option. None the less the following arguments were presented by the All Anglophone Conference to the Biya government.⁶⁸ During Biya's tenure of office, he signed a presidential decree in 1984 changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon.

This angered the Anglophones because this was the name French Cameroon adopted during independence. The Anglophone pressure groups accused the leadership of annexing them. Enhancing human rights and democracy by the government continues to escalate the crisis and widen the exclusion of the Anglophones, the government has used excessive force to stop the

⁶⁸ The document that was given to the Biya government in 1993, which constituted the Anglophone Problem is called the Buea Declaration. The form detailed the grievances they held against the state and was published after the All Anglophone Conference in 1993.

demonstration in the Anglophone region, detain its leaders and activists without trial, suppressing opposition politics, journalism and even contravening the right of information by curtailing the freedom of the press through shutting down internet and forms of media.

Although few studies have been undertaken in this study, there has been a significant role played by the Anglophone region. Studies have revealed that the area contributes around 60 per cent of the gross domestic product of Cameroon. Undemocratic leadership and governance has led to negative economic consequences leading to discontentment. Despite the prolonged poor financial performance across the country affecting the two sides of the divide, Anglophones have felt that they have deliberately not been explored fully.

Economic surveys and reports have shown that the labor market has been skewed especially in government-owned companies and institutions in not only across the country but in the north west and south west region⁶⁹. The people have for a long time felt neglected and shortchanged when it comes to government appointments in decision making positions in the government companies such as National refining company and the hydrocarbons cooperation based in the South West. In 2016 the government decided to shut down the internet in the north west and south west in a bid to clampdown activists, bloggers and pressure groups that were using the internet to propel their plan. This had a tremendous economic backlash as critical commercial sectors and institutions such as banks making revenue losses up to three million Euros.

⁶⁹ Howell, D. R., Baker, D., Glyn, A., & Schmitt, J. (2007). Are protective labour market institutions at the root of unemployment? A critical review of the evidence. *Capitalism and Society*, 2(1).

2.5 Chapter Summary and Findings

This study observes that undemocratic leadership as catalyst of intra-state conflict, led to high poverty levels and mismanagement of resources. Based on the study findings, 80% of the respondents indicated that democracy in Africa more so Cameroon is still weak despite the country adopting measure that promotes human rights, institutional frameworks, democratic governance is still not enhanced as per the rule of law and this has led to numerous disputes amongst the people in Cameroon.

The findings pointed out that Cameroon is occupied by inequitable distribution of resources amongst the people leading to unfair development in various parts of the country. Illicit distribution of resources is linked to undemocratic leadership that is observed as enhancing divisive politics that is based on ethnicity, language and affiliation.

These factors promote bad governance which triggers continuous conflicts in the society as it is experienced between the Anglophone and the francophone factions. Various affronts for promoting democratic governance have been put in place such as laws and institutional frameworks but this continues to be jeopardized due by lack of political will to enhance inclusivity in governance by those in power.

Minority of the respondents (20%) observed that democracy is developing in Cameroon and it should be given some time to thrive. They argued that the existing dialogues between the local leaders as well as support from regional organizations continues to instill a culture of democracy in the country.

This study findings are in line the Idealist theory which is embedded on the concept of democracy and human rights, the elusive elements in Africa's political culture whose absence has often resulted into violent political processes and stunted development. In conclusion several African countries have witnessed poor governance that has contributed immensely to the mismanagement of state resources.⁷⁰This has resulted in a skewed inequality among the people, political apprehensions and breakdown of social peace and stability. Poor governance and leadership factors have majorly been the cause of violent intrastate conflicts and civil unrest in many Sub-Saharan countries.

⁷⁰ Ndulu, B. J., & O'Connell, S. A. (1999). Governance and growth in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 13(3), 41-66.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DRIVERS OF UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN ADVANCING INTRA-STATE CONFLICT IN CAMEROON

3.1 Introduction

This chapter entails analyzing the drivers of undemocratic leadership and governance and how it leads to conflict in Cameroon. It provides the conceptualization of leadership and governance, leadership challenges in Africa, and an analysis of the Cameroon case.

3.2 Conceptualization of Leadership and Governance

Leadership is a social influence process whereby the leader sought the constituents' voluntary participation to meet the institutional objectives. It involves a complex interaction among the leaders, the followers, and the situation.⁷¹

Governance is perceived as values, principles, policies, and institutions used in managing socio-economic and political activities in society through the state's engagement and other non-state actors. It entails the decision making processes through which the decisions are implemented or not implemented. Governance is determined by the nature of the relationship that exists between the government, leaders, and the citizens or the civilians. It is concerned with managing a country's resources leading to better sustainable development. Those in positions of power are responsible for ensuring that leadership results in ineffective governance that can limit society's conflicts.⁷²

⁷¹ Afegbua, Salami Issa, and Kehinde David Adejuwon. "The challenges of leadership and governance in Africa." *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 2, no. 9 (2012): 141.

⁷² Somorin, Olufunso A., Ingrid J. Visseren-Hamakers, Bas Arts, Denis J. Sonwa, and Anne-Marie Tiani. "REDD+ policy strategy in Cameroon: Actors, institutions, and governance." *Environmental Science & Policy* 35 (2014): 87-97.

Leadership and governance are essential factors that should be given in-depth analysis in the management of state affairs. Its call is timely relevant as a result of the global desire to have political and economic liberalization. Various parts of the world have a desire for unity, justice, peace, and stability. The increase in these desires is understandable not only on the political policies but also through social and economic policies. It has been observed that most states in Africa have been going through a socio-economic and political crisis that leads to poor governance, thereby igniting conflicts in society. The problems that arise as a result of unstable political, social, economic well as ethnicity and religious issues, for many instances, have affected Africa, and these lead to undemocratic leadership and governance in various parts of the African continent. The continued waves of violence, economic stagnations, unjust political environment, and increasing criminal activities associated with law and order breaking are some of the drivers to undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa. Hence, the need for good leadership is a recipe for good governance that is essential for realizing inclusive societal development.⁷³

3.3 Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa

African states have been affected by various political leadership failures that lead to various conflicts in society. Failures also exist in other domains, but they are linked to the deficiencies in the political leadership. The struggle for power over the use and management of state resources in various states in the continent has been seen as a conflict source. Various political contests have led to the rise of a governing class that lacks commitment but only puts their interest ahead. Politics has become a contested activity with many self-centered gains at the expense of the masses.⁷⁴

⁷³ Rothstein, Bo. *The quality of government: Corruption, social trust, and inequality from an international perspective*. University of Chicago Press, 2011.

⁷⁴ Boone, Catherine. *Property and political order in Africa: Land rights and the structure of politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Most of the African leaders at various levels have been observed to have inadequate macro-economic visions for the continent, which has led to the rise of various undemocratic regimes that only focus on their short-term gains. The regimes lack system values that can address the issues at the grassroots level. The nature of many African states, for instance, Cameroon, has revolved around a political class that is concerned with a power struggle, consolidation, alignment as well as realignment based on the hegemonic control and exclusion of other communities and regions.⁷⁵ This has been linked to the inadequate political ideology, corruption in the political process, and alienations that limit political participation in governance that jeopardize the inclusive domestic policies, leading to conflict.

Political leaders have been observed to be parochial rather than national, and leaders divert national resources to their affiliates and selfish gains. Ethnicity, religion, and language continue to be manipulated by the leaders to continue advancing their undemocratic motives that only benefit a few at the expense of promoting national integration and cohesion. This has enhanced animosity in various states like Cameroon. Civilians protest the unfair political space and national resources, more so the protest by the Anglophone speaking Cameroonians that feels neglected and continues to call for secession.

Personalization of rule in many African states clearly demonstrates that the national objectives have deficiencies in addressing society's challenges as leaders tend to fulfill their loyalists' desires and ignore those opposing their opinions. This also means that governance structures are largely informal and are subjected to many changes that fulfill those in authority's desires.⁷⁶ The personalization and identity-based leadership has led to widespread violations of human

⁷⁵ Cheru, Fantu. *African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the challenge of globalization*. New Africa Books, 2002.

⁷⁶ Hayward, Fred M., ed. *Elections in independent Africa*. Routledge, 2019.

rights. The violation of political, social, and economic rights has led to the emergence of conflicts as people rise to fight for their leadership and governance space, demanding national cohesion and integration.

Lack of political will has emerged as a key driver to undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa. It leads to the violation and upholding of the rule of law. Political will is the force that compels a sound leadership quality, the ability to do what is right, attainable in line with patriotism and nationalism. It entails groups or individual sacrifices to ensure that there are fairness and justice in society. A political will ensures that policies are executed based on the rule of law, and their pocket interests do not drive leaders. Still, policies are implemented to help in the realization of inclusive societal development. In Africa, Nigeria is an example of a country with many genuine leaders and is also affected by the lack of political will. In contemporary Africa, Nelson Mandela is an example of a leader representing personal sacrifices to save his people from slavery.⁷⁷

Political leadership in many African states has been concentrated in a few elites' hands, limiting effective competition in leadership. The concentration of power in the hands of a few, a given group of people, and blocking others from ascending to power continues to breed hatred, violation of human rights, resulting in recurring conflicts in the society. The conflicts lead to many deaths as well as an internally displaced person and refugees. The continued presence of crises in the continent impedes leadership and governance.

It is unfortunate that leadership and governance in Cameroon, just like other African states, have compounded issues that lead to undemocratic governance. The leaders fail to see the need

⁷⁷ Tripp, Aili Mari. *Women and power in post-conflict Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

for national cohesion and continue to neglect others, as in the francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. There is a continuous lack of systemic values that make the leadership and systems of governance more parochial than national. This continues to divert state resources to few elites within the states leading to poor service delivery.⁷⁸

Successful states globally have been associated with good leadership with vision, whether in developed or developing countries. Visionary leaders have contributed significantly to both social, economic, and political development in their states. Lack of leadership that can provide effective ideologies makes a country to continue lacking orientation and commitment. Therefore, leaders have failed to mobilize resources that can enhance human empowerment and national development.

Africa's challenges have been advanced by the weaknesses and failures in leadership, lack of ideology, policy reversal, and weak institutional patterns. These lead to conflicts in various states on the continent. Most leaders have political characters that are problematic to societal inclusivity, as most of them have inadequate leadership traits. Hence, leading to the fight and distribution of state resources in ways that fulfill their interests.⁷⁹

3.4 The Case of Cameroon

Scholarly evidence on the impact of colonialism on governance, in general, has typically been focused on institutions. Cameroon is no exception. The bicultural English and French nature of the country, though theoretically bilingual, make it even more complicated and vulnerable to bad governance as it struggles with the rough *mélange*. Several scholars have made diverse,

⁷⁸ Fonchingong, Tangie Nsoh, and John Bobuin Gemandze, eds. *Cameroon: The Stakes and Challenges of Governance and Development: The Stakes and Challenges of Governance and Development*. African Books Collective, 2009.

⁷⁹ Thomson, Alex. *An introduction to African politics*. Routledge, 2016.

compelling arguments about the causes of poor governance and why it is persisting, emerging as a study of interest to many researchers. The focus has been particularly on three factors, namely: colonialism, ethnic diversity or multiplicity, and the availability of or dependence on natural resources, particularly oil. Another school of thought, quite contemporary, argues that Sino-African relations contribute to bad governance in Africa. This section of the study examines how the persistence of bad governance using these factors.

3.4.1 Colonialism and Bad Governance in Cameroon

Germany originally colonized Cameroon, but during the First World War, the country was divided between France and Britain as mandatory territories, both practicing two divergent colonial practices witnessed through the nature of the legal system, colonial rule, and labor policies. Talking about the legal system, Cameroon is dominated by French civil laws. The French civil law is used in Francophone Cameroon, while the English common law is used in Anglophone Cameroon. As discussed earlier, research has shown that countries with French civil laws are prone to less efficient governments than those with English common law. Fombad has argued that the legal system in Cameroon is a relic of the colonial era.

The British colonial heritage was checks and balances, an independent judiciary, and the separation of powers instead of the French system where power was centralized. In Cameroon, the judiciary, the executive, and the government's legislative arms are all answerable to central power. A quick comparison of former French colonies with colonies and British colonies in Africa would prove that most Sub-Saharan African grappling with governance issues are former French colonies.

Since independence, Cameroon has only been ruled by two regimes of Ahidjo from 1961 to 1982 and that regime of Biya from 1982 to the present. What has impeded post-independence growth in Africa is the "despotic mode of governance inherited from the colonial administration." Post-independence political leadership tended to be characterized by the same system of governance. Tyranny remained the same and perpetrated by fellow blacks as opposed to the whites in the colonial days. He further explains that this pattern has greatly undermined the potential political and economic institutions that would promote the post-independence development agenda.

In the case of Cameroon, it is conceivable to say that this holds. As discussed earlier in the literature and paragraphs above, French colonies were prone to weak governance because of its characteristic direct rule and civil legal system that undermined basic freedoms, the rule of law, making power absolute. At independence, through the UN-led referendum, the two parts of Cameroon, French and British, became a federated state. Despite a strong policy of centralization to the favor of French Cameroon, they retained separate legal structures and systems and strong attachment to the language and culture of their respective colonizers.

In 1972, the federation was dissolved to form the United Republic of Cameroon. With 80 percent of the country being French-speaking and only 20 percent English speaking, the French colonial characteristic of assimilation dominates. The government's system has been typically the direct rule and assimilation as the French colonization days. Because the English speaking part of Cameroon is a minority, it is difficult to push the British government system. President Paul Biya has been in power since 1982. Currently, Cameroon is operating a government presidential system where the president can make or mar the country, and no one would

oppose it. Although there are a parliament and senate, they just ceremonial, and the senate's decisions need the president's approval.

3.4.2 Ethnic Multiplicity and Bad Governance in Cameroon

A vivid look at the impact of multiple ethnic groups on Cameroon's governance is through those in government. Most government members are from either ethnic groups like the Beti, Bassa, Maka, or the Douala region. These regions tend to be ones that benefit most from public goods, good schools, hospitals, access to roads. This translates into the politics of ethnicity such that those from the ethnic of the incumbent president vote for him and his ruling party to have access to more public goods and services. Research has shown that "the existing equilibrium is real but also precarious, and ethnic thinking penetrates all spheres of life, including government, parties, and newspapers."

When Ahidjo was president of the country, northerners Fulanis, a minority ethnic group, dominated in government because he was from there. He introduced patronage, nominating persons he trusted into public service and handing them strategic positions in government. This was based on personal, familial, and ethnic networks of local interests⁸⁰. When Paul Biya came to power, he maintained the client patronage of Ahidjo but soon shifted to a new network composed of people from Beti ethnic and a few other ethnic groups. It was possible because authority was centralized. The Betis found his presidency an opportunity to have a share of the national cake. It is worth noting that both presidents have all come from the country's French-speaking part, buttressing the previous section's colonialism argument. This has proven for

⁸⁰Awasom, N.F. Challenges to Nation-State in Africa: Anglophone- Francophone Swing between Primordial and Modern Identities and Sensitivities in Cameroon, an Historical Perspective Paper presented to Laureates of Governance Institute of CODESRIA. Dakar August 2003, p.9.

skewed sharing of resources. Theoretically, there exists a policy of regional balance⁸¹ In resource allocation and distribution of state, this standard's execution permits a lot to be desired.

3.4.3 Resource Curse and Bad Governance in Cameroon

Research has shown that Cameroon has vast amounts of natural resources varying from a diverse climate and diversified population making it rank among another top rich resource sub-Saharan country. However, the presence of the resources, particularly oil, which will be the focus of our analysis, has not been helpful. Cameroons' oil fields were discovered during the colonial period in 1947, and commercial production started in 1977 undertaken by Elf-Serepca from France. Cameroon's oil sector is a minor player by global criteria; it undertakes a great undertaking in the production, exports, foreign exchange earnings, and government incomes in Cameroon⁸².

When commercial extraction of petroleum and oil products started, Gauither and 2009 Zeufack and Gauthier (2011) estimate that \$ 20 billion was collected as rents and 64 percent of the rents went to the government of Cameroon, and 36% to the foreign companies involved in the oil sector in Cameroon. However, of the 64% who went to Cameroon's government, only 54% could be properly accounted for because they could be seen in the government budget. The remaining 46% could not be accounted for. This, therefore, is clear evidence of the absence of culpability in government because of the presence of natural resources in Cameroon. Moreover,

⁸¹. The idea that all regions and ethnic groups are appropriately considered in terms of state resource allocation.

⁸² In 2007, the oil share of total GDP is 9%, down from close to 30% at the peak of the oil boom in 1985 The significance of the oil sector is even more visible regarding its contribution to the country's foreign exchange earnings and government revenues. Crude oil products are the country main export, representing more than 55% of export revenues in 2007

having access to the accurate figures of what comes in as revenues and how it is spent is often top-secret in Cameroon. Apparently, figures on how oil benefits are shared in Cameroon regionally, for example, are top secret since the management of the oil wealth centers around a few unaccountable individuals. This research could not find any such figures. As Collier points out, countries where elites are rent-seekers and seizers' institutions are often weak, checks and balances are dismantled, corruption takes the lead, and poor governance abounds. It started with the first president Ahmadou Ahidjo and stream-lined to Paul Biya, who took over from Ahidjo in 1982 and is still clung to power to date. The actors in Cameroon's oil sector include International Oil Companies and the Cameroon government, represented by the French known as the National Hydrocarbons Society.

Cameroon's oil production peaked in 1985 at 181,000 barrels/day and then steadily dropped to 60,400 barrels per day in 2011. But in 2013, SNH reported national crude oil production reached 102,586 barrels per day, a level not seen since 2002; annual oil and gas production was up by 26%. This increase seems to have accrued on the level of governance in terms of oil production. This company, directly controlled by the Presidency, dominates the oil sector in Cameroon. The largest revenues are collected by SNH and transferred to the national treasury after subtracting operational costs. Through this process, all the revenue never gets to the treasury. According to the Natural Resource Institute's Resource Governance Index⁸³The government of Cameroon has been heavily dependent on petroleum production with oil and gas revenues. This index classifies Cameroon as a failing country in terms of governance. The index classifies Cameroon as a failing country in terms of governance, ranking 47th out of 58

⁸³, The Resource Governance Index (RGI) measures the quality of governance in the oil, gas, and mining sectors of 58 countries.

countries. A clear result of this: corruption is systemic, and bribery is commonplace in all sectors.

3.4.4 Failure to Hold an Inclusive Dialogue

The 2019 Cameroon national dialogue was a government-driven process that only gave two weeks to collect views from selected stakeholders; the president, who is head of government, outlined the themes upon which the Dialogue was discussed⁸⁴ This left little to no room for the general public to debate and air their views; thus, the process lost the public goodwill, especially from the Anglophone who felt out as most of their leaders were in prison and could not participate in the process. This challenge directly impacted the National Dialogue's effectiveness in 2019, as it had little to no public participation in the creation and development of the process.

The Anglophone's main constituents and opinion leaders, such as the Social Democratic Front and the Anglophone General Conference, made their submissions on the ongoing intrastate conflict. The main opposition party Cameroon Renaissance Movement submitted their views despite their party leader Maurice Kamto and other top officials been in prison.⁸⁵ Despite these consultations, certain aspects of the proceedings to the main dialogue were widely criticized, resulting in many Anglophone separatists failing to turn up for the National Dialogue. The government's predefined themes of the discussions left out the conflict's main underlying issues: federalism and secession, rendering the process a smokescreen.

⁸⁴. Nwati, M. T. (2020). The Anglophone Crisis: The Birth of Warlords, the Impact of Warlords Activity on the People of North West and South West Region of Cameroon. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 10(5), 157-185.

⁸⁵ Agwenjang, P. N. (2020). The Tussle with Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: The Case of Cameroon. *SOAS LJ*, 7, 65.

3.5 Summary Findings and Conclusion

This study found out that African states have been affected by various political leadership failures that lead to various conflicts in society. Manifestations of majority of the challenges African states have been majorly linked to the deficiencies in the political leadership.

A majority of the respondents 84%, observed that the struggle for power over the use and management of state resources in various states in the continent has been seen as a conflict source. 16% of the respondents' highlighted political contests have led to the rise of a governing class that lacks commitment but only puts their interest ahead.

The study observed that regimes lack system values that can address the issues at the grassroots level. In Cameroon, the respondents characterized the governance regime as one that has revolved around a political class that is concerned with a power struggle, consolidation, alignment as well as realignment based on the hegemonic control and exclusion of other communities and regions. This has been manifested in numerous occasions such as to the inadequate political ideology, corruption in the political process, and alienations that limit political participation in governance that jeopardize the inclusive domestic policies, leading to conflict. The study observed that personalization and identity-based leadership has led to widespread violation of human rights. The violation of political, social, and economic rights has led to the emergence of conflicts as people rise to fight for their leadership and governance space, demanding national cohesion and integration.

Lack of political will has emerged as a key driver to undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa. It leads to the violation and upholding of the rule of law. Political leadership in many African states has been concentrated in a few elites' hands, limiting effective competition in

leadership. The concentration of power in the hands of a few, a given group of people, and blocking others from ascending to power continues to breed hatred, violation of human rights, resulting in recurring conflicts in the society. The conflicts lead to many deaths as well as an internally displaced person and refugees. The continued presence of crises in the continent impedes leadership and governance.

It is unfortunate that leadership and governance in Cameroon, just like other African states, have compounded issues that lead to undemocratic governance. The leaders fail to see the need for national cohesion and continue to neglect others, as in the francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. There is a continuous lack of systemic values that make the leadership and systems of governance more parochial than national.

The study has shown that in Cameroon, the government system created by the colonial administration was inherited in post-independence and still evident today through the centralization of power in the presidential system of government where everything centers on the country's president. Also, we see that ethnicity contributes to the persistence of bad or poor governance in Cameroon. Hence, the need for good leadership is a recipe for good governance that is essential for realizing inclusive societal development, this can be achieved through an idealistic approach.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICY MEASURES THAT WILL MITIGATE AGAINST UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN ADVANCING INTRA-STATE CONFLICT IN CAMEROON

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the policy measures that can be used to mitigate against undemocratic governance in advancing intra-state conflict in Cameroon. The study assessed the use of policy mechanisms and other related approaches in managing the conflicts and whether the approaches are effective in the short and long term.

4.2 Policy Measures that Will Mitigate Against Undemocratic Governance in Africa

African states, just like other regions of the world, the quality and features of governance is what defines the standard of peace, stability, and prospects for economic development in the society. Governance is important since it defines whether there is a tangible connection between the state and the people it's supposed to govern. Governance structures are essential because they determine if the practice of power is seen as legit or not legitimate. Addressing issues that negatively affect governance requires cooperation and coordination of various institutions with adherence to law and respect to human rights. Mitigating against bad governance issues require a legitimate authority that is guided by the accepted laws, principles, and norms instead of the just power of the rulers. The embracing of good governance has important dimensions for Cameroon and the region as a whole that relate to the structures of the institutions and norms that can help guide the country's challenges and help shape its political culture. Implementation of good governance principles is relevant to Cameroon since it is a state that is composed of two major factions; the francophone and the Anglophone hence

the need for coordination in addressing national issues to minimize conflicts that are triggered by illiberal and undemocratic practices.⁸⁶

4.3 Policy Measures for Mitigating against Undemocratic Practices in Cameroon

4.3.1 Inclusivity and Sustainable Human Development Policies for All

The increased globalization in various parts of the world has led to human development on various fronts of rights nationally and internationally. Cameroon, just like other African states, has experienced numerous conflicts that jeopardize sustainable societal coexistence, which leads to the need for mutual inclusivity in governance to minimize the conflicts triggered by illiberal or undemocratic practices.⁸⁷

The increased economic and sustainable development experienced in various parts of Cameroon recently, in very minimal instances, has led to inclusive, sustainable human development for every citizen. The development models that have been employed are, for instance, accused of advancing more economic development instead of making it democratic and sustainable. This has a long-term impact, which includes the degradation of the environment and social unrest because citizens desire a lot from democracy beyond just economic development.

Minimal equitable and inclusivity in the society have jeopardized the democracy and systems of governance in Cameroon. The mere presence of democracy without implementing the principles of democratic governance has led to unrest in the society, social movements amongst

⁸⁶ Fukuyama, Francis. *State-building: governance and world order in the 21st century*. Cornell University Press, 2014.

⁸⁷ Deng, Francis M., Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman. *Sovereignty as a responsibility: conflict management in Africa*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

the Cameroonians. The increased demonstrations in the country result from the need for inclusive and mutual collective development for all.

Implementation of Inclusivity policies is essential for promoting sustainable development in Cameroon since all groups of people will be given equal opportunity to participate in the decision making processes. Cameroon, for many instances, continues to experience undemocratic practices, and this has been escalated by the disagreements like power distribution between the English speaking Cameroonians and the francophone.⁸⁸ These grievances can be mitigated if people in all backgrounds are included in the management of state affairs. Inclusivity has been observed to enhance peace and coexistence in society, relevant in the Cameroon context. When people or groups of people are included in the formulation of policies and implementation, sustainable peace and human development can be enhanced. This is important in promoting liberal democracy that leads to good governance and, thereafter, reducing issues that can lead to conflict in society.

Inclusivity policies will ensure mutual coexistence in governance because it minimizes the forces of ethnicity that drive a culture of bad governance in the society. Most top ranking government officials are from either from the Beti, Bassa, Maka, or the Douala region. These regions tend to be ones that benefit most from public goods, good hospitals and access to roads. This translates into the politics of ethnicity such that those from the ethnic of the incumbent president vote for him and his ruling party to have access to more public goods and services. With the inclusivity of all the other minority tribes in Cameroon, the inclusion of the Anglophone in governance, recurring conflicts that negatively affect peace and security in the

⁸⁸ Gould, Selena. "The Genocide that Everyone Should Have Seen Coming: How the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis Extends Colonial Forces of Domination and Consent." (2019).

country can be mitigated with the available institutional structures. Like other African states, Inclusivity policies ensure regional balance in resource allocation and distribution of state executions, ensuring minimal conflicts in society.⁸⁹

4.3.2 Focus on Poverty Reduction Policies and Enhance Political Inclusivity Policies

Poverty has been identified as one of the key threats to democracy in Cameroon, just as in other African states. The drafting and implementation of poverty eradication policies and initiatives to mitigate poverty issues should be undertaken. The policies should focus on key areas such as; involve improved access to public services by enhancing proactive development strategies, gender inclusiveness, and getting involved in the international markets.⁹⁰

Democracy is linked to politics, and it entails giving people that have been excluded, neglected, or disadvantaged in one way or the other to gain access to power, a just share of power as well as resources through active involvement in political, economic policy formulation and implementation at all levels in the society. The promotion of policies enhancing democratic participation, presentation, and representation can strengthen the citizens of Cameroon's to define, influence, and achieve their livelihoods, and this is true in conflict-ridden states as it promotes equal representation of the citizens. The promotion of democratic culture in society ensures that good governance is realized. This is essential for sustainable development hence reducing poverty that can make people fight over power and resources.

It is observed that disparities in Cameroon's level of income cause serious damages since it jeopardizes the people's power to hold leaders accountable for their actions. Inadequate

⁸⁹ The idea that all regions and ethnic groups are appropriately considered in terms of state resource allocation.

⁹⁰ Kandachar, Prabhu, and Minna Halme, eds. Sustainability challenges and solutions at the base of the pyramid: Business, technology, and the poor. Routledge, 2017.

political will and capacity amongst the leaders to champion the citizens' desires either politically, socially, and economically leads to inequalities, which undermines the legitimate democratic process. The focus on poverty reduction is essential in that it enhances collective participation in governance; the limited resources are used to advance the masses' interests. Thereafter, every section of society feels included in the systems of governance. Just like other African states, Cameroon can reduce the threats to democracy and good governance if poverty that exposes many people to frustrations is addressed in society.

The study observed that increase in poverty levels in the society leads to a struggle over resources that results in constant conflicts on access and utilization of the resources. The future of peaceful Cameroon is defined by addressing the poverty issue in society, mutual and equal representations. Thus, the government should deliberate efforts to fully implement poverty eradication policies coupled with policies enhancing the political inclusivity of the Anglophone and Francophone.

4.3.3 Implement Policies that Strengthen Legal Instruments and Standards

In Cameroon, leadership and democratic governance, just like other African states, are threatened by poor management of the available resources, unjust electoral processes that trigger conflicts in society.⁹¹ These threats can be mitigated by the development implementation of policies that strengthen legal institutions' independence to enhance their effectiveness and efficiency. Enhancing justice structures and the collective rule of law that serves all the citizens in the country. Accountable and transparent development of these resources is essential in promoting sustainable development in society. It was observed that

⁹¹ Deng, Francis M., Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman. *Sovereignty as a responsibility: conflict management in Africa*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

there exists numerous relationship between natural resource exploitation and violent conflicts in Cameroon and many conflicts are triggered by natural resource within the country in which some group of people feel that they are do not get an equal share of the national wealth.

Research has shown that Cameroon has vast amounts of natural resources varying from a diverse climate and diversified population making it rank among another top rich resource sub-Saharan.⁹² Poor management of these resources leads to conflicts in the society; hence proper policies and legal frameworks that work in line with other regional and international agreements are essential in dealing with national resource development. The African Union convention on governance architecture has policies emulated in Cameroon to ensure that resources are used for collective societal development.

The effective implementation of policies in line with the legal frameworks reduces the threats that can be enhanced by poor development. Effective and accountable institutions ensure that the available resources are used for the public good, improving service delivery to the people, sustainable development, and human security. Cameroon has been heavily dependent on petroleum production with oil and gas revenues. When utilized well, this can increase industrialization in the country, creating various job opportunities for the youth that can be easily radicalized.⁹³

4.3.4 Enhance Peace and Reconciliation Policies

Cameroon should urgently embrace peace and reconciliation policies to bring a halt to the prolonged intra-state conflict. Enhancing Peace and reconciliation policies will be achieved by

⁹² Based, Matthias. "Context matters-rethinking the resource curse in sub-Saharan Africa." (2005).

⁹³ Hendrix, Cullen S. "Kicking a crude habit: diversifying away from oil and gas in the twenty-first century." *International Review of Applied Economics* 33, no. 2 (2019): 188-208.

having an all-inclusive National Dialogue. Dialogue is an essential element for promoting peace, reconciliation, and mutual coexistence in society. Dialogue enhances democracy in a society since it gives room for people's participation in presenting their grievances to the authorities. It should be a long term process that should involve all stakeholders, the citizens, and other non-state actors in society.

Cameroon initiated a national dialogue in 2019. This was a process driven by the government, which only gave two weeks to get selected stakeholders' views. The president developed the areas of focus in the discussions.⁹⁴ This move denied the general public an opportunity to participate in the process as the appointing authorities could influence the selected stakeholders. This led to the loss of public goodwill, more so from the Anglophone who felt ignored as most of their leaders were arrested and in prisons and had no opportunity to take part in the negotiations. The unjust representation in the 2019 dialogue yielded minimal results as citizen involvement was not put into consideration.

The collective national dialogue is essential in promoting democratic and good governance in the society as it creates room for national engagement in addressing key societal concerns in Cameroon. It creates an avenue through which challenges of the opposing factions can be communicated, and possible solutions that meet the parties' needs are enhanced. The collective national dialogue is an effective mechanism for promoting human security for effective, sustainable development in Cameroon. It creates room for the state and non-state actors to submit their opinions on governance issues from the national to the grass-root level. This ensures an effective representation of the people and equal sharing of the national resources.

⁹⁴ Nwati, M. T. (2020). The Anglophone Crisis: The Birth of Warlords, the Impact of Warlords Activity on the People of North West and South West Region of Cameroon. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 10(5), 157-185.

Kenya has continuously engaged in national dialogue and collection of people's opinions at various levels in society. This has been seen as a mechanism for enhancing national cohesion, restoration of peace, and fair distribution of national resources to the communities. The national dialogue has ensured a fair representation of the people from different ethnic groups and backgrounds.

Cameroon is a state with different ethnic groups and as well defined. The Anglophone has the responsibility to embrace collective dialogue that gets the views of all stakeholders, citizens at the grass-root level to promote inclusivity in the decision making. This is important because it minimizes conflicts in society as every group in the society will feel included hence minimizing the chances of conflicts in the country.⁹⁵

Collective dialogue is important for peace in society since it welcomes the views of the people. Collective dialogue is defined and shaped by the people and the people, and that is what democracy stands for. Lack of dialogue leads to negotiations that are defined and shaped to meet the government's demands and not the needs of the larger masses. For instance, the Anglophone's main constituents and opinion leaders, such as the Social Democratic Front and the Anglophone General Conference, made their submissions on the ongoing intrastate conflict. The main opposition party Cameroon Renaissance Movement submitted their views despite their party leader Maurice Kamto and other top officials been in prison.⁹⁶ Despite these consultations, certain aspects of the proceedings to the main dialogue were widely criticized, resulting in many Anglophone separatists failing to turn up for the National Dialogue. The government's predefined themes of the discussions left out the conflict's main underlying

⁹⁵ Mbeng, Peaceful B. "A Human Rights Based Approach: An Option for Attaining Sustainable Development in Cameroon." (2018).

⁹⁶ Agwenjang, P. N. (2020). The Tussle with Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: The Case of Cameroon. SOAS LJ, 7, 65.

issues, namely, federalism and secession rendering the process as a smokescreen. Therefore, collective national dialogue driven by the people and for the people promotes democracy, which is relevant in promoting sustainable human security in Cameroon and any other African state.

Collective peace and reconciliation policies are actualized through societal dialogues that have the capacity to reduce multiplex ethnic divisions in society. It promotes patriotism as every section of the society feels included in governance and effective and efficient service delivery to the people without discrimination.

4.3.5 Policies Enhancing Constitutional Governance and Accountability

Threats to democracy can be mitigated in African states because the African Union enhances democracy and good governance. The AU demands that the use of acceptable democratic practices should change governments. The Union also enhances the facilitation and restoration of democracy and the constitutional governments whenever there is a coup, conflicts.⁹⁷

Democracy can be enhanced if there is effective political will between and amongst the leaders to promote the implementations of conventions, effective ratification of policies that address the people's collective desires. Changes of the constitution to favor few elites to extend their terms in office, for instance, should not be accepted. Therefore there is a need for cooperation and coordination among various stakeholders, AU institutions, and regional organizations to ensure that there is people's participation in the change of power.

⁹⁷ Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Democracy in retreat: The revolt of the middle class and the worldwide decline of representative government*. Yale University Press, 2013.

4.3.6 Implementing Policies Promoting Human Rights

Democracy and good governance can be promoted in society through the protection of human rights and access to information by the people. The media is an essential tool that can promote democratization in society since it is viewed as a ladder that links all the people in the society. In Cameroon, the media has often been overlooked, yet it has the capacity to provide networks between various actors in society.

The role of the media has been jeopardized. In most instances, it was observed that the government dictated the media, radio, and TV. The radio is important in empowering people with numerous information relating to how they can engage with the government. They always use local languages that many local people understand hence can be used to take part in community sensitization. In countries like Mozambique, the media has played a huge role in community mobilizations and teachings. The media should be free from state control so that decision-makers can easily get the people's actual views on issues that are affecting the respective communities in Cameroon.

A favorable environment for the media can promote easy access and retrieval of information in society. Effective expression in society improves good governance due to the open platform that the media provides for people's participation in all society sections. It was observed that the media provides teachings that promote awareness of the need for peace and human rights. Different media like drama, news murals, and posters to educate citizens on human rights have been recommended.

Human rights ensure that people's participation in decision making is enhanced, and therefore citizens are given equal opportunity to engage in decision making. Cameroon is responsible for

building a culture of inclusive people's participation in decision making to move away from traditional colonialism practices that yield differences in the country, more so those depicted between the francophone and the Anglophone. Adherence to human rights ensures collective human security in a country, which creates room for sustainable development and peace.

4.3.7 Policies to Promote Devolution and Decentralization of Power

The adoption of policies of the devolved system of governance is important in eliminating traditional cultures of the colonial masters that placed power in the hands of a few in Cameroon. The decentralization of power is essential as it promotes the communities, ethnic groups, and other actors in society.⁹⁸ It has been observed that decentralization of power promotes peace in a politically fragmented society by giving room to various political, religious, ethnic communities an opportunity to govern themselves and representation in policy formulation and implementation hence enhancing the capacity of a country to maintain socio-economic and political stability. The concentration of power amongst the hands of a few is a trigger to conflict. Hence decentralization, despite having its own challenges, provides a better option since it allows the citizens to participate in governance effectively by holding the leaders more accountable, as has been experienced in Kenya.

It was observed that the centralization of power and personalization of authority is in huge jeopardy to democracy in Cameroon. Political centralization has promulgated economic centralization, which continuously leads to the economic crisis as various sections of the country feel neglected in terms of leadership positions, resource distribution, and infrastructural development.⁹⁹ Thus, it is important for decentralization so that governance is brought close

⁹⁸ Chia, Ngam Confidence, Kaze Tindo Narcisse Saturnin, and Njoh Norbert Kidze. "Decentralization and Decentralized Cooperation in Cameroon: The Futile and Conflicting Initiatives of implementation."

⁹⁹ Morrison, Mark. Central African Republic Governance and Political Conflict. Lulu Press, Inc, 2017.

to the people, and citizens enjoy the state's wealth. This is important and can be used to mitigate the disputes between the Cameroonians.

4.4 Chapter Summary and Findings

Democracy and good governance are essential in every society for sustainable peace and stability to be realized. Many African states, including Cameroon, are putting efforts into the relevance of governance in development processes. Efforts have been put in place to transform the systems of governance. The efforts that Cameroon has put in place is still not sufficient for accelerating sustainable peace, economic growth, and development. Hence the need for the effective realization of the rule of law and inclusivity in governance. Cameroon has the responsibility to enhance the political will so that these transitions are realized for human security. Internal engagement and mobilization of resources are needed to support these processes. Consequently, there is a need for various stakeholders like the African Union to promote dialogue between and amongst the leaders to help realize peaceful coexistence in the country.

The study found that Democratic governance in Cameroon experiences obstacles that comes as a result of inadequate implementation of institutional guidelines. The study observed that despite the existence of some formal institutions and legal norms, Cameroon still experience poor governance since leaders does not adhere to the rule of law and they implement policies that only ensures their survival.

The study further observed that, Democratic leadership at all levels has significant impact in realizing sustainable peace and security since it responds to the needs of the people without discrimination. The study findings establish that measures that Cameroon has put in place are

not sufficient to promote unity in the country hence the need for full implementation of the constitution in a just manner and enhancement of political good will for inclusivity in governance. Dialogue should be enhanced to express the interests of all the citizens so that frequent conflicts can be mitigated amicably.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS OF ROLE OF UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN FUELLING INTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings on the study topic- the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra-state conflicts in Africa: the case study of Cameroon. The data analyzed is in line with the objectives of the study; to establish the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intrastate conflicts Africa; to investigate the drivers of the undemocratic leadership and governance advancing conflict in Cameroon; to evaluate policy measures that will mitigate against the undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing conflict in Cameroon. An investigation was done through descriptive, content analysis and data presented through charts and tables.

5.2 Response Rate

A cumulative of 44 questionnaires were administered, and out of this, 44 of the questionnaires were responsibly filled and given back; hence the rate of response was notably 100% as indicated in figure 5.1. 50% of the response is adequately sufficient for a descriptive study.

5.3 Demography

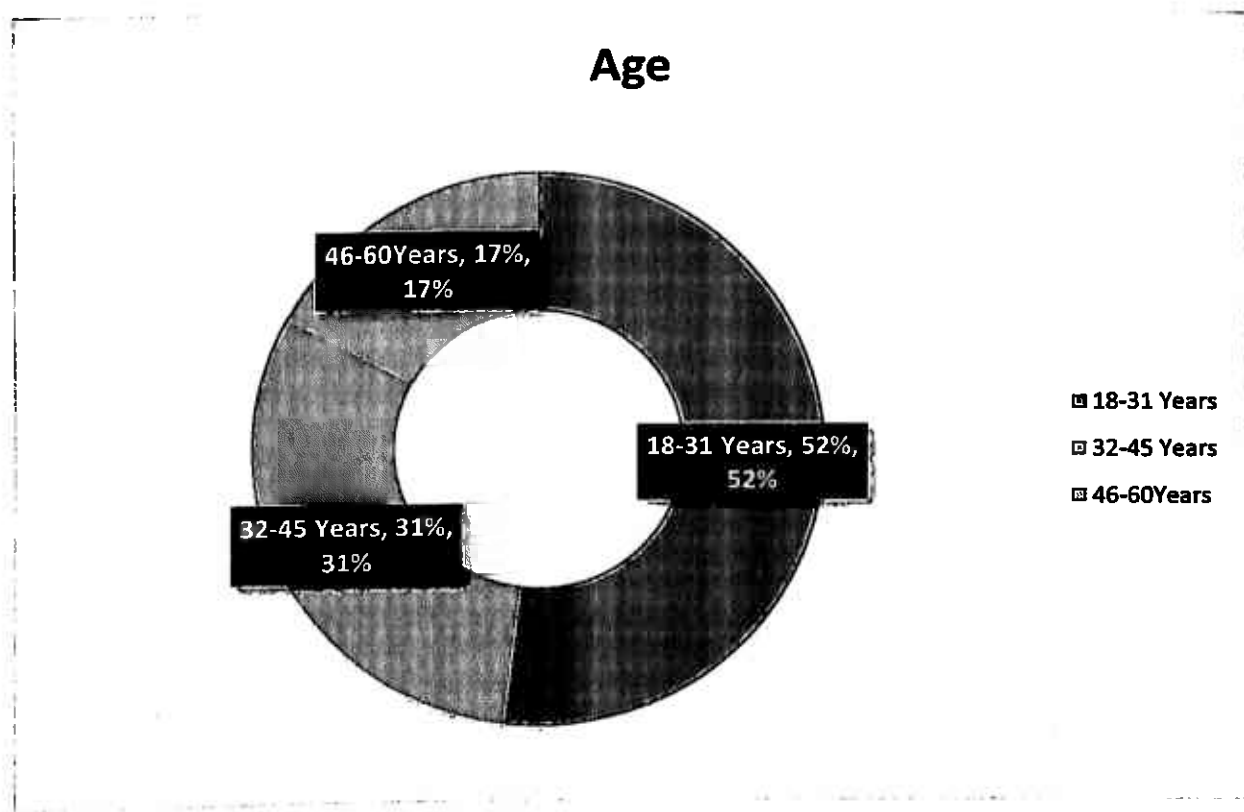
Demographic characteristics of the respondents

i. Age

The respondents to this study involved people of different ages, and this can be outlined as follows.

- a) 18-31 years (31%).
- b) 32-45 years (52%).
- c) 46-60 years (17%).

Figure 5.1: Age brackets of the study sample



Source: Field Data, 2020

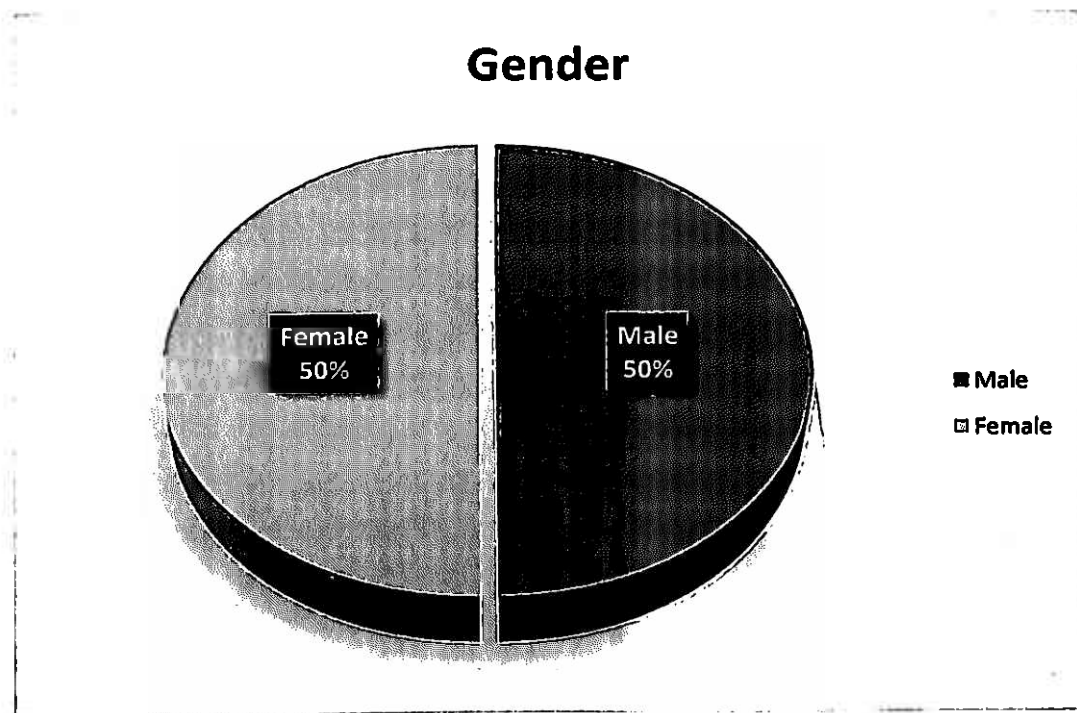
A majority of the respondents were between the age of 32 and 45 years. This is attributed to the fact that they possessed credible and informative information regarding this research.

ii. Gender

Apart from age, gender was also another point of consideration as far as the demography of the respondents was concerned was gender.

- a) Male (50%)
- b) Female (50%).

Figure 5.2: Gender of the sample study



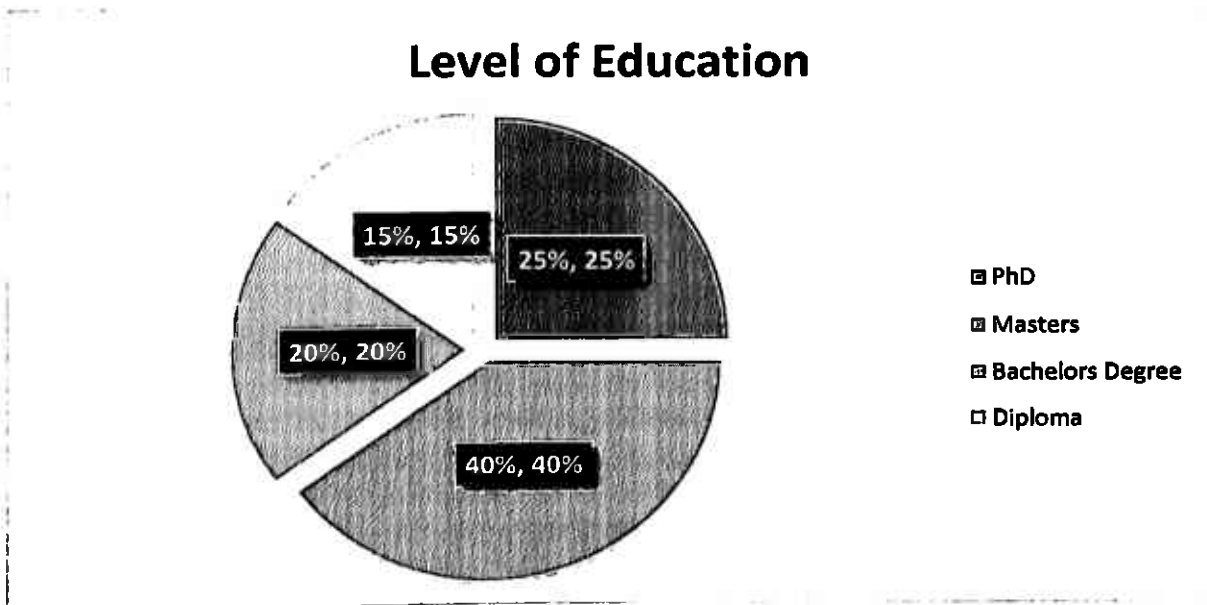
Source: Field Data, 2020

Gender aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to affect different gender groups differently. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. The reason as to why there was a selection of an equal number of male and female is to avoid bias.

iii. Level of Education

The level of education aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to be undertaken by people with a given level of academic qualification in the process thus the different level of education groups. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. This study comprised people who hold various awards such as PhD (25%), Masters (40%), Bachelor's Degree (20%), and Diploma (15%).

Figure 5.3: Level of Education of Sample study



Source: Field Data, 2020

Majority of the respondents (40%) had a master's degree. The rationale for this choice was that such respondents possessed sufficient knowledge about our topic under research and because they were easily accessible.

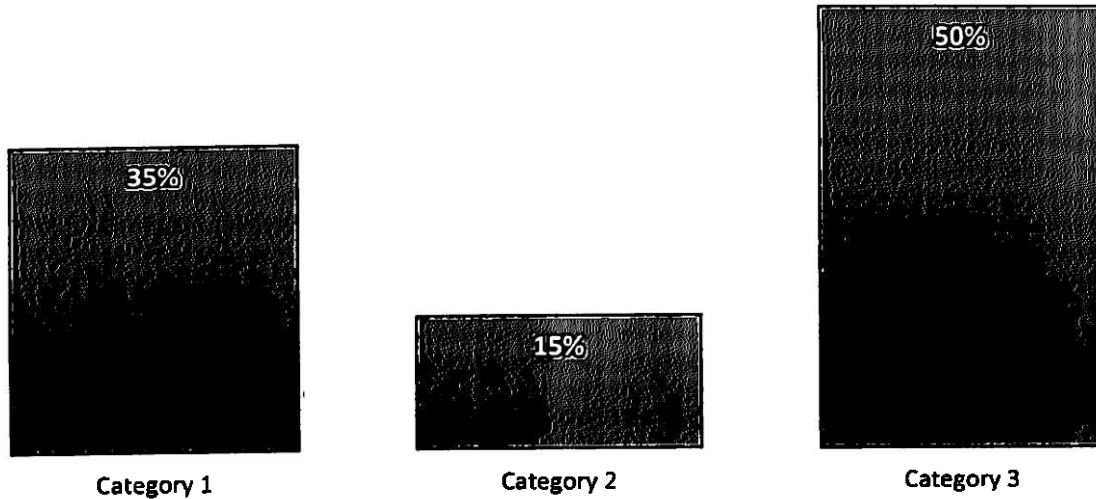
iv. Years of experience

Years of experience aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation as it is perceived to experience in conflict management or any given profession affects the quality of the process differently. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups with different years of experience. Finally, the year of experience was put into consideration in this study as outlined.

- a) Category 1: 1-3 (35%)
- b) Category 2: 4-6 (15%)
- c) Category 3: 7-10 (50%)

Figure 5.4: Years of Experience of Sample Study

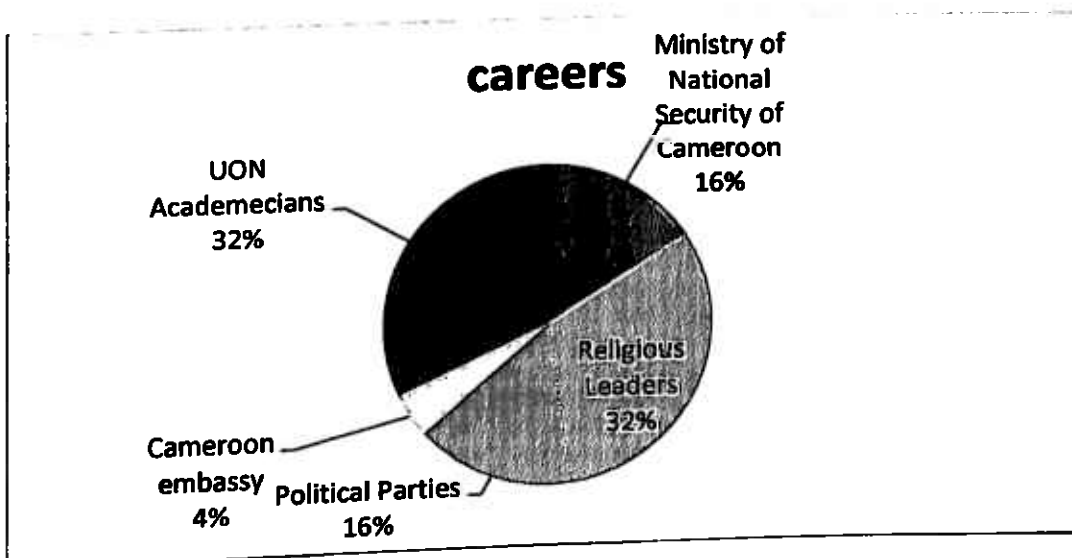
Years of Experience



Source: Field Data, 2020

Majority of the respondents to this study had between 7 to 10 years of experience majorly drawn from (32-45) and (46-60) age groups bracket. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with more objective findings to the study.

Figure 5.5: Careers of the Respondent



Source: Field Data, 2020

The profession of the respondent aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation involved a multifaceted approach of professions to address the various challenges and solutions in their different areas of expertise. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. A majority of the respondents to this study were drawn from religious leaders, UON academicians, Cameroon National security and Cameroon official at the ministry. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with more objective findings to the study.

5.4 Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Fuelling Intrastate Conflicts in Africa

Table 5.1: Nature of governance

| Leadership and Governance | Percentage |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Undemocratic | 80 |
| Democratic | 20 |
| Total | 100 |

Source: Field Data, 2020

Based on the study findings, 80% of the respondents indicated that democracy in Africa more so Cameroon is still weak despite the country adopting a measure that promotes human rights, institutional frameworks, democratic governance is still not enhanced as per the rule of law and this has led to numerous disputes amongst the people in Cameroon.

The findings pointed out that Cameroon is occupied by the inequitable distribution of resources amongst the people leading to unfair development in various parts of the country. Illicit distribution of resources was linked to Political leadership that was observed as enhancing divisive politics that is based on ethnicity, language and affiliation. These factors promote bad

governance which triggers continuous conflicts in the society as it is experienced between the Anglophone and the francophone factions.

Various affronts for promoting democratic governance had been put in places such as laws and institutional frameworks, but this continues to be jeopardized by lack of political will to enhanced inclusivity in governance by those in power.

A minority of the respondents (20%) observed that democracy is developing in Cameroon, and it should be given some time to thrive. They argued that the existing dialogues between the local leaders as well as support from regional organizations continue to instill a culture of democracy in the country.

5.5 Drivers of the Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in Advancing Conflict in Cameroon

The study respondents indicated that undemocratic culture and leadership in Cameroon had been advanced by aspects of colonialism, ethnicity, exclusivity, unfair distribution of resources.

5.5.1 Colonialism and Bad Governance in Cameroon

According to the study findings Cameroon was originally colonized by Germany, but during the First World War, the country was divided between France and Britain as mandatory territories both practicing two divergent colonial practices witnessed through nature of the legal system, colonial rule and labour policies. Talking about the legal system, Cameroon is dominated by French civil laws. As discussed earlier, research has shown that countries with French civil laws are prone to less efficient governments than those with English common law.

It was observed that the legal system of Cameroon is a reflection of the colonial era, and this results in disputes between different parties.

The study observed that the British colonial heritage was the existence of checks and balances, an independent judiciary and the separation of powers as opposed to the French system where power was centralized. In Cameroon, the judiciary, the executive and the legislative arms of government are all answerable to central power; the presidency. A quick comparison of former French colonies with colonies and British colonies in Africa would prove that most Sub-Saharan African grappling with governance issues are former French colonies.

5.5.2 Marginalization and Bad Governance in Cameroon

The study findings indicate that deep rooted division among the citizens of Cameroon as manifested by negative ethnicity and those benefiting are the few elite close to the ruling class, and this leads to poor leadership as many are alienated in the distribution of state resources. The political class as a result of undemocratic leadership have used drive the negative ethnicity politics leads to hatred in the society resulting in conflicts. The study established that most members of the government were appointed from one region of country marginalizing others from leadership and government appointments. Regions which are pro-government tend benefit most from public goods, good schools, hospitals, access to roads. This translates into the politics of marginalization disguised as negative ethnicity narrative.

Manifestation of undemocratic governance was negative ethnicity. The study observed that ethnicity was a strong political tool that was utilized by the ruling regime in Cameroon, and it is also a tool that is used to create division in the country for only a few to benefit. The study has shown that "the existing equilibrium is real but also precarious, and ethnic thinking

penetrates all spheres of life, including government, parties and newspapers". Elite pluralism is not spontaneous but has to be enforced from the top. This is facilitated by a heavy degree of power centralization.¹⁰⁰

5.5.3 Embezzlement of Resources and Corruption in Cameroon

According to the study findings, corruption was a key driving force of undemocratic leadership. Leaders entrusted with the country's resources have propelled a culture of non-accountability. Cameroon has vast amounts of natural resources varying from a diverse climate and diversified population making it to rank among another top rich resource in the sub-Saharan. However, the presence of the resources particularly oil has not been useful to the people since it has been politicized and only used by a few to promote their interest, usurping what belongs to the people for individual selfish gains. Cameroon's oil fields were discovered during the colonial period in 1947, and commercial production started in 1977 undertaken by Elf-Aquitane from French. Cameroon's oil sector is a minor player by global criteria; it undertakes a great undertaking in the production, exports, foreign exchange earnings and government incomes in Cameroon¹⁰¹.

5.5.4 Failure to Hold an Inclusive Dialogue

The study established that lack of mutual inclusive dialogue is huge jeopardy to the realization of peace and stability in Cameroon. The 2019 Cameroon national dialogue was a government-

¹⁰⁰ Awasom, N.F. Challenges to Nation-State in Africa: Anglophone- Francophone Swing between Primordial and Modern Identities and Sensitivities in Cameroon, an Historical Perspective Paper presented to Laureates of Governance Institute of CODESRIA. Dakar August 2003, p.9.

¹⁰¹ In 2007, oil share of total GDP is 9%, down from close to 30% at the peak of the oil boom in 1985 The significance of the oil sector is even more visible regarding its contribution to the country's foreign exchange earnings and government revenues. Crude oil products are the country main export, representing more than 55% of export revenues in 2007

driven process, which only gave two weeks to collect views from selected stakeholders, and the president outlined the issues of discussions. The study observed that the design of the dialogue was to advance the objectives of the president and not the will of the people since the people were not fairly represented in the discussions. The selection of issues of discussion and the minimal time gave inadequate room for the general public to debate and air their views thus the process lost the public goodwill especially from the Anglophone who felt out as most of their leaders were in prison and could not take part in the process. This challenge had a direct impact on the effectiveness of the National Dialogue held in 2019 as it had little to no public participation in the creation and development of the process.

5.6 Ways of Addressing Issues of Undemocratic Leadership and Governance in

Cameroon

The study also investigated various mechanisms that can promote good governance in Cameroon and the results were as follows;

5.6.1 Inclusivity and Sustainable Human Development

There is a close relationship between inclusivity and good governance in the society. The study established that inclusivity and governance promote sustainable development in the society, and this provides an environment that peace and security can thrive. The respondents identified socio-economic and political inclusion in decision making as an essential element that can reduce hatred in society and promotes a culture of unity amongst the people. Cameroon being a multi-ethnic country, requires collective inclusion and development in every section of the society so to make every group of people comfortable in expressing their issues and possible ways of mitigating the challenges. The study also observed that inclusion and sustainable

development for all would reduce chances of rebellions, radicalizations amongst the communities.

Inclusivity was also identified as a way to reduce aspects of demonstrations more so from the Anglophone region that for long has felt alienated in the issuance of development projects. Hence adherence to inclusion can reduce civil unrest, and provide a favorable environment for the implementation of democratic culture in Cameroon. Inclusivity ensures regional balance in resource allocation and distribution of state executions, and this ensures minimal conflicts in society.

The study established that inclusivity is essential for promoting sustainable development in Cameroon since all groups of people are given equal opportunity to participate in the decision making processes. Cameroon, for many instances, continues to experience undemocratic practices, and this has been escalated by the disagreements like power distribution between the Anglophone and the francophone.¹⁰² These grievances can be mitigated if the people in all backgrounds are included in the management of state affairs. Inclusivity has been observed to enhance peace and coexistence in society, and this is relevant in the Cameroon context. When people or groups of people are included in the formulation of policies and implementation, sustainable peace and human development can be enhanced, and this is important in promoting liberal democracy that leads to good governance and thereafter reducing issues that can lead to conflict in the society.

¹⁰² Gould, Selena. "The Genocide that Everyone Should Have Seen Coming: How the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis Extends Colonial Forces of Domination and Consent." (2019).

5.6.2 Focus on Poverty Reduction and Inclusive, Representative Politics

It was observed that there is a connection between poverty and conflicts in society. Poverty exposes people to different challenges, jeopardizing people's rights. Inadequate resource allocation promotes poverty, and this affects people's participation in governance. The study identified poverty as a threat to democracy in Cameroon, just as in other African states. The initiatives to mitigate poverty issues should involve improved access to public services by enhancing proactive development strategies, gender inclusiveness as well as getting involved in the international markets.¹⁰³ The promotion of democratic participation, presentation and representation have the potential to strengthen the ability of the citizens of Cameroon to define, influence and achieve livelihoods in their daily lives and this is true in conflict-ridden states as it promotes equal representation of the citizens. The promotion of democratic culture in the society ensures that good governance is realized and this is essential for sustainable development hence reducing poverty that can make people fight over power and resources.

The study observed that disparities in the level of income in Cameroon cause serious damages since it jeopardizes the people's power to hold leaders accountable for their actions. Inadequate political will and capacity amongst the leaders to champion the desires of the citizens either politically, socially and economically leads to inequalities, and this undermines the legitimate democratic process. The focus on poverty reduction is essential in that it enhances collective participation in governance; the limited resources are used to advance the interests of the masses and thereafter every section of the society feels included in the systems of governance.

¹⁰³ Kandahar, Prabhu, and Minna Halme, eds. *Sustainability challenges and solutions at the base of the pyramid: Business, technology and the poor*. Routledge, 2017.

Cameroon just like other African states can reduce the threats to democracy and good governance if poverty that exposes many people to frustrations is addressed in the society. The study observed that increase in poverty levels in the society leads to a struggle over resources that results in constant conflicts on access and utilization of the resources. The future of peaceful Cameroon is defined by addressing the poverty issue in the society, mutual and equal representations of the people.

5.6.3 Constitutionalism

The study findings indicate that adherence to the rule of law, effective implementation of policy issues is important in reducing disparities in society. Cameroon democratic governance in Cameroon has been affected by poor utilization and implementation of policies as required by the law. The constitution has been amended severally to fit the interests of the ruling elites with minimal consideration to the needs of the masses, and this triggers conflicts in the society.

The study established that these threats can be mitigated by the development of effective and efficient institutions, justice structures as well as the collective rule of law that serves all the citizens in the country. Accountable and transparent development of these resources is essential in promoting sustainable development in society. It is observed that there exists numerous relationship between natural resource exploitation and violent conflicts in Cameroon and many conflicts are triggered by natural resource within the country in which some groups of people feel that they are not getting an equal share of the national wealth.

Research has shown that Cameroon has vast amounts of natural resources varying from a diverse climate and diversified population making it to rank among another top rich African

resource in the sub-Saharan.¹⁰⁴ Poor management of this resources leads to conflicts in the society; hence proper policies and legal frameworks that work in line with other regional and international agreements are essential in dealing with national resource development. The African Union convention on governance architecture have policies that can be emulated in Cameroon to ensure that resources are used for collective societal development. The effective implementation of policies in line with the legal frameworks reduces the threats that can be enhanced by poor development.

5.6.4 Effective Utilization of Natural Resources

Effective and accountable institutions ensure that the available resources are used for the public good, improving service delivery to the people, sustainable development and human security. Cameroon has been heavily dependent on petroleum production with oil and gas revenues. Furthermore, this, when utilized well, can increase industrialization in the country, the creation of various job opportunities for the youth that can be easily radicalized.¹⁰⁵

5.7 Conclusion

Democratic governance in Cameroon experiences obstacles that come as a result of inadequate implementation of institutional guidelines. The study observed that despite the existence of some formal institutions and legal norms, Cameroon still experience poor governance since leaders do not adhere to the rule of law and they implement policies that only ensures their survival.

¹⁰⁴ Basedau, Matthias. "Context matters-rethinking the resource curse in sub-Saharan Africa." (2005).

¹⁰⁵ Hendrix, Cullen S. "Kicking a crude habit: diversifying away from oil and gas in the twenty-first century." *International Review of Applied Economics* 33, no. 2 (2019): 188-208.

Democratic leadership at all levels have a significant impact in realizing sustainable peace and security since it responds to the needs of the people without discrimination. The study findings established that measures that Cameroon has put in place are not sufficient to promote unity in the country hence the need for full implementation of the constitution in a just manner and enhancement of political goodwill for inclusivity in governance. Dialogue should be enhanced to express the interests of all the citizens so that frequent conflicts can be mitigated amicably.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations from the findings on the role of the undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intrastate conflicts in Africa.

6.2 Conclusion

Three specific objectives guided this study. To establish the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intrastate conflicts Africa; to investigate the drivers of the undemocratic leadership and governance advancing conflict in Cameroon; to evaluate policy measures that will mitigate the undemocratic leadership and governance in advancing conflict in Cameroon conflict.

The study has shown that in Cameroon the system of government created by the colonial administration was inherited in post-independence and still evident today through the centralization power in the presidential system of government where everything centres on the president of the country. Also, we see that ethnicity is a contributing factor to the persistence of bad or poor governance in Cameroon. Moreover, finally, though some countries with natural resources enjoy good governance, the availability of natural resources in Cameroon has tended to impede good governance. We see that the problem is not with the availability, but the high dependence on these resources and lack of proper governance to ensure proper utilization and exploitation of the same. Dependence on oil rents weakens institutions leading to corruption and breed unaccountable governments. The continued waves of violence, economic stagnations, unjust political environment, increasing criminal activities that are associated with law and order breaking are some of the drivers to undemocratic leadership and governance.

Hence, the need for good leadership is a recipe for good governance that is essential for realizing inclusive societal development.

Democracy and good governance are essential in every society for sustainable peace and stability to be realized. Many African states, including Cameroon, are putting efforts to the relevance of governance in processes of development. Efforts have been put in place to transform the systems of governance. The effort that Cameroon has put in place is still not sufficient for accelerating sustainable peace, economic growth and development. Hence the need for the effective realization of the rule of law and inclusivity in governance. Cameroon has the responsibility to enhance the political will so that these transitions are realized for human security. Internal engagement and mobilization of resources are needed to support these processes. Consequently, there is a need for various stakeholders like the African Union to promote dialogue between and amongst the leaders to help in the realization of peaceful coexistence in the country.

6.3 Recommendations

This section has been divided into two parts that are; academic and policy recommendations that can be employed to improve governance and leadership to resolve the intrastate conflict in Africa specifically Cameroon

6.3.1 Academic Recommendations

This study as an academic investigation only dealt on the role of the undemocratic governance and leadership in fuelling intra-state conflict in Africa with Cameroon as a case study. Despite having undertaken this, numerous areas should still be investigated. Areas that can borrow the focus within the theme of international relations, for instance; there is a need to look into

the role of gender in enhancing leadership and strengthening institutions of governance in Africa.

6.3.2 Policy Recommendation

This study identified various policy recommendations on the issues that affect democratic governance in Africa with a case study of Cameroon. It draws various approaches that can respond to the undemocratic issues that affect peace and stability in the country.

This study recommends the promotion of inclusivity and sustainable human development. Policies in Cameroon as a measure for mitigating undemocratic leadership. Cameroon, just like other African states, has experienced numerous conflicts that jeopardize sustainable societal coexistence, which led to the need for mutual inclusivity in governance to minimize the conflicts triggered by illiberal or undemocratic practices.

Implementation of Inclusivity policies is essential for promoting sustainable development in Cameroon since all groups of people will be given equal opportunity to participate in the decision making processes. Cameroon, for many instances, continues to experience undemocratic practices, and this has been escalated by the disagreements like power distribution among all ethnic groups. These grievances can be mitigated if people in all backgrounds are included in the management of state affairs.

The study recommends the adoption of focus on poverty reduction policies, and enhance political Inclusivity policies adoption. Poverty has been identified as one of the key threats to democracy in Cameroon, just as in other African states. The drafting and implementation of poverty eradication policies and initiatives to mitigate against poverty issues should be

undertaken. The policies should focus on key areas such as; improved access to public services by enhancing proactive development strategies, gender inclusiveness, and getting involved in the international markets. The promotion of policies enhancing democratic participation, presentation, and representation can strengthen the citizens of Cameroon's citizens to define, influence, and achieve their livelihoods, and this is true in conflict-ridden states as it promotes equal representation of the citizens.

Implementation of policies that strengthen legal instruments and standards. In Cameroon, leadership and democratic governance, just like other African states, are threatened by poor management of the available resources, unjust electoral processes that trigger conflicts in society. These threats can be mitigated by the development implementation of policies that strengthen legal institutions' independence to enhance their effectiveness and efficiency. Enhancing justice structures and the collective rule of law that serves all the citizens in the country.

Enhance Peace and Reconciliation policies, Cameroon should urgently embrace peace and reconciliation policies to bring a halt to the prolonged intra-state conflict. Enhancing Peace and reconciliation policies will be achieved by having an all-inclusive National Dialogue. Dialogue is an essential element for promoting peace, reconciliation, and mutual coexistence in society. Dialogue enhances democracy in a society since it gives room for people's participation in presenting their grievances to the authorities. It should be a long term process that should involve all stakeholders, the citizens, and other non-state actors in society.

Implementing policies promoting Human Rights, Democracy, and good governance can be promoted in society through the protection of human rights and access to information by the

people. The media is an essential tool that can promote democratization in society since it is viewed as a ladder that links all the people in the society. In Cameroon, the media has often been overlooked, yet it has the capacity to provide networks between various actors in society.

The media should be free from state control so that decision-makers can easily get the people's actual views on issues that are affecting the respective communities in Cameroon.

The adoption of policies of the devolved system of governance is important in eliminating traditional cultures of the colonial masters that placed power in the hands of a few in Cameroon. The decentralization of power is essential as it promotes the communities, ethnic groups, and other actors in society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory Letter

University of Nairobi

P.O. Box 30197-0010

Tel: 318262

Bessong Faustine

R52/14097/2018

Email:faustinentuba@gmail.com

Dear respondent,

The questionnaire and interview guide is aimed at collecting data for research purpose on the assessment of the role of undemocratic leadership and governance in fuelling intra state conflicts Africa, a case study of Cameroon.

The research will be in the fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of master in arts in international conflict management.

Please note that any information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your cooperation in this exercise will be appreciated.

Thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Bessong Faustine

Appendix II: Questionnaire

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Tick as appropriate

i. Age

a) 18-31 []

b) 32-45 []

c) 46-60 []

ii. Gender

a) Male []

b) Female []

iii. Level of Education

a) PhD []

b) Master []

c) Bachelor's Degree []

d) Diploma []

iv. Years of Experience

a) 1-3 []

b) 4-6 []

c) 7-10 []

**PART B: ROLE OF UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN
FUELLING INTRA- STATE CONFLICTS AFRICA**

1. What is your understanding of undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

2. How does manifestation of undemocratic leadership and governance in the African continent?

Economically.....

Socially.....

Politically.....

3. How does undemocratic leadership and governance fuel intra-state conflict in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

4. What are some of the factors that motivate women and men in participating in violent extremism in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

5. What is the role of governance and leadership as a method of conflict management in Africa? Explain your answer

.....
.....

PART C: THE DRIVERS OF THE UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ADVANCING INTRA-STATE CONFLICT IN CAMEROON

1. What are the factors contributing to advancing intra-state conflict?

.....
.....
.....

2. What are factors leading to undemocratic leadership and governance in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

3. Is it true that there is an increased level of undemocratic governance in Africa? If Yes Explain

.....
.....

4. Do you agree that poverty and marginalization of the youth is a motivating factor for them to engage in intra-state conflict.

.....
.....

5. In your opinion, what should the government do to strengthen institutions against undemocratic leadership and governance?

.....
.....

PART D: POLICY MEASURES THAT WILL MITIGATE AGAINST THE UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN ADVANCING CONFLICT IN CAMEROON

1. Are there avenues for non-governmental organizations and civil society to call for democratic leadership and governance in Cameroon?

- Yes []
- No []
- Not Aware []

2. What would you consider to be challenges affecting realization of good leadership and governance in Cameroon?

.....
.....
.....

3. Do you think inclusion of the youth and women help in key government position can enhance democratic values in the society in the society?

Yes []

No []

Explain.....

4. What are your suggestions on the best ways Cameroonian citizens be involved in enhancing democratic leadership and governance?

.....
.....
.....

5. Mention policies that can help in eradicating undemocratic governance in Cameroon

.....
.....
.....

6. Are mechanisms have put in place by the government to promote good governance and leadership in promoting peace and security in Cameroon? Explain your answer

.....
.....
.....

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