

## **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

**Victor Ngu Cheo, PhD & Bamnjo Herman Yenika, PhD**

Department of Communication & Development Studies

The University of Bamenda

### **Abstract**

This paper sets out to investigate social media use in the current Anglophone Crisis. The main assumption of the paper is that the increasing use of the social media by non-traditional journalists and non-state actors in the production and distribution of information, escalated the crisis in the North West and South West Regions. Underpinned by the gatekeeping theory, the study adopted a qualitative method. The unit of observations was published information on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and WhatsApp Chat groups by the separatist and the Head of State. The analyses were predicted on information shared on the social media platforms about the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon by individuals, states and non-state actors. Results proved that the majority of information shared during this crisis period is mostly through Facebook and WhatsApps, although others like Twitter, Youtube etc are also employed. Prominent among the actors who use the social media during this crisis period is the Head of State, Paul Biya. He employed twitter for instance to condemn the crisis, call. The study, therefore, concludes that social media has been a tool used by both the government and non-government officials to transmit their messages in relation to the crisis in the North West and South West. However, while the government uses them to promote peace, the non-state actors rather exploit them to the contrary.

**Keywords:** *Social Media, Anglophone Crisis, Cameroon.*

### **Introduction**

Cameroon has been under political and social instability since October 2016 due to conflicts in the two English-speaking regions of the country, though Cameroon had enjoyed relative peace for some time (i.e., South West and North West regions). The conflict also called the “Anglophone crisis or the “Ambazonia War,” broke out following a strike action by Cameroon Anglophone lawyers and teachers in these two regions. The teachers and lawyers were requesting among other things increased use of the English language in Common Law courts, and the non-amalgamation of the English subsystem of education into the French education system in the country (Soh,2020). This is because Common Law is practiced in the Anglophone regions while Civil Law is practiced in the speaking french-speaking regions of Cameroon. Clearly, therefore, the imposition of Civil Law tradition in the Common Law courts in the two Anglophone regions and the

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

gradual erasure of the Anglo-Saxon sub-system of education are the main factors that led to the current crisis (Soh,2020), but what has become a full-blown war today can be traced back to the history of independent Cameroon and to what many describe as the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians, who represent 17% (4.5 million) of Cameroon's total population of 25 million (World Bank, 2018).

The use of social media for production, distribution and consumption of information has challenged the traditional conceptualizations of news, journalism and journalist (Tandoc, Lim, and Ling 2018; Singer 2019). In fact, non-traditional actors in journalism, especially citizen journalists, nowadays produce and distribute information and reach mass audiences (Wahutu 2019b). While some do it via their social media accounts (Tong 2015; Holton and Belair-Gagnon 2018; Eldridge 2018b), others operate within classical formats such as blogging in mainstream media (Mare 2013). Against this backdrop of the ongoing crisis in the North West and South West Regions, many social activists, politicians and civil society organizations resorted to social media in providing conflicting accounts to the ongoing crisis. According to ARIPD (2021), social media has played an important role in uniting the nation though the views differ between French and English cultures in Cameroon (Kome, 2019). With social media, anyone could debunk the government propaganda. Citizens are changing from what they know to question things on a platform where thousands can tune to and get alternative facts. Journalists and individuals are creating their own outlets where they can put out ideas without government censorship. According to the 2020 Dataportal There are about 7.87 million internet (97% mobile) and 3.70 million social media users in Cameroon as of January 2020. During the same period, there were 23.62 million mobile connections). In December 2017, the most popular social media sites used by Cameroonians were Facebook (93.92%), Pinterest (3.64%), Twitter (1.03%), YouTube (1.14%), while LinkedIn, Tumblr, Google+ and StumbleUpon all had less than 1%. Thus, Facebook Inc retained the Lion's share with an estimated population of 2,100,000 users (8.6 %) of the population (Nseke, 2018 as cited in ARIPD,2021).

#### Overview of the crisis

In recent years, the Anglophone crisis has dominated politics in Cameroon, following strike action initiated by lawyers and teachers in the two English-speaking regions of the country. The crisis that has rocked the two English speaking regions of the country started

from a mere protest to what we have today, an armed conflict which has had far reaching effects in the two English speaking Regions of the Country and the Country at large. The current crisis began on 11<sup>th</sup> of October 2016 in Bamenda when lawyers from the Northwest and the Southwest went on strike. Their demands to the justice minister were related to the justice system's failure to use the Common Law in the two regions. The lawyers demanded the translation into English of the Code of the Organisation for the Harmonisation of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) and other legal texts. They criticised the "francophonisation" of Common Law jurisdictions, with the appointment to the Anglophone zone, of Francophone magistrates who did not understand English nor the Common Law, and the appointment of notaries to do work done by lawyers under the Common Law system. Following this criticism, the government replied in a statement made by the Minister of Justice, Laurent Easo, on 22 November 2016, that the problems of Anglophone lawyers were the same as problems faced by lawyers everywhere else in Cameroon. The Anglophone common law lawyers challenged this position (Ateki,2017).

According to the Crisis Group Report 2017, the lack of trust in the government and the brutality of the security forces aggravated the problem and radicalized the public. To Ateki (2017) The Anglophone lawyers raised issues of representation and the recruitment of legal personnel. In his statement, Laurant Easo mentioned that *there were 1 542 active magistrates, including 91 in service at the Ministry of Justice, 1 412 in service in the courts and 39 on secondment. This group included 1 265 French-speaking magistrates and 227 English-speaking magistrates. As for judicial officers, there were 514 in total 499 Francophones and 15 Anglophones. Of the 128 magistrates practising in the North West region, 67 (52.3%) are French speaking with a civil law background. Of the 97 magistrates in the legal services, 64 (65.9%) are Francophones. Of the 27 magistrates in the legal services in Bamenda, there are 21 Francophones (77.8%). A similar trend is observed in the South West region (Ateki,2017).*

The Report of Crisis Group stated that on 8<sup>th</sup> November 2016, the lawyers mobilised hundreds of people for a march in Bamenda and reiterated their demand for the full restoration of the Common Law system as it was at the time of the federal system. They added a demand for federalism. On 28 November, the crisis, which was limited to the Northwest, spread to the Southwest. Students at the University of Buea organised a

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

peaceful march on the campus to call for the payment of the Head of State's Excellence Award whose names were not on the list, denounce the banning of the University of Buea Student Union (UBSU) in 2012 and protested at the introduction of a penalty for late payment of education fees and the additional fee charged for accessing examination results.

The teachers and lawyers who initially came out with 11 points later increased to 27 points, among the 11 points they initially came out with were: children who pass the GCE with quality grades cannot enter professional schools of their choice, while those who perform poorly fill all the spaces, Francophones outnumbered Anglophones in professional schools in Anglo-Saxon Universities of Buea and Bamenda by the ratio of up to 90:10% for HTTTC Kumba, 90:10 for medical school in Buea, 80:20 in HTTTC Bamenda whereas there are no Anglophones in these schools in the Francophone Universities. Anglophones who apply to read medicine are usually sent to Francophone Universities where operating becomes a serious challenge and since they cannot cope they give up because of the policy of discrimination and marginalization (Ateki, 2017).

After presenting the above grievances, the government did not address them. Teachers' and university lecturers' unions issued a call to strike and suspended classes on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2016. They grounded education in the English-speaking regions in Cameroon. The situation pushed some government ministers to make public utterances that radicalized the public more and eventually pushed angered civilians to the streets. In response to the grievances of the teachers and lawyers, the government through the Prime Minister at the time, Philemon Yang, created a committee headed by his then Director of Cabinet, Paul Ghogomu. On 25-26 November, the prime minister unsuccessfully conducted a first mission to Bamenda to open negotiations. He arrived without concrete proposals, perhaps expecting that the promise of dialogue and his presence would be enough to end the strike. This visit revealed the divisions within the Anglophone elites working within government institutions in Yaoundé. While the prime minister recognised the existence of the Anglophone problem and invited the trade unions for talks in Bamenda, other prominent Anglophones, such as the minister of territorial Administration and permanent secretary at the National Security Council, Paul Atanga Nji told the media in Yaoundé that there was no Anglophone problem. This inflamed

opinion in the regions, making the prime minister's mission impossible and, especially, confirming some Cameroonian belief that the prime minister, a post occupied since 1996 by an Anglophone, had no real power. The government proposed a 2 billion CFA franc subvention to confessional schools and promised the recruitment of 1 000 bilingual teachers (Ateki, 2017).

As a bargaining chip, the government also produced an English version of the OHADA Uniform Act, which existed only in French. The president of the Republic created a National Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism. But Anglophone militants criticised this as too little too late and regretted that nine of the commission's fifteen members were Francophones, that most of them belonged to the older generation and that several were members of the CPDM (ICG, 2017). The government announced other measures on 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2017 including the creation of Common Law bench at the Supreme Court and new departments at the National School of Administration and Magistracy (Ecole nationale d'administration et de magistrature, ENAM), an increase in the number of English language teachers at ENAM, the recruitment of Anglophone magistrates, the creation of a Common Law department at Francophone universities and provisional authorisation for Anglophone lawyers to act as notaries in the Northwest and the Southwest regions. On 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2017 the government turned the internet back on after a 92-day cut. This paper sets out to assess the role of social media in the escalation of the ongoing crisis (Ateki, 2017).

### **Methodology**

A qualitative content analysis was the adopted methodology for this paper. The research employed a qualitative description of some texts and messages by some influential personalities as far as the crisis is concerned. WhatsApp, Facebook, Tweeter and YouTube were chosen because they are the most used social media platforms during the ongoing crisis to share information to the public. It involves the identification, examination, and interpretation of messages and texts on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and WhatsApp that have been shared by these personalities that may have resulted to the escalation of the crisis in the North West and South West Regions. The study selected Written texts and/or speeches from Facebook, WhatsApp, tweeter and YouTube. After the Selection of these texts and messages, the paper made a critical analysis of the texts and messages plus the reactions from the readers and audiences after which conclusions

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

were drawn on the role of social media on the escalation of the crisis in the North West and South West Regions. The study selected written posts from the Cameroon president's Facebook page and Twitter as well as posts published by prominent Anglophone activist on social media.

#### **Theoretical Frame**

**Gatekeeping Theory:** This study is carried out within the ambit of Gatekeeping theory. Gatekeeping is the process by which information is selected, events are covered, and news is disseminated by the mass media (Shoemaker and Vos 2009 as cited in Nounkeu, 2020). Likewise, Snell- Hornby, Jettmarová, and Kaindl (1997) argue that gatekeeping is the process of controlling how information is received and disseminated by communication channels. This task of filtering information flow into and through the mass media is performed by gate- keepers, located at strategic areas or gates (Snell-Hornby, Jettmarová, and Kaindl 1997). According to Bruns (2005), it is possible to distinguish two main gates in the news production process in mass media: one gate at the input stage through which news is allowed into the chain, and another at the output stage through which information emerges as news reports into the media outlet. Bruns (2005) further stresses that, while gatekeeping at the input level is often motivated by the willingness to offer clear and important information to the public, the one at the output stage most often follows routines, political and commercial considerations of individual journalists and their employers. As a matter of fact, White (1950) has proved "how highly subjective the gatekeeping theory is". On his part Ounkeu (2020:15) rather emphasizes factors external to the editor such as mechanical pressures in media organizations which guide the process of gatekeeping. This theory is relevant to this paper because it addresses the collection of information, treatment and dissemination of information which is done by the various actors in the ongoing crisis in the two English Regions of Cameroon.

#### **Concept Explication**

##### **Social Media**

Social media is the term often used to refer to new forms of media that involve interactive participation. Often the development of media is divided into two different ages, the broadcast age and the interactive age. In the broadcast age, media were almost exclusively

centralized where one entity such as a radio or television station, newspaper company, or a movie production studio distributed messages to many people. Feedback to media outlets was often indirect, delayed, and impersonal. Mediated communication between individuals typically happened on a much smaller level, usually via personal letters, telephone calls, or sometimes on a slightly larger scale through means such as photocopied family newsletters. With the rise of digital and mobile technologies, interaction on a large scale became easier for individuals than ever before; and as such, a new media age was born where interactivity was placed at the center of new media functions. One individual could now speak to many, and instant feedback was a possibility. Social media has changed the way war is waged, covered, and consumed. Though soldiers still fight on the battlefield, they are increasingly shaped by competing narratives on social media (Patrikarakos, 2017). It remains the most effective avenue through which acts of violence, social exclusion, and economic asphyxiation can be documented when faced with autocratic regimes like Cameroon, A tweet of 140 characters changes the narratives and the account holder circumvents government censorship to reveal the real time events. Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp and Twitter are the main platforms used by activists (Agwanda *et al.*, 2020).

Twitter is a widely used free social networking tool that allows people to share information, in a real-time news feed through posting brief comments about their experiences and thoughts (Bristol et al, 2010, Mistry, 2011). Public messages sent and received via Twitter or ‘tweets’ are limited to not more than 140 characters and can include links to blogs, web pages, images, videos and all other material online. Despite the brevity imposed by this media tool, the use of Twitter is extensive in a wide variety of circumstances and, according to Mollett et al (2011:1), ‘thousands of academics and researchers at all levels of experience and across all disciplines already use Twitter daily’. Once a tweet is sent, it appears in the user’s Twitter ‘feed’ and in the feed of anyone who is following them.

WhatsApp is an instant messaging app, invented in 2009 by Brian Acton and Jan Koum. It is available free at no monetary cost. It provides cross-section messaging and Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services. Presently the owner of the WhatsApp is Facebook (Ambe,2021). Through this App user can send instant text messages, audios, videos,

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

images, any document file, and the user can also make full-duplex communication using internet connectivity. According to the WhatsApp blog, 1 billion are the daily active user of WhatsApp, 1.3 billion monthly active users and among them, 55 billion messages sent per day, 4.5 billion Photos and 1 billion videos shared per day. Over 60 languages supported (Ambe, 2021). WhatsApp is an extremely popular platform in Cameroon. Though it is not a social media platform per se, it has been one of the main tools used by activists to communicate among themselves. Each day, hundreds of messages, photographs and videos are shared through these groups (Ambe, 2021)

Facebook is an exceedingly popular social media platform in Cameroon. Just with 100 XAF (~\$0.19 as of today) someone can purchase data to surf on Facebook (post and send messages on messenger) for an hour or more. Today, there is an option to send messages free of charge on Facebook messenger (Carlson, 2018).

YouTube was created in February 2005 by three ex-Paypal employees to share videos with their friends. Little did they realize how popular their technology would soon become and the online video market share it would assume. As a result of its increasing popularity and enormous potential, this site was bought in 2006 by Google (Google, 2006) for 1.6 billion in stock. Shortly afterwards, YouTube was named “invention of the year” (Grossman, 2006).

The swift growth in online video watching grew quickly across all demographic areas. Between December 2006 and December 2007, the traffic in YouTube increased more than 45%, where 33% more men and 59% more women indicated they have visited video-sharing websites (Rainie, 2008).

#### **The role of the social media in the Anglophone Crisis**

The social media has played an important role in the ongoing crisis in the North West and South West Regions. Major key players of the crisis have used the social media to transmit information about the crisis.

According to Nkongho (2018), the leader of Southern Cameroon consortium (consisted of a combination lawyers and teacher trade Unions) kept in contact with Cameroonians in the Diaspora by coming online to report/share what had been going on in Anglophone Cameroon. During these exchanges between the home front and those abroad, the



Diaspora became more active in the protests and took an extra step to "controlling the crisis on social media". Interim leaders (after the arrest of Ayuk Tabe, the self-proclaimed President of Southern Cameroon, those at the diaspora set up an interim leadership to continue from where the arrested Ayuk Tabe ended) from the Diaspora used their lobbying and advocacy power to bring the crisis to the international stage. Survey results of Nkongho (2018) revealed that (90%) of Anglophone Cameroonians feel strongly that the use of social media contributed to blow the crisis out of proportion. The combined use of traditional and social media played a very important role in presenting a platform for information exchange and collaboration between home and the Diaspora especially during the internet ban. This ban according to Nkongho (2019) saw the presentation of social media as an alternative platform for interaction and participation. In the case of the Anglophone crisis, the continuation of the protests in spite of the internet blackout was a big step in fighting government intimidation through media censorship. Lack of internet access in the region did not stop the protests as information continued to spread through text messages, word of mouth and flyers. Therefore, the study realized small media combining with social media to fill information gaps. A recent Facebook status update from activist Mark Bareta is trying to motivate the disorganized groups of the struggle to reunite and collaborate to see the struggle through to an expected end which is the achievement of their goals to free the Anglophone regions of Cameroon even if they have to die in the process. Some comments under activists' posts, which suggested that the diaspora was encouraging people on "ground zero" were deleted. "Small media" served as a link between the Diaspora and the Anglophone community and presented an alternative channel for interpersonal communication. The ban on the internet led to the use of mobile phone calls, SMS, word of mouth, flyers, town criers, and local group meetings. People resorted to using these forms of interpersonal communication to stay in touch with family and relatives at home and abroad especially during the peak of the ban when there was still a lot of confusion in the air regarding the welfare of families and friends (Nseke, 2018).

Small media were used to close the gap of lack of information from mainstream media and social media during the internet ban. Apart from serving as a means of reassuring the masses in times of panic, it readily presented a platform to continue the momentum of the crisis from the Diaspora to home front and vice versa. Bulk text messages and calls were

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

sent from the Diaspora to the home front instructing the local people on the ground on the next plan of action while those on the home front sent text messages and calls to inform the Diaspora on recent happenings at home.

To Ambe (2021) social media has changed the way war is waged, covered, and consumed. Though soldiers still fight on the battlefield, they are increasingly shaped by competing narratives on social media (Patrikarakos, 2017). It remains the most effective avenue through which acts of violence, social exclusion, and economic asphyxiation can be documented when faced with autocratic regimes like Cameroon, A Tweet of 140 characters changes the narratives and the account holder circumvents government censorship to reveal the real time events. Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp and twitter are the main platforms used by activists (Agwanda *et al.*, 2020) She further asserts that When Agbor Balla Felix Nkongho and Dr. Fontem Aforteka'a Neba members of the defunct consortium were sent to jail, Mark Baretta and Tapang Ivo re-assured the leadership of the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium that they were going to continue with the leadership. They continued with press releases as their predecessors but soon realized that audios and Facebook daily briefings would attract 3,000-4,000 participants per session. Mark Baretta (@MarkBaretta and Tapang Ivo (@Tapang\_Ivo) have also become incredibly famous on social media accounts on matters of the Anglophone crisis. Later on, Eric Tataw, and Innocent Chia (@innochia joined. There are over a dozen pages for activism on Facebook following a search with the words Southern Cameroon(s) and Ambazonia with Southern Cameroons Broadcasting Corporation having up to 51,000 subscribers. More so, there are thousands of facebook profiles with Amba and/or pikin (child) in solidarity with the homeland nationalists. Heroes as they were described by pro-separatist as haven paid the ultimate sacrifice like Gen. Ivo or have been sentenced to life imprisonment like Sisiku Julius Ayuk Tabe, Dr Nfor Ngala Nfor, Mr. Wilfred Tassang, Professor Augustine Awasum, Dr. Cornelius Njikimpi Kwanga, Dr. Henry Kimeng, Dr. Egbe Ogork, Barrister Shufai Berinyuy and Barrister Elias Eyambe also have many Facebook accounts whose holders are family members and friends/ comrades.

From December 2016, the crisis escalated and increasingly became an armed conflict opposing the army to anglophone separatists. In this context, several citizen journalists engaged in producing and disseminating news about the conflict on various social media

platforms. While some of them are in support of the current form of the state, others strongly stand for the secessionist cause. A third category prefers a return to the federation of 1961. In an attempt to stop the circulation of information on social media, the Cameroonian government shut down the Internet in the south-west and north-west regions (Africa News 2018; CNN 2018). The Internet blackout lasted for 280 days (Dahir 2018). That notwithstanding, after the restoration of the Internet, the “Southern Cameroons” leaders and political activists in exile continued to use digital platforms to mobilize the masses in the country, while the citizen journalists, also in exile, kept updating the local population and the diaspora with news of the battleground. Many Cameroonian citizen journalists prefer to use Facebook, which dominates the social media market share in Cameroon.

Separatist activists who seek an independent state for the country’s English-speaking Regions as well as the military began to set fire on schools and attack teachers and students to enforce a boycott, they had declared on local schools. These destructions were posted on social media that is on WhatsApp groups, Facebook and YouTube. UNICEF reported that at least 58 schools had been damaged since the beginning of the crisis in 2016.

According to SODEI (2021) Part of the strategy of the separatists fighting for recognition has been to impose lockdowns or Monday ‘ghost town’ commonly called ‘Country Sundays’. This practice was later extended to national holidays such as February 11<sup>th</sup>, May 20<sup>th</sup>, and other commemorative days such as October 1<sup>st</sup>. Operation Ghost Towns came into force earlier on at the start of the crisis when the Consortium imposed a two-day lockdown to protest security forces use of violence to quell a protest on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2017. “Country Sundays take place every Monday and on national holidays or commemoration days. Anyone not adhering to the movement faces harassment and threats.” Operation Ghost Town proved successful as there was strict adherence (Nseke, 2018). On such days, there would be little or no activity in almost all towns and villages in the Northwest and Southwest regions. All businesses, private and public offices remain closed and public transportation comes to a halt. In fact, these two regions become so quiet with no movements detected, especially during the early hours of the day into the afternoon, the reason for the appellation ‘Ghost Town’. With the arrest of the leaders of

### **Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

the Consortium, more ghost towns were declared. Sensing their arrest was eminent, the Consortium declared: “more peaceful ghost towns from Monday to Wednesday every week for a period of one month” in order to “tell the world of their plight. These announcements were made on WhatsApp groups through the communication secretary Christ Anu whose imposing voice was being listen to by the people of the crisis region who took his communication as final during ghost towns. Other social media platforms used for the transmission of these calls for ghost towns were individual Facebook accounts by certain individuals like MarkBareta and Tapang Ivo (SODEI, 2021).

In prelude to the major national dialogue the President used his Twittes and his Facebook pages to announced the major national dialogue. The president asserted:

“I have decided to call, from the end of the current month, a great national dialogue that will allow us, within the framework of our constitution, to consider ways and means to respond to the deep aspirations of the peoples of the northwest and South-West, but also of all the other components of our nation.” (Paul Biya, September 10, 2019)

Meanwhile, in a reply to this post, one Anglophone activist commented:

“His excellency please don’t send your rude and arrogant ministers such as those who added fire to the already burning flames when u send to talk to trade union leaders in Bamenda. Send ministers with good intentions and heart.”

In his message during the 2020 New Year wishes and in response to the speech of the Dean of the diplomatic corps President Paul in his Facebook page stated that regarding the problems in our North-West and South West Regions, various measures have been taken to objectively anticipate a return to lasting peace in the short term. The Major National Dialogue afforded an opportunity to make recommendations, some of which are being implemented, with laws recently passed by Parliament. Thus, our two regions of the North-West and South-West have been granted, within the framework of our Republic, a special status which largely meets the aspirations of our fellow citizens living there. I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to friendly countries and international organizations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie and the African Union for their understanding, assistance and support in the management of this sensitive problem (Biya, 2020).

The President in another post related to the current crisis, asserts that: “I have decided to stop pending proceedings before the Military Tribunals against 333 people... detained for crimes in the context of the crisis in the North West and Southwest regions” (Paul Biya, October 3, 2019).

### **Conclusion**

From the foregoing discussion, it can be deduced that the social media served as valid and reliable conduits for information dissemination on the crisis. In fact, owing to the popularity that the social media gain during the crisis, all major actors exploited it and are still doing so till date. Without the social media, the crisis would not have degenerated to the dimension it has taken today. And that the crisis is still on, it is thanks to the social media

### **References**

- Adeyinka, T (2014). Methods of Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Society, An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Ethiopia. Vol 8 number 10
- Ambe, G. (2021). Role of social media in the Former British Southern Cameroons (Ambazonia) Genocide, International Journal of Gender and Women ‘s Studies June 2021, Vol. 9, No.1, p 20-30.
- Amnesty International Report (2017). A Turn for the Worse: Violence and Human Rights Violations In Anglophone Cameroon, [www.reword.org/docid](http://www.reword.org/docid)
- Ateki, S (2017) The Anglophone Dilemma in Cameroon, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes Report. Cameroon: A Case Study of Facebook Posts.", Open Access Master's Thesis, Michigann Technological University.
- Carlson, M. (2018). “Facebook in the news: social media, journalism and public responsibility following the 2016 trending topics controversy”. Digital Journalism 6(1), p.4–20.
- Carlson, M., and S.C. Lewis. (2015). Boundaries of Journalism: Professionalism, Practices and Participation. London: Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch Report (2018). On the Anglophone crisis in the North West and South West Regions, Retrieved on February 20, 2018 at [www.humanrightsreportoncrisisincameroon](http://www.humanrightsreportoncrisisincameroon)
- International Crisis Group Report (2017). Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads, No. 250, Retrieved at [www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org).
- International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 8. No 10, P10-20
- Isurmona V. (ed.) (2005). Problems of Peacemaking and Peace Keeping. Perspective on Peace and Conflict in Africa, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd

**Social Media and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon**

- Kome E.A. (2019). Media and conflict in Cameroon today. *Media and Development* 2019/1. Retrieved on January 15, 2021 at: [www.waccglobal.org/articles/media-and-conflict-in-cameroon-today](http://www.waccglobal.org/articles/media-and-conflict-in-cameroon-today)
- Konings, P& Nymnjoh, F (1997). The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 35. No 7, p 30.39
- Nkongho, S.A., (2018). Social Media and Small Media use during the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon, *Communication for Development*, Master's Thesis Malmo University, Unpublish.
- Nkwi, W. (2004). The Anglophone Problem. In Victor, Julius Ngoh Cameroon: From a Federal to a Unitary State 1961–1972. Limbe: Design House.
- Nseke P. (2018). Social Media a Two-Edged Sword to E-Governance: The Role of Social Media in Cameroon 's Democracy. *Journal of International Business Research and Marketing* Vol. 3 No 2, p.30-33
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. (2005). *Africa's Media: Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*. London and New York: Zed Book
- Republic of Cameroon (2016). 'Statement by Laurent Ezzo, Minister of State, Minister of Justice, Keeper of the Seals, on the Consultation with the Bar Association', 22 November, Available at: [http://minjustice.gov.cm/pdf\\_download/concertation\\_gds\\_avocats/COMMUNICATIO\\_N\\_DU\\_GDS\\_CONCERTATION\\_AVEC\\_LES\\_AVOCATS\\_en.pdf](http://minjustice.gov.cm/pdf_download/concertation_gds_avocats/COMMUNICATIO_N_DU_GDS_CONCERTATION_AVEC_LES_AVOCATS_en.pdf)'.
- Soh, N, C. (2020). "A Cluster Analysis of Social Media Use in The Anglophone Crisis in