Peacebuilding through Education: The Case of Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis

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PEACEBUILDING THROUGH EDUCATION: THE CASE OF CAMEROON’S ANGLOPHONE CRISIS

By

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Marquette University, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT
PEACEBUILDING THROUGH EDUCATION: THE CASE OF CAMEROON’S ANGLOPHONE CRISIS

Thomas d’Aquín Mbatna Taiwe, M.A., M.Th., M.Phil.
Marquette University, 2022

This study explores peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon's schools amid the Anglophone crisis. The crisis is characterized by a violent social rebellion affecting education and society in Cameroon (Ego, 2020). The theoretical framework for the study is critical peace education. According to Zembylas (2018), critical peace education must consider revising peace education curricula in former colonies, enriching them with local cultures to develop sustainable peace.

I conducted a multiple case study inquiry in four Cameroonian schools using semi-structured interviews and observations and analyzed documents. The logic of replication was used, and a cross-case analysis and discussion led to recommendations for peacebuilding, including training peacebuilding and citizenship education teachers, developing teaching methods and activities that foster students' agency, and enriching the curriculum with traditional peacebuilding symbols.

Findings show that teachers and administrators are not free to foster peacebuilding effectively because they fear for their security. Therefore, they are primarily preoccupied with the prompt resolution of the crisis. Violence from both the government and the separatists has put Cameroon's Anglophone area in a social, political, and economic disaster and negatively impacted education.

Cameroonian faculty and staff encourage clubs, faculty organizations, and psychological assistance to students, and they teach and sensitize the students about the advantages of peace. However, the peace education elements contained in the Cameroonian school curriculum need to be strengthened with a systematic peace education program.

Dialogue appears as the key factor in resolving the Cameroonian Anglophone crisis. According to Freire (2000), dialogue is the only effective element of true liberation that humanizes the revolutionary leader. The research highlights the political, linguistic, and cultural differences of Cameroonians as potential sources of conflicts that can be prevented through education.
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Thomas d’Aquín Mbatna Taiwe, M.A., M.Th., M.Phil.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study, Problem, and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon's schools amid the Anglophone crisis. Since 2016, the North-West and South-West Regions (the English-speaking regions of Cameroon) have been undergoing acts of violence known as “Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis.” The crisis is characterized by a violent social rebellion affecting education and society in the country (Egoh, 2020). In this challenging context, how do Cameroonian schools contribute to peacebuilding?

Figure 1
Cameroon’s Map with Its 10 Regions and the Two Linguistic Areas: Anglophone and Francophone
This map is taken from the Fallwickl et al. (2021) article entitled *Education in Cameroon*. The article was published by World Education Services (WES). It is from internet free access.

The Republic of Cameroon is officially a bilingual country with an educational system divided into two subsystems, Francophone and Anglophone. According to Ngala (2020), the words Anglophone and Francophone, as understood in Cameroon, have little to do with the knowledge of English or French. They refer to the region where the person is from originally (see figure 1 on page 5. The Anglophone area is in dark blue and the Francophone area in light green). There are two Anglophone and eight Francophone regions in Cameroon. About 250 ethnic groups coexist in Cameroon across the 10 regions (Dze-Ngwa et al., 2009).

From October 1, 1961, English-speaking Cameroon and French-speaking Cameroon have come together as a unified nation. However, each part of the country kept its inherited colonial educational system, British and French, from kindergarten through high school (Takam & Fasse, 2019; MINESEC, 2021). The minority Anglophone – 20% of the population – feels marginalized and dominated by the 80% majority Francophone (Egoh, 2020).

Why does Cameroon use two official languages (English and French), two judicial systems, and two educational subsystems? The country was a German colony from 1884 to 1916, when World War I started. After the allies defeated Germany in Cameroon in February 1916, both France and Great Britain occupied the country and divided it into two, Western and Eastern Cameroon. On July 20, 1919, after Germany lost the war, the League of Nations officially mandated France and Great Britain to
administer that former German colony (Ndi, 2014). On January 1, 1960, Eastern Cameroon (French Cameroon) became independent. On October 1, 1961, after a referendum, the southern part of Western Cameroon (British Cameroon) joined the already independent French Cameroon to create the Federal Republic of Cameroon (Ndi, 2014). In contrast, the northern part of Western Cameroon voted to be part of Nigeria.

The union between the two Cameroons, one English-speaking or Anglophone and the other French-speaking or Francophone, was cemented at the Foumban Conference in July 1961. The foundation of the new nation was built under the understanding of a federal system with two states and two separate administrations. According to Fanso (1989), it was a vague agreement that the union should be federal and loose, with items subject to the federal authority. That federal system ran until 1972, when it was abrogated after a referendum. When it was canceled, a unified system of government was instituted (Awasom, 2020; Bouopda, 2018; Fanso 1989).

However, the differences between English-speaking Cameroon and French-speaking Cameroon remained, particularly in the educational and judicial domains (Bouopda, 2018). In 1984 the ruling Francophone president issued the law to modify the constitution and change the name of the United Republic of Cameroon into the Republic of Cameroon. Most of the Anglophones never agreed to the change because it manifested the institutional obliteration of English-speaking Cameroon (Awasom, 2020; Bouopda, 2018; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003). Since then, there have been regular protests in the English-speaking area, especially every year on October 1, the date of the reunification. This decision fostered a sense of social, economic, and political subordination among
anglophones, who have since called for a return to the federal constitution. (Awasom, 2020; Bouopda, 2018; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003).

Additionally, the Republic of Cameroon is made up of multiple ethnic groups that sometimes struggle to share their lands (Dze-Ngwa, 2014). This historical and contextual background urges the country to develop a peacebuilding program.

Since the cultural-educational differences remain, inequalities between the two inherited colonial cultures also have developed and brought about crises. A movement started by lawyers and teachers to obtain fair treatment for Anglophone schools and courts has progressively mutated into an armed conflict (Dionne, 2018). The situation escalated when on October 1, 2017, the separatists proclaimed the independence of the Anglophone part of the country under the name of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia (Lyare & Essomba, 2017). By the end of 2019, violence in Cameroon's English-speaking area had claimed about 3,000 lives and displaced half a million people within the country (International Crisis Group, 2019). According to nongovernmental organizations such as the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), International Crisis Group, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the Cameroonian Civil society, the conflict in the English-speaking area of Cameroon emanates from political abuses, dominance, injustices, the failure to respect human rights, and the colonial cultural and linguistic differences (Nsapu, 2017; Vogel & Arias, 2020).

Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis is political and economic. According to Ngala (2020), it also affects education. For him, this armed conflict is rooted in Cameroon’s colonial history and affects the teaching in accord with the bilingual statute of the country, especially the teaching of both French and English. Because of that situation, a
peacebuilding program is necessary for Cameroon’s schools (Ngala, 2020). Schools represent one of the social arenas where people can plan and promote changes for building peace and sustainability (Brantmeier, 2013). According to Banks (2006), schools assume new responsibility in shaping any nation's future because they address cultural diversity, inclusion, migration, and people's emancipation. “Their socialization practices,” he writes, “should incorporate the cultural and ethnic diversity that is an integral part of the democratic commitment to human dignity” (Banks, 2006, p. 315). In the same vein, education in Cameroon should promote peacebuilding in order to prevent and address situations such as the Anglophone crisis. Thus, my main research questions are: 1) How is peacebuilding promoted in Cameroon’s schools? 2) What are teachers and administrators doing and what could they do to establish a culture of peace in their schools? and 3) What does the Cameroon secondary schools’ curriculum offer for peacebuilding?

According to Dze-Ngwa (2014), Cameroon schools are seriously in need of sustainable peace education because of the Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy and the political abuses of power, favoritism, and disrespect of human rights. The endeavor for building peace through education in Cameroon is also a response to UNESCO’s call that countries from around the world should promote students’ agency by including values of peace and nonviolence, human rights and social justice, and intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding in their curricula (UNESCO, 2008). To what extent can educators prioritize peace education in their schools, especially at this time when the Anglophone crisis is wreaking havoc? Although some people have researched peacebuilding in Cameroon, very few have studied the promotion of peacebuilding in schools amidst
Cameroon’s current Anglophone crisis. Because of this need, I examined how peacebuilding is promoted in Cameroon’s schools at this time when English-speaking Cameroon is undergoing a violent social crisis.

Why am I using peacebuilding through education instead of peace education? According to Clarke-Habibi (2019), the expression "peace education" refers to particular curricula, pedagogies, and practices aimed at cultivating in students the knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, and behaviors that are conducive to peaceful and violence-free communities, while "peacebuilding through education" refers to engagement with the wider educational system within which peace and conflict dynamics are shaped, and in which peace education is present. She explains that some peace education programs do not necessarily engage governments and politics beyond schools. However, a peacebuilding approach covers a larger spectrum and attempts to cultivate systemic change in order to fortify peace processes (including peace education) and render their impacts more sustainable (Clarke-Habibi, 2019, p. 212). Considering the huge and diverse social impact of the crisis in Cameroon's English-speaking regions on populations, advocating for peacebuilding through education, including justice and educational policies, seems more appropriate than only changes in the curriculum.

Additionally, one of my expectations is to see Cameroon’s schools increasing their efforts of peacebuilding. In this vein, Brantmeier and Bajaj (2013) advocate for a change-based peace that transcends peace education and includes "nonviolence communication, active listening, and community reconciliation processes" (p. 142). In this perspective, many authors have suggested pedagogies and approaches that are relevant for building peaceful societies and protecting both rights and lives. Bajaj (2018) presents "the concept
of transformative agency, which lies at the center of educational projects, namely: peace education, human rights education, critical ethnic studies, and social justice education" (Bajaj, 2018, p. 2). All these educational projects – which are more inclusive than just peace education – join to offer learners awareness of living together in peace, without discrimination, and with respect for all. Therefore, peacebuilding through education highlights the role of education in transforming societies and humanizing relationships.

In this research project, I examine peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon’s schools. I explore how peacebuilding is taught and enacted in schools and what factors may hinder these efforts. Ultimately, I hope to understand how schools do and can contribute to bringing about sustainable peace in Cameroonian society.
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature that supports and suggests the need for this study is drawn from the area of peace education to foster peacebuilding through education. According to Galtung (1976) peacebuilding efforts are processes “that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur” (p. 298). In this vein, peacebuilding is concerned with the reasons why people fight, and it offers educational and social venues to manage differences without resorting to violence. According to Reardon (1988), peace education seeks to transform the present human condition by changing social structures and patterns of thought that have created it (Harris & Morrison, 2013; Reardon, 1988). It prepares students and adults for developing a nonviolent environment by welcoming cultural and religious diversity as well as an inclusive society that promotes gender equality and protects the rights of minorities (Halafoff et al., 2019). Based on these conceptualizations, peacebuilding through education is the learning process that takes into account the mechanism to prevent wars and educate to a nonviolent and diverse society. For Clarke-Habibi (2019),

Education for peacebuilding thus depends upon an inclusive and critical pedagogic approach that helps young people to analyze the world around them, to deconstruct received ideas and norms that have been used in the past to limit, exclude or dominate, to recognize their own and others’ latent powers and potential, to recognize pressing challenges, needs and opportunities in our globalized world, and to use their creativity and resources to jointly construct and
collaborate on new paths of action that will increase sustainable wellbeing for all.

(pp. 11-12)

This understanding of “peacebuilding through education” offers the possibility to draw from peace education and other nongovernmental organizations that work for peace around the world. Thus, the literature gathered in this study is mostly informed by research in peace education with the intention of involving other peace actors not directly involved in curricula or pedagogies.

The dominant literature about peacebuilding and peace education prioritizes the Western and Middle Eastern realities. Not enough literature exists to capture conflicts arising in African countries. Almost every West African and Central African country is destabilized by a type of conflict – religious, ethnic, socioeconomic, or political (Kingma, 2002). More contextual peacebuilding and peace education literature is needed in Africa, where political, religious, and inter-ethnic conflicts are recurrent (Dze-Ngwa, 2014). For example, literature about conflicts in Cameroon (e.g., Cameroon's Anglophone crisis, Boko Haram’s threat in the Far North Region) is missing.

The literature on peacebuilding through education is significant in the study of schools’ promotion of peacebuilding in Cameroon during the Anglophone crisis. In reviewing this literature, my aim is to demonstrate that education in Cameroon critically needs a peacebuilding curriculum to face the violence, hatred, and injustices that are ruining the country’s future. This literature review will highlight three authors whose reflections and pedagogies have greatly impacted the research on peace education. I will firstly give a historical overview of the literature on peacebuilding through education. Secondly, I will look at Galtung's (1969, 1976) understanding of peace and peacebuilding
and how he approaches the issue. Thirdly, Reardon's (1988) comprehensive peace education will be explored. Fourthly, Freirean theory will be examined. His pedagogy, meant to address injustices and liberate the oppressed, was adopted by peace activists and peace educators. Lastly, I will give attention to other peacebuilding scholars and promotors of critical peace education.

**Historical Perspectives of Peacebuilding**

Peacebuilding through education is part of a broad movement for peace-seeking around the world. Systematic research in that field began with the Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) in 1959 (Galtung, 2008; Harris, 2010). It was launched by Johan Galtung, a sociologist and a forerunner in establishing peace and conflict resolution studies (Kester, 2017). Nevertheless, peacebuilding was practiced informally by generations of people from antiquity to the present day who found ways to solve conflict without using force. For example, Harris (2010) illustrated several movements which contributed to peacebuilding, namely religions, philosophers, and educators. Since antiquity, prophets and scriptures have played an essential role in educating people for peace. Likewise, Comenius (1642, 1969) advocated understanding others as a significant value and suggested peaceful ways to resolve conflicts in the 17th century. In the same vein, Kant published an essay entitled *Perpetual Peace* in which he proposed a program to keep nations in peace (Harris, 2010). Bajaj (2008) shows that Maria Montessori’s and John Dewey's pedagogies also promoted peace in the middle of the 20th century. These authors contributed to enriching the literature on peacebuilding and informed the thinking about a culture of peace.
The history of peacebuilding can also pay tribute to the contributions of philosophers and scholars such as Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein, and Carl Rogers, who warned about the threat of nuclear bombs and called for reflection on religious violence and other hostile stereotypes (Noddings, 2012). After World War I, John Dewey became convinced that schools could serve as a basis for dynamic change to prepare generations of people who will avoid the tragedy of war. He promoted the teaching of history and geography as a means by which students can get insights about both nature and society and acquire political and moral awareness. Through the promotion of internationalism, Dewey's progressive education advanced world peace (Howlett, 2008). After World War II, Montessori (1949), in a book titled *Education and Peace*, asserted that stopping war is the work of politicians but establishing peace is the duty of education. Duckworht (2008) reminds us that, in a discourse during a United Nations plenary, Montessori presented education as the only genuine means to eliminate war at once, and she received, during her career, three Nobel Peace Prizes.

In 1959 Johan Galtung founded the Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) and greatly impacted peacebuilding studies (Bajaj, 2008; Harris, 2011). In the 1970s, Paulo Freire's work supported learner agency and laid down the basis for critical peace education. Drawing from Galtung's work and the feminist perspective, Reardon (1988) contributed to peacebuilding through education. She established the concept of comprehensive peace education in which the construction of peace starts from interpersonal relationships and domestic relationships to embrace the world (Harris, 2011; Kester et al., 2019; Reardon, 1988). In 1988, Harris issued his first edition of *Peace Education*, in which he promotes cooperative learning and critical thinking for cultural
transformation. This cultural transformation, which is promoted by most of the authors of this literature review, is at the core of the peacebuilding movement. As the field of peacebuilding and peace education was taking shape, the United Nations consecrated the decade of 2001 to 2010 as "UNESCO International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World 2001-2010" (Gounari, 2013, UNESCO’s Work on Education 2008).

In Cameroon, the accessible articles about peacebuilding through education appeared around the year 2000 with Chouala (2000), who issues a call to reflect on realistic peace in the country; Chem-Langhee (2002), who saw the language dichotomy in the country as a time bomb, and Dze-Ngwa (2006) who reflected on the national integration.

In the following section of this literature review, I will explore authors who impacted the fields of peacebuilding and peace education. One of them is Johan Galtung.

**Johan Galtung: Peace or the Absence of Violence**

One of the pioneers in conceptualizing peacebuilding is Johan Galtung, a sociologist and a forerunner of establishing peace and conflict resolution studies (Harris 2010; Kester 2017). Galtung (1969) reflects on the notion of peace in connection to violence. For him, "peace is the absence of violence" (Galtung, 1969, p. 167). He explains that the absence of violence emanates from a social agreement and presents violence as any influence that limits people's somatic and mental realizations. It includes actions, ideologies, threats, and dominance that can hurt both individuals and communities. The author suggests six ways to fruitfully think about peace, violence, and
peace research: first, violence is physical and psychological. People are physically hurt or killed under physical violence, whereas psychological violence contains brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats, and other forms. Second, violence can be translated into negative and positive influences. In this case, the influencer punishes or rewards the oppressed. But in both situations, it prevents them from realizing their potentialities. This type of influence is violence in the sense that violence is "the difference between the potential and the actual" (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). Third, violence can be applied only by manipulating objects. Testing nuclear arms without hurting human beings is one example. Fourth, violence can be applied indirectly through the exploitation of superstructures. When this indirect violence happens, individuals are hurt, mutilated, or killed. Fifth, violence can be intended and unintended. Sixth, two degrees of violence exist, the manifest and the latent. All these distinctions are accounted for in both personal and structural violence (Galtung, 1969).

However, Galtung’s (1969) understanding of peace as the absence of violence that is today acknowledged as "negative peace," is questioned by other authors such as Reardon (1988). According to her, while it is significant to abolish nuclear mentality, intervene in conflict areas, and eliminate all causes of violence, it is equally important to prevent violence by educating people to bring about change in their culture. This education to acquire peaceful values and transform societies is "positive peace" (Reardon, 1988). In the same vein, Lum (2013) explains how the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) promoted an education "that redefines peace by moving away from its dominant conception as the absence of war to one of creating a culture of peace" (Lum, 2013, p. 215). By culture of peace, UNESCO means
learnings and mechanisms that foster peaceful cultures by integrating values and a holistic vision of peace, also known as positive peace.

**Summary:** Galtung (1969) defines peace as the absence of violence and demonstrates that violence operates at the personal and structural levels. He lists several types of violence, including the following: physical and psychological violence, intended and unintended violence, manifest and latent violence, and violence with or without objects. However, his idea of absence of violence or negative peace is criticized by Reardon (1988) and UNESCO (2008). Rather, they promote positive peace as mean for building sustainable peace.

The mechanisms of violence and the way they operate in society led Galtung (1976) to develop the associative approach to reflect on peacebuilding.


Galtung (1976) distinguishes between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. According to him, peacekeeping is an intervention to stop a conflict between two or more parties. It requires the consent of the parties and refuses any use of force. However, it includes self-defense and the defense of the mandate when international organizations are involved, whereas peacemaking aims to end the tension that occurs. It is an instrument of conflict resolution. Peacebuilding is described as the mechanism that works to remove "causes of war and offer[s] alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur. [It appears] as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon just as a healthy body has the ability to generate its own antibodies" (Galtung, 1976, p. 298). As a movement that works on the causes of violence, peacebuilding uses pedagogical approaches that transform societies for long-lasting peace. In this sense,
peacebuilding and peace education share common values. Therefore, peacebuilding through education can be defined as the process of preventing violence through education (Kester, 2017). According to Kester, peacebuilding involves "the teaching of values of cooperation, dialogue, collaboration and nonviolence, and the teaching of consensus-building and mediation skills" (Kester, 2017, pp. 465-466). Therefore, peacebuilding is grounded in both negative and positive conceptualizations of peace.

For Galtung (1976), peacebuilding is a process that requires teaching grounded in dialogue and consensus. Nevertheless, Moyo (2003) demonstrates that peacebuilding teaching is effective only if that teaching focuses "upon change at the root of systems" (p. 44). In other words, teaching about dialogue and consensus is not enough. A transformation should also occur in the traditional schooling system to bring about a culture that values everyone and constructs peace. This leads one to ask, “What are the tenets of Galtung's peacebuilding approach?”

Galtung's (1976) vision of peacebuilding is labeled "the associative approach" (Galtung, p. 297) which means that peacebuilding is also about action. He presents the forms of dominance that need to be addressed (through actions) in order to get peace. The keywords of this approach are dominance and war. He divides conflicts into three types of dominance: first, vertical wars occur in which the dominated groups endeavor to liberate themselves and the dominant groups try to maintain their control. One example is a marginalized minority group within society. Second, horizontal wars take place in which entities of equal power react against mutual dominance – for instance, the Cold War or war between countries. Third, wars span across zero relationships in which the
dominant part comes and imposes itself. That was the case of colonization (Galtung, 1976).

Galtung (1976) gives six principles that should help mitigate domination: equity, which requires that no party should be exploited; entropy, which means that power should be distributed among various entities; symbiosis, meaning interdependence or exchange within a system; broad scope, meaning that many types of exchanges are not only economic; large domain, meaning that exchange should take place between multiple parties not only two or three; and superstructure, which counters hegemony and values each entity (Galtung, 1976). The rationale behind these principles is to prevent wars and avoid any other type of violence.

Galtung's (1976) peacebuilding ideology, which develops a mechanism to prevent violence and create a peaceful society, is relevant to my area of interest. My research aims to study the schools’ response to Cameroon's Anglophone crisis and promote a dialogical culture leading to sustainable peace in the area. The Anglophone minority claims injustice and the lack of dialogue with the Francophone leaders of the country. A response to this inequality and injustice can be found in Galtung’s (1976) approach to peacebuilding. This approach counters exploitation and any types of abuses that an individual or a group can cause one another. His strategy of equity, entropy, and symbiosis can serve as a common ground for dialogue and coexistence among people from different cultures. Additionally, broad scope, large domain, and superstructure can regulate economic and political interests among people. These ideas need to be effectively translated into the present African and Cameroonian realities.
Nevertheless, Galtung's (1976) associative approach works better for associative
groups, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and nations. His peacebuilding model is
appropriate for peace activists, economics, and political organizations. It interrogates the
ethic of these institutions and their capability of being fair with their members, partners,
and neighbors. But still, the associative approach needs to be reinforced with a clear
educational methodology to bring about change and transformation in societies. Thus,
other approaches more suited for education need to be explored.

**Reardon's Comprehensive Peace Education: Conflicts and Human Rights**

Reardon (1988) is concerned with both violent conflicts and human rights. For
her, while it is important to eliminate war, it is equally significant to relieve human
suffering deriving from the uneven distribution of wealth. She organizes her thoughts
around the concepts of "negative peace" and "positive peace." Negative peace is the
inquiry that condemns and deplores wars, arms races, and any violent conflict around the
world. She agrees with Galtung that the world should be freed from the war by
preventing, reducing, and ultimately eradicating weapons (negative peace). Reardon
(1988) also supports Boulding’s (1978) idea that positive peace is critical. It refers to
global justice, which stipulates that people need to be protected

from the prejudices, discrimination, and oppression which deprive far too many
human beings of their rights and dignity; and from the wanton exploitation of the
earth's resources by that powerful minority which controls and uses them without
regard to the interests of people of this and succeeding generations. (Reardon,
1988, p. 4)
She explains that human rights, especially civil, political, economic, cultural, and social rights, should be respected.

Reardon’s (1988) understanding of positive peace will shed light on the crisis situation in English-speaking Cameroon because violence in that area also bears unjust roots. For instance, after listing a series of political and economic disparities between Cameroon’s regions to the detriment of Anglophones, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) reported that "the current Anglophone crisis is, therefore, a manifestation of frustration arising from both real and perceived discrimination and marginalization of English-speaking minority" (IPSS, 2020, p. 4). Thus, in addressing Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis, the endeavor for peacebuilding should necessarily be coupled with the effort for social justice and equality.

By connecting pedagogy with injustice and human rights, Reardon (1988) proposes peacebuilding through education. Her suggestions are aligned with Montessori, who, in the late 1940s, maintained that "establishing a lasting peace is the work of education; all politique can do is keep us out of war" (Montessori, 1949, 1972, p. viii). Montessori wrote just a few years after the Second World War when politics had shown its limits in constructing peaceful societies, and an alternative solution was needed to bring about lasting peace. While she is right about the role of education in building peace among people and nations, she seems to undermine the influence of politics that, besides keeping us out of war, can do more in terms of reconciliation, human rights, and justice. Politics can support educational policies that aim to transform societies and establish sustainable peace. For example, after Dze-Ngwa (2014) studied peace education in Cameroonian schools, he established the need for peace education and recommended that
“the government should also enhance the teaching of peace education by reviewing the present curriculum content of the subject to suit the realities of the country’s diversities” (p. 36). Dze-Ngwa demonstrates that the teaching of peace education will be more effective if the government issues policies that will support Cameroonian schools in training peace builders.

The notion of positive peace supported by Reardon (1988) was already present in Montessori’s work. In her book *Education and Peace*, originally published in 1949, Montessori promotes positive peace. Even though she warns the world against the danger of the weapon race (negative peace), she refutes the concept of negative peace as the real way to peace. Rather, she favors positive peace, as she calls for redirecting attention to the transformation of the human person who needs to be in harmony with the new reality of the world, a world that communicates and interchanges beyond cultures and physical borders. Montessori’s thought was extended and strengthened by Reardon (1988).

In a preface to a compilation of Reardon's work, Snauwaert emphasizes that Reardon's ideas encompass human dignity, violence as dehumanization, the principles of peace education, a human rights ethical outline, a transformational peace pedagogy, and peace learning and reflective inquiry (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015). She strives to frame a peace education curriculum that opposes violence and sketches out patterns for learning about universal human dignity. Such a curriculum is needed in the context of Cameroon’s schools because of the current Anglophone crisis. Moreover, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies’ 2020 report and other nongovernmental organization such as the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and International Crisis Group have
identified injustice and the failure to respect human rights as part of the reasons why the conflict occurred in the country (IPSS, 2020; Nsapu, 2017).

The central problem raised by Reardon (1988) is about violent conflicts and human rights. She shows that while it is important to eliminate war, it is equally significant to relieve human suffering deriving from the uneven distribution of wealth. These concerns are addressed by comprehensive peace education.

**Comprehensive Peace Education: Negative Peace, Positive Peace, and Peace Knowledge**

According to Reardon (1988), comprehensive peace education is an approach to education for global responsibility. It entails an integrated and holistic peace education with various dimensions such as the human person as a social entity, ecology, and development. For Reardon, comprehensive peace education is rooted in the notion of care which is central to what she calls “planetary stewardship” (p. 76). This means that educating for peace is educating to care for humanity and ecology. She demonstrates that genuine knowledge leads to love and care for humanity and ecology. Thus, comprehensive peace education is the process to acquire global knowledge that involves human dignity and moral inclusion; violence as dehumanization; human right; and transformative peace education (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015). Reardon (1988) also explains comprehensive peace education by reflecting on the notions of negative and positive peace.

The term negative peace comes from the desire to obtain peace by eliminating and abolishing violence. Peace is the absence of violence in all its forms – physical, social, psychological, and structural (Reardon, 1988). According to Reardon (1988), the effort to reach disarmament and eradicate nuclear weapons gave birth to a pedagogy around four
major themes: political and ideological conflict, arms races, misunderstanding and misconception of others, and insufficient use of alternative conflict-resolution methods. These topics are the core of education for negative peace curricula. Reardon points out the limits of negative peace, which is an education merely based on disarmament or a nuclear education. Rather, she fosters positive peace, which takes into account values and transformation.

The expression of positive peace connotes the effort to prevent violent conflict and maintain peace. It goes beyond disarmament and encompasses economic deprivation and development, environment and resources, universal human rights, and global justice (Reardon, 1988). Positive peace is a struggle for structural change and valorization of all human beings. The concepts of international understanding and global education are significant in positive peace. International understanding focuses on international relationships and striving to know others, their cultures, and their values. The idea behind this point is that the better we know each other, the less we fight each other. Global education concerns social justice, consideration of minorities, diversity, and inclusion.

According to Reardon (1988), three words can capture the essence of positive education: citizenship, stewardship, and relationships. In essence, the "ethical imperative mandates that we see the other as a person; it demands that we transcend the longstanding human patterns of violence, dehumanization, and objectification of person in favor of the recognition of their humanity" (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015, p. viii). In addition to the understanding of others and relational aspects, a preoccupation arises to protect human dignity and lives, which takes the form of the fight against things that put people's lives in
peril, such as endemic poverty, chronic hunger and famine, arms races, nuclear weapons, environment, and climate change.

Reardon (1988) affirms that the primary source of knowledge about peace is peace research. Nevertheless, she suggests that educators also consider two equally important sources of knowledge: the United Nations and the historical human experience. For her, the United Nations is a rich source of information and experience. It is an agency that has the best glimpse of the global problem and has collected sufficient data about the world. The study of its documents can help for a better understanding of conflicts and injustices in the world. Similarly, human experience across history can teach us about both our limits and the multicultural heritage of humankind. The human experience prompts us to include women's studies in the peace learning curriculum. The masculine bias, Reardon explains, has prevented the world from being enriched by the feminine experience of knowledge. Also, human values such as love and care should be included in the curriculum and universalized.

In Reardon's understanding of peace education, knowledge and love hold a great place. She writes: "To know, in the biblical sense, was intended to mean to love, to join with, to care" (Reardon, 1988, p. 76). Comprehensive peace education is, thus, an education to global responsibility fostering values that prevent conflicts and protect lives and human rights. It calls for responsibility, love, and care for humanity and the environment.

A philosophical understanding of peacebuilding through education that relates to Reardon's comprehensive peace education is developed by Kester and colleagues (2019). They use the term "diffraction" to explain the multiplicity of methodologies that can
contribute to building a peaceful world. For them, “diffraction” draws from reflexive sociology which consists in finding new insights in a phenomenon by examining data through various lenses. Thus, it shows the multiple rays that can come from the same source. “Diffraction engages the epistemic, ontological, and ethical – mind, body, heart, and material – at individual and collective levels in education, peace work, and peace research” (p. 280). Applied to peace education and peacebuilding, diffraction implies, as Reardon would say, care for selves, others, contexts, and larger social and political possibilities.

Another method that also relates to comprehensive peace education is proposed by Dietrich (2019). He employs a transrational framework that studies peace in a rational, emotional, and spiritual way. Dietrich draws from Einstein's understanding of human beings as part of the whole universe. In order to fully understand oneself, the human person must transcend him or herself to connect with all other living things and the beauty of nature. He also draws from Buddhist spirituality and combines epistemology with the supernatural. He finally arrives at the concepts of transrational and conviviality as a method to holistically train people to peacebuilding (Dietrich, 2019). Thus, Dietrich's philosophy implies that peace sprouts from an inner unity and love, which is a love of both the human person and nature. Such love gives place to dialogue, transformation, and a peaceful environment.

Reardon's comprehensive peace education is broad and diverse and covers a large spectrum of human and environmental needs. Her pedagogy contains several subjects that enlighten my research on how Cameroon’s schools encourage peacebuilding in relation to the Anglophone crisis. Topics such as political and ideological conflict,
misunderstanding and misconception of others, insufficient use of alternative conflict-resolution methods are significant in a country where a violent social crisis exists.

Reardon claims to promote the field of peace education that will impact future generations. Yet, her educational vision is a wider peacebuilding system that goes beyond classical education. Nevertheless, her vision remains centered on the Western world and the consequences of the Cold War. Today, conflicts are not solely between nations. They also capture political, economic, and cultural interests even within the same country. As Sinclair (2004) expresses, what is needed is developing the skills, values, attitudes, and concepts for learning to live together, rather than on 'knowledge' objectives. And I would argue the local understanding and paths to building peace from the Cameroonian perspective. Another educator whose thoughts are relevant for peacebuilding is Paulo Freire.

**Freire's Pedagogy and Peacebuilding: The Problem of Oppression**

In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970, 2000) raises the problem of human oppression, exploitation, and injustice. He views these social scourges as dehumanization and violence and expresses a fundamental need for recognizing this dehumanization as both ontological and historical. Oppression, exploitation, and injustice empty people of their humanity and prevent them from fulfilling their first vocation, which is becoming fully human. Freire (2000) shows that violence is initiated by the oppressor and not by the oppressed. For this reason, the oppressed need to free themselves from the oppression and endeavor for their liberation. "Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom...is the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion" (Freire, 2000, p. 47). The
author means that the fight for liberation is unavoidable because oppression interferes with people's ontological and historical vocation to become fully human. For him, the responsibility to liberate the oppressed belongs chiefly to the oppressed themselves because those who initiated domination will only strive to maintain it. He demonstrates that insofar as injustice and oppression continue, both oppressors and oppressed are dehumanized. Consequently, the oppressed need educating to strive for their liberation (Freire, 2000).

Still, Freire’s (2000) liberation ideology is not free from critiques. For example, he compares the struggle for liberation to the revolution and gives Fidel Castro’s and Che Guevara's revolutions as examples. Even if he clarifies that this revolution uses dialogue as a means of battle, he is not vocal enough that there should be no violence no matter how hard the revolution is. For instance, Halperin (1963) shows that Castro's revolution did not take place without violence. It was an armed revolution that operated in the form of guerilla warfare. Ernest Halperin highlights this violent aspect of Castro's revolution by quoting from Guevara's (1961) book entitled *La guerra de guerrillas*: "We consider that the Cuban Revolution contributed three fundamental lessons to the conduct of revolutionary movements in America… [The third one is that] in underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting" (Halperin, 1963, p. 12). This statement shows the importance that both Guevara and Castro give to violent, armed revolution. The examples of Castro and Guevara at the very least, bring ambiguity to the peaceful nature of the Freirean revolution. However, Freirean revolution is a call for liberation based on dialogue and organization. In this vein, it is a nonviolent revolution,
which relies on the philosophy of equality, solidarity, and resistance to establish social justice because “Justice demands organization” (Gibson, 2007, p. 213).

Nevertheless, some revolutionary philosophies exist that can support Freire's idea to fight for one's total liberation without violence. Harris and Morrison (2013) offer two other revolutionary figures that can inspire nonviolence, namely Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi. Using revolution for obtaining freedom is great, but it should be conducted without violence. This nonviolent aspect of the revolution should prevent the oppressed from becoming an oppressor in return.

In the same vein, Baja (2018) supports the fight for total liberation without necessarily using the ambiguous word of “revolution.” She promotes transformative agency as a tool that the oppressed should acquire for their liberation. The concept of agency in education favors critical consciousness and equips the learner "with the knowledge, skills, and networks to act for positive and social change" (Bajaj, 2018, p. 1). These assets will help people to understand the structural characteristics of oppression and to fight for justice. The transformative agency offers the student the ability to face the structural constraints and achieve goals associated with social change (Bajaj, 2018).

**Summary:** Freire (2000) is concerned with violence and human dignity. For him, these social scourges that constitute violence prevent people from fulfilling their first vocation, which is becoming fully human. In short, the oppressed need an appropriate education that will allow them to fight for their freedom. Though this fight may not have to entail violent revolution, but it could be part of a peacebuilding effort.
Pedagogy of the Oppressed: Dialogue and Problem-Posing Education

What is the best approach for educating people in a situation of oppression? Freire (2000) proposes a pedagogy that situates the oppressed at the level of the oppressor. The author's image to explain this pedagogy is that of a midwife who helps a woman deliver a baby. This image means that the oppressed should consent to the effort, be perseverant, and be determined to consider the oppressor as a dialogue partner. They should consider their difficulty "as a limiting situation which they can transform" (Freire, 2000, p. 49). It is a pedagogy grounded in praxis, which is a reflection and an action situated in the reality of oppression in order to transform it.

The first aspect of this pedagogy favors dialogue, opposes domination, and refuses the violation of rights. Dialogue advocated by Freire happens between two entities who see themselves as partners but not as dominant and dominated. Additionally, it brings people together and serves as a basis for the liberation of all the dialogue partners (Freire, 2000). Freire's dialogical pedagogy does more than just denouncing violence. It promotes an attitude of love, humility, faith, and hope as dispositions for a significant dialogue (Freire, 2000). These characteristics of the dialogical pedagogy emphasize the mutual respect and consideration of each other in the process of a humanizing pedagogy.

Similarly, Eubanks and colleagues (1997) – critical theorists who advocate for an egalitarian discourse in U.S. schools – consider dialogue as an important tool for change. According to them, dialogue for real change should not be superficial. Rather, it should follow specific steps and reach the level of mutual disclosure and demystify the hegemonic cultures. Eubanks and colleagues recommend always questioning the type of
discourse used to foster a change. They distinguish between "Discourse I" and "Discourse II." "Discourse I" is a hegemonic cultural discourse which maintains structures and practices of inequality and domination. It is a cultural and structural violence. "Discourse II" is a transformational dialogue "without creating anger, defensiveness, blame, guilt, and denial" (Eubanks et al., 1997, p. 157). This "Discourse II," recommended by the authors, is an appropriate framework for building peace. This type of dialogue should begin by creating confidence, and participants should feel understood and valued.

While this dialogical and transformational framework works for Western societies and schools, it needs to be enculturated in African contexts and opened to people's traditional values. This cultural appropriation can help Cameroon's schools to better take advantage of that dialogical framework, prepare their students for it, and set conditions for peace and hope. Yet, this contextual dialogical condition for Cameroonian educational settings is missing (Dze-Ngwa, 2014).

The second educational solution Freire (2000) proposes to oppression is problem-posing education, which is a response to what he labels the banking concept of education. The banking model of education represents one in which the student is considered a container to be filled or a reservoir where the teacher deposits knowledge. The banking concept mirrors the oppressive society in the sense that "the more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of the world" (Freire, 2000, p. 73). The banking concept is an unproductive pedagogy that hinders the student's critical thinking ability and turns them into passive consumers without any creativity.
Freire (2000) offers problem-posing education in opposition to the banking concept. Problem-posing education aims to build the student's consciousness. The teacher ceases to act as the owner of the knowledge and allows him or herself to be taught in dialogue with the student. Both the instructor and the student teach and learn from each other. The purpose of problem-posing education is to create "the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the doxa is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of the logos" (Freire, 2000, p. 81). In other words, it develops an education that draws, Dewey (1938) would say, from experience to build knowledge. Problem-posing promotes reflection and action and favors an authentic human being, the one capable of transforming his or her society. Freire’s problem-posing education is a consciousness-raising praxis to critically think about the given problem with the intention to create a new way of understanding that should prompt students’ agency and social change. In this sense, problem-posing education sets the methodology for critical peace education (Golding, 2017) and peacebuilding through education.

Another learning method close to Freire's dialogical pedagogy is proposed by Brown (2009). He denounces a pedagogy in which a specified curriculum content needs to be learned. According to him, a pre-defined curriculum may fail to tackle the mental and social reality of people. He recommends a pedagogy in which the starting point is the learning environment. The term learning environment does not indicate a place. Instead, it is a set of mechanisms that allows for capturing the context and objects of learning. It requires a social ontology that integrates moral and political conditions as well as critical alternatives (Brown, 2009). In other words, Brown promotes a pedagogy in which the subject of learning comes from learners' realities, interests, and lives. This pedagogy
allows a symbiosis between the instructor and the students. It opens a space for dialogue and transformation (Galtung, 1976) and a space for peacebuilding. At the same time, both the teacher and the learner should be aware of the politics surrounding education. This means the learning material is geared toward a political agenda of transformation and improvement of social life. In other words, education should consider the needs of the people (listening to them) and provide them with the tools for improving their living environment and protecting their rights. The educational agenda should lead to total freedom, responsibility, and development.

Summary: The pedagogy of the oppressed with its two wings, dialogical pedagogy and problem-posing education, offers a liberating educational model for both the oppressor and the oppressed, and allows people to reach their full humanity (Freire, 2000). According to Kester (2017), this pedagogy of dialogue that casts away fear and resignation has given birth to peace pedagogy. This peace pedagogy informs my research project, which aims to demonstrate how Cameroon’s schools promote peacebuilding during the ongoing Anglophone crisis. The crisis emanates from political abuses, dominance, injustices, the failure to respect human rights on the one hand, and the colonial cultural and linguistic differences with which Cameroonians are educated on the other hand (Nsapu, 2017; Vogel, 2020). Therefore, the critical aspect of Freire's theory and its endeavor for social justice, if contextualized, could allow Cameroon's schools to better participate in peacebuilding amidst the crisis. This perspective calls for a close look at critical peace education.
Critical Peace Education

According to Bajaj (2008), critical peace education derives from an understanding of peace education as a critical analysis of society to develop peace, transformative agency, human rights, and social justice. Critical peace education was first sketched by Wulf (1974) and later attributed to Freire's theory (Bajaj, 2008) and critical pedagogy (Zembylas, 2018). Bajaj (2018) shows that critical peace education leads to transformative agency, a tool that the oppressed should acquire for their liberation. According to her, the concept of agency in education favors critical consciousness and equips the learner "with the knowledge, skills, and networks to act for positive and social change" (Bajaj, 2018, p. 1). These assets will help people to understand the structural characteristics of oppression and to fight for justice. Additionally, critical peace education highlights diversity, affirms human rights, enhances transformative agency, and offers the student the ability to face the structural constraints and achieve goals associated with social change (Bajaj, 2008; 2018). This social change can favor the possibility for a peaceful society and better coexistence among people.

Critical peace education also draws from critical pedagogy. According to Malott (2011), critical pedagogy intends to equip students with critical thinking skills that will allow them to know where power lies and how it operates. Additionally, critical pedagogy fosters reflexivity by challenging both teachers and students to be aware of their positionality in power relationships and it offers educators and learners tools to appropriate their rights and build their future (Au, 2011). Given that the Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis also bears the germ of injustice, critical pedagogy will offer venues to
explore and analyze ways to advocate for justice and peacebuilding (Egoh, 2020; Reardon, 1988; Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015).

Critical pedagogical theorists such as Giroux (2003) and McLaren (2003) have impacted critical peace education (Zembylas, 2018). Giroux (2003) shows that critical pedagogy gives voice to students so that they should be fully part of the democratic system and be able to impact cultural change, freedom, and negative political forces such as violation of basic human rights. He calls for teachers to contribute to the endeavor for cultural change and give strength to democratic culture (pp. 156-157).

McLaren's critical pedagogy can also help in understanding the endeavor for equality and justice in Cameroon’s English-speaking regions; he argues that oppression is, nowadays, shifting faces from colonial and tyrannic domination to economic and hegemonic control. Quoting Marion Young (1992), he highlights five characteristics of modern oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. These characteristics reflect the abuses and injustice mentioned by International Crisis Group and other nongovernmental organizations in their analysis of the crisis in Cameroon. Like Giroux (2003), McLaren invites teachers to critically face the governments' complicity in the roots and structures of inequality and injustice. This invitation to teachers is particularly important in this research project that focuses on how schools foster peacebuilding in Cameroon.

Though Zembylas (2018) supports critical peace education as a framework for promoting students’ agency and change, he also finds that this framework bears weaknesses. For him, the scholars drawing on Freirean theory and critical pedagogy fall under the critique of enclosing people's emancipation and transformative agency in a
"Eurocentric modernist framework" (Zembylas, 2018, p. 2). By this expression, he means that Eurocentric modernist thought is dualistic. It opposes the elements of the world, such as 'A' is positive, and 'non-A' is negative. For Zembylas (2018), this dualism may not work in some situations. For example, even though people feel oppressed in many African nations, as observed in Cameroon, the Eurocentric dichotomy of oppressed/oppressors might not be perceptible in countries where the oppressor becomes the educational system or politics. In other words, if the educational system continues to follow the colonial heritage and takes from that legacy what is right and what is wrong, it may not render justice to the local populations by ignoring their thoughts. Similarly, neoliberal politics rooted in a modern democracy can be detrimental to indigenous people by neglecting their local historical values.

According to Zembylas (2018), critical peace education should be renewed and opened to integrate decolonial perspectives, especially recognizing the historical process by which Western colonial powers replaced arms with an educational hegemony and surveillance. Drawing from Mignolo (2011), he explains coloniality as “the understanding logic that places peoples and knowledge into a classification system that valorizes all that is European” (Zembylas, 2018, p. 2) and devalues traditional native knowledge. "Decoloniality refers to the everyday and ongoing efforts to challenge persistent forms of coloniality" (p. 2). It can also be understood as a critical reflection on the Western imperialism that negatively impacted history of local people. Also, Zembylas (2018) draws from Mbembe (2016), who shows that African institutions of learning are Westernized, and Western epistemic traditions are hegemonic. According to him,
This hegemonic notion of knowledge production has generated discursive scientific practices and has set up interpretive frames that make it difficult to think outside of these frames. But this is not all. This hegemonic tradition also actively represses anything that actually is articulated, thought, and envisioned from outside of these frames. (Mbembe, 2016, p. 33)

The author shows that Western epistemologies have prevented traditional African knowledge from developing. For this reason, most knowledge acquired in African schools and universities remained external to the learners and slow to bring about substantial and sustainable change. He proposes decoloniality as a way for Africans to appropriate their educational vision. Nevertheless, Mbembe (2013) reflected on the different celebrations of the 50th anniversary of independence across Africa in the 2010s and concluded that the biggest problem of the decolonized Africa, especially in the former French colonies, is the lack of democracy. According to him, “Decolonization without democracy is a very poor form of regaining possession of oneself, but if Africans want democracy, it is up to them to imagine its forms and pay the price” (p. 29). In other words, decoloniality and democracy should go together. This consideration of the decolonial perspective is crucial in understanding the historical roots of the Anglophone crisis and the complexity of harmonizing the country's educational vision.

From the perspective of decolonial thought, Zembylas states, Freirean dialogue must be complemented with the historical complexity of the colonized to be able to liberate them (Golding, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). Zembylas suggests that critical peace education should include subjugated pieces of knowledge (from colonized people) as crucial points in the curriculum and confront Eurocentric supremacy. In the same vein,
Gounari (2012) claims that history should be the key to read and address suffering, inequality, and injustice around the world. For him, history will help to raise the voices of the marginalized and the voices that the colonial system has silenced.

Similarly, Greene (1995) denounces the traditional thoughts and dominant educational mainstream that privilege unique rationality (Eurocentric modernist rationality). Rather, she encourages "multiple voices and multiple realities" (Greene, 1995) where all can tell their story and voice their concerns. In Cameroon, a critical peace education perspective can be significant because of its challenging bilingualism and two colonial cultural heritage, French and British. How can we harmonize two official languages, two inherited cultures, and the local traditional cultures? What compromises should Cameroonians make to build peace? In this regard, the Israel/Palestine or the Cyprus experiences presented by Zembylas and Bekerman (2013) can offer venues to reflect about peacebuilding in Cameroonian schools. These authors suggest four possibilities that teachers can adopt in their classrooms: explore the role of identity and culture in developing community relations, challenge the role of identity and culture as a category to describe the world, develop the skills of cultural analysis that leads to study others’ cultures and fosters collaborative process, and consider change as a collaborative effort (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013). These suggestions aim to explore local cultures and identities as well as collaboration and change. They can be important tools to address Cameroon’s diverse reality.

Summary: Critical peace education, which is the combination of Freirean theory and critical pedagogy, analyzes societies to develop peace, transformative agency, human rights, and social justice (Bajaj, 2008; 2018). According to Zembylas (2018), critical
peace education can be enriched with the input of decolonial thought. How can this theory contribute to improving the crisis in Cameroon? An analysis of Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis shows that it bears the germs of injustice and human rights violation (International Crisis Group). It also derives from the difficult coexistence of the two inherited cultures, British and French (Ngala 2020). Because of these two factors – social injustice and persistent colonial influence – the theory of critical peace education, enriched by decolonial thought, appears as a framework suited to building peace in Cameroon’s schools in order to prevent future harms, such as the current Cameroonian Anglophone crisis and lay down conditions of sustainable peace.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this study is critical peace education. This framework is suited to examine the educational and social crisis in English-speaking Cameroon because it addresses both a violent free community and social justice. It helps to critically look at how Cameroonian schools proceed to foster peacebuilding amidst the current Anglophone crisis. Critical peace education, drawing from Freirean theory and critical pedagogy, favors dialogue, resists domination, and refuses the violation of rights.

In Cameroon English-speaking area, teachers, students, and parents have all been destabilized by the crisis, and the voices of these people who long for peace need to be heard. Thus, this research utilizes critical peace education based on dialogical methods and other critical thinking practices as a lens to study and support peacebuilding within Cameroon’s schools. This interpretive framework also helps reflect on a substantial negotiation among Cameroonians from different linguistic groups.
(anglophones/francophones) to obtain lasting peace in the North-West and South-West Regions of the country.

Critical peace education underpins my research in Cameroon’s schools in that it leads to transformative agency and provides tools for the oppressed to acquire their liberation. According to Bajaj (2018), the concept of agency in education favors critical consciousness and equips the learner "with the knowledge, skills, and networks to act for positive and social change" (Bajaj, 2018, p. 1). These assets help people to understand the structural characteristics of oppression and to fight for justice. Additionally, critical peace education highlights diversity, affirms human rights, and offers the student the ability to face the structural constraints and achieve goals associated with social change (Bajaj, 2008; 2018). This social change can favor the possibility of a peaceful society and better coexistence among Cameroonians.

Mignolo (2011) and Zembylas (2018) suggest that critical peace education should be complemented by decolonial thought in order to empower the voices and beliefs of colonized people. Since the Cameroonian reality has been colonized and administered by three European nations (Germany, France, and Britain), I agree with these authors that critical peace education applied to Cameroon’s schools should be enriched by decolonial thought. Decoloniality, understood as a movement intended to correct the cultural damages caused by colonial powers to African countries, can empower local indigenous culture. In this vein, it can participate in revising the peacebuilding curriculum in Cameroon by including subjugated pieces of knowledge from colonized people as significant points of the educational program (Zembylas, 2018). For example, there is a small plant, a variety of *dracaena fragrans* known in Cameroon’s western regions as “l’arbre de la paix” (the
tree of peace) or the peace plant. It is used in most traditional ceremonies to call peace upon people. It is a symbol of unity and reconciliation and is also used to ask for dialogue. This natural symbol, popular in English-speaking Cameroon, is part of the traditional wisdom, which is now integrated into social and religious ceremonies in the country. It could be significant to make it part of the peace curriculum to enhance the values of peace education.

Summary: Critical peace education, enriched by decolonial thought, serves as a framework to analyze how Cameroon’s schools promote peacebuilding during the Anglophone crisis and what can be suggested to support the schools’ effort to bring about lasting peace. For instance, this framework helps to critically analyze social injustice and inequality that affect peaceful coexistence in the country. It also allows the study to critically look at the peacebuilding curriculum to make it more effective by extending it and including decolonial thought to value traditional peacebuilding practices.
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Yin (2009) defines a research design as “a logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions (answers) about the questions” (p. 26). He adds that many steps including data collection and analysis of data are parts of the design. For Miles and colleagues (2014) a research design or conceptual framework is a graphic or narrative explanation of things to be studied, including key factors and variables, and the presumed interrelationships among them (p. 20). Considering these two definitions, I conducted a qualitative inquiry in four selected public and private Cameroonian high schools. The study used a multiple case study approach to examine peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon’s high schools amid the Anglophone crisis. I used an ethnographic data collection method through interviews and observations, and also analyzed documents.

According to Yin (2009), the unit of analysis, which is generally the same as the case, should be defined in relation to the research questions. My main research question was how do Cameroonian schools promote peacebuilding during the crisis? Thus, the unit of analysis was the school. Three types of data were collected: documents from the Cameroonian government office in charge of secondary education and the chosen schools, field observations in the selected high schools, and semi-structured interviews with teachers and administrators (directors of social studies curriculum).

The research project has explored schools' contributions to peacebuilding in Cameroon and allowed for insights into the teaching perspective of educators from both educational sub-systems (French and English) in the country. The English-speaking
schools represent the minority population (20%) compared to the French-speaking schools covering 80% of the country's population. A few years before the outbreak of the current violent conflict in English-speaking regions, Dze-Ngwa (2014) advocated for the necessity of introducing peace education in Cameroon's schools. His research has shown that a covert conflict already existed in the implementation of the dual educational system and the diverse ethnic and religious groups. Dze-Ngwa’s (2014) conclusion highlights the necessity for peacebuilding in Cameroon’s schools. Because of this need, I conducted multiple case study research to explore the schools’ promotion of peacebuilding and examine the necessity to educate for peace amid a devastating crisis.

**Methodology**

I used a multiple case study model to examine peacebuilding practices in Cameroon’s school in relation to the current Cameroonian Anglophone crisis. Creswell (2013) defines a case study as a qualitative method in which the researcher studies people in real-time "through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information…and reports" (p. 97). For Flyvbjerg (2006), a case study produces context-based knowledge and allows in-depth examination of the case involved. Merriam (2009) adds that a qualitative case study consists of an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system, which means that the particularity of the case study lies in delimitating the boundaries of the object studied. In other words, the investigation remains within the bounded case or cases. In this vein, my research considered each of the four selected schools as a case to set up a multiple case study inquiry. According to Stake (1995), a collective case study uses several instrumental cases and connects them to understand the problem raised by the study (pp. 3-4). Drawing from Yin (2009), Creswell (2013)
explains that multiple case study follows the logic of replication in which the researcher reproduces the procedure for each case. The logic of replication is crucial in the decision to conduct multiple case studies. Yin (2009) also demonstrates that “the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust” (p. 53). In the present inquiry, the selected schools permitted an exploration of the conditions in which Cameroon’s schools can contribute not only to foster peacebuilding amidst the crisis, but also to lay down the strategies to prevent future conflicts and establish sustainable peace.

**Research Sites**

The Cameroonian Anglophone crisis affects people across the country. Many families are displaced within the country. Many children left the English-speaking area to continue their education in the French-speaking area because of the crisis (Ngala, 2020). This means that the disastrous consequences of this social violence are endured in the whole country, both English and French-speaking regions. Thus, I selected four secondary schools to represent both linguistic groups. Within each school, teachers and administrators in charge of the citizenship education programs represent the actors from whom I learned about the school’s involvement in promoting peace. Two of the four schools are in Cameroon’s English-speaking area and the two others are in the French-speaking part of the country. In each of the two linguistic areas, I targeted one public school and one Catholic school. These are the four selected schools:

- GHS National (public high school), South-West Region, Anglophone
- St. Angela (Catholic high school), South-West Region, Anglophone
- Lybicam (bilingual public high school), Far North Region, Francophone
- Baba Simon (Catholic high school), Littoral Region, Francophone

Researching in both public and private high schools and from both educational sub-systems may diversify and enrich the data, and increase the reliability of the findings (Patton, 2015). Furthermore, these school have been selected because of their size with over fifteen hundred students each. The two English-speaking schools were accessible despite the threat on the schools in that area where they are located. I did not choose a school in the North-West Region, the second Anglophone region, because that area is not deemed safe enough. The national security system does not control the entire region yet.

**Figure 2**

*Multiple Case Design*

- Students with the Cameroonian flag at Lybicam
- The peace club of GHS National after a training session on peace
- Students discussing with a teacher at Baba Simon
- Students in a classroom at St. Angela
This image display is adapted from Yin (2009) type 3, multiple case (holistic) design. Each case represents a different context, and the logic of replication was used. The photos are from the internet, free access.

**Data Collection**

According to Yin (2009), data collection encompasses “the type of evidence to be expected, including the roles of people to be interviewed, the events to be observed, and any other documents to be reviewed when on the site” (p. 80). In order to collect these data, I spent three consecutive months at the sites and spent about three weeks in each selected school. I used the following three types of evidence:

- **Documents**: Yin (2009) states that documentary information is often important in case study topics. For example, when the case is a school, the research documentations can include memoranda, announcements and minutes of meetings, calendars, administrative documents, other studies of the school, information about the school, and other written reports of events in the school. For my research, I got in touch with the selected schools’ administrations to collect calendars, meeting reports, lists of the clubs, schools’ curricula and policies that helped me explore how each school promotes peacebuilding. I also gained access through the Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education website, the official citizenship education syllabi for all secondary school levels (7th to 13th grades), and analyzed their peacebuilding components. The objective was to analyze these documents and compare them with the findings from the schools to provide recommendations for peacebuilding through education.

*Documents’ collection protocol*: Even though all four schools involved in my project have official websites, none of them has the school documents published. Some events
are available via Facebook. I talked to the principal and vice-principal of each school to request the necessary documents and found good collaboration.

- **Interviews**: Drawing from Patton (2002), Merriam (2009) explains that interviews allow us to enter into other persons’ perspectives. For Yin (2009), case study interviews can take many forms such as in-depth interviews in which the inquirer can ask about key facts of the subject as well as participants’ opinions. Case study interviews can also be focused and more structured (Yin, 2009). Given the nature of my topic, the promotion of peacebuilding in schools, I conducted semi-structured interviews, using probes to allow more insights from participants. Interviewees were screened among citizenship education teachers and coordinators of social studies departments. A vice-principal and a counselor were also included at GHS National. In Cameroon, courses related to peacebuilding are listed under the citizenship education curriculum. I had four participants at St. Angela, Lybicam, and Baba Simon. At GHS National, they were five. In total 17 people across the four schools were interviewed. I met with six interviewees twice and once with the 11 others. Each meeting lasted between an hour and an hour and a half and was audiotaped. According to Seidman (2006), interviews are both methodology and social relationships. Because of that, I kept dialoguing with some participants through WhatsApp to clarify certain ideas. All participants were approved either by the principal or the vice-principal of their schools.

My experience as a former high school principal in Cameroon facilitated my connection with the schools. I obtained the Divisional Delegate’s (for the public high schools) and the principals’ authorizations. This official procedure is also recommended by Creswell and Guetterman (2019) and Glesne (2016) when they stress the significance
of having a gatekeeper – a person with an official or unofficial role on the site who provides entrance and assists the researcher in locating participants.

Before going to the field, I got the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) approval. My research involved in-person communication with teachers and administrators. After all the interviews, I assigned pseudonyms to participants and schools to protect them. At the research sites, all the instructions of the school officials and teachers were respected. All participants were notified that their participation is entirely voluntary, and they could withdraw at any point (Clark & Sharf, 2007; Cohen, 2000), and their beliefs and perspectives are what the research values.

*Interview protocol:* Following Creswell and Gutierrez’s (2019) recommendation, I audiotaped the interviews using both a voice tracer Philips DVT 8010 and my cell phone. All participants agreed with the process. I also took notes as a backup. At the beginning of the interviews, I described the project, telling the interviewees the purpose of the inquiry, and specifying how the data would be used to protect their confidentiality. We discussed how long the interview would take. I also reviewed the consent form with them, and they signed it.

To investigate how Cameroon’s schools promote peace amid the Anglophone crisis, I asked participants, in semi-structured interviews, the following questions: How do you feel about the crisis as a teacher or administrator? How does your school promote peace? Why is it important to promote peace? What are you doing as a citizenship education teacher to establish a culture of peace in your school? What does the school curriculum (or official curriculum) offer for peacebuilding, and how do you implement that? What factors support peacebuilding in your school? What factors impede
peacebuilding in your school? What do you recommend to enhance the capacity of your school in creating peacebuilders?

At the end of the conversation, I thanked participants and assured them of the confidentiality of their responses.

- *Observations*: Yin (2009) and Merriam (2009) recommend observations as a valuable addition to the case being studied. The researcher can process with direct observations or participant-observations, including the sites, activities, and meetings. I spent about three weeks in each school. My observations comprised the school sites, classrooms, offices, notice boards, and meetings. The fieldwork observations were conducted following an ethnographic method, depicting via fieldnotes the scene, and paying attention to the detailed activities, behaviors, actions, conversations, interactions, and community processes.

*Observations’ protocol*: I prepared sheets for fieldnote observations. My observations consisted of taking time to look around the school to become familiar with the environment. After this initial observation, I documented any activity related to peacebuilding, such as reconciliation, people’s behavior, and conversations focusing on what they said about the crisis. I paid attention to the events, individuals, and the sites. I also took photos of the significant posters. During the observation, I wrote down reflective notes.

I also paid attention to the values (words, expressions, behaviors), images (graphic or symbolic), and symbols displayed within the school environment. I observed class teaching and attended faculty and staff meetings in each school I visited.
Data Analysis

According to Marriam (2009), qualitative data analysis is the process of making sense out of the data. It requires interpreting what people have said through the interviews and what the inquirer has observed. For Creswell and Guetterman (2019), it is the meaning a researcher makes from the data to answer research questions. Merriam (2009) explains that the process starts simultaneously with the data collection. For instance, after the first interview transcript and the first fieldnotes, the fieldworker can write a memo to him/herself. After the second interview, he/she can compare the first set of data to the second. Merriam demonstrates that these regular memos and comparisons will improve data collection and help organize the research findings (pp. 171-172). She suggests trying out emerging ideas and themes on participants and noticing how they work.

I proceeded as Merriam (2009) indicated and organized the data case by case. All documents, observations, and interviews related to a case were analyzed within the case they relate to. To analyze the data, I proceeded from one case to another, writing down memos about how the school promotes peace and highlighting the peacebuilding elements of the citizenship education curriculum, educational policies, issues of justice/injustice, ideas about the crisis, agency and consciousness, change perspective, and all themes that showed up during observations and interviews. The intent was to favor the schools’ perspectives within their cultural setting as closely as possible because case studies rely on first-hand experience (Eisenhart, 2006). The data were coded following the focus-coding procedure and building descriptions and themes from the coded data (Saldaña, 2013).
Analysis strategy and technique: Drawing from Yin (2009), my analytic strategy was to screen the data and highlight how each school promotes peace, how teachers proceed to establish a culture of peace in the school, what factors support or impede peacebuilding in the school, and what recommendations can enhance the school’s capacity of creating peacebuilders. This strategy was combined with the description of each case.

The analysis technique was a cross-case synthesis (Yin 2009). It consists of treating each individual case as a separate case study and aggregating findings across all the cases in a separate chapter. Following Yin’s (2009) suggestions, I included rival hypotheses and covered the key research questions for each case. I paid attention to address rival interpretations, significant aspects of the cases, and previous findings.

Reporting findings: I report each case separately first and then deduct a cross-case analysis where dominant information from an individual case is reflected in the cross-case (Yin 2009). I use a targeted set of emerging ideas and categories to define the topics and themes for the final report (Emerson et al., 2011). This report follows the scientific approach, including introduction, literature review, methods, results, and discussion (Creswell and Guetterman, 2019).
This flowchart is the visualization of the research process: three research questions, four cases, three types of data collection, comparing cases’ conclusions, writing cross-case report, developing implications recommendations and conclusion.

**Trustworthiness and Ethical Considerations**

This research's trustworthiness lies in the persistent observation during my three-month presence at the sites. According to Patton (2015), persistent observation gives depth to the data. He explains that time spent on the sites observing, interviewing, and
building relationships, contributes to data reliability (p. 685). Moreover, my questions sought answers and valued participants' perspectives. They looked for how schools participate in the endeavor to foster peace among Cameroon’s citizens during the current crisis. The credibility of the data depended on participants' openness and sincerity, and any transferable claim was built on their viewpoints. My role as a researcher was to ensure the traceability and documentation of the process. The data interpretation was reviewed with peers and participants who agreed to it (p. 685). There was a triangulation or crystallization of data, as Glesne (2016) calls it, with the combination of document analysis, field observations, and semi-structured interviews. I was aware that it was difficult to put aside all assumptions and subjectivity, but I tried the best I could to represent the truth and keep my commitment to raise participants' voices (Glesne, 2016).

Ethical issues were taken into account. For example, the participants were informed of the purpose of the study and information was shared with them. Once I got institutions’ and participants' consent, I explained to participants the purpose of the research and the possibility for them to withdraw at any time (Cohen, 2000). I committed to respecting the sites and the local values and strove for continual collaboration and confidentiality with participants and the schools. Cohen (2000) talks about the "cost/benefit ratio," which is the endeavor to represent the truth and aim of the research and, at the same time, the protection of participants if the truth eventually harms them. Merriam (2009) also states that in qualitative research, ethical dilemmas are likely to happen concerning data collection and the use of the findings. Nevertheless, she added that managing these ethical dilemmas depends on the investigator’s sensitivity and values. I was aware of the risk and committed to protecting participants. Additionally, if
any minor or vulnerable person was involved in the research process, I was ready to follow the appropriate procedures for their protection, getting permission from parents or legal guardians (Creswell & Guetterman, 2019).

**Implications and Limitations**

Since this study aims at exploring how Cameroon’s schools promote peacebuilding during the crisis, one of its major implications is to foster peacebuilding all over the country and avoid, in the future, crises such as the one Cameroon’s English-speaking area is undergoing. The need for peacebuilding through education is not limited to Cameroon's Anglophone area. According to Dze-Ngwa (2014), violence of opposing ethnic groups in Cameroon also exists in the northern area between the Kotoko and Shuwa Arab communities, for example. Thus, there is a pressing necessity of peacebuilding through education for the whole country. In this perspective, the research critically looks at the schools using citizenship education curriculum, and the schools’ practices to advocate for a unified citizenship education curriculum in the country. This unified citizenship education program, doubled with a reinforced bilingualism policy, will reduce misunderstanding among the citizens of both languages (English and French) and settle conditions for sustainable peace.

Moreover, a harmonized citizenship education program can also lead to a unique and authentic Cameroonian educational system that does not mimic English or French colonial heritage but builds on the local culture and local people's needs. This appropriation of local needs implies that educators recognize how inherited colonial educational systems (British and French) continue to divide Cameroonians 60 years after independence. Consequently, teachers should enrich their pedagogy by exploring local
identities and cultures in developing community relations and equipping students with a national identity. This new perspective – developing a local cultural identity – should be a collaborative effort (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013). Additionally, an authentic Cameroonian educational system can lead to the sustainable development greatly desired in the country.

This inquiry is limited to analyzing peacebuilding promotion in a sample of high schools in relation to Cameroon's Anglophone crisis. It focuses mostly on the citizenship education curriculum. Nevertheless, education offers many other possibilities to understand and address Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis. For example, bilingualism – English and French with the cultural differences they established in the country – would have also been a useful perspective in studying the school's promotion of peacebuilding in the middle of the crisis (Takam & Fasse, 2020) because language facilitates communication and cultural exchanges among citizens. In the same vein, the historical approach, including colonial agreements, may also shed light on the current crisis (Egoh, 2020). Because of that, it is significant to develop a complete history of Cameroon and teach it to all the students whether they learn in English or in French.

Another limitation is that I have chosen only history and citizenship education teachers and administrators who coordinate these programs. My observations seek to know what they do within their schools and what they expect and suggest for fostering peacebuilding during Cameroon's Anglophone crisis. Because of that circumscription, the crucial perspectives of the other schools’ stakeholders such as students and parents are not directly part of the process. For instance, the study could focus on the students who are affected by the closing of the schools or the parents who are concerned about the
future of the children and their security. Collecting data only from teachers and administrators to know how peace is promoted in schools might not give the whole picture of reality.

Furthermore, Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis is just one of the conflicts that education faces in the country. There are other areas of violence, insecurity, and conflicts in the country to study and address. For example, the schooling rate has considerably diminished in the Far North Region because of the Boko Haram attacks, and the East Region schools are also troubled by armed militias (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, 2018). Yet, it is crucial to study how schools support peacebuilding during the crisis.

**Summary**

My research is designed as a multiple case study. It explores the schools' involvement in the process of building peace in Cameroon in the midst of Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis. Four selected high schools constitute multiple case studies for the research, and participants are social studies teachers and heads of social studies departments. Documents, on-site observations, and participant observations are also part of the data. The selected high schools are Lybicam (Bilingual), GHS National (English-speaking), Baba Simon (French-speaking), and St. Angela (English-speaking) (see figure 2 on page 42). Lybicam is located in the Far-North Region, Baba Simon in the Littoral Region, and GHS National and St. Angela in the South-West Region.

The literature to support this study of peacebuilding through education in Cameroon’s schools draws from the fields of both peace education and peacebuilding. Galtung’s (1976) notion of peacebuilding which is the process “that remove causes of
wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur” (p. 128), was reviewed. Freire’s (2000) dialogical pedagogy and consciousness-raising were also considered as well as Reardon’s (1988) comprehensive peace education.

This inquiry's theoretical framework is critical peace education, which is derived from Freirean theory and critical pedagogy (Zembylas, 2018). It critically looks at teaching methods and curricula to promote students' agency and peacebuilding education (Bajaj, 2018). The framework will provide a ground for critically analyzing how Cameroon’s schools promote peacebuilding.

The data were triangulated using three types of data collection: documents, field observations, and semi-structured interviews. I analyzed the data utilizing hand coding and processing with focused coding to capture the link between the schools’ promotion of peace and the crisis. Interpretation was verified by participants and peers. The data were collected and analyzed according to the logic of replication and comparison. This means I replicated the process of data collection in each school and compared the results. After that, I drew a cross-conclusion, developed implications, and wrote a cross-report with recommendations.

Letters of consent, the procedure for accessing the field, ethical issues, and confidentiality were maintained. Like most human works and interpretations, my subjectivity may have intersected with findings. However, participants' perspectives prevailed as much as possible.

The research will have implications on increasing peacebuilding efforts all over the country, advocating for a unified social studies curriculum in Cameroonian schools, and reinforcing bilingualism policy. Still, the study is limited in studying mostly
citizenship education curriculum, and other important subjects for peacebuilding promotion through schools such as history and bilingualism are not emphasized. Also, the study considers only educators as actors, and other education stakeholders like parents and students are not involved. Furthermore, the Anglophone crisis is not the only conflict spot in Cameroon. Boko Haram and other militia groups are also threatening peace in the country. Nevertheless, studying schools' promotion of peacebuilding in Cameroon’s schools amid the Anglophone crisis represents a fair point of departure to begin the journey of peacebuilding through education.
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Challenges During the Data Collection

I collected data from four schools representing the multiple cases I am researching. Two of these cases are in a safe environment in Cameroon, and the other two are in the crisis area deemed not safe enough because the fight between the army and the separatists continues. As I was getting ready to go into the field and collect the data, my research context's sensitivity and complexity appeared more intricate than I anticipated. The university advised me not to travel to Cameroon and avoid the crisis area. However, Creswell and Guetterman (2019) affirm that "in qualitative research, we identify our participants and sites through purposeful sampling based on places and people that can best help us understand our central phenomenon" (p. 205). For them, it is significant to be on the ground, observe, and communicate with participants to better understand the topic, especially when it is a case study. In this vein, the nature of my research, based on sensitive issues such as injustice and marginalization, demanded in-person interviews and observations of those most affected by the crisis.

Additionally, I could not rely on telephone calls and other social media because a group of Cameroonian researchers has previously tried to conduct their interviews through phone calls and were not at all successful. They wanted to compare the teaching of history in the two education subsystems in Cameroon and could not fully meet their goal because of the lack of security. They transformed their project into a methodological article to show how difficult it is to conduct research in a crisis area as they write,

Our research sought to reflect on the convergences and divergences of the teaching of Cameroon history in both Anglophone and Francophone subsystems
to establish contrasting memories of the lessons. This text is a reflective return to
the field experience of a "French-speaking" and "English-speaking" research team
in the context of the Anglophone crisis. It does not aim to give a recipe from the
field but to contribute to the discussion on the practice of qualitative research in a
difficult African environment. Our reflection extends the questioning of the
adequacy of traditional data collection tools in rugged terrain and the need for
methodological tinkering as an adaptation strategy. (Lado et al., 2021, p. 121)

The shift in the project highlights the difficulty these researchers encountered and
depicts the complexity of collecting the data in a crisis area, especially in the
Cameroonian English-speaking area at this time.

Nevertheless, I had the advantage of knowing how education operates in the
country from being a former high school administrator there. I desired to meet face to
face with people who are enduring difficulties in their schools because of the ongoing
crisis and was able to do so. My positionality as an insider (former administrator) in the
Francophone schools and Catholic priest in Anglophone schools (schools that value
religion) helped me achieve my goal. Additionally, I got in touch with gatekeepers
(mediators), as Creswell and Guetterman (2019) recommend, and they facilitated my
meetings and my time in each school. All four schools I researched are coeducational and
span from 7th grade to 13th grade. They are recognized in Cameroon as high schools. The
four schools I researched are Lybicam, Baba Simon, GHS National, and St. Angela.
These designations are all pseudonyms.

I first went to Lybicam, where I had good contacts. One of the regional inspectors
for social studies suggested the school because of its size and its bilingual status, hosting
both Anglophone and Francophone educational subsystems. I easily got in touch with the school personnel and had access to documents. All the people I interviewed were fully collaborative and supportive.

The second school, Baba Simon High School, was equally accessible to research. It is a Catholic high school located in the city where I previously worked. I knew some of the teachers and the staff members because we had previously collaborated among Catholic school educators. They welcomed me and facilitated my observations and interviews, and I accessed the needed documents. Even though the consequences of the Anglophone crisis impact the whole country, those two schools are in safe areas, and being there represented no danger for me and my research process.

However, the third school, St. Angela, is situated in the crisis zone. When I arrived there, the threat was visible. The campus was surrounded by both police officers and the national gendarmerie. Growing up and working as a teacher and administrator in Cameroon schools, it was not common to see a single police officer in a school. The presence of the national gendarmerie and the police revealed the lack of peace.

St. Angela is a Catholic high school hosting both general and technical divisions. It is a boarding school where all the students live and study. At the time I went to visit the school, it was officially closed to all external visitors. Fortunately, I knew and met the bishop and the general superior of the diocesan congregation of the women religious in charge of the school. They both expressed great support for my research topic and its importance for Cameroon. I got in touch with the principal through her general superior, and she granted me access to the school and encouraged other administrators and teachers
to collaborate. My interviews went smoothly, and I observed a faculty seminar on the competency-based approach pedagogy, and had access to documents.

The fourth school, GHS National, is in the Anglophone area. It drew my attention because it advocated for peace through a student peace club far before the crisis. Accessing this school was the most challenging for me. I needed to get permission from the Divisional Delegate for Secondary Education before coming to the school. It took a few days before the authorization was signed. The office of the Delegate supported the research project, and I got full collaboration from the principal and her team.

However, I arrived there a week before October 1, which was the reunification date of French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroon. The separatists had declared a “ghost week,” which means a shut-down week. People who go to work and do not observe the shut-down might be subject to retaliation. Less than 20 percent of the students, faculty, and staff came to school that week. I received the selected interviewee phone numbers from the principal and could not communicate with them that week. The separatists had regularly threatened GHS National because the school succeeded in remaining open even at the heights of the crisis. Police officers and the national army were posted at different places in the school. Anytime I visited the school, I got access as a special guest after direct communication with the principal; after which, I had to drive back to the safe zone and stay there until the end of the ghost week. After the first week of October, I returned to the school and collected the data.

As I drove in and out from the safe zone to the crisis area, I went through a dangerous place, where battles between the armed separatist groups and the army took place several times and witnessed the damage of the war in the area. It was very sad to
see deserted plantations and villages. Places I knew as lively, attractive, and entertaining had become bush and battlefield. I took the risk to go to the conflict area in person to have rich data, and I learned and discovered a lot about the crisis. I experienced how difficult it is to live and educate the students amid war.

My research questions aimed to establish what teachers and administrators do to create a culture of peace in Cameroon's schools, and what the Cameroonian schools' curriculum offers for peacebuilding. In order to answer those questions, I interviewed participants and visited the selected schools for about two to three weeks each. I conducted semi-structured interviews with two administrators and two teachers in each of the four schools I researched. I made observations of faculty and staff meetings as well as peacebuilding posters on campus, had sporadic conversations with several administrators, and collected documents.

**Roadmap of the Findings and Analysis**

In this section, I report the findings following the cross-case analysis technique where the cases are treated and reported individually first, and then, a cross-case analysis result is drawn (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). In this research, the unit of analysis is a school that also corresponds to a case.

After the description of each school, I identified five themes from the interviews: first, the participants expressed their concerns about the crisis to emphasize the need for peace and show how their schools, personnel, students, and society are affected by the Anglophone crisis. Second, they gave details on what administrators and schools do to promote peace. Third, the teachers explained what they do in classrooms. Fourth, teachers and administrators gave their viewpoints on the citizenship education curriculum
and its capacity to promote peace. Finally, they made suggestions to recover peace in their schools and prevent future crisis. These five points are be replicated for all four schools. Some comments are included within the findings to keep the flow of ideas.

**Report from GHS National: Description of the Case**

This description aims to highlight the particularity of the GHS National as a case study distinct from other cases involved in this research. Merriam (2009) shows that a description is needed to reveal the importance of the case in the phenomenon at stake. For her, besides being longitudinal, case studies "have also been labeled holistic, lifelike, grounded and exploratory" (p. 44). In the present study, the school is the place where peacebuilding will be anticipated, taught, and nourished.

GHS National is a public high school of about 3,000 students located in one of the main Anglophone cities in Cameroon. It was created in the 1970s and has been operational since then. The spacious campus, which includes a large administrative building and several classroom buildings, is currently protected by the army because of the Anglophone separatists' threat to the schools. Why would the school system be the target of separatist groups? "The assault on reason gives way to both a crisis in agency and politics" (Giroux, 2015, p. xi). As a critical pedagogy scholar who advocates for education free from the damages of neoliberalism, Giroux (2015) demonstrates that politics have instrumentalized the schools and are striving to destroy its critical vocation to foster democracy. The armed powers do not want to let reason unfold freely and so encourage the development of justice and democracy. They want to control thought and subjugate the school system to their politics. In the case of the Cameroon’s Anglophone
crisis, the ideological assault that Giroux (2015) talks about has become physical and murderous.

According to the schools' administrators, GHS National is currently under-equipped to host the number of students who attend. The number of students in the school increased exponentially because of Cameroon's Anglophone crisis that brought additional students to intercity schools. Further, like many government schools, GHS National has moved to a two-shift system because the COVID-19 pandemic imposed a restricted number of students in each classroom. Moreover, the sudden increase in the number of students due to the crisis necessitated reorganizing the school's functioning. This adjustment has negatively impacted faculty and staff' agenda as Essengue, a citizenship education teacher, stated,

We had a one-shift system, but both the crisis and the coronavirus pandemic urged us to move to a two shifts system of education that affects the children. At first, we were teaching for forty-five minutes a period. But now we are teaching for thirty-five minutes. Those ten minutes that are out are a lot for us teachers because we cannot cover our syllabi. Most of us teach examination classes, and the students will never be fully ready for the exams on time.

The crisis, coupled with the pandemic, affects both teachers and students, and they interrupted the peacebuilding initiatives that existed in the school before the crisis. As an illustration of those previous peacebuilding efforts, one can see on the sidewalk leading to the administrative building an old poster against vandalism and violence showing that the school was a long-time advocate for peace (see figure 4 on page 63).
This school offers education exclusively in English and follows Cameroon's Anglophone educational subsystem. It prepares the students for the general certificate examination (GCE), which qualifies them to enter universities.

**Guidelines for the Findings at GHS National**

The data I collected at GHS National reveal that the crisis emanated from legitimate grievances from Anglophone teachers and lawyers. They highlight the urgency of peace and show what administrators and teachers are currently doing for peacebuilding in their schools. The data also gathered evidence on what teachers and administrators think about the citizenship education curriculum in Cameroon's schools and how they suggested ways to improve it. The participants for GHS National are Tizi, a history and citizenship education teacher; Samy, the citizenship education coordinator; Essengue, a history and citizenship education teacher; and Ebongue, the vice-principal. An unnamed
counselor also participated during my interview with Ebongue. All participants have been given pseudonyms.

**Teachers' and Administrators’ Concerns about the Crisis and Importance of Peace: The Birth of the Crisis, Oppression, and Marginalization**

Ebongue, the vice-principal, started responding to my questions by redefining the context of the crisis as follows:

In October 2016, lawyers in the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon went on strike to protect the common law component of the Cameroon legal system and ask for the English version of the OHADA [Organization for the Harmonization of Corporate Law in Africa]. The teachers also had grievances about the assimilation of their inherited English-speaking educational system by the Francophone majority. Unfortunately, these peaceful protests were violently reprimanded.

According to Ebongue, the government could have avoided the crisis by identifying those who imposed excessive force on people, made some arrests, and showed some sort of justice for protestors. Unfortunately, that did not happen, and the sense of marginalization increased among the Anglophones. The teachers maintain that the responsibility of the crisis remains with the government because it poorly managed the unrest. For Tizi, a citizenship education teacher, “things went out of control when arms got in with the separatists. But, if the government leaders had a positive reaction to the grievances, they could have resolved the problem without violence. Now, the government should show sincerity and bring people together.”

Additionally, teachers acknowledged that there is an effective marginalization of English-speaking Cameroon because of the attempt to assimilate the English-speaking legal and educational systems into the French-speaking ones. For example, Tizi explained,
he went to the University of Yaoundé, which is supposed to be bilingual, and ended up studying in French because most of the lecturers did not speak English. He feels like a foreigner when he crosses to the French-speaking part of the country because it is challenging to take a taxi and do anything if one does not speak French. For him, the discourse about integration and bilingualism is not sincere as he affirmed,

If you look at the document that talks about national integration, there is not a single English word. The government is making people feel that they are alien in their own country. Even when they recently started to talk about the bilingualism commission, it was just a window dressing because they do something in French and then they translate it into English. The students protested at the University of Buea because the University is supposed to be an English-speaking campus, but the number of Francophone students and teachers is constantly increasing. There is a serious problem with language in this country. Teachers and lawyers stood up against marginalization because they were extremely disgruntled.

That understanding of marginalization is similar to Freire's (2000) understanding of dehumanization, which is "injustice, exploitation, and violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity" (Freire, 2000). Freire argues that the oppressed struggle to regain their lost humanity based on concrete historical facts that cannot be silenced. In this sense, the Cameroonian Anglophone's unrest was predictable.

According to Ebongue, even though the protests were planned and expected because of injustice and the progressive disintegration of the Anglophone system, the violent reaction from both the government and the separatists was a surprise. People were
not ready to handle such a crisis. In particular, the separatists’ idea to shut down the schools was contrary to the values and beliefs of most people in the area. For Ebongue, the dominant Christian culture in this area was favorable to peace. He added that the students' parents, also, thought that the closure of schools would be a temporary problem and quickly resolved. However, the situation was getting bogged down to the point of creating an impasse. They decided to take their children back to school despite the risk it entailed. Certainly, many Anglophones believe that the conflict is based on the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians, but they all long for peace and want to solve the problem by peaceful means.

The Crisis' Consequences on Schools: Lives Lost and Education Destroyed

Teachers’ and administrators’ desire for peace led Ebongue, the vice-principal, to list the consequence of the crisis on both the Anglophone society and their school. He asserted that,

parents, teachers, and students are all victims of the crisis. The damage is psychological and affective because many families are impoverished. The students have lost parents, relatives, or friends to the violence. Many families depend on the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) and most of their work has been stopped due to the crisis, and thousands of people remain unemployed.

This CDC is the second-largest employer in the country after the government and their activities cover the plantations and processing of products such as bananas, palm oil, and rubber, to name a few. The company’s employees were assaulted on the farms and killed in the factories (Kindzeka, 2019).
As Ebongue, the vice-principal, was talking about the consequences of the crisis on his school, he also said,

We have students whose parents depend on CDC. When the kids see their parents being attacked by the separatists in the CDC farms, they can never be at peace. When you see children, whose parents are soldiers and are attacked, they will never love that. We have more than 300 internally displaced students from other schools. Their understanding of what is going on depends on the environment where they lived or where they are coming from and the atrocities they witnessed. Some of them are afraid when they see the army around the school.

According to Ebongue, GHS National received more than 300 internally displaced students from other schools this academic year. These students remain affected by the atrocities that they witnessed and some of them are frightened by the military presence around the school. The school uses counselors to assist them in reconnecting with the academic milieu and organizes seminars with specialists to help teachers handle classes with those children. This is how Ebongue talked about their efforts to handle the issue,

We use more counselors than before. We try now to have conversations with the children. We know that it is difficult for them because they are also psychologically affected. We also encourage our teachers and instructors to participate in this psychosocial support. We have some psychosocial support seminars in which we try to see how we can work with the children in order to restitute them. Most of them are from war zones, and they are traumatized.

Ebongue’s viewpoint shows that the unrest aimed to adjust some injustices in the educational and judicial system. However, the crisis has destroyed the education of many
children and negatively impacted their hope for the future. They have lost family members and struggle for basic needs. For this reason, a critical peace education that considers human rights and justice is needed to heal the wounds and restore hope. Nevertheless, the priority amid the crisis is to appease the school system and defend sustainable peace. That option does not undermine denouncing human rights violations and the need to restore justice as preconditions for lasting peace (Dudouet & Dressler, 2016).

The GHS National faculty and staff emphasized the fear that the Anglophone crisis has created among themselves. A counselor expressed how tired and exhausted she was because of this difficult working environment. She was afraid for her security. She said, “There is a lot of fear around. We are afraid of what can happen at any time. Sometimes, I don’t know if I should go to work or not. We are demotivated because we can be killed or abducted.” On October 24, 2020, seven children were killed in a classroom in Kumba in South-West Region. Because of that, Tizi, a history and citizenship teacher, expressed his concern about his security and said that the killing that happened there could also occur in his school. Every morning before going to school, he said, “I pray that God should bring me back to my family safe.” He was conveying the fear of most school personnel in the area. As he continued to talk about insecurity in the school, Tizi added that “there was a time in 2018 when, as a teacher, you were screened every morning you came to the school. All these things affect us as well as the students.” I could perceive the uncertainty in the school environment.

Furthermore, on November 24, 2021, 13 months after the Kumba massacre and a month after I talked to GHS National teachers and administrators, other gunmen killed four students and a French language teacher in Ekondo Titi, still in the South-West Region. A
few years before these attacks, Petkova and colleagues (2017), were concerned about the attacks against the schools. They stated: "In recent years, attacks against educational institutions worldwide have increasingly been reported and documented" (2017, p. 701). Most of these cases are connected to terrorism with an ideology against the school project. However, here in Cameroon, the Anglophones separatists’ motivation for closing the schools or killing the students and their teachers remains unjustified.

In the two Anglophone regions, thousands of students cannot get an education because schools are closed in their villages. In these conditions, they face a higher risk of recruitment by armed groups, child marriage, early pregnancy, and other forms of exploitation and abuse (English, 2019, UNICEF, 2021). From 2018 onward, the separatists have declared ghost towns (shutdown) on Mondays. For Tizi, “with one day out every week, it becomes impossible to meet educational goals. It is a serious issue that affects the educational outcomes.” Additionally, the students cannot freely move to go to the areas where they could study peacefully.

**Solutions to the Crisis: Favoring Inclusive Dialogue and Respecting Human Rights and Justice**

GHS National faculty and staff are unanimous that dialogue between the government and the separatists can bring back peace and allow the schools to revive. The Cameroonian government called for a dialogue officially called "Major National Dialogue" held between September 30 and October 4, 2019, to solve, among other issues, the Anglophone crisis. However, holding that dialogue in Cameroon prevented many actors of the crisis in exile from participating for fear of being arrested. Some crisis leaders also refused to participate and gave as preconditions the liberation of their imprisoned leaders and the army's withdrawal from the two Anglophone regions (IPSS, 2020). More than two
years after that dialogue, the crisis continues. According to Tizi, the situation can still be resolved if another dialogue is held on neutral ground where people can freely talk. This is how Tizi talks about the need for an inclusive dialogue,

The dialogue they held in 2019 was not inclusive. The majority of people who went to dialogue were not living the crisis themselves. You cannot represent people when you don’t know their suffering. They took people who live in Douala and Yaoundé to the dialogue. This issue of not being straight, not being genuine, led us to where we are. The government should take its responsibility to call for a genuine dialogue on neutral ground so that no one should hijack the situation. The government should not take advantage of those who want to dialogue.

This teacher and other interviewees emphasized that genuine dialogue is the government's responsibility, but it should be held outside Cameroonian territory so that the separatist leaders could participate without fear. Tizi also insisted that for more reliability, that dialogue should be led by neutral organizations such as Human Rights Watch, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), or Amnesty International. His viewpoint echoes what many separatists’ leaders, now based outside of Cameroon, believe. They think that there is a need for "true dialogue," which for them means inclusive dialogue, in a country other than Cameroon and in the presence of international mediators (IPSS, 2020; Kindzeka, 2020). The GHS National faculty and staff underline that the process to select participants for the dialogue should not be overlooked. Ebongue suggested that people designate their representatives from each village, sub-division, division, and region. “These representatives,” he insisted, “do not have to be appointed by the
government but chosen by local people. The government should also allow the Anglophone teachers' union, lawyers' union, and other organizations to find their delegates to dialogue.”

Why did the major national dialogue fail to resolve the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon? Probably because the Cameroon government and their opponents were not at the same level of dialogical freedom. Freire (2000) asserts that

If it is in speaking their words that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity. And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world, which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's 'depositing' ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be 'consumed' by the discussants. (pp. 88-89)

The author emphasizes that in dialogue no party should deposit or impose its ideas on others. Both groups should be equally considered and heard. The party that feels marginalized should be given attention and respect. They should feel safe and confident when they come to the table of discussion. Ebongue also pointed out that people need signs of credibility and assurance from the national government as he said:

When you are credible, people will react differently. For instance, the way they have implemented the 1996 Constitution has created a problem of credibility. So, if we have decided that this is the constitution, let us implement it not because it favors me but because it is what we have chosen. Let us look at this idea of decentralization since 1996. How will you convince me that what we're discussing now will be implemented if that decentralization is not yet implemented?
The 1996 Constitution about decentralization was not implemented until December 2021 due to political authoritarianism and corruption that hinder social justice and respect for human rights. Cameroon decided to apply the regionalization (decentralization) resolutions during the 2019 “Major National Dialogue.”

**Administrators’ Initiatives for Peacebuilding in the School: Sensitizing the Students and Teachers’ Development for Peacebuilding**

Ebongue, the vice-principal, clearly explained in the interview that the school administration provides psychological assistance to internally displaced students and all those who are dealing with the conflict consequences. According to him, some GHS National students are former "Amber fighters" (separatist fighters) who are dealing with trauma and are highly sensitive, especially when they see the government military around the school. The students who are afraid of the military receive special assistance and an explanation that the army is there to protect and not to harm them. Also, Ebongue demonstrated that the students are instructed on the sense of the fight that is going on. He stated: “we tell them that the army is not fighting Anglophones but rather an armed separatist movement. We are lucky to have the army here day and night. Their presence is to dispel the fear and assure both the students and the school personnel that they can safely come to school.” In fact, from the beginning of the crisis in 2016, GHS National had functioned effectively and never stopped classes because the security was maintained. Essengue, a history and citizenship education teacher, mentioned this success in keeping their school open and safe as an outstanding achievement from her school administrators.
The role of the school is to let the students know that there are peaceful ways to resolve the "Anglophone problem," and violence is not the solutions. Ebongue expressed this as follows,

We use counselors, and we try to have conversations with the students. During the psychological support seminars, we ask the teachers to avoid any violent attitude in the classroom because some students are from war zones and are traumatized. We want the students to understand that violence does not help but increases the problems. We will expand the activities of the peace club when we are allowed to reopen the clubs.

At the time I talked with Ebongue, the vice-principal, club activities were suspended because of the COVID-19 pandemic. GHS National supports a peace club that had been functioning effectively far before the crisis. The club promotes peace values and collaborates with UNESCO and other NGOs. UNESCO is committed "to promoting universal values of peace and nonviolence, human rights and social justice, intercultural dialogue, and mutual understanding" (UNESCO, 2008). After I asked details about the club activities, Ebongue responded that,

The club sensitizes the students against violence through drama. It provides tools for conflict resolution and denounces the damage caused by substances such as drug addiction, alcoholism, and any other attitudes that can cause violence and prevent the child from succeeding at school. For example, the club members will play a conflict situation, highlight its negative consequences, and suggest ways to resolve it. They sometimes use language to show how miscommunication can
bring conflict and encourage the students to learn French to better communicate with the Francophones.

Essengue, a history and citizenship education teacher, highlighted the problem of learning French in Anglophone schools in these words:

The students often look at French as a foreign language. That is the message they get from the separatists. As teachers, we now have the responsibility to help them understand that French is a tool of communication as English and any other language that they can learn. Unfortunately, not all the teachers are willing to do that. The social media to which the students are connected strongly influences them, showing that anything connected with French oppresses them. Teachers who are supposed to know better should explain and correct the students' false information. We have to tell them that these things they are hearing are lies.

Ebongue also emphasized that the Cameroonian Ministry of Secondary Education has introduced other actions to promote living together. Here at GHS National, for example, they celebrate the day of traditional materials. Ebongue explained the celebration as follows,

The students bring traditional materials from homes and dress traditionally. They use creativity to expose the values of local traditions. The purpose is to expose the student to their traditional resources and nourish both creativity and national consciousness… Additionally, they have a local language day where the students are invited to speak their local language in the school environment to show their diversities and consider their differences as strengths rather than weaknesses.
Tizi, a history and citizenship education teacher, argued that Cameroonian teachers are not trained to handle crises. This viewpoint is also shared by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) in its 2020 report. IPSS demonstrates that crises were not of great concern until the Boko Haram attacks in the Far-North Region in 2014. Before that, Nana-Ngassam (2014) demonstrates, Cameroon was considered a hub of peace in a troubled part of the continent. Because of the Boko Haram and the Anglophone crises, some Cameroonian schools, such as GHS National, started to organize seminars to equip the teachers with the necessary skills to work with students with trauma. These seminars brought about a transformation in teachers' and administrators' attitudes. They acknowledge that these trainings changed their traditional approach to discipline. They are now proactive and dialogue with the students more. Samy, the citizenship education coordinator said,

We are doing our best to assist the students who do not perform well because of the crisis. We try now to have conversations with them. They are getting different treatments. The school authorities have sensitized us about the internally displaced students (IDS) and have shown us how to handle them. We are learning how to work with these students in classrooms.

**Teachers' Actions for Peacebuilding in Classrooms: Critical Peace Education**

Tizi and Essengue, both history and citizenship education teachers, said that they often tell their students to prioritize their studies over other solicitations, among which includes getting enrolled in a nongovernmental armed group. They sensitize them about their future and present the school as the way to have a promising future and render justice to honor the memory of the people they have lost during the crisis. Samy, the citizenship
coordinator said, “I tell my students everyone will lose in this fight because we are not
listening to each other.” He also believed that Cameroonians should not consider
themselves as different from one region to another.

GHS National teachers promote the values of national integration, living together,
and peace and teach what Ebongue called the "state's philosophy and principle," rather
than their own political views. He maintained that the teachers’ political ideas should not
hinder what the school and the state curriculum provide. Ebongue also affirmed that “the
teachers are sensitized to be more patient, friendly, and open with the students. According
to the school policy, they should avoid any violent reaction and show love to appease and
reenergize the broken students.” One can also understand this teacher-student relationship
as the dialogical relationship that Freire (2000) calls love. "Love is an act of courage, not
of fear… love is a commitment to others…[and] to their cause – the cause of liberation"
(Freire, 2000, p. 89).

In that perspective, teachers capitalize on what unites Cameroonians from different
parts of the country when they teach. Samy argued in favor of similarities between
Cameroonians as follows:

Traditionally we have a lot of similarities. Our history and traditional cultures
unite us. So, we don’t need to fight someone because he or she is from another
region or has learned another language. For us, citizenship education teachers, the
priority at this time is to educate our students on the importance of living together.
There are topics that when you are teaching, you lead the students to understand
that in terms of Cameroonian identity, they are not different from the students
who come from other regions of the country. Many things unite us, things that we
can physically see. The example I always draw is the Bantu people with language. When you look at the words that we use in Douala, Bakoko, Bakossi, Bakweri, there are words that come across like water; you will hear “madiba,” "madib," "ndiba,” it is the same word. These similarities cross right to the Bassa people. Then you look at how people construct houses in the big south, which includes 7 regions populated by the Bantu; there are many similarities. You look at the traditional music and the traditional costumes; we have the same roots. We should not let foreign languages and cultures divide us.

Samy explained that many traditional cultures are similar between Cameroonian ethnic groups across the national boundary. For him, if we consider traditional music and clothing, the South-West and Littoral Regions have them in common as well as North-West and West Regions. Samy maintained that the history of great migrations connects most Cameroonians to a common root.

Essengue also stated that, as teachers, they manage to educate their students against all forms of discrimination, and they develop a great deal of patience because they have in their classrooms students who spent several years without going to school. It is difficult for these students to reconnect with the school environment, and, she thinks, teachers should show peacebuilding attitudes first. These teachers’ efforts align with the critical peace education on the model of what Brantmeier (2011) quoted by Bajaj suggests, such as raising their students' consciousness through dialogue, imagining nonviolent alternatives, providing specific modes of empowerment, transformative action, and reflection and re-engagement (Bajaj, 2015).
Teachers’ and Administrators’ Thoughts about the Citizenship Curriculum: Need for Practical Peacebuilding Activities

The GHS National faculty and staff think that citizenship is an essential subject. Samy compares it to a country's religion and recommends that it be made compulsory. No student should be prevented from studying citizenship. He asserted,

For me, citizenship should be made compulsory. It is like a religion of a country. There are very important topics there for our living together and peacebuilding. The biggest problem we have is that many of those who enter society [employment] after high school have no knowledge of citizenship. The science students are totally empty when it comes to citizenship. I used to ask them if hygiene is made only for biology students, they will say no. Are food and nutrition made only for those who cook? They will say no. So, I tell them citizenship is for all citizens.

The course provides the knowledge and skills about living together and peacebuilding and it should be taught to all literature, social studies, and science students. Currently, in the English-speaking education subsystem, science and economics students do not take citizenship classes after Form 2 (8th grade), and the topics about the nation, nationalism and peacebuilding are taught in Form 4 and 5 (10th and 11th grade) to only literature and social studies students. Many students never learn about those topics.

The teachers in this school believe that the citizenship education program contains significant peacebuilding components. However, Essengue asserted, amid the crisis, what the students hear from social media and the separatist movements shapes their minds and does not promote peacebuilding. She wished that schools and authorities give more time for practical peacebuilding projects. For her also, GHS National has many students who
are psychologically affected but not identified by the school, and do not get counseling services. Along with her colleagues, she demanded that the school bring in experts to talk to the faculty, staff, and students about peacebuilding and increase the funding of its teaching activities for greater efficiency. Research has shown that Cameroon does not sufficiently fund its education department.

Cameroon spends just 3.1 percent of its GDP on education, well below averages for both the world (4.5 percent) and sub-Saharan Africa (4.3 percent). Education is also not equally accessible to all Cameroonians – wide disparities in access still exist between boys and girls, rich and poor, and those in urban and rural areas. (Fallwickl et al., 2021, p. 15)

Furthermore, the citizenship education curriculum shows that, in Cameroon, the curriculum and the details to teach each chapter are centralized by the Ministry of Secondary Education. In the same vein, Ebongue, the vice-principal, maintained that the public schools are told what to do about everything and they just implement it. Nevertheless, the teachers appreciate the pedagogy of the competency-based approach, recently introduced in the two Cameroonian education subsystems. Essengue recognized the advantage of that pedagogy in these words, “we now have the competency-based approach. It is a practical approach to make the student deal with reality and is better than the objective approach we had before. That one was mostly theoretical.” The competency-based approach pedagogy connects the students with their environment and builds on their real-life experiences (Nsai & Jude, 2021). When they learn about peace, that pedagogy helps them to reflect on the crisis and look for alternatives to war.
Another way to compensate for the lack of trained teachers in peacebuilding and the need for practical activities in this field can be filled by collaboration with UNESCO, UNICEF, and other NGOs willing to promote peacebuilding in schools. In its mission, UNESCO is willing to link "education with a range of activities that address the root causes of violence, from human security to sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2008).

**Suggestions for Peacebuilding**

In order to better teach the living together and peacebuilding topics, the GHS National teachers and administrators recommended that the citizenship education teachers should be trained at teacher training colleges. Presently, in Cameroon, social study teachers, including history, geography, and philosophy teachers, are usually asked to teach citizenship. No one specializes in that subject. It would be crucial to have people specializing in citizenship education. Currently, the interviewees at GHS National think that the urgency is to accelerate the teachers' seminars led by peacebuilding experts.

**Summary**

The GHS National faculty and staff are concerned about the marginalization and oppression of Anglophones. For them, these issues should be taken care of as a precondition for peace to fully come back. They fear the assimilation of their English-speaking educational system and its transformation by the Francophone majority. They believe that a genuine dialogue organized in a country other than Cameroon and led by human rights organizations can resolve the crisis and bring back peace in the country.

Teachers and administrators struggle to accommodate the sudden increase of the students and take care of the most affected ones. They don’t feel secure because the threat of abduction or killing of both the school personnel and students is high. The school
administration provides psychological help to the traumatized students and sponsors a peace club to sensitize the students on peacebuilding. It encourages the students to consider their diversities and differences as strengths rather than weaknesses.

Seminars are also organized to equip the teachers with the necessary skills to work with students with trauma. The teachers help the students to develop agency for positive change and peacebuilding. They want to increase their efforts because the students are torn apart by social media and the separatist movement. They suggest that citizenship education be taught to all students and citizenship teachers be trained at teacher training colleges and research on how to teach the peacebuilding topic in the citizenship curriculum in Cameroon’s schools should continue. GHS National findings are summarized in figure 5 page 82.
This flowchart is the summary of GHS National teachers’ and administrators’ concerns, priorities, actions, and suggestions for peacebuilding in their school and Cameroonian society.

**Report from St. Angela: Description of St. Angela**

St. Angela is a Catholic coeducational boarding institution in English-speaking Cameroon. It has been functioning since the 1970s and includes both commercial and general education sections. It prepares the students for the general certificate of education (GCE). Inside the campus, there are several compartments. As soon as you enter, you will discover the imposing school chapel. Further inside, one can distinguish the
administrative block from the magnificent building of the classrooms. The boys' dormitory is at the left rear of this building and the girls' one on the right. The sisters' convent adjoins the girls' accommodations. A few steps away, there is housing for teachers and staff. The school compound is usually protected by well-trained security guards who work shifts 24 hours a day. Outside, the campus fence is dotted with police officers who reinforce the guard because of the insecurity in the area. During the day, the students are busy learning, studying, or playing around inside the compound, and life seems normal.

After the state, the Catholic Church has the most significant number of schools in the English-speaking area. Unfortunately, all these schools are experiencing a drastic drop in enrollment because of the crisis. In an interview, the bishop of the diocese, to whom the school belongs, said that they have been having great difficulty paying teachers' and educational personnel's salaries for four years. In its 2021 report about Cameroon, the world education service shows that between the 2015/2016 and 2016/2017 academic years alone, enrollment fell 25 percent in the two Anglophone regions because the unrest caused many schools to shut their doors (Fallwickl et al., 2021).

**Guidelines for Findings at St. Angela**

The data collected at St. Angela show that the Anglophones are concerned with the marginalization, injustice, and violation of human rights, and they long for peace. Evidence also indicates that the school sensitizes the students against violence and teaches about peace through citizenship education and religion course. The interviewees' pseudonyms are Adelaide, the citizenship education coordinator; Mandjeck, the academic
Teachers’ and Administrators’ Concerns about the Crisis: Marginalization, Injustice, and Violation of Human Rights

St. Angela’s teachers and administrators asserted that the way to bring back peace in their school and society is to address the marginalization of the Anglophone minority. According to Mandjeck, the dean,

The Anglophones in Cameroon are the minority and don't occupy positions of responsibility. If we count about 20 ministers in Cameroon, we have only three Anglophones. Anglophones are marginalized whenever entrance examinations to vocational or professional schools are launched. If we look at the way schools are endowed with resources, Anglophones are behind. Look at school infrastructures in East Cameroon and compare them with the dilapidated ones here in West Cameroon; that is marginalization. Imagine that they send Francophones to come and teach in Anglophone technical schools. What do you expect from the students? The valuable technical schools in this part of the country are all private. The government has created empty structures without machines. That is marginalization, and it's clear that the students see it.

In agreement with what Manjeck said, the demographic data show that English-speaking Cameroonians are unequally represented in the government and other job positions. In a report published in 2020, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies based in Addis Ababa demonstrates that:

There is an underrepresentation of the Anglophone minority in key government positions and other government services. For instance, out of the 67 members of
government, only three Anglophones occupy high-level cabinet positions…There were 1265 French-speaking magistrates and only 227 English-speaking magistrates in 2016, and out of 514 judicial officers, 499 were Francophones and 15 Anglophones. (IPSS, 2020, p. 4)

Those numbers reveal that only 4.5 percent of Anglophones occupy key government positions, 18 percent are magistrates and only 3 percent hold judicial offices. Additionally, there was no common-law section at the National School for Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) until it was recommended at the last "Major National Dialogue" held in 2019. Those huge disparities in government positions made some of the interviewees say that Anglophones have no chance to win a presidential election in Cameroon.

According to Adelaide, the citizenship education coordinator, “the political system with the current government has favored corruption, greed, inequalities, and economic disparities.” For instance, according to the Cameroonian 2017 public investment budget, the Francophone South Region alone was allocated $225 million for 570 projects while the Anglophone South-West Region was allotted only $77 million for 500 projects and the North-West Region, the second Anglophone region, received $76 million for 500 projects. (IPSS, 2020). Comparing the South Region with each of the English-speaking ones, it appears that it receives about three times more funding than its English-speaking counterparts.

Manjeck also stated that their students are aware of the Cameroonian leaders’ authoritarianism that borders on contempt, increases inequality, and inspires fear. According to Fallwickl et al. (2021), "growing inequality, political authoritarianism, and
rampant corruption cloud the country's future" (p. 1). Manjeck, the dean, also maintained that “The unfair political behavior led the country's leaders to ignore the Anglophone grievances at the beginning of the crisis. If the country's leaders had listened to the Anglophone teachers and lawyers, they might have resolved this crisis without much damage.”

For many years, French-speaking teachers were assigned to the technical teaching schools in the Anglophone area until the Higher Technical Teachers' Training College was created in Kumba in 2014. The Anglophone teachers' trade union listed various grievances, including a higher rate of admission of Francophone students into professional and technical schools, accusations of doctoring admissions conducted in Yaoundé for Francophone students applying to the Anglophone region's two main universities, and the appointment of Francophone teachers lacking command of English to Anglophone schools. (Fallwickl, et al., 2021, p. 5)

These examples testify that marginalization was effective, and the ruling government showed little concern about Anglophones' grievances and people's sufferings.

St. Angela's teachers also believe that Cameroon's history in its uniqueness might have prepared this crisis and the revision of some historical facts can lead us to peace. Wambo, the history coordinator, said that he helps his students to understand the historical influence on the crisis and encourages them to work for peace. He stated:

I remember one day I threw a question to my students that, if the Germans were not forced to leave Cameroon, would that crisis happen? The issue came from splitting the country by the French and the British. If Cameroon was a single entity as it was
in the days of the Germans, we would not be having this problem. So, the crisis is related to history.

Secondly, I blamed the British because they were mandated to administer West Cameroon and showed little concern for the people and the territory. They did not bother because of the small size of the land. They have little regard for it. That is why the Anglophones had no other option but to vote for reunification. The British wanted them instead to join Nigeria. The Anglophone Cameroonians did not like that option because they had very poor treatment from Nigeria during joint administration with Nigeria. It was a very bad experience. So, history comes to play a very important role in this crisis.

The teacher explains that if the German colony had not been split up by the French and the British, the country would not have this double colonial culture tearing people apart. While some teachers see bilingualism and dual cultural heritage as an advantage, others call for abolishing the learning of French language in Anglophone schools. For example, Wambo denied the policy that compels the students to learn French as follows,

In GCE exams, the government forces people to write French. And they are not making it attractive to the students. For example, if you are absent from the French exam, all your results are canceled, meaning that you remain there until you pass French. I have a friend who presented a paper to bring up that problem. Why should they impose French on students of this part of Cameroon? Why do they want the students to write it when they are not willing to learn that language?

Nevertheless, the National Development Strategy 2020-2030 lays out an educational vision capable of giving all Cameroonian graduates fluency in both English
and French (Fallwickl, et al., 2021). The country's development will gain from strengthening bilingualism and probably harmonizing both educational subsystems.

However, harmonization sounds like assimilation to most of the Anglophone teachers I interviewed. They did not accept the plan to harmonize the two educational subsystems to get a single system in Cameroon. This is how Lora, a history and citizenship education teacher talked about the plan to harmonize both education subsystems in Cameroon,

I belong to a teacher trade union, and I know how the problem started. Anglophone teachers don’t want Anglo-Saxon culture to disappear completely. In 2015, when I was marking the GCE in Bamenda in Presbyterian Secondary School Mankon, the Minister of Secondary Education sent somebody to talk to us. The person came and told us that gradually the government is seeing how to cancel our system, which is a single subject system. You know the system we adopted from the British is a per subject examination system. Meanwhile, the French system is an aggregate system where they calculate averages. For us, every single subject that you take gives you a certificate. That is the difference. So, the person sent to us said that they were coming up with a modular system plan. If you look at the new syllabus, you will see a module component there. We don't know that. It's so strange that when they tell me about a module, I get confused because I've never known anything like that. The module system means that they will group subjects. You attended the seminar last week, and you saw somebody there who introduced himself as an inspector for social sciences. So, they have grouped geography, history, citizenship, and have called it social sciences. That is not our way of doing things. Every subject remains
a subject for us. But they brought that modular system. That is a good example I'm
telling you. They also tried to group the science subjects. The person sent to us
explained that all the students must pass mathematics. Because generally, since we
agree on a subject system of examination, the majority of our students avoid
mathematics. Let me be honest with you on this. You know that mathematics needs
hard work. You need to solve problems regularly and the students don't like it. They
are forced to write mathematics, but many will leave the paper empty. Then go to
Francophone sector, almost everybody writes mathematics because they have what
they call an elimination mark. If you don't get that minimum in mathematics, you
will fail the exam. So, it forces them to study mathematics. That is what they wanted
to do with us.

Why is harmonization a problem? The project to harmonize the two educational
subsystems in Cameroon was not discussed with the Anglophone teacher trade union. The
decision was made from above, where Francophones are the majority, and most of their
reforms aligned with the Francophone system. In Lora’s explanation she emphasized that
the modular system of examination is a Francophone practice that the government wants
to impose on Anglophones. Similarly, the decision to force students to write mathematics
was already happening in the Francophone subsystem. According to the 2015 world
education forum, UNESCO has been working to reduce inequalities in accessing quality
STEM education between the developed and the developing world. STEM studies are
considered determinant factors in planning the development of countries. In this vein,
UNESCO is urging and helping Sub-Saharan African nations to put in place venues to
improve their teaching of STEM. Following this logic, the Cameroon government has
made mathematics studies compulsory. However, the Minister of Secondary Education did not open a dialogue with the Anglophone teachers to know if they were ready for a change, and they felt that the government did not listen to them because they are a minority, and they are treated as second class citizens.

Because of those types of reluctance, the "Major National Dialogue" of 2019, which settled on important issues including education, recommended that "the educational reforms integrate the need to keep the two educational subsystems afloat, buoyant and futuristic, recognizing the unique strengths and specificities of each subsystem" (Teke, 2020). This recommendation quoted from Cameroonian radio and television (CRTV) appears to be a crisis solution to appease the tension and favor immediate peace.

However, from 1962, visionary and experienced institutions such as UNESCO required harmonization for stronger unity and lasting peace within the two linguistic zones of Cameroon. Since then, several harmonization attempts have failed. Why have these attempts to harmonize the two educational subsystems failed in Cameroon? The failure of the harmonization seems to be the consequence of weak national governance combined with abuse and injustice. Lora affirmed that “the Anglophone teachers' trade union would have been more open to change if the government had been reliable and just toward the citizens.”

Lora also explained that, if the changes were introduced to them progressively as it happened with the competency-based approach pedagogy, they could not complain. She said:

The competency-based approach pedagogy came gradually. Representatives from the Ministry of Secondary Education started by organizing seminars and doing
orientations, telling the teachers what this pedagogy is all about and what its advantages are. Then it was tried in Form 1 (grade 7), and gradually it went through Form 2 (grade 8) and covered high school. The government officials regularly assessed how the new pedagogy was going. Teachers were prepared for a decade.

Currently, the competency-based approach pedagogy is well appreciated by Anglophone teachers because it develops both the knowledge and the skills.

Lora continued her explanation saying that:

If they [the government] had prepared us for what they wanted [the modular system of exams], we couldn't complain. With the competency-based approach, they prepared the minds of the teachers within a period of about 10 years. But this one, the way it came and how it was going, was very scary to most of us English-speaking teachers. That is one of the main things that brought teachers to the street.

Conversely, the modular system was just announced and was about to be implemented without teachers’ agreement. The teachers of the English-speaking regions rejected the modular system because it was being imposed from above, and the teachers’ trade union was not heard. Hence, dialogue and negotiation are possible if the government corrects its mistakes, communicates decently, and revises the procedure.

In the same vein, Fallwickl et al. (2021) demonstrate that reluctance to harmonize the two education subsystems started long ago. Shortly after the reunification of the French and English-speaking Cameroons, both parties agreed to make concessions and find a unique educational system by 1965. Unfortunately, the Francophones missed the deadline and did not modify their secondary school system, while the Anglophones had modified their primary school system. After that, no adjustment has been made for 43 years. Still,
Cameroonian policymakers recently succeeded in organizing primary and elementary education into six years with the same curriculum in the two subsystems (Fallwickl et al., 2021).

According to Wambo, another problem that led the teachers to the strike is the recognition of religion as an exam subject that can also be accepted for registration in higher education institutions and vocational schools at the national level. He said,

We also asked that subjects we offer at the GCE, such as religious studies, should be recognized by the state as qualifying subjects. For example, you pass religion as a GCE subject, but you cannot use it to write a government Concours. The government does not accept religion. One of the issues was that religion should be accepted as a recognized subject because it helps to improve the morality of young people in society. That was another issue that nourished grievances. We need to talk about all these issues carefully to have peace.

Religious Studies are part of the GCE examination (Anglophone) but are not part of the baccalaureate exam (Francophone). Because of that, English-speaking students, who had religion as one of their GCE subjects, cannot use it for professional schools’ entrance examinations.

Consequences of the Crisis: Attention to the Grievances and Destruction of the Economy

According to Adelaide, the citizenship education coordinator, on the one hand, the crisis has forced the government to consider people's grievances and has opened doors for dialogue on injustice, unemployment, and marginalization. It has allowed several people to freely express their thoughts and has brought about the national dialogue as the first step toward justice. Adelaide stated:
I would like to see that this crisis has opened doors for more dialogue on issues that we first considered taboo. People were able to come and tell the government members that they were wrong. Also, on the local television channels, we have seen people speaking out against government abuses.

In the same vein, the crisis prompted the effective practice of bilingualism throughout the national territory for better communication and understanding between Cameroonians of both linguistic groups. Many schools became bilingual with “special programs” (Kouega & Dempowo, 2022). Also, the Major National Dialogue has urged the fast-tracking of the civil administration decentralization process with the replacement of government delegates by city mayors with an elective mandate. Decentralization is expected to increase the level of democracy in the country and facilitate administration services. As Myerson (2021) asserts,

Decentralization can be beneficial for people in every part of Cameroon.

Devolving substantial powers to autonomously elected local authorities can benefit people both by improving the performance of government at the local level and by strengthening democratic competition at the national level.

(Meyerson, 2021, p. 1)

The centralization of power in Cameroon had weakened democracy, favored corruption, and encouraged greed and injustice. An effective decentralization can empower local people in most of Cameroon regions allowing them to reflect on their concerns, including education and human rights.

On the other hand, Adelaide continued her analysis, the crisis has affected the economy, increased precarity, and slowed the country's development. She said:
When you look at it from the perspective of someone who is teaching it and someone who is leaving it, I feel that it has destroyed the little that we had going in terms of development. It has stopped our progress. It has just taken us back.

You look at the children we are teaching and the effect of the crisis on them. You look at parents; you look at the economic stagnation; you look at this suffering, and when you take all that global perspective, I think it has stopped our development.

Besides the economy, the crisis has also destroyed peace in Cameroon. St. Angela teachers and staff highlight that there is, currently, no peace in schools, and fear is everywhere. Both students and teachers are afraid that someone can come into the classroom and shoot them. Because of that, teachers are not confident when they come to school, and the whole learning process is affected. For example, after I asked Lora to talk about the need for peace, she replied:

When there is no conflict, our children can study in safe environments and don't have to fear that any minute someone can get into the classroom and shoot them, which is good. There's that advantage that if this conflict stops, the teacher can come to work feeling safe and that I can teach confidently. The teacher can teach students who are not afraid that anything can happen. The teacher can confidently talk about certain things without wondering that maybe a student whose uncle is a government member can report him or her to the hierarchy. As for now, that fear is there. Especially with the coming date of October 1st, anything can happen.

Furthermore, a report from the school administrators and their colleagues within the administrative division complained that the crisis resulted in immoral and indecent
behavior among the students. Some of them have become drug addicts, and their attitude compromises the security of the teachers and other innocent students. The report also underscores that many parents have lost their jobs and lack the income to care for their families. It further shows that many girls are exposed to unwanted pregnancies while the boys are exposed to stealing and scamming. Other students who have not been able to complete their academic program are exposed to fraud and other academic misconduct during final exams. The same report concludes that only the return of peace can help to address these issues.

Wambo, the history coordinator, believes that the Cameroonian government will gain by organizing a second dialogue which includes the separatists with all their leaders on a neutral ground and conducted by International Human Rights organizations. This dialogue will certainly bring the nation closer to immediate peace, to a situation where Cameroonians cease to fight each other and begin to listen to each other mutually. According to Freire (2000), dialogue is the only effective element of true liberation, the one that humanizes the revolutionary leader. As the separatists are called to dialogue, the liberation of their imprisoned leaders also seems fair.

Nevertheless, Adelaide emphasized that,

It is not enough to put down guns. The national political trend should gear toward more justice. Even before the crisis, people were not at peace because they did not feel fulfilled. Many are jobless or unsatisfied with their salaries. They need decent jobs and a good life. Consequently, many jobless youths opted for violence to make themselves heard.
According to Adelaide, this rebellion would not happen if these young men had job opportunities. It came because there was a lot of suffering around and young people had no job opportunities after their studies. Adelaide’s viewpoint agrees with Bajaj (2014) when she invites reflection on “how can educational projects that resist larger social, political, and economic inequalities offer understandings about how we learn, teach, and act for peace in diverse settings?” (p. 1). Also, for her, it is particularly crucial to train educators for peacebuilding amid widening inequalities in the global South, which represent all places that struggle for economic development, fundamental human rights, and justice (Bajaj, 2014).

**School Administration Initiatives for Peacebuilding: Counseling, Seminars, and Faith-based Messages**

The Anglophone schools have suffered from this crisis since it began. One of the protesters' significant actions was to shut down the schools across the English-speaking area (Fallwickl, 2021). Most of the schools in that part of the country agreed to close for a while. Since the situation is getting bogged down and peaceful solutions are slow to arrive, the schools have decided to reopen their doors. Unfortunately, teachers and students remain targets for the separatists. Because of that, St. Angela, has developed its counseling services to help the students who witnessed atrocities and are afraid to come to school. “I know,” Lora asserted, “that the guidance counselors on campus have taken it upon themselves to discuss this with the students. They go from class to class to discuss these issues with the students.”

Lora also stated that the school organizes seminars on how teachers and staff can talk to the students in times of crisis. I participated at one of these pedagogical seminars at St. Angela during my research time there. For St. Angela faculty and staff, teachers'
roles in the classroom are crucial. Adelaide explained that it is so important because some students are firsthand witnesses of the clashes between the Amba-boys and the regular army, and they have escaped to find more secure places and go back to school. She added that, as teachers, they find themselves in counseling and healing situations, and they do not have the necessary skill to handle it. Reflecting on what they can do in the classroom as teachers, Adelaide said:

We have been advised to be careful when we address the crisis in the classroom as teachers. We need to know how to handle the situation. We should control what we say about the army and the Amba-boys and avoid fostering resentments in the children or leading them to further violence. Currently, we don't have any document to guide us.

Gelot (2019) suggests a training insight that could be helpful to St. Angela teachers and staff for peacebuilding. For him, the emerging paradigm to train for peacebuilding demands "to move away from learning as an individual process to learning as a social and collaborative endeavor covering cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains" (p. 196).

Manjeck, the dean, asserted that, "the school personnel is asked to do everything to avoid hate speech among the students, and peacebuilding should be the watchword of each teacher. We make sure that teachers keep their political ideas out of the classrooms.” For him also, St. Angela delivers peacebuilding messages at the daily masses, in Monday student assemblies, and primarily through religious and citizenship education classes. In the same vein, Adelaide said that because of the Catholic culture of the school they do not allow anything that is violently inclined in the school. Teachers are instructed to show respect and consideration for the students.
Lora, a history and citizenship education teacher, showed that teachers can take advantage of the competency-based approach pedagogy to talk about the crisis and stimulate peace. This pedagogy helps the students to appropriate the topic they are learning and play active roles in the quest for solutions. Therefore, it allows them to get involved in crisis resolution, debate, and to suggest peaceful solutions. That pedagogy which aligns with Gelot's (2019) trio, namely knowledge, skills, and ability, is a peacebuilding asset in the context of the Anglophone crisis. It can also be complemented with "experiential learning based on alternative methodologies such as problem-based learning, simulations, and games" (Gelot, 2019, p. 197).

Manjeck, the dean, stated that, “St. Angela students come from all over the country, from both Francophone and Anglophone families. Many Francophone families sent their children to Anglophone schools to get an education in English while they speak French at home.” Most of the Catholic boarding schools in the English-speaking area receive many Francophone students. It is crucial to avoid any hate speech in the school and allow everyone to feel welcomed. Also, Manjeck, the dean, emphasized that every adult in the school strives to prevent violence from cropping up in the students' living environment, which includes dormitories, refectories, classrooms, chapels, and game fields. Mandjeck, maintained that, even though peace education is not a systematic subject in their school, they do what they can to create a culture of peace because they need it.

Fostered by their Catholic culture, Manjeck highlighted, St. Angela’s faculty and staff “convey the message that each student is for the other, the brother's or the sister’s keeper.” “We educate the children” Manjeck said, “on the necessity for the love of each
other.” Beyond the religious dimension of love, as Freire (2000) puts it, there is a humanizing aspect of love that means recognizing, naming, and resisting oppression but in a collaborative and conciliative way. Manjeck affirmed that St. Angela’s faculty and staff also develop peace and love among themselves. However, he did not give concrete examples of what they do.

Manjeck demonstrated that peacebuilding behavior and initiatives can come from the students who collaborate closely to maintain the school culture. For example, they report misconduct and misbehavior in the absence of the adults. For Manjeck, the dean, by the time the students leave the school to go home, they think differently from those who did not have that chance. According to him, these students are well prepared to develop the projected national values, such as ‘the living together,’ a more just nation, and build a peaceful country for all Cameroonians. St. Angela school administrators are proud of their students and their solid Catholic, humanistic, and academic education.

**Teachers' Contributions to Peacebuilding: Peace by Peaceful Means**

Teachers are confronted with the Anglophone crisis in the classrooms every day. Adelaide expressed the challenge she encountered from her students’ questions about the crisis in these words:

Those of us who teach topics and subjects that are somehow related to the current crisis must deal with the issue in class every day. I remember we were talking about national integration in my Form 2 class, and I had to bring up the issue of national unity and talk about why there is a need for national unity. As a teacher I must address differences in class, such as national [local] languages, French and English, and national cultures. And then a student asked, Madame, why is the
President doing anything when they are killing our ‘boys,’ they are killing our brothers in the bush? So, I had to look for ways to explain to the students: people are fighting on the ground. However, there are alternative options. There are peaceful ways of dealing with that. And the next question came up. So, Madame, if this is the thing that can be done, why are they not doing it? And if they are doing it, why is it not working? So, I had all these questions and tried to answer them diplomatically to get the children to leave that point of anger. As I said, they borrow their parents' sentiments. Many of them have had attempted to be recruited indirectly or indirectly into the fight by the Amba-boys. I wanted to instill a sense that they don't necessarily need to choose violence in this fight. They can opt for dialogue or another peaceful means.

As a teacher, Adelaide takes advantage of fixing the divisive ideas that the children bring from social media or their neighborhoods. It is usually about the army fighting the Amba-boys in the bush, the violence of the Amba-boys themselves, or the violation of the Anglophone rights. For Adelaide, the teacher needs to explain that the Amba-boys have constituted themselves as an armed separatist group contrary to the state's law and have imposed restrictions on people. Conversely, she also argued, the army has the duty to secure the territory and restore normal life. However, neither the Amba-boys nor the regular army needs to use force or violence against the other in this fight. Adelaide believed that internal problems can be resolved differently by peaceful means and this peaceful approach is what they do in their school. What Adelaide and her colleagues do at St. Angela aligned with Galtung’s (1996) principle that peace studies can
help create conditions for peace. In this vein, teachers need to believe in peace and be profoundly creative during this Anglophone crisis.

Adelaide demonstrated that the priority for her and her colleagues was to get everyone involved, including the students, to stop the killings and violence in villages and other suffering. Everyone can help mitigate the crisis at various levels, in the family, in school, nationally, or internationally. The crisis consequences go beyond the visible violence.

Similarly, Lora explained that anytime the issue of the crisis came up in her classroom, she focused on the effects of the crisis on the students' studies and what they needed to do to mitigate them. She tried to discuss and talk about both the advantages of peace and resistance to injustice and always highlighted that peace was priceless.

Adelaide asserted that she also emphasized an approach that considers the whole life of the students because, many students have lost a family member. Besides the multiple deaths, families are broken down. She said:

People are separated from their children because they do not want them to be killed. For example, the parents are in Bamenda, and their children are in Douala, or parents are in Muyuka, and the children are in Tiko. These children have lost parental guidance, which has a huge part to play in their lives. Other children are under the care of people to whom the parents would never have entrusted their children.

According to Adelaide she can’t help discussing these topics with the students especially when they bring it up. These topics are connected to the citizenship education lessons she teaches every day.
Teachers’ and Administrators’ Thoughts about the Citizenship Curriculum

Wambo and Adelaide, respectively history and citizenship coordinators, maintained that citizenship education serves as an ethical and moral subject in schools. According to them, its content needs to be strengthened with additional peacebuilding elements and made compulsory from primary through high school. Adelaide asserted that,

The content of citizenship must be revisited because it serves as our moral and ethical subject in schools. In some schools, citizenship is taught only in Form 5. That’s not enough. We need to develop citizenship and give it more weight. I also think that it should be made compulsory for all secondary school students.

An analysis of the present Cameroonian school citizenship curriculum for secondary schools show that peacebuilding topics are developed at two levels: in Form 1, issues of conflict resolution are discussed within families. In Form 5, the students learn about the rights and duties of the citizen and reflect on the notion of peace. On other levels, peacebuilding content can also be indirectly associated with the course. For example, in Form 3, issues such as national integration, tribalism (favoritism), other forms of social discrimination, and juvenile delinquency can offer the opportunity to talk about peacebuilding. Yet, the way the Ministry of Education has designed these courses, Wambo said, is not meant to transform the child into a peace builder. For him, the teachers transmit the knowledge without skills, and they do not have enough time for both.

A possible change can come with the adoption of the competency-based approach pedagogy which provides skills. However, that pedagogy is not yet examined by the GCE
Board, the office in charge of the national examination in the Anglophone subsystem. Because of that, it remains merely a storytelling approach for both teachers and students and they do not take it seriously. Also, Wambo emphasized that the time allocated to the course does not allow the teacher to work on both the content and the skills. For him, the school should also equip the classrooms so that teachers can associate images and movies to their theoretical teachings. Very few classes are equipped with projectors and other resources for visualization. The lack of substantial investment impedes the learning and the transformative project greatly needed to create peacebuilders.

**Suggestions for Peacebuilding**

St. Angela teachers suggest that an additional peacebuilding effort will be to establish systematic peace education in schools. In the same line, Dze-Ngwa (2014) studied cultural diversity in Cameroon and found that the country cannot sustain peace and development for a long time without peace education and improvement of human rights. He maintains that “in order to reduce conflicts, improve internal cohesion and stability, improve the human rights situation, encourage investments, sustainable development...there is a dire need to introduce peace and tolerance education in Cameroon schools and colleges” (Dze-Ngwa, 2014, p. 28). Quoting Boulaga (2000), he demonstrates that peace is not a natural process, and needs to be conquered. Therefore, human beings should endeavor to achieve peace by human means, and education is one way to meet that end. St. Angela’s teachers also propose that peace education should be taught by well trained teachers. Thus, the government could train and provide teachers with peacebuilding knowledge and skills.
The damaging effects of the crisis urged many Anglophones to come out holding “peace plants” to ask for peace in Cameroon (Le Roux & Boucher, 2018). Because of that, the teachers found that using the traditional peace plant to teach about peacebuilding would perfectly complement the citizenship education curriculum. After I asked Adelaide to suggest any traditional element that fosters peace in her culture, she responded,

We usually use a peace plant to solve conflicts. I grew up knowing that the peace plant was used to symbolize peace. My mom always told me that peace plants are planted on the boundaries to show that neighbors are not fighting. Also, in most grieving or protest movements, like when the women were crying in Bamenda, people carry the peace plant to say that they are not having their grievances because they want to challenge someone. Rather, they want peace.

We have different meanings at different levels. For example, a land dispute can occur between neighbors. I'm from the Lebialem division. When the elders agree on the boundary, they put a peace plant there. The landowners have any right to pull out that peace plant again. If they do, they will be fined, and traditional laws will be enforced against them. At the national level, people use the peace plant to express that they have a problem and are asking for a peaceful resolution.

The official curriculum suggests that teachers develop creativity and look into people's traditions to enrich their citizenship syllabus. A teacher can use the peace plant for the course. That plant is used and known in most of Cameroon's West, North-West, and South-West Regions. When someone holds that plant, it is the sign that the person is asking for something in peace. Traditionally, the person should also be welcomed peacefully. For example, on September 3, 2018, after the attack on a school, women in
Bamenda came out holding peace plants (see figure 6 on page 104) to ask for peace (Le Roux & Boucher, 2018). As Adelaide explained earlier, the peace plant is used to settle land disputes between families and villages. She emphasized that, in her culture, when the peace plant had been planted by the elders to resolve a land dispute, none of the disputants has the right to pull out that plant. When she teaches about building peace, she also helps the students to understand the traditional significance of the peace plant.

Figure 6

Women Protest in Bamenda, Cameroon, in Response to a Sept. 3, 2018, Attack on the Local Presbyterian School of Science and Technology. (Photo: VOA/Moki Edwin Kindzeka)

At the beginning of the 2021-2022 academic year, all secondary school principals (public and private) in the division where St. Angela is located met to reflect on the new academic year and the consequences of the crisis on their schools. In the final report of their meeting, they recommended these practices for their schools:
• Principals should take advantage of the great audience they have (students, teachers, and parents) and deliver sound messages on the dangers and consequences of civil unrest.

• They should infuse in their audience a great sense of patriotism, love for our homeland, respect for state and one another, and the benefits of peace and stability.

• The fear of God and the civic responsibility of a good citizenry should be constantly preached to all. This must be exemplified by the principals.

• Principals should enforce a dialogue-based, participatory approach in restoring total calm in our institutions which will definitely extend to our society and the nation at large. Seminars and workshops should be regularly organized in schools, bringing together service heads, community leaders, traditional authorities, related NGOs, and students; especially students who are victims of the crisis (quoted from a document I collected at St. Angela).

Summary

The data I collected at St. Angela have shown that teachers and administrators are concerned about the underrepresentation of Anglophones in key government positions in Cameroon. This is an injustice that needs to be addressed. Compared to some French-speaking regions such as the South, there was considerable inequality in the public investment distribution in 2017. The plan to harmonize the two educational subsystems became a problem because of its polarizing procedure and the government's authoritarianism.

On the one hand, the crisis has forced the government to consider people's grievances and has opened the doors for dialogue, and on the other, it has affected the
economy, increased precarity, and slowed down the country's development. It has also established insecurity, fear, and suffering.

Students, teachers, and parents are victims of the crisis. In order to mitigate its effects, the school assists the students with counseling and organizes seminars to provide the teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach in times of crisis. Peacebuilding discourses are also disseminated through school masses, Monday gatherings, religious and citizenship education courses. St. Angela's faculty and staff suggest that citizenship become compulsory and systematic peace education be instituted. They also found that the use of the peace plant will be an excellent complement to the peacebuilding aspect of the citizenship curriculum.
This flowchart is the summary of St. Angela’s teachers’ and administrators’ concerns, priorities actions and suggestions for peacebuilding in their school and Cameroonian society.
Report from Lybicam: Description of Lybicam

Lybicam is a public high school in French-speaking Cameroon that was opened in the 1950s and is listed among the pioneer secondary schools in the northern regions. It was originally built as a first cycle secondary school (grade 7th to 10th) and the second cycle (11th to 13th) was added in 1993. Its multiple buildings, erected at different times, are organized into three large sectors with courtyards strewn with evergreen foliage trees. The buildings are yellow and green, representing the two seasons (dry and raining) that punctuate the life of the Far-North Region, where Lybicam is located.

Although many other high schools have been founded in the city, Lybicam has continued to expand because of the growing demographic, and the two crises that Cameroon has been experiencing in recent years, namely the Boko Haram and the Anglophone crises. The Boko Haram crisis forced many students to leave their villages at the border with Nigeria to move toward cities in Cameroon and get an education. The Anglophone crisis also required the students to leave the North-West and South-West Regions to settle in other regions of Cameroon. Francophone cities with bilingual schools and job opportunities welcome many students from the conflict area. Located in the heart of a cosmopolitan city, Lybicam receives students from all regions of the country and includes both Anglophone and Francophone subsystems. This bilingual high school also serves as a pilot school for a new program that the government is experimenting with “special classes.” The students are perfectly bilingual in these classes and are taught in both French and English. They are prepared to take exams in both subsystems, but they should register for one. They will be identified as special Francophones or special Anglophones. Each region of the country has a pilot school to try out this new curriculum.
Lybicam also sensitizes students for peacebuilding through posters as it appears on this bilingual poster within the school compound (see figure 8 on page 109).

Figure 8

A Poster Against COVID-19 and Violence Promoting living Together

We can read, “For this academic year, we say: Yes, to the living together! No to violence in school...” There are also in the right corner three selected words: “Dialogue, Peace, and Unity.”

Guidelines for Findings at Lybicam

This section details the data I collected at Lybicam following the pattern I use for each case: concerns about the crisis, school administrators’ initiatives, teachers’ initiatives, thoughts about the curriculum, and suggestions. The four Lybicam participants are Mgana, assistant dean and history teacher; Mballa, teacher and history
coordinator; Yougouda, teacher and citizenship coordinator; and Oumma, citizenship teacher. These are all pseudonyms. The data at Lybicam were collected in French. They were transcribed and translated into English during the analysis.

**Teachers’ and Administrators’ Concerns about the Crisis**

**Oppression and Injustice**

In the quest for peace, Yougouda, the teacher and citizenship education coordinator, is concerned about the immensity of the crisis’ effect on the whole country. Both the English and the French-speaking students are deeply impacted by the conflict in the Anglophone area. During the interview, Yougouda said that its impact is enormous. It ignited both the South-West and North-West Regions. He narrated the problem as follows,

> We are also suffering its consequences here in the Far-North Region. We receive many students from those regions running away from the conflict and coming to seek peace here. The government has instructed that we make room for the victims. Because of that, we exceeded the expected enrollment in the English-speaking section. I agree with that decision because all Cameroonians have the right to be educated, wherever they are. Education is stalled in the North-West and South-West Regions, the administration is on stand-by, and all economic activities and development projects are delayed. This is a serious problem.

The teacher asserted that the crisis has shaken the two Anglophone regions, damaged education, and driven many people out of jobs. Public services are closed in isolated places, businesses are shutdown, and development projects are suspended. The International Crisis Group’s Africa Report № 272 reveals that, “In July 2018 the
Cameroon Employers’ Association (GICAM) estimated the value of losses at FCFA 269 billion (€410 million). It also calculated that, 6,434 jobs had been lost in the formal economy, and a further 8,000 jobs were under threat” (Crisis Group, 2019, p. 5).

Yougouda continued the conversation explaining that they recently showed the images of the Kumba’s students (Anglophone students) who were murdered in November 2020 in their classroom, and Lybicam students were deeply affected. He said, “they burst into tears as if it has happened here in our school.” The Minister of Secondary Education instructed Lybicam and the other public bilingual schools to accept the victims of the Anglophone crisis and facilitate their education.

Yougouda suggests that the government stop firing guns and committing violence against the separatists. Instead, it should get religious leaders to talk to people and find a solution to the crisis because both Muslim and Christian Cameroonians listen to their religious leaders. Conversely, he added, they do not listen to the political leaders because of the corruption. For him, imams, priests, and pastors can positively influence the situation.

Lybicam teachers also think that Cameroon’s government should organize a dialogue including separatist leaders and respect their demands to hold the dialogue in another country where the separatists will feel safe and talk freely. This alternative can bring about peace and liberate the country from that deadly unrest. Mballa, a history teacher and coordinator said,

Dialogue is very important to resolve a crisis. Genuine and inclusive dialogue is needed in Cameroon today. Both Francophones and Anglophones should be sincere when they sit to discuss. Especially those in power must be open to
dialogue because they are in charge. Indeed, a dialogue took place two years ago, but not all the opponents were present. Those in power should agree to call for another dialogue, which should be inclusive.

However, I know that it will be difficult to have genuine dialogue because some separatist leaders were condemned and declared that they would only sit to settle for independence. But let us try it again and include their demands.

People in charge of that dialogue, he added, should also make sure that those who speak on behalf of Anglophone people are not members of the ruling political party or involved in the current government. They should allow people who feel marginalized and oppressed to designate their representatives. According to Yougouda,

The government must organize that dialogue efficiently. Otherwise, it will not bear fruit. We need to go step by step, starting by talking with people in the villages, then designating people by districts, departments, and regions. This is how we could find the true representatives of English-speaking people who will express their real concerns.

We also need peace promotion structures here in Cameroon. For example, the Multiculturalism Commission was set up because of the crisis. Everything concerning living together and national integration is happening now because the situation is bad. Moreover, these commissions are not even represented in the villages. There is still a lot to do to organize peacebuilding.

This teacher is calling for an inclusive dialogue in which Anglophones will freely choose their representatives. He also deplores the lack of well-established peacebuilding
organizations. For him, the newly created projects, such as the multiculturalism commission, still have to be improved.

Two Lybicam participants, including Yougouda, citizenship coordinator, and Mgana, assistant dean, think that the Anglophone crisis is the result of authoritarianism and oppression. The Cameroon government is using the army and police force to restrain people's freedom. Indeed, the crisis started because police officers and the national gendarmery violently reprimanded Anglophone lawyers and university students, and such abuses happen on a regular basis. Mgana affirmed, "There is too much abuse from the state authorities, and violated freedoms. Military and police officers abuse people regularly. I agree with the Anglophones that this government does not work for people; they work for themselves." As the crisis continues, the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) shows that Cameroonian security forces have committed extrajudicial killings, made arbitrary arrests, tortured detainees, and set fire to numerous towns and villages to track down the separatists (Lamarche & Fox, 2019). Another reason for the crisis is bad governance and unequal distribution of wealth. Very few people, especially those in power, benefit from the country's resources. The vast majority of Cameroonians struggle to meet their basic needs. Alongside Anglophones, many Francophones are also unhappy with the current political trend. Particularly, teachers are disgruntled. Additionally, Mgana added, the Anglophone crisis is taking so long to solve because the discontent is deep. There are prerequisites that should be resolved before achieving peace, as he said:

The precondition for the dialogue is to release the political prisoners. The Anglophones do not just want power but also good governance. If basic social
needs are met, I think this crisis will go away on its own. The government must enable citizens to meet the basic needs to regain peace. People rebelled and decided to fight because they were hungry and jobless. If Cameroonian had good jobs, no one would be taking guns. Joining the Amba-boys is a job for some of these young men. It is certainly a dirty job, but they earn money from that. That type of enrollment also happened with the Boko Haram crisis here in the Far-North Region. Many young men joined Boko Haram because they were unemployed and expected to earn money. The lack of decent life is the real problem.

In other words, the government should ensure just salaries and job opportunities for all citizens. According to Dudouet (2006), these preconditions are significant for sustainable peace. For her, the social order and social justice should be restored while negotiations to end hostilities are taking place. Dudouet and Dressler (2016) go further, saying that while the European Union funds inclusive dialogue between government actors and opposition parties, “it should avoid making mediation an end in itself rather than integrating into a more comprehensive support for democratic reform” (Dudouet & Dressler, 2016, p. 27).

These authors show that real peace comes when democratic values of legal transition of power, justice, freedom, and care for the needy are met.

**Historical and Political Consequences**

Lybicam interviewees also want to raise their students and other people consciousness about the role played by the history of Cameroon in this crisis. They show that the crisis derived from the complexity of Cameroon’s history. The first historical fact is the departure of Germans from Cameroon in 1916 after they were defeated by the allies, namely, the French and the British. Cameroon was split into two, and both French
and British cultures took root in the country and evolved separately until independence and reunification in 1961. According to Mgana, a history teacher and assistant dean,

The local population was involved in the administration and decision-making with the British. The voices of the local chiefs mattered. However, the French-speaking system was a central administration where decisions came from above. There were two different administrative understandings and trajectories. So, we cannot have the same understanding of freedom. Historians often say that when history is poorly negotiated, its consequences will appear in the future.

The British had allowed the local population to take part in the administration, including a chamber of traditional chiefs in the parliament, whereas the French had a centralized administrative system, in which the ruling party dominated the executive and the legislature. These two visions never reconciled after the reunification. For this reason, the 2019 national dialogue, held to resolve, among other things, the Anglophone crisis, suggested the reinstatement of the house of traditional chiefs (Ngala, 2019). Our interviewees believe that the historical agreements have created misunderstandings between Anglophones and Francophones. For example, the Foumban Conference, held in July 1961, to settle on the federal constitution, did not fully satisfy the Anglophones but followed Francophones’ suggestions. Fanso (1989) explains it as follows,

The Bamenda proposals [Anglophone] advocated a loose federation and upheld the principle of each future federated state preserving its local autonomy and political power. In contrast to those of the southern Cameroons, the draft proposals of the Ahidjo government [Francophone] were in the form of a complete constitution which advocated a clear preponderance of federal over the
state institutions…The overall framework of the Federal Constitution followed
the model presented by the Ahidjo government. (Fanso, 1989, pp. 159-160)

Fanso (1989) emphasizes that from the beginning, power was unequally shared between
the federated states, and the federal constitution gave tremendous power to the federal
government and progressively eroded the state’s power. In this movement, the
Anglophone power was entirely swallowed up.

Fanso’s (1989) understanding of the Foumban Conference can explain some of
the Anglophones’ frustrations. Therefore, a significant need for flexibility exists from
both Anglophones and the government to allow further negotiation and new projections
for the best of all. These projections should be original, culturally Cameroonian, and not
only clinging to colonial legacies. Especially, the educational system should capture the
development projections, needs, and realities of Cameroonians.

The history of Cameroon can offer several elements of marginalization and
domination by the first Francophone President Ahmadou Ahidjo (Fanso, 1989). First, the
federation that gave the Anglophones autonomy to administer their territory was
supplanted by a unitarian constitution after a referendum in 1972. Second, the office of
the Vice-President, originally held by an Anglophone, was also eliminated in 1972.
Third, the Unitary Constitution had designated the Speaker of the National Assembly (an
Anglophone) to replace the President of the Republic in case of a power vacuum.
However, Ahmadou Ahidjo created the office of Prime Minister in 1975, appointed a
Francophone there, and transferred the legal succession of the presidency to the Prime
Minister. Finally, President Ahidjo stepped down after 22 years and made sure that the
power would go to Paul Biya, the Francophone Prime Minister, and not to Tandeng
Muna, the Anglophone Speaker of the National Assembly (Fanso, 1989). All these manipulations of the constitution reinforced the feeling that an Anglophone has no chance to become President in Cameroon, and the power is centralized in the hands of the President of the Republic. Because of that, Lybicam teachers think that Anglophones are rightly frustrated, as Mgana puts it,

"English-speaking elite would also like to govern the country. We are in a republic, which means that power should not be held by a single zone, ethnic group, or political organization. It should be everyone’s business. Because of that, I understand the Anglophones’ frustration."

In the same vein, Mballa, the history coordinator, maintained that,

"As a source of frustration, there is also representation in public affairs in the country. Obviously, the power has been detained by Francophones from independence, and people are not satisfied with the governance. The Anglophones feel that they will never get into power in Cameroon and are left behind. When you see the sovereign ministries in Cameroon, none of them is led by an Anglophone."

A small group of Cameroonians want to control power and resources. Commenting on Collier’s (2000) greed and grievances dichotomy, Ballentine & Nitzschke (2005) show that greed and grievances are more highly correlated to conflicts than ethnicity, culture, and injustice. For them, rebellions are generated by those who already have resources and want to get more. Likewise, civil unrest is usually the result of neglected grievances. In the case of Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis, the government had ignored the lawyers’ and teachers’ grievances, and other politicians took advantage
of the situation to create an armed rebellion. The historical analysis that revealed the manipulation of the constitution to serve private needs could allow concluding that greed is mainly responsible for the crisis and its perpetuation. For Mballa, his effort as a teacher is to make known these issues so that people take good decision to restore peace in Cameroon.

Also, for Mballa, the crisis can be attributed to unresolved political issues from independence. In particular, there were people who always desired independence in English-speaking Cameroon.

Some political issues remain unresolved. For example, when the 1961 referendum took place, part of West Cameroon remained with Nigeria to practice the indirect administration system of their states. The other part preferred to join French-speaking Cameroon. Also, many English-speaking Cameroonians would have chosen the stewardship of their territory as a separate country from both Nigeria and French Cameroon. The ambitions of this third group have been silenced. The Anglophone crisis did not come out of nowhere. There were historical facts and seasonal protests. Since 1991, with the reinstatement of political pluralism, there have been manifestations for independence every October 1 in English-speaking Cameroon. These protests were mostly violently repressed and never negotiated. The dominant French-speaking government thought it had the situation under control. The separatists have had time to organize themselves, strengthen their arguments, make alliances, and develop bases out of the country.

However, not all teachers at Lybicam agree that Anglophones are marginalized. Oumma explained that according to Cameroon’s constitution, the Prime Minister is de
facto an Anglophone. She believes that with a better practice of democracy, an Anglophone could be elected as president in Cameroon. She asserted,

The Anglophones claimed marginalization to justify the crisis. But I do not see this marginalization because it is a question of parity. There are 20% Anglophones and 80% Francophones. The representativeness cannot be the same. I agree that Anglophones have lost many advantages with the Unitary Constitution, and we had only Francophones as presidents until now. But an Anglophone can also get the power. The proof is that in 1991, John Fru Ndi had won the elections, but there was fraud at the government level, and they dismissed him. I think Cameroonians can elect an Anglophone to power. What we need is real democracy.

Commenting on Dewey’s (1966) *Democracy and Education*, Ngalim (2014) shows that democratic education can prepare the ground for democracy in Cameroon. It is an education that guarantees that all learners have equal access to learning opportunities and privileges, regardless of age, gender, region, race, tribe, religion, country, and color. She stresses that being an Anglophone or a Francophone does not justify any negligence of providing learning values or facilities in the Cameroonian context. The educational system needs equity, which ensures democratic education in a multicultural context like Cameroon. In other words, beyond the Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy, democracy and equity are what the country needs the most (Ngalim, 2014). If Cameroon was a democratic nation, the Anglophone problem could be avoided. Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003) support the idea that Fru Ndi dominated the 1992 presidential election,
recognizing that Cameroonians can elect an Anglophone as a president if democracy is restored.

*The Crisis’ Consequences on Society and Education: Inequality and Limited Opportunities*

The Anglophone crisis has further deteriorated the relationships between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians. According to Mballa,

> This crisis profoundly hurts us. Here are brothers and sisters who lived together and were divided because of colonial interests. Foreign cultures divided us. We are all hurt whether we are on the French or English side. In this school, we live with our English-speaking brothers and sisters. We need to be very cautious when we talk about the crisis here because we don't want to hurt each other. Instead, we want to support each other and live together in peace as one nation. The school's position is to build unity and peace, hoping that this crisis will end soon.

Personally, I do my best to meet that goal.

The scope of this crisis is profound. As a Cameroonian, I feel uncomfortable and hurt because I see my people dying every day. I see that the education of our children is being trampled on. Many Anglophone students can no longer go to school. I see innocent girls ending up on the streets. I see my brothers and sisters becoming homeless and moving from one place to another. They find themselves internally or externally displaced, or become refugees. I am very sad about what is going on. This situation is an evil that seriously affects me and all Cameroonians. With this crisis, Cameroon cannot plan any viable development.
The teachers worry because the crisis has endured for so long. They think that it will hinder the national development goals such as the “Cameroon Vision 2035.” Instead of fighting each other, Cameroonians need peace to focus on building the country.

According to Le Roux and Boucher (2018), beyond the Anglophone crisis, the nature of the government must be examined. Inequitable access to public services and widespread corruption have favored Anglophone separatists' violence and radicalization. These shortcomings of governance have also driven the resentment of the larger Cameroonian population, who demand a change in the country's administration.

Mballa also found that Lybicam students react differently to the crisis. Some students feel far from the conflict and do not feel affected. Others will condemn the Anglophones who started the crisis. But the majority realize that this crisis is a plague in Cameroonian society and would wish for peace. Reflecting on the students' attitudes to the crisis, Mballa said,

The crisis doesn't mean much to some students here because the conflict is not shown in media. Other students will say this is an Anglophone problem, and they will not care. On the contrary, the majority of students will show great concern. Here [at Lybicam], some French-speaking students have friends in the English-speaking section. There are families in which some children study in the French-speaking culture and others in the English-speaking culture. So, there are children who can experience this crisis very badly. Especially in this school, when the children graduate from the Anglophone system, they go to the South-West or North-West Region to pursue higher education. At this time, that is not possible.
Parents no longer want to send their children there. Our English-speaking students are now limited in their choice of universities.

**Harmonization of the Two Educational Subsystems**

At Lybicam, teachers think that Cameroon must have a harmonized educational system. Mballa believes that harmonization can help Cameroonians stick together and work together to develop the country. Also, for him, both subsystems have advantages that can benefit the whole nation. Finding balance and building a Cameroonian system that draws on Western and local cultures is crucial. He claimed,

In 1995, harmonizing the two education systems was on the agenda during the National Conference of education. We must find a unique educational system in Cameroon. Cameroonian teachers have been asking for that harmonization for a long time.

The French-speaking examinations are tough on the students. In 4 days, they need to pass 10 subjects, whereas English-speaking students only need to pass 4 to 5 subjects within three weeks. Something needs to be done to find a balance.

There are sometimes discussions between the students about both examination systems. French-speaking students would tell English-speaking ones that their exams are very easy because they choose their subjects, and after each test, they go home to sleep and rest. Meanwhile, the French-speaking students are compelled to take all the subjects without rest.

Ngalim (2014), a lecturer at Bambili Teacher Training School (Anglophone), maintains that the lack of harmonization in Cameroonian education is the source of many
problems such as equity and quality education and a hindrance to the development of the country. For her,

Harmonization entails that certain aspects of the curricula or syllabi of the two sub-systems at the primary and secondary levels should have the same contents. These contents may be taught in conformity with methods and procedures of each of the existing subsystems. The assumption that underlies harmonization is that the contents taught in the two subsystems are universal. The standard will be maintained irrespective of the medium of instruction. (Ngalim, 2014, p. 340)

The coordination of the two educational subsystems in Cameroon has significant advantages, as Ngalim (2014) demonstrated. It can help Cameroonians unify their thoughts for the nation’s benefit and promote bilingualism. In the same vein, Ndille (2013) shows that the “reunification of education in Cameroon” is the way to minimize the domination of the two colonial heritages on Cameroonians, and “that would develop into a unique and authentic system of education that will inspire a sense of adherence to a single Cameroonian identity” (p. 307).

Fortunately, at Lybicam, the “special programs” that educate students in both official languages (French and English) give good results. Mgana, the assistant dean, is very happy with the special programs at Lybicam. He asserted,

Our best students come from these special programs. We need to extend them to all our schools and educate perfectly bilingual Cameroonians. We are looking for Cameroonians who feel comfortable in both English and French. The special programs should take over the educational system, and we would have a unified educational system in the country.
Administrators’ Initiatives for Peacebuilding in the School

Mgana shows that the school has two different challenges, on the one hand, there is the challenge of coexistence between Muslims and Christians, and, on the other hand, between Francophones and Anglophones. Because of that, the administration could address religious and linguistic differences. As a bilingual school hosting both educational subsystems, Lybicam provides opportunity to bring Anglophone and Francophone students together for games, primarily football, basketball, volleyball, and handball.

According to Mballa and Mgana, Lybicam promotes peacebuilding through the students’ “cooperatives.” Cooperatives are large structures where students can have various initiatives, including peacebuilding projects. Usually, they develop social and cultural activities, including traditional food, dance, and garments. The cooperative also fosters cultural competitions in the form of questions and answers, including general knowledge. Together with his or her staff, the cooperative president bears great respect from the school authorities and the students. Mballa listed the cooperative and the clubs as the favorite space for peacebuilding in the school, as he said,

Here at [Lybicam], the main places where students express themselves are the school cooperative and the clubs. The cooperative leadership always encompasses both French-speaking and English-speaking students. If the president is from the French section, the vice-president must be from the English section and vice versa. When the list is not mixed and balanced, it gets rejected by the electoral committee. The government allocates a small budget to run the cooperatives and
promote coexistence between the students of different ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. It is entirely managed by the students.

Besides the cooperative that organizes most extracurricular activities in the school, clubs also stimulate students’ lives in the school. They are generally focused on a particular theme or advocate for a specific cause. Mbala presented some of the Lybicam clubs as follows,

We have a multiculturalism club where students show their different cultures and learn other cultures. I think this diversity is what peacebuilding is about. There is also an ethical club, where they can reflect on good and bad actions in society and other ethical topics. These clubs bring together students from diverse cultural backgrounds. They learn to accept each other differences and develop what unites them and identifies them as Cameroonians. In these clubs, English-speaking and French-speaking students work together. We try to put the students from both linguistic groups together for all extracurricular activities.

Another club Mgana emphasized is the citizenship club, where the students recall the basics of citizenship and the values of the nation. They use drama, talks, and debates on the notion of citizenship. In Form 3 (9th grade) curriculum, students learn the key concepts such as state, nation, homeland, territory, population, and government. The citizenship club will stress attitudes such as patriotism, which is the love of one's country, and nationality, which represents our common identity. Nationalism allows one to work for and protect one's nation. They learn about great figures such as Um Nyobe, Ernest Wandji, and Douala Manga Bell, who shed their blood to fight for the independence of the country. In a crisis like this, people should show their nationalism and participate in
building peace. In the same sense, Yougouda and Oumma praised the UNESCO Club, which advocates education for all without distinction of origin, social class, gender, and religion. For them, Lybicam strives to promote living together, harmony, integration, and peace. However, the impact of the clubs does not reach most of the students in the school. Faculty and staff should also sensitize the students so that they get involved in different clubs.

Mballa narrated his experience as a Cameroonian from the South working in the Far-North as follows,

Usually, when I enter a class and introduce myself, the students will immediately say “gada mayo,” which means a foreigner. I take no offense because they don’t do it to harm me. Similarly, when northerners go to the South and introduce themselves, our students there will say “houssa or wadjo,” which also means that this person comes from afar. We always try to classify people according to their ethnic groups. The clubs attempt to transcend these differences.

The teacher also talked about tribalism (or favoritism) as political manipulation. The Anglophone crisis has exacerbated the plague of favoritism in Cameroon. Schools have a significant role in building a national awareness for peace and the development of the country. To further explain how politics can influence division among people, three out of four participants narrated a dispute that happened between an Anglophone and a Francophone student. The following is the summary of the story,

At the beginning of the crisis, two of our students got into a fight outside the school. One was Anglophone and the other Francophone. It was an ordinary students’ quarrel. However, the problem was amplified because of the crisis, and
political authorities got involved. Yaoundé people were informed that Anglophones and Francophones are fighting in our school. The governor called the principal, and the Regional Delegate for Secondary Education came to the school. The principal managed the situation with the parents. The Regional Delegate met with the students, and the children themselves were surprised to see how this issue had become so big. So, politicians can take advantage of any situation.

According to Mballa, Cameroonians could easily overcome linguistic and religious barriers. For him, the desire to live together can be observed when there are religious feasts. Muslims invite Christians and vice versa. For example, if people know that their guests do not eat a particular food because of their religion, they will plan to get what these people can eat and drink. Even if politics seeks to divide people, the "living together" already has roots that Cameroonians must preserve. Additionally, for the students, peace is a value in which they believe. "Even in the North-West," Mballa stated "students believe in peace. Because of that, many students continue to go to school despite the risk it entails."

Both teachers and administrators at Lybicam identified sanctions and sensitizations as the methods the school uses to prevent violence among students. According to Oumma, “In Monday school gatherings, the principal will often remind the students that it is important to respect each other, that cases of fights lead to exclusions, and that harmony allows success. The teachers will relay this message in the classrooms.”

The teachers also work to develop peace among themselves. All four interviewees spoke positively about the personnel friendship organization. This is how Mballa puts it,
We also have an organization that brings together all French-speaking and English-speaking faculty and staff. We call it “Friendship” and we meet outside the school once a month. There are no hierarchy distinctions in the organization, and everyone is a member. It is a space of recreation, fraternity, and friendship. We can approach the principal and all the administration members, listen to the music together, and eat a piece of bread. We avoid games that oppose Anglophones to Francophones. We create two teams with the teachers of both linguistic groups, and we play men and women together. Since we relaunched the "Friendship" last year, out of about 200 faculty and staff members, 100 to 130 have met regularly. This organization is the strength of the school. "Friendship" unites people, and when we are united, we are strong.

Lybicam also takes advantage of the parents' association to highlight the importance of peace and ask them to conduct the message to the students. Other supports come from NGOs and other private companies. They promote peace by sponsoring students' "questions and answers" on peacebuilding issues. For example, Yougouda mentioned Peace Corps Volunteers, who have been working in the school for decades. According to their website,

The Cameroon Peace Corps Education Project seeks to provide personal, professional, and academic opportunities to students and teachers through English and Science. In their capacities as English, Math, and Science teachers, volunteers help students improve English language and science proficiency, and develop gender-aware leadership skills. They help teachers improve instruction by encouraging them to integrate literacy teaching and learning techniques, and to
use student-centered and gender-equitable approaches to content-based instructions. Finally, they enhance community members' participation in schools and students' learning through sports, science fairs, library development projects, and experiential learning opportunities.

The Cameroon Peace Corps had organized talks and sponsored the students’ cooperative peacebuilding activities during the Boko Haram crisis. In the same vein, UNESCO and other UN organizations offer seminars on violent extremism for selected teachers in collaboration with the regional delegation for Secondary Education. Some Lybicam teachers attend the training. Maballa also talked about individuals who visit the school to raise the students' awareness of particular issues. For example, someone came recently to sponsor a program promoting young girls’ initiatives, supporting their well-being, and recognizing women's contribution to Cameroon's development.

Oumma highlighted the existence of the peace and security club, which educates students on issues of peace and the need to preserve it around oneself and in the world. Unfortunately, she said, club activities do not always reach a large number of students in the school. These efforts must be maintained and supported by external partners, both state and private.

Mballa also recognized that peace is a permanent quest. Many things depend on what the students learn from their families. There are traditional biases from one ethnic group to another. These biases are transferred to the school. We need to address them and build a learning place where we support each other and walk together. During the interview he said,
There is also a lot of hate speech among the students. Here in Cameroon, we are used to saying that Anglophones are always awkward. If the children hear these words every time, they may think that Anglophones are not good people and avoid them. I also teach English-speaking special students. You will hear the children whispering that the French-speaking people are stupid from time to time. These are expressions that regularly exist around the students. Sometimes these words offend them off and create tensions between them. Thank God, that it is only a minority that spread out this hate speech.

Parents also need to be made aware of the harmful effects of hate speech.

The teacher wanted the parents to cooperate in banishing hate speech around the students.

Besides hate speech, Mballa also emphasized the attitude they strive to develop among themselves, teachers, and administrators. He mentioned issues about welcoming others, communicating, and being patient with them. He asserted:

The second part concerns the teachers. There are Anglophones who went to the Bambili Teacher Training School, where they never spoke French and never lived in a Francophone environment. They are directly assigned here, where they have to use French as the primary language. If they don't speak French, they cannot interact with people. When they ask for something, you will hear people laughing. It makes them uncomfortable. These teachers have the impression that they are marginalized. That's what they say. Because of that, we should use both French and English in our meetings. We are not doing it yet. Sometimes, English-speaking teachers take the floor and talk for a long time. The Francophone teachers, who do not understand English, will complain and ask them to shut their
mouths. This creates frustrations and tensions between teachers. So, you might be sitting in the teachers' room and an English-speaking teacher walks in and he doesn't greet you. Some Anglophone teachers will only remain in their section and will never meet with Francophone teachers. It is a challenge, but we hope to get there.

Mballa also stressed for genuine integration efforts and respect for linguistic and cultural differences between teachers.

In the same line, Mgana stated that the effort they need to make in this bilingual school is to have all faculty and staff speak both French and English. For him, if bilingualism was effective from kindergarten through high school, Cameroonians would no longer speak of Anglophones and Francophones and not be torn between two cultures. For example, he said, “we are here in a bilingual high school, but it's two high schools. If we opted for effective bilingualism, we would not have an English section and a French section. Once you register, it's to study in both French and English.” Mgana also believes that at Lybicam, French-speaking teachers should make an effort to speak English because friendship comes when people can easily talk to each other and understand each other. Most English-speaking teachers at Lybicam speak French because they need it to move around. The French-speaking teachers should also commit to learning English. That attitude can address the issue of the marginalization raised by the Anglophones. Kouega and Dempowo (2022), show that the crisis in English-speaking Cameroon “was triggered by the attitude of French-speaking civil servants who knew no English and communicated with their subordinates only in French in an English-speaking
environment, causing some of these subordinates to feel that they were being lectured in French” (p. 22).

**Teachers’ Initiatives for Peacebuilding**

The new citizenship education program gives teachers the opportunity to take from local traditions to convey messages of peace, tolerance, and national unity. For instance, Yougouda used the image of the family to teach his students the harmony that must exist in a nation like Cameroon. “When I teach national integration,” he said, “I always take the image of the family to indicate the harmony that must exist between the peoples of Cameroon. For us in Africa, the family is seen as a society in miniature. We must form a national family.” In traditional African society, a family is a wider circle of members and includes the community or the village, as Mbiti (1989) states, “The family includes children, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters who may have their own children and other immediate relatives” (Mbiti, 1989, p. 104). He also shows that the role of the family is held to be fundamental, and the individual can only feel fulfilled within a family. In this vein, creating a Cameroonian family means bringing together all ethnic groups and striving to achieve development as a unified and stronger country. According to Yougouda, “There are also other symbols like the kola nut that are found all over the country. In all regions of Cameroon, the kola nut is shared as a sign of friendship and peace.”

The kola nut is common in Cameroon, and its peacebuilding significance is well known across West Africa. It comes from a plant that grows as a big tree in the tropical forests of West Africa. Kammampoal and Laar (2019) demonstrate that the kola nut is given as a symbol of hospitality, friendship, and respect; and is presented to guests at important social events such as weddings, funerals, and infant naming ceremonies. It is
therefore complementary to peacebuilding theories the students learn in classrooms. For Mgana, basic social education in traditional Cameroonian cultures promotes solidarity, sharing, and respect for hierarchy. Social Studies teachers should introduce these values in their courses. Oumma recalled that the notion of peace began to be taught in the lower classes with harmony in the family and social integration. She thinks that the children find the bases for building peace and living together in these classes. For her, Cameroon, which has more than 250 ethnic groups, must necessarily develop peace education and promote its diversity as an asset.

Like all the interviewees involved in the research, Lybicam faculty and staff were grateful for the competency-based approach pedagogy, which allows them to efficiently teach the notion of peace. Teachers go from real-life situations to advocating for dialogue and creative conflict resolution. Mgana said,

In this region, we all experienced the fear of Boko Haram and saw people losing their homes, their jobs and missing school for several years. So, with the competency-based approach, we link the Anglophone crisis to that of Boko Haram, and the students understand that they all need to work for peace to avoid further suffering.

When Mballa teaches the chapter on peacebuilding, he reminds his students of what happened at the heights of the Boko Haram attacks to show that peace is very important. He stresses the necessity of preventing violence because its consequences are always disastrous. The following is an example of how he sensitized his students,

Here in the Far-North Region, when the Boko Haram crisis started, there were explosions of suicide bombers all over the region, at the border, in Kousséri, in
Kolofata, in Mora, and even here in Maroua. Explosions happened at the Central Market and the Green Bridge. The government took actions to stop and prevent harm. For example, everyone was systematically checked before entering any building or public place. The Muslim women's veils were banned, and small street suppliers were suppressed. People were destabilized and scared. When peace is threatened, nothing works. I recall this situation to demonstrate to the students that seeking peace is in our interest. I often tell my students that they should not sit only with people from their ethnic group in the classroom. Here we are all at home. We are all at home in Cameroon, whether we are from the South, the North, or the North-West. Elsewhere people will show you that you are not at home.

However, Lybicam teachers do not share the same feelings about cultural integration. Mgana believes that Cameroonians are socially integrated, and the curriculum is fitted for that. For him, Cameroon is having a political problem, not an educational one. He asserted that,

Our students have no problem learning values from other cultures. We live in a multicultural environment and share many things with people from other cultures. More and more in this country, we are having inter-ethnic marriages, which unite families from different traditional cultures. The students are even curious to discover what they do not know. At Lybicam, we have students from all over the country, and all of them are well integrated into the northern culture. If you tell children from the South who are born here to go back, they will respond that they are at home here, which is the same all over the country. Nevertheless, the real
problem in Cameroon is political power. They manipulate ethnic groups for their interests.

The population and the youth themselves have no problem living together. We just need to develop a common vision for our society. Education can prevent bad attitudes by developing ethical and social values.

**Teachers and Administrators’ Thoughts about the Citizenship Curriculum**

Lybicam teachers and administrators think that the Ministry of Secondary Education has improved the peacebuilding component of citizenship education curriculum. The program itself is very rich and starts from the family to the school and covers the whole society. The goal is to develop national integration and promote living together. Teachers highlight that it is not only a question of living together but also a necessity to build a nation where everyone feels at home. For example, Mballa usually advises them to have the courage to leave Maroua to settle in Yaoundé because Cameroon belongs to everyone. He believes that national integration is crucial and claimed that the Cameroon head of state considers it essential.

Oumma also explained that the curriculum allows the students to reflect on peacebuilding. In 12th grade, there is a module on the notion of peace. With the competency-based approach, teachers carry out tutorials and allow students to reflect and develop methods and strategies for building peace. The students bring their ideas to enhance the course and feel involved and valued during their presentations. Only at the end, the teacher summarizes the ideas and points out what can be improved. This example and the teacher's comments emphasize that it is imperative for Cameroonian to safeguard peace, maintain it, and encourage it. The citizenship education curriculum also
encompasses a set of fundamental rights, human rights, moral integrity, justice, and peace.

Yet some of the teachers believe that it is not enough because most of the teaching remains theoretical. For instance, Mballa said,

It is difficult to take the students on a field trip because of the size of our classrooms. We have 50 to 60 students in a single classroom. We don't have enough time to teach and organize field trips simultaneously. We don't even have financial aid for that. I think we need support for excursions and field studies.

The competency-based approach makes it complicated to teach big-size classes, especially organizing the students into small groups. Teachers will just do brainstorming and analyze documents with the students. By only these two activities, they miss most of the students' contributions. Moreover, Dze-Ngwa (2014) highlights that the various peacebuilding aspects of the program did not reduce human rights abuse and the high risk of conflict in Cameroon. Therefore, schools need to strengthen the curriculum with a systematic peace education course.

**Suggestions for Peacebuilding**

Lybicam teachers suggest that the government should sponsor field studies and reduce the size of the classes to better implement the competency-based approach pedagogy. The school should also continue to fund the clubs and support their programs.

Additionally, professional development is needed to help practicing teachers learn about peacebuilding techniques. The school can also organize peacebuilding and social integration seminars. All teachers in the school should develop a concern for
peacebuilding and be ready to sensitize the students. Also, improving the school infrastructures with technological equipment would be beneficial.

Teachers proposed that symbols like the monument of the 50th anniversary of independence and reunification (see figure 9 on page 135) should be made known to the students and miniaturized in schools to remind everyone that peace and unity are vital in a multicultural setting.

**Figure 9**

*The Monument of 50th Anniversaries of Independence and Reunification in Buea*

The monument encompasses 10 visible pillars representing the 10 Cameroon regions. The logo of the celebration of the independence and reunification of Cameroon lies at the center of the pillars and is supported by two hands, which symbolizes unity. It is located in Buea in the Anglophone area. This city was the first political capital during the German colonization.
Furthermore, teachers suggest that Lybicam organize roundtables to promote
peace and involve experts, teachers, and students. It would also be significant to combine
the English-speaking and French-speaking sectors and simply have a first and a second
cycle. This reorganization of the campus will allow teachers of the two subsystems to rub
shoulders more often and for students to be together. Lybicam should not neglect the
problem of religion and revisit the schedule to avoid interference between prayer and
teaching times.

Summary

The crisis has shaken the two Anglophone regions, damaged education, and
driven many people out of jobs. Public services are still closed in remote places,
economic activities are enormously impacted, and development projects are negatively
impacted. Lybicam faculty and staff asked that the government organize another
dialogue, genuine and inclusive, to address the Anglophone crisis. They believe that
Cameroon is in crisis because of bad governance and the government’s inability to deal
with the Anglophone grievances. Alongside Anglophones, many Francophones are also
unhappy with the current political trend. Particularly, teachers are disgruntled. The
conflict has further deteriorated relationships between Anglophone and Francophone
Cameroonian.

At Lybicam, teachers think Cameroon must have a harmonized educational
system in order to stick together and work together to develop the country because both
educational subsystems have advantages that can benefit the whole nation.

Lybicam faculty and staff identified clubs as important venues to foster living
together, multiculturalism, and peacebuilding. They advocated for bilingualism and the
necessity of enriching the citizenship education curriculum with traditional symbols. For them, also, a peace education program is crucial in Cameroon’s schools today, and teachers need appropriate training to transmit peacebuilding skills to their students.

**Figure 10**

*Summary of Lybicam Findings*

This flowchart gives the summary Lybicam concerns, priorities, and initiatives for peacebuilding in Cameroonian schools and society.
Report from Baba Simon: Description of Baba Simon

Baba Simon is a Catholic High School that opened in the 1950s. It is entrusted to a religious congregation, which strives to give students an integral human formation, including ethical and spiritual values. Its physical structures include an administrative building, three classroom buildings, playgrounds, and a chapel. Classrooms are grouped in the three buildings by level, namely 7th/8th grades, 9th/10th grades, and 11th/12th/13th grades.

Baba Simon is a coeducational day school. With more than 2,000 students, it has reached its maximum capacity and wishes to open a second campus and revive the tradition of boarding schools. The students wear a uniform with African spiritual colors: black, red and white (Mveng, 1964). Like the classical schools, which give importance to the arts, Baba Simon offers design, sculpture, music, theater, and traditional African dances. Sports occupy a prominent place there, with one of the country's best high school basketball teams. Baba Simon’s curriculum includes literature, science, and economic courses. It promotes excellence and is in the top three of the best high schools in French-speaking Cameroon. It is an all-French-speaking school with a solid English program to prepare students for the country's bilingualism. Some students come from special bilingual primary schools with English backgrounds. Most English teachers come from English-speaking regions and are dedicated to the task.

The influence of the Anglophone crisis on the school is indirect. The academic staff and students feel it through contact with the victims and the restrictions it imposes on the country, as the stakeholders associated with this research will show it later.
Guidelines for Findings at Baba Simon

The findings present faculty and staff concerns about the crisis, the school peacebuilding projects, teachers' peacebuilding initiatives, administrators' and teachers' thoughts about the citizenship education curriculum, and suggestions for peacebuilding in the school. The participants for the Baba Simon school are Bello, a history and citizenship education teacher; Caroline, a history and citizenship education coordinator; Kamga, a citizenship education teacher and chief of staff; Maipa, a history and citizenship education teacher. The interviewees' names are all pseudonyms. The interviews and all other data at Baba Simon were collected in French and translated into English.

Teachers’ and Administrators’ Concerns about the Crisis

The Role of History

Baba Simon teachers and administrators hold history accountable for the crisis. For them, French and English-speaking Cameroons are a consequence of the First World War. At the end of the war, the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 took away all German colonies. German Cameroon was divided between France and Great Britain, the winners of the war. The situation evolved until 1945, when the United Nations was set up, and the struggle for Cameroon's independence began. French Cameroon became independent on January 1, 1960; in the meantime, British Cameroon was still under British administration. Ahmadou Ahidjo, the first President of Cameroon, initiated talks to achieve the reunification of Cameroon, which was settled at the Foumban Conference. It took place from July 17 to 24, 1961, leading to the Federal Republic of Cameroon. In the 1961 constitution, Title 10,
Article 47 indicates that "Any proposal to revise this Constitution that undermines the unity and integrity of the Federation is inadmissible."

Unfortunately, in 1972 President Ahidjo decided to organize a referendum during which he changed the Federal Republic to the United Republic of Cameroon. The referendum is still contested by Anglophones who believe it was illegitimate. According to English-speaking Cameroonians, we should never have moved from the Federal Republic to the United Republic of Cameroon. Are they right or not? That is a constitutionalist’s debate. The teachers explained that when the federation ended in Cameroon in 1972, Anglophones lost many advantages. Each of the two federated parties has a president with an entire administration. Real decentralization existed, meaning that people did not feel the need to go to Yaoundé to sign a paper. There were three assemblies, one for each federated state and a national assembly. With the unitary constitution, Anglophones became a minority, with only 20% English-speaking and 80% French-speaking. The change from the Federal Republic to the United Republic of Cameroon made Anglophones feel like they had been engulfed. Now, they want to resist the “francophonization” of Cameroon’s English-speaking area. “Francophonization” is the term Anglophones use to express what they experienced before this crisis. For instance, most inscriptions on public buildings were in French, and many public service employees used French for their work in Anglophone areas. Kouega and Dempowo (2022) have also decried the attitudes of French-speaking Cameroonians who work in the Anglophone area and do not bother to learn English. Kamga illustrated that attitude: “In the public services, the agents spoke French. The judges listened to litigants and complaints in English and handed down sentences in French.” That also happened in education with vocational
training institutions. Kamga expressed this: “In terms of education, several technical high school teachers in the English-speaking areas spoke in French, and the students struggled to understand them.”

The situation became complex when President Biya signed a decree on February 14, 1984, to change the country's name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon, which is the former name of French Cameroon. Anglophones did not like this change. In the same vein, Bouopda (2018) demonstrates that this decree that claimed to cancel colonial differences between Cameroonians was perceived as a denial of the Anglophone heritage and a desire to brush aside everything that makes them specific. For him, it is the institutional erasure of English-speaking Cameroon. Kamga, the school’s chief of staff, recalled the words of an Anglophone lawyer who interpreted the situation as follows,

For Anglophones, there was a marriage between French Cameroon and English Cameroon that was not sealed by a contract. In other words, no text set the conditions for the unification of Cameroon. There was an engagement, of course, but never a marriage.

According to Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), after President Biya changed the name of the country Anglophones protested, among which was Fon Gorji Dinka, an Anglophone lawyer and first president of the Cameroon Bar Association. On March 20, 1985, he addressed a memorandum to President Biya entitled ‘The New Social Order,’ in which he declared the Biya government unconstitutional and called for the Southern Cameroons – the former name of English-speaking Cameroon – to become independent and be baptized the Republic of Ambazonia. He was arrested and imprisoned for 9 months and then exiled to Nigeria. Anglophones have been frustrated from the time the
federation was abrogated. Because of that, Kamga believed that a historian should not be surprised by the Anglophone crisis. He said, “I was not surprised to see the crisis arise. I was surprised by its scale, but it was predictable. History shows that a crisis was brewing and had to be resolved. Cameroonians need to discuss and settle this matter.”

**Consequences on Society and Education: Frustration in Education and Economic Problems**

Baba Simon teachers think that the Anglophone crisis is a result of a government’s political failure. Bello, a history and citizenship education teacher, illustrated this political role in the following terms,

This crisis, which is growing today, is political mismanagement because the politicians, who succeeded one another after independence, did not manage the frustrations of the English-speaking minority well. Anglophones wanted to maintain their British cultural heritage, and that was neglected. Today, we can see that the English language is not very involved in the country's administration. There is a desire to engulf the English-speaking part. When taking a walk around town, you can see that there is not enough bilingualism in the signs and panels of the administrative buildings. You can read “Ministère du Commerce” (Department of Commerce) in French, and it is not translated into English. If there is a translation, English is in small print as if there was a scale of value between the two languages. And yet Cameroon is bilingual, not primarily French-speaking and secondary English-speaking; it is bilingual. So, we must correct all that systematically.

According to Bouopda (2018), the Anglophones’ frustrations have been building up from the time President Ahidjo took control of the Federal Republic in 1961. Both John Ngu
Foncha, the Anglophone Vice-President of the Republic after the reunification, and Solomon Tandeng Muna, the Speaker of the House in the 1980s, protested. In January 1984, Muna addressed a memorandum to President Biya where he wrote,

Virtually, every Anglo-Saxon qualification is inferior to French ones, and so Anglo-Saxon standards are supposed to be inferior to French ones. This gives an idea of the frustrations which English-speaking citizens face virtually at all levels in the university, in public services and in state corporations with regard to their progress. (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 71)

Baba Simon teachers also underline the difficulties that Cameroonian students experience in contact with the victims. Many of them can no longer freely go to English-speaking schools and universities. They are affected academically and socially, as Bello explained,

The children in bilingual schools see an increase in enrollments in the English-speaking sections because there has been a massive movement of students from the English-speaking regions to the French-speaking ones. Our students here at Baba Simon are shocked by the images they see. The students are aware of the killings and the damage of this conflict and are concerned about it. For example, when I teach the notion of peace in 12th grade, I allow students to bring up all these distressing images.

You know that in recent years there has been a trend for French-speaking students to go to English-speaking schools and thus become perfectly bilingual. Many children from the French-speaking area ended up in the universities of Buea and Bamenda [Anglophone universities] for higher education. Since the crisis started,
the movements toward English-speaking schools and universities are no longer possible.

For English-speaking students, it’s a disaster. Many children can no longer go to school for several years. I think students suffer like their parents who have lost their jobs and don't know how to send their children to school. Additionally, some children have lost their parents.

In the same vein, the United Nations Children's Fund has denounced the danger faced by children who have not been to school for several years. “By late 2019, UNICEF reported that 855,000 children in North-West and South-West Cameroon were still out of school, some for nearly three years. More than 80 percent of schools in the two regions have been shuttered; 74 schools were destroyed” (Fallwickl et al., 2021, p. 4).

Kamga also described how the students feel about the crisis in his classroom. For him, the students are subject to various influences. Some are from families where parents think that this crisis does not exist, and others see the victims regularly, depending on where they live. He narrated,

When the crisis started, people in the government said that the Anglophone problem did not exist and that there was just a little agitation from angry people. Because of that, we have students who think that Anglophones exaggerate. But we also have students who know the problem because their parents are involved in one way or another. Also, some students live in neighborhoods where they see the massive influx of children coming from the regions in crisis. We have students in Bonaberi, a neighborhood that receives many people displaced by this conflict and who live daily with the victims. They hear their stories. Can you imagine
when a woman tells you that she was at home and saw armed men arriving asking her husband? She replied that she was not married and lived with her mother. They threatened and tortured her. She carried her two children and went to hide in the bush. During the day she hid, and at night she walked to get out of the area and reach the secure part of the country to get help – many of our students saw these victims and are aware of their suffering. When we talk about a subject related to the crisis in class, the students will tell us about these atrocities. And the debates are sometimes heated in the classrooms.

Additionally, Bello emphasized parents’ suffering, explaining that students experience the aftermath of the conflict because Cameroon is in difficulty, politically and economically. He also denounced the rampant favoritism (tribalism) and egoism that is taking over Cameroon society. For him,

The malaise affects everyone, and peace becomes imperative for everyone, including students. Companies such as the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), with 16,000 employees, has ceased operating. Many parents are unemployed and in poverty. And the children, especially those in the English-speaking area, are the most affected. Many displaced people are in Douala, Bonaberi, Dibombari, Yaoundé, Bafoussam, Souza, and several other cities in Cameroon. The students suffer the repercussions on several levels. We suffered this crisis directly in the teaching sector because we corrected national exams for two years without being paid. It is only recently that we received payment for the 2019-2020 exams. Cameroon has no more money, and we want peace.
The Inter-employer Group of Cameroon (GICAM) issued numbers to highlight the economic damage of the unrest in Cameroon. It has already cost FCFA 2.153 billion in real property, rolling stock, and furniture, while the turnover shortage is valued at FCFA 269.056 billion (Andzogo, 2022).

This shortage in business turnover implies an immediate loss of FCFA 5.9 billion in the government’s tax revenues as a deposit of corporate tax. In terms of job losses, agro-industrial companies are atop the list. Overall, nearly 8,000 jobs in the formal sector are threatened, and 6,434 jobs have already been lost. (Andzogo, 2022, 03/31)

In the same sense, Bang and Balgah (2022) emphasize the economic consequence of the conflict on Anglophones.

The loss of livelihoods and huge displacement of people are exacerbating hunger and poverty, especially for the most vulnerable. The dominantly agrarian livelihoods in the region have been seriously affected. Meeting the basic needs of the population like having at least two meals per day, is a daunting prospect for the vulnerable population. In consequence, inflation has been soaring due to dwindling outputs and regular interruptions in the supply chain of agricultural products and manufactured goods from other regions of the country. (p. 21)

As I continued to interview Bello, he brought up the difficult coexistence, especially the tribalism that the 2018 presidential elections revealed in Cameroon. He added,

Moreover, I think that hateful, tribal, and extremist speeches are taking ground in Cameroon. Because of poverty and difficult conditions, there is, for certain ethnic
groups, the will to assert themselves. The search for sustenance made everyone want to see people from their tribe in the light. In short, there is tribalism that exists in Cameroon.

Are people ready to dialogue for peace in the Anglophone area? Bello thinks that dialogue is possible. It can come from cultural and historical ties that exist between peoples. For example, when he teaches, he emphasized that the Bakweri and the Douala ethnic communities are brothers, understand each other, have the same customs, and bear the same names. The peoples of the North-West and those of the West are the same. The Tikars are divided between French and English-speaking. The people of Mount Bamboutos around Mbouda and Santa are the same. People of the department of Lebialem in the South-West and those of Menoua in the West are the same. We must take advantage of this cultural fraternity to build dialogue and peace. Bello also suggested that the government should tell the truth and discuss with representatives who have the people's support. If the dialogue is not carried out with the real interlocutors, it will not bear fruit. He thinks that all who are with the President of the Republic no longer have the confidence of people in the Anglophone area.

According to Caroline, the citizenship education coordinator,

All Anglophones were initially unanimous in this fight. People were sensitized in villages, and they agreed to close the schools. They wanted autonomy that could boost development. The social situation is not good in Cameroon. Already the 1996 constitution provided for decentralization. But this has never been put into practice because people preserve selfish interests and refuse to put what the constitution provided into practice. This constitution provided that each region
elects its governor. The name “province” was changed into “region” to emphasize the autonomy of each region. Unfortunately, this is not applied, governors are still appointed, and frustrations are inevitable.

Now, many Anglophones have understood that this crisis benefits a few people. The vast majority suffer, and a minority benefit from that. The regions and property of Anglophones are destroyed, and their children do not go to school. The people have understood that there is also deception in this separatist project.

It is time for genuine dialogue.

However, Kamga believed that genuine dialogue would be difficult due to both parties' radicalism and egoistic interests. A genuine dialogue will need strong political will and both camps to compromise. This is what he said,

I don't think that people are ready to dialogue because there are many extremists on both sides. For example, in the [separatist] Ambazonian camp, you have people who are gradually developing a war economy to the point where they don't want to hear anything. They prefer the war to continue because they benefit from it. Other extremists do not want to dialogue and only want a separate state. For them, only secession counts. On the government side, some people believe that they can put down this rebellion and don't want to sit down to discuss it with the rebels.

The government held a dialogue in Yaoundé from September 30 to October 4, 2019. This dialogue had given rise to recommendations. However, it is not moving much. Some have asked that we start the dialogue again because the first one was biased, and the main separatist actors were absent. For example, the
principals in the diaspora were not present in this dialogue. They had asked for guarantees of security and protection and had proposed neutral ground for the dialogue, but this was not done. These people wield great influence. They are, in fact, the ones who finance and send money and arms to the country. For this, it was necessary to discuss it with them. So, on the issue of dialogue, we have to do better than what has been done.

To have a genuine dialogue, the International Crisis Group suggests offering enough time in the agenda for Anglophones, including federalists and separatists, to put forward their proposals. There is a dire need for a facilitator who enjoys greater confidence from all parties than Prime Minister Ngute, whose government is a party to the conflict. Prime Minister Ngute facilitated the 2019 national dialogue that did not solve the conflict. Even dialogue with more balanced participation will not obviate the need for more painstaking mediated talks between the government and Anglophone leaders (Crisis Group, 2019).

Additionally, Caroline added, burglars have come into play. They took advantage of the fact that there was a mess, a blur, and a crisis. The real Ambazonians behind the claim are no longer the ones pulling the strings. Now, Caroline added, there are many thieves extorting money from people, robbing families, and threatening everyone. Kamga is equally desolated, as he asserted,

The murder of the Kumba children had provoked general indignation. This drama is one of the strongest images that the Anglophone crisis has engraved on me. The Monday after this killing, I couldn't teach. Instead, I meditated on this massacre with the students for two hours, inviting them to become one with the massacred
children, their teachers, and their parents. It was essential to unite with all these innocent victims. I see this as an attack on the school. I told my students that it happened in Kumba, but it could have been here in our classroom. Teachers like me could also have been victims. What can we do to help end this conflict? I am ready to give what I can to end this crisis and bring peace to these regions of the North-West South-West and allow these thousands of children to return to school.

It is also an opportunity to draw the attention of the educational community to what we can do and must do to bring back peace, develop a culture of peace in schools, and prepare the future generations for a better Cameroon.

For Maipa, a history and citizenship education teacher, the Anglophone crisis affects all Cameroonians in all areas and impacts education, social life, and interpersonal relationships. From her words,

The crisis jeopardizes the living together that we are trying to build in Cameroon. The ideal that Cameroon would like to achieve through its motto – Peace, Work, Homeland – is being undermined. Several schools are closed in the country because children and teachers have been killed, and people live in fear. It is urgent to restore peace in the most affected localities. It is time to overcome tribal, linguistic, and political controversies and restore justice. Personally, I think that everyone, political leaders, secessionists, civil society, and the international community, all together, must mobilize to bring peace to the English-speaking area. Otherwise, generations will suffer because the children who live in insecurity today will bear the consequences of these atrocities for a long time. And all the children who do not go to school today will have a bleak future. Even
if there is secession, the consequences of these anti-school acts will be severe for the people. If these children are not educated, how are they going to get rid of the resentment and hatred that have been instilled in their hearts and live harmoniously with others? If Cameroon falls into chaos, neighboring countries will be affected, and everyone will suffer. Here at Baba Simon, we fear that the situation could escalate and affect us harder.

In the same vein, Fallwickl et al. (2021) show that the impact of the crisis on education is huge. Some displaced families have been put in refugee camps where the classroom sizes average 200 students. Violence in other parts of Cameroon has also hit education. “Since 2014, attacks in northern Cameroon launched by the terrorist organization Boko Haram have led to the closure of hundreds of schools. Boko Haram often interpreted to mean ‘Western education is a sin,’ routinely targets schools, killing and kidnapping schoolchildren” (p. 5). For UNICEF, targeting education is putting the future of an entire generation at risk. The whole country will suffer this educational assault for many years.

**Peacebuilding Solutions: Dialogue**

Baba Simon teachers and administrators believe that there are still venues to resolve the problem. Caroline thinks that there is no need to kill people in this crisis. President Biya bears the responsibility for the violence because he never visited the affected area and never disposed himself to talk with Anglophone people about their grievances. According to her,

We can proceed otherwise. We don't have to kill people. Whether it is the Ambazonians or the regular state army, no one is obliged to kill the other to solve
a problem. We need a frank and inclusive dialogue. It is not the type of dialogue where the real interlocutors are in prison and the people on the same side talk. It can't work like that. The President of the Republic can go down there and say, "people of the North-West, what can I do for you? Tell me, and we will try to do it."
The president goes on the field in many countries when there is a problem. We often hear Macron was there, Biden was there, etc. Why don't we have it here? He must go there, and his mere presence will comfort the people.

How could we bring Anglophone students back to school? As long as there is no peace, bringing children back to school is impossible. Without peace, nothing can be done. Caroline thinks that the government needs to resolve the problem of frustration to establish peace. For her, President Biya must free the imprisoned leaders of the Anglophone crisis first. "If the killings continue after that," Caroline said, "we will know that they are bandits and not people who want the good. At that time, the state can strike hard to prevent these bandits from harming."

Conversely, Bello thinks that the government had initiated peacebuilding programs to ban hate speech and tribalism as well as violent extremism. He highlighted that there are laws to discourage those who want to join Boko Haram and those who support the violence in the English-speaking regions. According to him, the government created the National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (NCDDR). The program welcomes former separatists who want to return to normal life and teaches them trades to reintegrate into working life. Bello also mentioned the commission for the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism. This commission aims to strengthen the coexistence between the two linguistic groups and the multiple
traditional cultures in the country. These commissions stem from the resolutions of the Major National Dialogue of 2019 (Teke, 2020). Although bilingualism has been a long-time government project in Cameroon, the government officials did not yet find the right way to realize it. Cameroon’s 1996 constitution requires the state to foster bilingualism, and the education law n° 98/004 of April 1998 recommends that education provide a mechanism to assure bilingualism for all Cameroonian students (Fallwickl et al., 2021).

Administrators’ Initiatives for Peacebuilding

Baba Simon’s faculty and staff convey the message that they are in solidarity with the basic claim of Anglophones. However, the separatists should review the violent means used for the claim. The teachers listed several activities to promote peace and living together within the school, as Maipa said,

At Baba Simon, we accept everyone without discrimination of social class, origin, or religion, and we ensure that all students and staff feel welcome. We have activities like "Retour aux Sources" (Back to Sources), where students promote their cultures while respecting others. We also have events like "Noël en Solidarité" (Christmas in Solidarity), where we bring the students to share what they have with the orphans. The 11th grade students participate in an event called "Une journée avec les orphelins" (a day with orphans), where they will spend an entire day working, cooking, eating, and playing with the children in an orphanage. In their final high school grade, all Baba Simon students visit with the prisoners, learning about their conditions and why they are there and celebrating mass with them. The annual school feast around February 11 is also a time of sharing among the students, involving parents, staff, friends, and other family
members. All these cultural and charitable activities profoundly impact our students. We have students who intervene as peacemakers when there is a problem in the classroom or the school compound. These actions also help the administration to intervene promptly. Some students do not support injustice. And when there is a conflict, they do not hesitate to honestly bring their version of the facts.

Maipa also emphasized that at the level of faculty and staff they have organizations that help them to support each other at the workplace. It is called “Cercle du Personnel du College” (CEPECOL). They also have “Collectif des Femmes du College” (COFEL). These organizations allow teachers and administrators to support each other, and they foster the professional and psychological development of their members. Maipa highlighted that the school Francophone and Anglophone teachers feel comfortable in these organizations. She asserted:

Francophones and Anglophones have no problem collaborating. In my opinion, everyone is integrated into the educational community. We all feel welcome in the “CEPECOL” and the “COFEL” for us women. Moreover, teachers agree that Anglophones’ claims are legitimate. I don't know teachers here who distance themselves from our English-speaking fellow citizens. However, I cannot entirely agree with the separatists’ violent means for these claims because violence does not always solve the problems.

For Bello, Baba Simon is an integration model because of the various nationalities of its students and staff, which include Chadians, Central Africans, Ivorians, Burkinabe, Congolese, Beninese, Senegalese, and French. He thinks that this interculturality
contributes to peacebuilding. He also emphasized the religious dimension of the school and its humanistic philosophy when he stated,

We are a Catholic school, and this aspect is significant. We have masses, and many other spiritual services are rendered to members of the educational community with a focus on peacebuilding. Education is regulated according to the Ignatian principles of "Magis" and "Cura Personalis," which mean the search for excellence and personalized assistance to each individual, both learners, and staff. There is always a religious and human dimension that makes the difference. We have programs such as "Education à la Vie et à l'Amour (EVA), "Educating for Life and Love," and "Culture Humaine et Religieuse (CHR)," or “Human and Religious Culture,” which are taught in all classes (class levels or grades). These teachings reinforce attitudes of peacebuilding and social values for community life. These courses give them guidelines for good behavior in life. When we promote sharing, solidarity, and coexistence, we promote peace. The administration sponsors activities such as International Labor Day, Women's Day, and staff excursions to strengthen cohesion among faculty and staff members. The quorum leaders are quick to assist us when there is a problem. Some might say they are priests and have a duty of compassion. But we have seen others who do not react with the same promptness elsewhere. At Baba Simon, everyone gets involved any time we have a problem. For example, I lost my sister during the pandemic, and other faculty and staff organized themselves and came to my house. I was deeply moved. This way of doing things reinforces the culture of peace. I am always amazed by the professional development sessions we receive
here at Baba Simon. These training cover spiritual, human, and pedagogical themes. It is really the integral formation. What we want to communicate to children, we also transmit to faculty and staff.

Caroline pointed out a positive practice at Baba Simon during cultural activities, such as a student dancing in an ethnic group different from his or her own. For example, a boy may dance in an ethnic group because his girlfriend is from that group. Some children try to break down linguistic and cultural barriers. She narrated her conversation with the students as follows,

I asked a few children questions to find out what their ethnic group is and what cultural dance they have chosen. One said he is Douala, but he danced with the Betis. Another replied that she is Basa and danced the Douala. I was impressed. For me, this is an example of good national integration. These types of decisions promote peace.

However, Kamga, the chief of staff, noticed that gossip, jealousy, hypocrisy, and tribalism are sometimes observed among faculty and staff. People also experience frustrations that lead them to develop attitudes of suspicion. All these attitudes, he said, undermine peaceful coexistence. As a leader, he understands and manages to reconcile people.

All of Baba Simon's initiatives underpin a harmonious social and spiritual life. They bring together, educate, and flourish the school's educational community members. However, actions that directly highlight the need for peace remain limited. It would be good to reinforce the personnel's capacity with the skills to promote peace, justice, and freedoms. The school can partner with
UNESCO, [which] advances peace education activities by providing support to member states to integrate a holistic vision of quality education that promotes the values of a culture of peace at all levels of their education systems… [It provides] revisions of curricula and textbooks in order to remove prejudices or stereotypes, and [promotes] teacher training and educational programs in peace and human rights education. (UNESCO, 2008)

**Teachers’ Contributions for Peacebuilding**

Baba Simon teachers take advantage of their teaching time to promote peace and reflect on the Anglophone crisis. Maipa narrated how they usually teach the notion of peace as she said,

In 12th grade, where we teach a module on peace, we ask the students to seek information about peacebuilding and particularly about the Anglophone crisis in order to participate actively in the classroom. Some students are in favor of bringing back peace in the Anglophone regions through dialogue, and others think that the only solution is to eradicate the secessionists. Most of the time, their positions come from their parents’ viewpoints. As teachers, we demonstrate the dangers of the war and the violence while making the students understand that the French-speaking part of the country is not spared from the Anglophone crisis. The whole nation is suffering the horrors of this conflict, and it can affect anyone. All Cameroonians should contribute collectively and individually to support those suffering from the consequences of the crisis.

When Baba Simon teachers teach chapters on violence or socio-integration, they try to make the students aware of the need to live together harmoniously. According to
Maipa, usually, they identify the obstacles to peacebuilding and ask the students to propose solutions for peace in the classroom, in the neighborhood, and within the framework of an institution. The teachers will then tell the students what to do in case of injustice. They also ask the students to go and do some research with their parents to find out what is done in their local culture to announce and seal the peace between two parties. After they have done the research, the students will make presentations and show the scope of these traditional practices and their importance in solving problems.

How do teachers unite the intellectual framework of the school with the cultural reality of the families to promote peace? Kamga believes that traditional symbols can help connect the school and the traditional cultures. This is his explanation:

We teach a course on national symbols, where we talk about the flag and describe its evolution, showing how we got to a gold star in the center of the red stripe. We show that the gold star symbolizes the unity of the state despite the diversity. I also sometimes insist on the documents of the strategies for growth and employment, which is the government's compass for the emergence of 2035, where it is said that Cameroon must be united in diversity. At some point, I tell myself that these are just words and slogans, and they don’t take people away from traditional biases to transform them.

Now we have to find tangible things. And we will look for that in our cultures. When I speak of tribalism as a social scourge, I show the students that we are not different from one ethnic group to another, we need to put aside biases and focus on what unites us, and we have many cultural similarities.
The following is a table of traditional symbols Baba Simon teachers made. It comprehends kola nut, jujube, peace plant, tobacco, honey, palm leaves, palm and raffia wine, and traditional dances. People share these symbols during traditional ceremonies in the presence of spiritual leaders. This figure shows that the kola nut is shared as a sign of peace all over Cameroon.

Figure 11

*Traditional Peace Symbols in Cameroon classified into regions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cameroon’s Regions</th>
<th>Peace Symbols</th>
<th>Circumstances/occasions</th>
<th>Significant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamaoua, Far-North, and North (northern regions)</td>
<td>Kola nuts, tobacco honey, and traditional millet drinks</td>
<td>Marriage / dowry, crisis, and baptism.</td>
<td>Expressing solidarity, Sign of peace, love, and sharing, Manage tensions between peoples and families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West, South-West, and West (grass field regions)</td>
<td>Peace plant, Jujube, sharing palm wine, raffia wine, kola nuts (red nuts)</td>
<td>Gatherings’ conflict situation customary court, family reunion meeting, crisis</td>
<td>Forgiveness, reconciliation, peace truth, clarity, good character, love, peace, and solidarity, Communion, reconciliation Sharing, reconciliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Customs and Traditions</td>
<td>Events and Meanings</td>
<td>Outcomes and Symbols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Center and West (central regions)</strong></td>
<td>Sharing palm wine, kola nuts. Palm leaves. Traditional dances</td>
<td>Crisis, traditional ceremony, family reunion. Receiving people. Traditional ceremony</td>
<td>Reconciliation and agreement, sharing, solidarity and union. Solidarity, welcoming people Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Littoral, South-West, and South (coastal regions)</strong></td>
<td>Palm leaves, palm wine, kola nuts. Special traditional dance</td>
<td>Receiving people, traditional ceremony (dowry, marriage). Crisis</td>
<td>Wishing welcome, reconciliation, sharing. Highlight peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central, East, and South (forest regions)</strong></td>
<td>Drums (nkul), palm wine, and kola nuts</td>
<td>Meeting, traditional ceremony, family reunion. Crisis or conflict</td>
<td>Gathering under the palaver tree, sharing, joy Agreement, solidarity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maipa talked about her niece's interethnic wedding, where the participants highlighted the linguistic difference and created an opportunity for the two ethnic groups to communicate and dialogue. She said,

I will give the example of my niece's wedding. We are Mbo (Littoral), and my niece married a Tchang (West). At the beginning of the ceremony, both families spoke in their local languages, and we did not understand each other. Then we had a ceremony to show the need to understand each other, accept interpreters, and show that a Tchang can live with a Mbo and vice versa. Then we brought the peace plant, a symbol of peace among the Tchang, and the palm leaves, a symbol
of peace among the Mbo to show that the two families are committed to living in peace and avoiding war.

This example shows humility and respect for both traditions. It shows that we can overcome language barriers to communicate if we want. There is always a way to find someone to make the link between the different language groups.

Teachers’ and Administrators’ Thoughts about the Citizenship Curriculum

Baba Simon teachers and administrators said that they like the new citizenship education program because it contains peacebuilding chapters and is opened to integrating cultural symbols. Through that program, the public authorities are trying to raise the students’ awareness of the importance of peace. The module on peace and conflict resolution teaches the importance of peace, violent extremism, structures for promoting peace, conflict prevention, and talks about institutions and peacebuilding commissions. The program aims to develop a national consciousness and help citizens integrate cultural and socio-political values. It also projects the child into the international sphere. The current citizenship education curriculum also has a theme on the impact of the media. “Unfortunately,” Bello said, “the media has played a destabilizing role in the crisis; we are currently experiencing exacerbated hate speech.” In the same vein, Kindzeka (2021) demonstrates that hate speech is effective in Cameroon through political parties, accredited media, and social media. Because of that, the government has launched a campaign to address the issue involving religious leaders, politicians, and journalists. In his report, Kindzeka (2021) deplored terms like “anglofou” to disrespect Anglophones. He agrees with the campaign to sensitize political parties on the necessity to educate on the dangers of hate speech and xenophobia in Cameroon. According to him,
incitements to ethnic hatred have increased in Cameroon since the disputed 2018 presidential election in which President Biya won while his opponent Maurice Kamto also claimed victory. He points out that the International Crisis Group alerted, in a report, that Cameroonian youths were gradually using social media like Facebook to intensify political and ethnic conflicts. While the campaign against hate speech is crucial for peace and living together in Cameroon, it should not prevent the local and international opinion from recognizing the role played by the present Cameroonian leaders in the Anglophone crisis.

Maipa developed her thoughts on the curriculum and gave a few details as follows,

In 7th grade, we talk about respect for human rights and harmonious family life; in 8th grade, emphasis is placed on national integration; in 9th grade, respect for national symbols and nationalism, which transcend tribal differences are emphasized; in 10th grade, we talk about democracy, community life, and the management of the common good. All these topics promote living together in peace. In 12th grade, the program is largely devoted to peace. The first part deals with the respect of fundamental rights and the denunciation of abuses. And the second part focuses on the notion of peace and conflict resolution. This revision of the curriculum was prompted by anomalies in our society. We realized that people mismanage the public or the common good. I believe that the objective now is to educate the new generation so that it avoids practices that undermine the entire community and appropriates the values of transparency and equity.
However, Baba Simon faculty and staff think that Cameroonians need to work on tribalism and respect for the public good. According to Caroline, for the students to become peacebuilders, education should go beyond the classrooms and include educational talks and meetings with people involved in peace activities. Additionally, visiting people in their villages and discovering their realities can remove cultural biases.

Yet, some limitations to the educational peacebuilding project exist. For example, Maipa mentioned that teachers lack textbooks that develop the new citizenship education programs, and many schools in Cameroon do not have a library. Cameroon must also improve the financial situation of the teachers so that they devote themselves to their work.

**Suggestions for Peacebuilding**

Baba Simon faculty and staff suggest that Cameroon organize a national education council. Teachers have been waiting for that council for years. When the teachers go on strike, it is crucial to check what their problem is. “It can't work,” Caroline said, “when a leader refuses to do what people expect.”

For Baba Simon teachers, in order to have genuine dialogue and resolve the Anglophone crisis, the government must first release the prisoners involved in the crisis, namely, the Ambazonian leaders and the trade unionists who carried the teachers’ complaints. Then it can invite them to dialogue.

Kamga suggests an adjustment of objectives of the peacebuilding chapters of the citizenship education program to address the Anglophone and the Boko Haram crises efficiently. The program should also pay attention to the rise of tribal hatred in the political arena and society. “We have to find ways” Kamga said “to explain to people that
we have come a long way to find ourselves together, along with a need to develop this living together. If our country is emerging by 2035, this cannot be done without peace.”

Statistics show that about 3,500 people are dead and more than 700,000 displaced. Trade with Nigeria is difficult because both crises span the border with Nigeria. Every Cameroonian must work for peace. Peace appears clearly in the national motto of our country, which is “Peace, Work, Homeland.” So, the government, politicians, curriculum developers, teachers, and families must mobilize because the time is critical. According to Dze Ngwa (2008), Cameroon must readjust its school curricula because many ethnic groups have shown signs of difficult coexistence. Moreover, having two educational subsystems in the same country is a ticking time bomb. History seems to have proven him right with the current crisis. Therefore, it is crucial to have a well-structured peace education program.

Another suggestion here at Baba Simon would be to support the justice and peace club and redefine its objectives to make it more attractive to students. The United Nations has established September 21 as the World Day of Peace. Baba Simon can mobilize to celebrate September 21, as it happens with the other actively celebrated days. This celebration will get people to think about peace and positively impact the school and the students. Baba Simon has a movie club that can show films on peace and anything that arouses the desire to work for peace so that the message gets across.

Summary

Baba Simon's faculty and staff believe that Cameroon's Anglophone crisis originated in the division of German Cameroon between France and England after the First World War. The reunification and administration of independent Cameroon created
injustice and frustrations among Anglophones. Baba Simon's teachers think that the Anglophone crisis is a result of a government's political failure. They abused their power to change the initial constitution and caused frustrations among Anglophones. Today the crisis has prevented many children from education and destroyed many schools. It has deprived thousands of adults of jobs and negatively impacted the country's economy.

Despite radicalization from both Anglophone separatists and some government members, peace is still possible because Cameroonians have cultural similarities on which they can capitalize to build peace. The school and the official curriculum emphasize national integration and living together. But there is still a need for systematic peace education in Cameroon schools.
Figure 12
Summary of Baba Simon Findings

This flowchart is the summary of Baba Simon teachers’ and administrators’ concerns, priorities actions and suggestions for peacebuilding in their school and Cameroonian society.
CHAPTER V: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

Cross-Case Analysis and Discussion

The previous stage of the analysis was the within-case analysis (Merriam, 2009), where I identified five peacebuilding themes: teachers' and administrators' concerns about the crisis; administrators' initiatives for peacebuilding in their schools; teachers' initiatives for peacebuilding in their classrooms; faculty's and staff's thoughts about the citizenship education curriculum; and suggestions for peacebuilding in schools. According to Merriam (2009), in multiple case studies, "once the analysis of each case is completed, cross-case analysis begins" (p. 204). The aim, as she further demonstrates, is to build a general explanation that fits individual cases and deepen the analysis to understand those cases better.

My goal in this research is to find out what teachers and administrators do and can do to build peace in their schools, as well as what the citizenship education curriculum offers in that line. A cross-case analysis will allow me to deepen this understanding and suggest some recommendations for improving peacebuilding through Cameroon’s schools. The cross-case analysis will also contribute to the "comparability" of the findings, which is "the degree to which the parts of a study are sufficiently well described that other researchers can use the results of the study as a basis for comparison" (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008, para. 26). For this purpose, I pulled from four cases common themes already identified in the single case analysis to highlight the points of convergence and divergence. I also discuss the composite findings in this section.
Convergent Concerns about the Crisis

Violence During the Anglophone Crisis

Data across four cases give evidence that teachers and administrators in Cameroonian secondary schools are concerned about violence perpetrated by both the Cameroonian army and the separatist Amba-boys. This violence has inflamed the crisis and continues to affect people all over the country. Galtung (1969) defines violence as “the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is” (p. 168). For him, violence is the fact that people allow some harm to occur that could have been avoided. This definition engages human responsibility in violence, especially when it can be prevented.

Galtung (1969) also shows that violence can be direct or indirect. He demonstrates that violence is potentially present when a group monopolizes all resources and deprives others. In this sense, we can say that Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis is a consequence of violence against Cameroonian citizens – Anglophones and Francophones – who endure poverty and injustice. Mgana, a Lybicam administrator, asserted that Anglophones revolted because of the unequal sharing of the “national cake” (national resources). Lora, a teacher at St. Angela, stated that the Anglophone teachers went on strike because changes in their educational system were being imposed without their consent.

Also, violence can be direct when means of fulfillment are destroyed, and physical and psychological potentials are diminished or hurt. For instance, it is direct violence when people are imprisoned, beaten, or killed. Similarly, lies, brainwashing, indoctrination, and various threats are direct violence (Galtung, 1969). Following
Galtung's (1969) explanation, the violence that inflamed the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon was direct violence because students were reprimanded at the University of Buea, and lawyers were violently silenced in Bamenda in 2016 (Fallwickl et al., 2021; Le Roux & Boucher, 2018). By the end of 2019, violence in Cameroon's English-speaking area had already left 3,000 dead and displaced half a million people within the country and into neighboring Nigeria (International Crisis Group, 2019). Violence from both the army and the separatists needs to be addressed lest the number of innocent victims continue to increase. Teachers and administrators from the four schools I researched were unanimous that the fight between the military and the rebels is unnecessarily violent. Education, economic activities, and peace will hardly be reestablished unless dialogue and action to stop the killing are taken. How can we get the belligerents to stop the cycle of violence? According to Reardon and Snauwaert (2015), violence is spreading in society because fundamental human dignity is denied. Following in the footsteps of Freire (2000), they write: "Violence is that which dehumanizes, which tears and erodes human dignity, and so being, it is the core problematic of peace and peace education" (p. viii). In other words, one way to break the cycle of violence is to consider the intrinsic value of each life and teach about the dignity of each person.

**Human Rights and Injustice**

Participants from all four schools found that violations of human rights and injustice contributed to both the rising and perpetuation of the crisis. For this reason, they educate their students to respect human rights. Reardon and Snauwaert (2015) consider human rights the essence of peace and the antithesis of violence. They think that cultivating human rights leads to transformational thinking and integrated ethics. "Human
rights learning… refers to a process inspired by an impulse toward social justice that takes place in all settings where people learn for civic purposes. They include – but most certainly are not limited to – schools and universities” (p. 147). Thus, schools and universities should participate in enlightening people on the significance of human rights. Baba Simon faculty and staff pointed out that human rights were violated with the violent repression of the protests at the beginning of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and the subsequent imprisonment of many Anglophone leaders. Some of these leaders are still detained. Lybicam administrators, as well as GHS National teachers, deplored the excessive force regularly used by the national police. Also, St. Angela teachers emphasized that people's grievances were not heard. These teachers’ remarks indicate that human rights and justice need to be restored.

How can we develop a sense of justice and respect for human rights in Cameroonian society? According to Bajaj (2018), teachers, parents, and the community should work together and prevent the social reproduction of injustice. Drawing from Freire’s (2000) theories of education, she promotes an education that equips students “with the knowledge, skills, and network to act for positive change” (p. 1). The aim is to instill what she calls “transformative agency” in students and society. This concept is an educational project that encompasses “peace education, human rights education, critical ethnic studies, and social justice education” (p. 2). Such an educational project will gradually break the reproduction of violence, injustice, and violation of human rights.

Restoring Education in the Anglophone Area

Another shared concern by participants in all four schools was to require all Cameroonians to do everything in order to send the students back to school in the
English-speaking area. Both the school personnel and students are afraid every day they go to school. On October 24, 2020, unidentified armed men murdered 7 students in a classroom in Kumba, South-West Region. A year after, on November 24, 2021, other gunmen killed four students and a French language teacher in Ekondo Titi, still in the South-West Region (Human Rights Watch, 2021). UNICEF (2021) shows that the prolonged conflict and attacks against education in the North-West and South-West Regions of Cameroon have continued to disturb the lives of students and their parents. "In 2021, 856,000 out-of-school children in Cameroon needed educational support" (p. 5). Also, UNICEF (2021) revealed that for those who can go to school, the weekly Monday lockdown and other periodic lockdowns had taken away up to 4 months of classes and work. For Tizi, a GHS National teacher, taking out one day every week seriously compromises the educational outcome. Many displaced families are in refugee camps where the class sizes can exceed 200 students (Fallwickl et al., 2021). Lybicam and Baba Simon teachers said that they worried for the future of these thousands of students who are out of school. Quoting the UNICEF 2019 December report, Fallwickl et al. (2021) demonstrate that for three years, "more than 80 percent of schools in the two regions have been shuttered; 74 schools were destroyed" (p. 4). At this time, the solution to restore education in Cameroon's English-speaking areas is to obtain peace and security. How to proceed? Participants suggested that Cameroonians should look for peace through an inclusive dialogue that will bring Cameroon's authorities and separatist leaders to the same table.
Dialogue for Peace

Since the violent crisis started in 2017, a dialogue was expected between the Cameroonian government and Ambazonians leaders. It took a lot of pressure from the international community and Cameroonian civil society to obtain what has been termed the "Great National Dialogue." It happened between September 30 and October 4, 2019, and included the Anglophone crisis and other divisive issues in the country (Teke, 2020). However, many actors in the crisis who are in exile did not participate for fear of being arrested. They asked that the dialogue take place in a country other than Cameroon, where people can freely talk. Other leaders refused to take part in the dialogue because their comrades in the fight for the Anglophone problem were still detained. Among other prerequisites to the dialogue, they demanded the army's withdrawal from the two Anglophone regions (IPSS, 2020).

Since the crisis continues, what should the Cameroonian government do? Teachers from both Anglophone and Francophone schools agreed that Cameroon should organize a second dialogue, which should be inclusive and focused on the Anglophone crisis. It should be held outside Cameroonian territory so that the separatist leaders could participate without fear. Also, the International Crisis Group (2019) recommends that government members seek a facilitator who enjoys greater confidence from all parties. This organization also suggests that the government accept help from the African Union and United Nations to provide good offices and help bridge divides between Anglophone federalists and the government during the dialogue. Separatist leaders in the diaspora and Cameroonian civil society also suggest that a neutral organization, such as Human Rights
Watch, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), or Amnesty International, should lead the dialogue. (IPSS, 2020; Kindzeka, 2020).

Relaunching the Economy in the Anglophone Area

Baba Simon and GHS national faculty and staff highlighted how the Anglophone crisis had impacted the economy, especially with the closure of the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) farms. This problem has also influenced the schools’ enrollment, their revenues, and their peace. St. Agnes experienced a sharp drop in enrollment because parents do not have money to send their children to private schools. Lybicam faculty and staff wished for the rapid end of the crisis because as it continues, all development projects are on stand-by in the country, and probably, salaries will be affected. In March 2022, the Inter-employer Group of Cameroon (GICAM) issued numbers to show the economic damage of the unrest in Cameroon. It has already cost FCFA 2.153 billion in real property, rolling stock, and furniture, while the turnover shortage is valued at FCFA 269.056 billion (Andzogo, 2022).

This shortage in business turnover implies an immediate loss of FCFA 5.9 billion in the government’s tax revenues as a deposit of corporate tax. In terms of job losses, agro-industrial companies are atop the list. Overall, nearly 8,000 jobs in the formal sector are threatened, and 6,434 jobs have already been lost. (Andzogo, 2022, 03/31)

In the same sense, Bang and Balgah (2022) demonstrate that the crisis in the Anglophone area has caused a loss of jobs and displacement of people. It has intensified hunger and poverty, especially for the most vulnerable. According to them, agricultural livelihoods in the region have been seriously impacted. Meeting the people's basic needs,
like having at least two meals per day, became difficult for low-income inhabitants. Consequently, inflation has been surging due to regular disruptions in the supply chain of agricultural goods and manufactured supplies from other regions of Cameroon. It is imperative to stop this deadly and destructive conflict. The Cameroonian government's decision to settle this conflict with arms is a serious problem. These difficulties prompted participants to asked for the liberation of the imprisoned Ambazonian leaders and the organization of inclusive dialogue in order to bring back peace in the country.

**Marginalization of Anglophones**

Tizi, a GHS National teacher, Mandjeck, the St. Angela’s dean, and Kamga, the Baba Simon chief of staff, asserted that Anglophones are marginalized in Cameroon meaning that the Cameroonian authorities have not been fair with them in the domain of politics, economy, and education. The International Crisis Group (2017) also shows that the Anglophones of Cameroon, 20% of the population, feel marginalized. They expressed their frustrations in late 2016, when a series of grievances mutated into political demands, leading to strikes and rebellions. The protest grew to the point where the government's oppressive approach could no longer control the situation. Most Anglophones are not satisfied. The problem originated from independence, with a poorly organized re-unification, which led the English-speaking part of the country to feel politically and economically marginalized. Interviewees also emphasized that the Anglophone cultural difference was disregarded by the ruling government. Apart from Lybicam teachers, who used the word marginalization with caution, all other participants at GHS National, St. Angela, and Baba Simon agree that Anglophones are marginalized in political representativity, promotion of the English language, and educational concerns.
The demographic data show that, before 2016, English-speaking Cameroonian were unequally represented in the government and other job positions. The Institute for Peace and Security Studies based in Addis Ababa demonstrates that "there is an underrepresentation of the Anglophone minority in key government positions... For instance, out of the 67 members of government, only three Anglophones occupy high-level cabinet positions" (IPSS, 2020, p. 4). Their study also reveals that only 18% are magistrates, and 3% hold judicial offices. Additionally, there was no Common-Law section at the National School for Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) until it was recommended at the last "Major National Dialogue" held in 2019. Also, resources were unequally distributed in the 2017 public investment plan, with the South Region getting three times more funding than the South-West or the North-West Region (IPSS, 2020).

Participants also noticed that the English language is not equally represented in Cameroon, questioning the bilingual status of the country. Bello, a Baba Simon teacher, described the linguistic inequality as follows,

You can read “Ministère du Commerce” (Department of Commerce) in French, and it is not translated into English. If there is a translation, English is in small print as if there was a scale of value between the two languages. And yet Cameroon is bilingual, not primarily French-speaking and secondary English-speaking; it is bilingual. So, we must correct all that systematically.

The data show that Cameroon needs an inclusive dialogue to reflect on the Anglophone problem, decentralize the administration of the regions, and educate for peace, human rights, and social justice.
Historical Influence of the Crisis

History has played a significant role in the current Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis. Research has shown that the 1961 reunification was poorly negotiated. Fanso (1989) demonstrates that, after the referendum in favor of the reunification, Foncha, the Anglophone Prime Minister, and Ahidjo, the Francophone President, “came to a vague agreement that the union should be federal and loose, with a minimum number of items subject to the federal authority” (p. 158). The delegations from both parts of Cameroon met in Foumban to settle the constitution that would regulate the new republic. However, Fanso (1989) shows that the Anglophone leaders were relatively less prepared than the Francophone ones with their constitutional draft. They agreed to have a federal republic with “a clear preponderance of federal over state institutions” (p. 159). Ahidjo, the federal President, took advantage of this substantial federal domination to progressively discard the federation in favor of a unitary state (Fanso, 1989; Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003). He claimed that the federal administration was too costly and was slowing the development of the country.

The functioning of three governments, namely, the federal government and the two state governments, as well as four assemblies, namely, the federal assembly, the two state assemblies and the West Cameroon house of chiefs, involved considerable expenditure which could be used in the economic, social, and cultural domains…The country needed constitutional and administrative changes which would allow for one, not three, governments and one, not four legislative assemblies. Such a unitary state would not only consolidate national unity but
would also accelerate the economic and social development of the country. (Fanso, 1989, p. 173)

The Anglophone intelligentsia never approved this subtle move and believed that it was against the federal constitution they had agreed on. However, the referendum took place in 1972, and President Ahidjo succeeded to abolish the federation.

The Anglophone frustration increased when President Biya signed a decree on February 14, 1984, to change the country's name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon, which is the former name of French Cameroon. According to Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003): "The new name appeared to deny that the Cameroonian state was composed of two distinct entities" (p. 72). In the same vein, Bouopda (2018) demonstrates that this was perceived as a denial of the Anglophone heritage and a desire to brush aside everything that makes them specific. For him, it is the institutional erasure of English-speaking Cameroon.

Biya argued that the name change was not only a demonstration of the political maturity of the Cameroonian people after almost twenty-five years of independence but also a sign that people had finally overcome divisions caused by seventy years of European colonization. (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 72)

When the double protest by lawyers and teachers came in 2016, the flame was already burning. To this must be added the poor and violent management of the protests by the government. What should we do now? Participants argued that inclusive dialogue and the re-establishment of democracy are needed. Oumma, a Lybicam teacher, affirmed that in Cameroon, “what we need is real democracy.”
**Oppression and Bad Governance**

The problem of oppression and bad governance in Cameroon has been listed by participants among the elements that triggered and maintained the crisis in the two Cameroonian Anglophone regions. Participants across the four schools have criticized the government oppression at the beginning and during this crisis. Caroline suggested that the President of the Republic visit the Anglophones in their region and talk with them instead of sending the army and police force. In its 2020 report about Cameroon, the U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor noticed that “there were numerous reports that the government or its agents committed arbitrary and unlawful killings through excessive use of force in the execution of their official duties” (p. 2). The oppression is coupled with bad governance.

Adelaide, a St. Angela teacher, believed that “the political system currently in place in Cameroon has favored corruption, selfishness, and greed.” In the same sense, Bertelsmann Stiftung’s Transformation Index (BTI) (2022) report shows “Cameroon is an autocracy with a façade of democratic republican institutions” (p. 15). The centralized power benefits a minority group that has been ruling for four decades and does not want any change because it profits them. Anglophones have been vocal about that injustice. According to the World Bank,

Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored, and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state
for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

(World Bank, 2022, March 24)

This definition highlights that, among other things, governance is about selecting and monitoring those in power. It is about equity, justice, and democracy.

The U.S. Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, in its 2021 report about Cameroon, shows that in order to achieve its ambition to become an emerging economy by 2035, the country must improve governance and profoundly reform its inefficient civil service. Cameroon should create a favorable business environment to attract foreign direct investments.

The government of Cameroon acknowledges that the challenging nature of the domestic business climate remains a concern. To fight corruption, rebuild a weak legal system, and modernize an inefficient public service, the NDS 30 has adopted a holistic approach to governance, which includes political and institutional governance, administrative governance, economic and financial governance, regional governance, and social and cultural governance. (2021 Investment Climate Statements: Cameroon)

What can be done? According to the International Crisis Group (2017), Cameroonian governance must be reformed.

**Divergent Concerns about the Crisis**

*Harmonization of the Two Educational Subsystems*

The harmonization of the two educational subsystems desired by the Cameroonian government remains controversial. The data collected in the two Anglophone schools give evidence that Anglophones are not ready for a unique
educational system with the same curriculum in both French and English. For example, Essengue, a GHS National teacher, said: "It is not a good idea to harmonize the two educational systems because Anglophone and Francophone cultures are already part of us. So, we should keep things separate." Is she saying that both cultures cannot develop together, or are we going to lose something with the harmonization? According to Ngalim (2014), "the process of harmonizing the educational subsystems in Cameroon has been misconstrued. This process has been conceived as assimilation. By assimilation, one refers to the process of one culture integrating the other and consequently rendering it extinct" (Ngalim, 2014, p. 336). Essengue, with most Anglophone teachers, believes that harmonization will suppress the Anglophone subsystem. This feeling is developed because the Anglophones are a minority group. Also, the process of harmonizing the subsystems was not inclusive at the beginning. Two St. Angela teachers, Lora and Wambo, said, "they are imposing the Francophone system on us." Yet, Ngalim (2014), who teaches in an Anglophone teacher training school in Bambili, asserts that "the lack of harmonization is responsible for the problem of equity and quality education in Cameroon" (p. 334). It affects the national vision for the development of the country and prevents Cameroonian citizens from learning from each other.

Unlike the Anglophones, Francophone faculty and staff, especially those who work for the bilingual schools, think that harmonization will be beneficial to all Cameroonians. For example, Mballa, a Lybicam teacher, and Bello, a Baba Simon teacher, believe that the GCE Board (Anglophone) does a better job than the "Office du Baccalauréat" (Francophone) in organizing national high school examinations. Strengths and weaknesses exist in each subsystem. A well-selected committee from both
subsystems can work to harmonize them. Nevertheless, this is not the right time to talk about the harmonization of both subsystems because Anglophone schools are preoccupied with regaining peace and healing the wounds from the crisis. Additionally, the 2019 “Major National Dialogue” decided to keep both subsystems separated to fulfill the Anglophone Teacher Trade Union’s demand.

*The Practice of Bilingualism in Cameroon*

The value of bilingualism is undeniable for most Cameroonians. However, it also encounters some reluctance in schools. For example, Wambo expressed his disagreement with having French as a mandatory subject for the GCE. He said, "In our GCE exams, they [the government] force people to write French, and they don't make it attractive to the students. Why are they imposing French on students of this part of Cameroon?" Also, Wambo asserted that one of his friends wrote a paper to decry the desire to impose French on Anglophones. This complaint represents the fear of the minority population of being culturally dominated. Nevertheless, Cameroonian schools promote both French and English because they are the country’s official languages. In this vein, learning French is not a problem. Instead, it is an advantage for Anglophones to communicate in both French and English. Francophone students are also forced to write English in their exams because the country is bilingual. Fanso (1989) reminds us that the learning of the official languages was made compulsory as early as 1963. According to him, it had never been a problem in French-speaking Cameroon because most schools were public and followed the government requirements. However, in English-speaking Cameroon, missionaries, both Catholics and Protestants, owned the majority of the schools and were reluctant to teach French. They argued that they lacked adequate teaching personnel "to meet the
demands of the double-language program. Besides, there was also the fear in the West that the scheme would negatively affect proficiency in English if French was taught fully as well" (Fanso, 1089, p. 171). Also, Fanso (1989) shows that the fear of learning English did not exist in the Francophone area where, besides English, they have been teaching other European languages such as German and Spanish. The 2019 "Major National Dialogue" has created a bilingualism commission to enhance "the practice of bilingualism in all segments of society through the creation and implementation of programs starting from pre-school ages" (Teke, 2020, September 29).

Convergent Themes on School's Initiatives for Peacebuilding

Clubs for Peacebuilding and Living Together in Cameroonian Schools

The interviews, the administrative documents from the schools, and my visits to the schools for about three months, show that schools expect a lot from clubs to develop a culture of peace. The GHS National peace club was operational far before the crisis. Essengue, a GHS national teacher, has been the advisor of the club. She showed that it promotes peace values in collaboration with UNESCO and other NGOs and sensitizes the students against violence through drama. It provides tools for conflict resolution and denounces the damage caused by substances such as drug addiction, alcoholism, and any other attitudes that can cause violence in the school. For example, the club members will play a conflict situation, highlight its negative consequences, and suggest ways to resolve it. Ebongue, the GHS National vice-principal, emphasized the role played by the peace club in encouraging the students to learn French. For instance, the members of the club could use distorted language to show how miscommunication can bring conflict and
conclude that it is beneficial for all Cameroonians to learn both English and French to easily communicate with other citizens from the two linguistic groups.

Baba Simon also has a justice and peace club, which aims to promote justice, build peace, and achieve the integral development of all people by protecting human dignity and fundamental rights. According to Caroline, the Baba Simon citizenship education coordinator, this club needs to diversify its activities in order to attract students. She explained that the justice and peace club favors reflection and projects, which is not attractive to the students. They prefer clubs where they will have fun and perform for the public. Kamga, the chief of staff at Baba Simon, did not know much about that club and suggested that the school open a peace club that will focus on issues of violence and progressively construct an idea of peaceful coexistence among Cameroonians. Probably, the Baba Simon justice and peace club needs to be expanded and to develop the peaceful coexistence aspect.

St. Angela also has clubs that help to develop affinities, relationships, and friendships among the students. These clubs are about developing arts and committing to protecting the environment, traditional culture, and reflection on future vocations. Wambo, a history and citizenship education teacher, expressed during our interview that it would be good to create a peace club and allow the students to sensitize their schoolmates.

*Cultural Activities for Peacebuilding*

Ebongue, the GHS National vice-principal, highlighted that the Ministry of Secondary Education encourages the school to celebrate a day of the local language and a day of traditional material. These days that promote local traditions are supposedly
celebrated in all Cameroonian schools. The leadership of each school needs to find a way to transform these events into real instruments of peace. According to Ebongue, the first objective is to connect students with their traditional cultures and to share their differences in schools. Beyond the differences, local cultures also have similarities that the students show during these traditional cultural days. These similarities should also lead students to build a national consciousness and consider their differences as national diversity and richness.

At Baba Simon, Caroline supported positive practices during cultural activities, such as a student dancing in an ethnic group different from his or her own. She realized that a boy could dance in an ethnic group because his friends are from that group. Many students try to break down linguistic and cultural barriers. She narrated her conversation with the students as follows:

I asked a few children questions to find out what their ethnic group is and what cultural dance they have chosen. One said he is Douala, but he danced with the Betis. Another replied that she is Basa and danced the Douala. I was impressed. For me, this is an example of good national integration. These types of decisions promote peace.

Caroline brought this example up to show that overcoming cultural barriers is a step toward a national culture and peaceful coexistence.

**Sensitize Against Hate Speech and Tribalism**

Wambo, a teacher at St. Angela, asserted that social media are spreading hate speech to inflame the crisis and destroy the peacebuilding efforts of both the government and the schools. Teachers at St. Angela address it in their school as much as possible, using their Catholic identity to spread the message of tolerance, forgiveness, love, and peace.
Their motto in this regard is that “everyone is his brother’s or sister’s keeper,” Bello, a Baba Simon teacher, also decried hate speech from national media. Similar to St. Angela, teachers and administrators at Baba Simon combine the official curriculum with religious peacebuilding components, including preaching and charitable actions. This official curriculum on which the public schools rely encompasses chapters about media to counter hate speech and other misinformation. For example, in 8th grade, students learn about different media and their impact on public opinion. They are instructed on the types of media (traditional media, social media), the correlation between the media and democratic life, as well as the dangers of media on public opinion. Topics such as fake news, manipulation of public opinion, and cybercrime are analyzed. The same topic is studied with more input and discernment perspective in 12th grade, where students make personal choices (MINESEC, 2014).

According to Kindzeka (2021), the Cameroon government started to address the issue by launching an official campaign asking all Cameroonians to stop using xenophobic terms and stop depicting a negative image of the country on social media. All the teachers and administrators involved in this research have denounced hate speech, especially from the media. They can also intensify the government campaign of denouncing xenophobic terms in schools to complement and deepen the citizenship curriculum chapter on media and ethical communication. Additionally, Ebongue, the GHS National vice-principal, explained that members of their school’s peace club perform drama to show that difficult communication can divide people and encourage all students to learn both French and English. The same method, using drama, can also be used for hate speech and extended to all schools.
Yet, Mballa thought that hate speech and tribalism in Cameroon were political manipulations. He explained that:

Tribalism is vertical in Cameroon and not horizontal. By vertical, I mean it is manipulated by the politicians for electoral purposes. It is not horizontal because you will always find Cameroonianians from different regions and ethnic groups walking together as friends. So, the persistence of tribalism is politically oriented. It is not ordinary behavior in society.

Teachers are concerned about hate speech and favoritism spreading through the media because they are contrary to what they teach. Additionally, they exacerbate hatred and violence among Cameroonian citizens. In order to instill peace practices into the students and prevent conflicts, teachers believe that their peacebuilding messages should be supported by the media and not contradicted by them.

**Psychological Assistance to Traumatized Students**

The data I collected across four schools show that Cameroonian schools have initiated counseling to help the students complete their programs and make good choices for the future. According to the GHS National counselor who participated in the interview and Ebongue, the vice-principal, a school counselor's role is to support the learner by improving a caring and collaborative school setting. The objective of this service is to increase the chance of the students to succeed academically and socially. The counselor collaborates with the other adults in the school to provide the students with the knowledge and thinking skills to take responsibility for their studies. The counselor also works to manage students' behavior to help them fit into the school policy. With both the Boko Haram and the Anglophone crisis, counselors at Lybicam and the two Anglophone
schools started to address traumatized students and increased collaboration with teachers for adequate responses to students' and teachers' needs. However, the demand remains greater than the availability of counselors. For this reason, teachers can also learn how to integrate socio-emotional learning in their teaching program and not rely on a handful of counselors to meet the needs of the traumatized students. According to Şimşek and Mutlu (2021), socio-emotional learning can be defined as the combination of interpersonal behaviors, motivation, attitude, self-regulation and self-efficacy, or components as emotional intelligence, social learning and cognition, life-skills and well-being, stress management, social awareness, self-awareness, self-management, relationship skills and responsible decision making.

Moreover, faculty and staff in the English-speaking school expressed that they are afraid to work because the separatists target the schools, but none of them had claimed to have received psychological help. Evidence in the field shows that psychological support will also be of great help to teachers and administrators. For example, after my interview with Essengue at GHS National, she introduced me to a counselor who said, "There is no peace in this school." I wanted to know more, and she responded, "I don't want to say anything about this school for personal reasons." Sergeeva et al. (2018) demonstrate the effectiveness of psychological support for social workers in academics. For them, the process of psychological support contains components for overcoming personal and professional difficulties. This psychological assistance can help the teacher and the administrator build inner peace and promote it in the school. In the same vein, the role of spirituality in the workplace is also developing. Beyond the faith-based message that both Catholic schools pointed out, a spirituality that improves employees' performances and
organizational effectiveness can also be promoted (Garcia-Zamor 2003). This spirituality can also develop interpersonal relationships and peace among faculty and staff in Cameroonian schools.

**Divergent Themes on School and Administrator Initiatives for Peacebuilding**

**Seminars to Handle the Crisis in Classrooms and Foster Peace**

The data show that only the two Anglophones schools organize seminars to enhance the faculty and staff peacebuilding skills. While the English-speaking area is most affected by the crisis, and students there have faced various atrocities, the consequences have spread all over the country. GHS National started to organize seminars to equip the teachers with the necessary skills to work with students with trauma. These seminars brought about a transformation in teachers' and administrators' attitudes. Samy, the citizenship education coordinator, acknowledged that the seminars prompted them to change their attitudes toward the students and develop more friendly and caring relationships. He asserted:

> The school authorities have sensitized us about the internally displaced students (IDS) and have shown us how to handle them. We are learning how to work with those students in classrooms. We can now use different methods to help the students relax and learn.

Lora, a teacher at St. Angela, asserted that “the guidance counselors on campus have taken it upon themselves to discuss [the crisis’ effects] with the students. They go from class to class to discuss these issues with the students.” Additionally, the school also organizes seminars on how teachers and staff should talk to the students in times of crisis. According to Adelaide, they still need to learn more to be able to reach high efficiency.
They also asked that the government continue to invest in reinforcing the teachers' peacebuilding skills. Even though these seminars did not appear as a major concern in the Francophone schools, it would be beneficial to extend them to all Cameroonian schools.

**Faculty and Staff Organizations**

Faculty and staff have developed peacebuilding organizations to promote living together, transcend ethnic barriers, and foster a peaceful working environment. Only the two Francophone schools presented these organizations as significant for peaceful coexistence among the adults in the school community. All four Lybicam interviewees spoke positively about the “Amical du Personnel” (Personnel Friendship). This is how Mballa described it,

> We also have an organization that brings together all French-speaking and English-speaking faculty and staff. We call it “Friendship” and we meet outside the school once a month. There are no hierarchy distinctions in the organization, and everyone is a member. It is a space of recreation, fraternity, and friendship.

Baba Simon teachers also talked about the personnel organizations “CEPECOL” [Circle of Personnel of the School] and “COFEL” [School Women Cooperative] as delightful meeting places where comradery and support exist. These organizations are open to both Francophone and Anglophone teachers. In this Catholic Francophone school, most English teachers are Anglophone. As they presented it, these teachers’ organizations are vital peacebuilding associations, which could be developed and strengthened.
Impact of Religion in Schools’ Peacebuilding

The two Catholic schools, St. Angela and Baba Simon, have emphasized a religious message to promote peace. Fostered by their Catholic culture, St. Angela’s faculty and staff convey the message that each student is for the other, the brother's or the sister's keeper. They educate the children on the necessity for the love of each other. For Manjeck, the dean, St. Angela delivers peacebuilding messages through daily masses and also through religious and citizenship education classes. Religious classes highlight values such as forgiveness, reconciliation, and good actions. In the same vein, Adelaide said that, because of the Catholic culture of the school, they do not allow anything that is violently inclined in the school.

Bello, a teacher at Baba Simon, emphasized the religious dimension of the school and its humanistic philosophy when he stated, "We are a Catholic school, and this aspect is significant. We have masses, and many other spiritual services are rendered to members of the educational community with a focus on peacebuilding." Similarly, Maipa listed other activities deriving from the Catholic identity of the school, such as "Noël en Solidarité" (Christmas in Solidarity), where the students share what they have with the orphans; "Une Journée avec les Orphelins" (A Day with Orphans), where students spend an entire day working, cooking, eating, and playing with the children in an orphanage; and the visit with the prisoners, learning about their conditions and why they are there and celebrating mass with them. All these activities aim to create a transformation within students so that they value justice, human rights, and peace.
Double Challenge: Coexistence Anglophones/Francophones and Muslims/Christians

Mgana highlighted two different challenges at Lybicam. The first is the coexistence between Muslims and Christians. Lybicam is located in the Far-North Region, where Islam and Christianity coexist. The school population is approximately half Christian and half Muslim. Oumma, a citizenship education teacher, demonstrated that Muslim students sometimes leave the classroom at 4 p.m. to observe prayer rituals, even though the official school schedule does not allow it. Some teachers accept it, and others do not. These practices and several others are a source of conflicts between Christians and Muslims within the school. This is a great concern because this part of the country was affected by the Boko Haram attacks. For this reason, the school and the country want the coexistence between Muslims and Christian to be peaceful.

In the past, the Cameroonian government had worked to settle the coexistence between Christian and Muslim. The Cameroonian Islamic trend had been the Tijaniyya, a branch of Sufism (more tolerant). However, in recent years, new church denominations (more radical) and the arrival of another Islamic trend – the Wahabiya (a Sunni revivalist and fundamentalist movement) – have affected the Christians-Muslims relationship (Crisis Group, 2015; Mbatna, 2017). It is critical that politics appease and not fuel this sensitive relationship in order to preserve peace.

Additionally, Lybicam also hosts both Anglophone and Francophone sections. However, Mgana, the assistant dean, asserted that very few teachers are bilingual, and communication between both groups is not easy. Oumma testified that she knew only a few Anglophone teachers because they do not come to the teachers’ room, and very few come to the “personnel friendship” organization.
These two challenges, religion and bilingualism, make Lybicam a typical peacebuilding case study and demand that the citizenship curriculum clarify religious freedom and issues of bilingualism.

**Convergent Points on Teachers' Initiatives for Peacebuilding**

Teachers' initiatives for peacebuilding converge across the four schools. They all said that they strive to give a message of peace in their classrooms. Adelaide invited her students to choose dialogue and other peaceful means to solve problems rather than violence. She asserted that when she talks with her students about the crisis, she always wants "to instill a sense that they don't necessarily need to choose violence in this fight." And Samy said, "I tell my students everyone will lose in this fight because we are not listening to each other." Dialogue and nonviolent protest can bring better solutions. Unfortunately, the lack of democracy in Cameroon prevents people from organizing peaceful protests and expressing their grievances. Additionally, human rights are not respected.

All interviewed teachers also agree that they worked to raise students' consciousness of the advantages of peace. For instance, Yougouda used the image of the family to teach his students the harmony that must exist in a nation like Cameroon. "When I teach national integration," he said, "I always take the image of the family to indicate the harmony that must exist between the peoples of Cameroon. For us in Africa, the family is seen as a society in miniature. We must form a national family," and we cannot kill each other in the family. Mballa reminded his students of the difficulties people went through during the Boko Haram attacks and advised them to avoid violence.
Samy, Wambo, and Bello, teachers from three different schools, emphasized the similarities between Cameroonian ethnic groups. According to Samy, "traditionally, we have many similarities. Our history and traditional cultures unite us. So, we don't need to fight someone because he or she is from another region or has learned another language." Bello wanted Cameroonianians to take advantage of their cultural fraternity to build dialogue and peace. For example, he emphasized that:

The Bakweri [Anglophones] and the Douala [Francophones] ethnic communities are related, understand each other, have the same customs, and bear the same names. The peoples of the North-West and those of the West are the same. The Tikars are divided between French and English-speaking. The people of Mount Bamboutos around Mbouda and Santa are the same. People of the department of Lebialem in the South-West and those of Menoua in the West are the same.

In the context of Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis, also called Cameroon’s Anglophone problem, most teachers in Cameroonian schools affirmed that they do their best to highlight the importance of peacebuilding. This endeavor should be supported by means such as professional development. In this sense, Bajaj (2015) shows that teachers could "build upon the principles of peace pedagogy – one that is collaborative, participatory, and inquiry-based" (p. 8) for better peace promotion. These principles of collaboration, participation, and inquiry are essential for students who are victims of a system that puts them in such a crisis. They need to grow in tolerance and develop what Bajaj (2015) presents as agency. By the word agency, she means a critical consciousness, knowledge, skills, and network to act for positive change (Bajaj, 2015; 2018).
Teachers also capitalized on the possibility of exploring local culture to highlight traditional peacebuilding symbols such as the kola nut, jujube, peace plant, tobacco, honey, palm leaves, palm and raffia wine, and traditional dances. People share these symbols during traditional ceremonies in the presence of spiritual leaders. For example, Adelaide highlighted the significance of the peace plant among people from the Lebialem division, explaining that they usually use a peace plant to solve conflicts. According to her, when a peace plant is planted on a property or a farm, it reveals that the owners are in agreement with their neighbors. She also explained that, in most grieving or protest movements, like the one that happened in Bamenda in 2018 when women came out carrying peace plants, the message is to say that they are not having their grievances because they want to challenge someone. Instead, they want peace. Adelaide presented the common understanding of the peace plant as follows,

We have different meanings at different levels. For example, a land dispute can occur between neighbors... When the elders agree on the boundary, they put a peace plant there. The landowners have any right to pull out that peace plant again. If they do, they will be fined, and traditional laws will be enforced against them. At the national level, people use the peace plant to express that they have a problem and are asking for a peaceful resolution.

Including the customary significance of the peace plant into the written curriculum will enhance students' understanding of the notion of peace because it draws from the traditional knowledge that has been transmitted from generation to generation. Another example is the sharing of the kola nut. When a kola nut's slice is broken into two and shared, it symbolizes acceptance and mutual trust. These symbols deepen the understanding of the
concepts of dialogue and agreement, which are already part of the curriculum. The traditional symbols bring into the school curriculum a cultural perspective that connects deeply with the learners’ experience. Traditional peacebuilding practices such as the peace plant, the kola nut, and other traditional symbols were not part of the written Cameroonian curricula for a long time because these curricula were copied from the colonial powers that banished most knowledge from the colonized people. Zembylas (2018) and Mbembe (2016) have identified this denial of the knowledge of the colonized people as the hegemonic Eurocentric supremacy or colonial thought. It is a system of thought that valorizes Western knowledge and devalues the rationalities of colonized people. In order to confront that supremacy, Zembylas (2018) suggests that critical peace education include subjugated pieces of knowledge from the colonized people in the curriculum and confronts that Eurocentric supremacy. In Cameroon, the 2014 national curriculum for secondary education encourages teachers to use symbols from traditional cultures in their teaching. However, these teachers are not clearly instructed on what symbols they can use and how they can teach them. It would be crucial to gather these traditional peacebuilding symbols as Baba Simon's teachers did and include them in the written curriculum.

**Convergent Reflections on the Citizenship Education Curriculum**

All participants agree that the citizenship education curriculum has peacebuilding components. Starting in Form 1 through Upper Sixth (7th to 13th grades), we can list: conflicts in the family, conflicts at school, land disputes, inter-ethnic conflicts, human rights and justice, farmer/breeder conflicts, gender relations conflicts, and protection of minorities. The curriculum identifies these chapters as conflict situations in Cameroon and suggests dialogue, reconciliation, and equity in order to resolve these conflicts.
Teaching about peace is crucial for Cameroon because of its cultural and linguistic diversity. In the same vein, Reardon (1988) – who advocates for peace, transformation, inclusion, and change – maintains that schools should “facilitate the learning process, which is” she believes “essential to the application of the knowledge” (p. xiii) and skills needed to create a world free of violence or war. However, in the Cameroonian context, citizenship education teachers raised the question to know if these topics are skillfully taught. We can also ask if they are sufficient to prevent conflicts? The Cameroonian Anglophone crisis and its stalemate show that other peace education methods are needed to complement the current program.

Another advantage of the citizenship curriculum, according to the teachers, is its capacity to integrate traditional peacebuilding cultures and symbols, allowing creativity and cultural adaptations from one region to another. This integration of traditional values aligns with Mbembe’s (2016) idea of improving school syllabi in former colonies to balance their dominant Western orientations. The theoretical framework of my analysis is critical peace education enriched with decolonial thought. The study of Cameroon’s citizenship education curriculum for secondary school shows that it is favorable to decolonial thought since it integrates traditional Cameroonian cultures into the curriculum. Nevertheless, teachers must strive to appropriate these cultures to better integrate them into their syllabi. In fact, at GHS National, even though teachers are familiar with the traditional peacebuilding symbols, they do not use these symbols in their teaching yet, because the symbols were introduced in the curriculum with the competency-based approach (CBA) pedagogy. However, the GCE Board (Anglophone examination Board) does not evaluate the CBA skills yet. Mandjeck, the dean at St.
Angela, said that this new curriculum with the CBA remains storytelling because they are not yet tested by the GCE Board. Conversely the competency-based approach pedagogy and the integration of traditional symbols are already in practice in Francophone schools and tested by “Office du Baccalauréat” (Francophone examination Board).

What could Cameroonian schools more effectively do to educate about human rights, justice, and peace? First, the chapters on human rights and peacebuilding, which are already part of the citizenship education curriculum, should be taught using the competency-based pedagogy developed in the official curriculum. The topic on human rights in Cameroonian secondary schools looks at domestic violence, child abuse, child labor, child trafficking, and the danger of ignoring one’s rights. Practically the students learn to denounce all forms of abuses of rights, and they are sensitized against all forms of violations of rights. They also learn to fight for their rights. Additionally, the citizenship education curriculum encompasses the notion of peace and conflict resolution. The students study the consequences of wars between nations, interethnic wars within the same country, land disputes, and farmer breeder conflicts. They learn the administrative procedures to get protected by the law, the necessity of reconciling belligerents, the advantages of resolving disputes through dialogue, and the advantages of living in peace (MINESEC, 2014).

Applying competency-based approach pedagogy to the chapters on human rights and conflict resolution means that the student will gain knowledge about the concepts, the skills or aptitudes, the values and attitudes, and methods and techniques to teach most of these topics. For example, the document requires that teachers use text analysis, simulation, discussion, brainstorming, role-play, debates, and inquiry. These teaching
techniques, if adequately implemented, lead to agency and the expected change within the learner. Second, teachers should be instructed on critical peace education because they have asked to learn about peacebuilding and peace education. The instruction can start with teachers’ seminars and also become part of the teacher training curriculum. The combination of the competency-based pedagogy and the adequate training of the teachers on peace issues is what strengthens transformative agency. Additionally, the clubs’ activities such as drama, talks, and sensitization with short messages have transformational effects. Because of that, the clubs’ activities should be developed and expanded. Another way that leads to transformative agency and sustainable development is to consider the UNICEF perspective where “peacebuilding is defined as working on conflict with an intention to produce peacebuilding outcomes, including reducing the risk of a lapse or relapse into conflict by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict, strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management; and laying the foundations for sustainable peace and development” (Clarke-Habibi, 2019, p. 212).

**Divergent Reflections on the Citizenship Education Curriculum**

Participants from the two Anglophone schools indicated that they have seminars to help them handle classrooms with traumatized students and promote peace. However, they do not get experienced NGOs’ support for that. At GHS National, teachers and administrators estimated that their peacebuilding efforts – the seminars – are limited compared to the need. According to Ebongue, the vice-principal, the schools need to bring in experts to train the teachers in peacebuilding methods. These types of seminars are not part of the Francophone schools yet. It would be advantageous to train teachers all over the country because, with the crisis consequences, trauma is spreading across the country. Examples of fruitful peacebuilding seminars do exist. "The National Program for
Citizenship Competencies" (Diazgranados et al., 2014, p. 151) that was developed in Colombia could be helpful to reinforce the GHS National experience. According to Diazgranados et al. (2014), the program includes (1) Living together and peace by relating to others in peaceful and constructive ways, and valorizing others in their dignity and rights; (2) Participation and democratic responsibility by actively participating in democratic environments and social construction; (3) Plurality, identity and respect for differences by denouncing discrimination considering identity, diversity, and plurality in the country (Diazgranados et al., 2014).

The two Anglophone schools, GHS National and St. Angela, demanded that citizenship education be made compulsory for all students. This request came only from the English-speaking schools because with the "by subject system," in which students can choose citizenship as an exam subject or not, many science students do not take citizenship. According to Samy and Adelaide, citizenship teachers from both Anglophone schools, these students will never learn about peace in secondary school. Conversely, in the Francophone subsystem, citizenship education is mandatory in all secondary school classes and tested in all official exams regardless of students’ majors.

The citizenship education curriculum gives outcomes and skills expected for each peace-related chapter. The chapter on the notion of peace in Form 5 or 12th grade is the only one that has "prevention of conflicts and promotion of peace" as an outcome. The other chapters, such as conflicts in the family, conflicts at school, land disputes, inter-ethnic conflicts, farmer/breeder conflicts, and gender relation conflicts, have "resolving conflicts and reconciliation" as outcomes. Because of that, Adelaide, a teacher at St. Angela, suggested that the curriculum be revisited to insist on transformative
peacebuilding based on "love of the neighbor" and other religious and humanistic values.

In the same vein, Kamga, the chief of staff at Baba Simon, solicited a separate peacebuilding program that will deepen the promotion of peace and its preservation. Their request aligns with Bajaj’s (2018) promotion of agency and transformative peacebuilding projects. The cross-case analysis is summarized in figure 13 on page 203.

**Figure 13**

*Cross-Case Findings*

This flowchart gives the cross-case concerns, priorities, and initiatives for peacebuilding in Cameroonian schools and society.
Implications

One of this research's major implications is to encourage teachers, administrators, and students to educate for peace and choose peaceful alternatives to violence because violence brings insecurity and compromises the future. In order to promote peace, it is significant to point out the harm violence creates in society, as most participants did. Also, it is crucial to notice that "violence is that which dehumanizes, which tears and erodes human dignity, and so being, it is the core problematic of peace and peace education" (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015, p. viii).

The inquiry also aims to highlight the need for teachers and administrators to sensitize students on the necessity to promote peace far beyond the written curriculum. Their attitudes in the classrooms and the school environment, as well as the way they relate to the students, should foster peace. Many participants asserted that they usually use examples that show the common root between various ethnic groups in the country far before the colonization. They encourage the students to see the regional differences as assets rather than weaknesses.

This research also encourages Cameroon schools to collaborate with non-governmental peacebuilding organizations. According to Reardon (1988), the idea of comprehensive peace education enables education to collaborate with the NGOs that promote peace, such as the United Nations. In this vein, UNESCO has suggested curricula and pedagogies in order to support sub-Saharan African countries in introducing peace education in their educational systems (UNESCO, 2008).

Another implication of this study is to educate the students on the importance of human rights and justice so that these values become part of their lives and their concerns.
Participants from all four schools found that violations of human rights and injustice contributed to both the rising and perpetuation of the crisis. They mentioned the abusive imprisonment of the opposition leaders, police brutality, and the denial of people's grievances, such as the marginalization of the anglophones regarding key government positions and education. Moreover, fundamental issues such as governance and democracy are currently jeopardized in Cameroon. Thus, schools and universities should participate in enlightening people on the significance of human rights and justice in order to support a peaceful developing country.

Another implication of this research is to find ways to safely reopen all the schools in Cameroon's English-speaking area and allow all the children to get an appropriate education. Many schools are shut down, and others are destroyed. Additionally, many parents have lost their jobs and are not able to pay for their children who attended private schools. Consequently, it is imperative to secure education and the school system. One way to do that is to encourage dialogue between the separatists and the government. This dialogue should be inclusive and organized under conditions that guarantee the security of the separatist leaders.

Also, this inquiry has shown that the history of Cameroon is differently taught in the two educational subsystems. There is a dire need to harmonize the history curriculum across the country and allow all Cameroonian students to know the entire history that made them one nation with two official languages, three judicial systems, and two educational subsystems. Furthermore, this study raises the controversial question of the harmonization of the two educational subsystems and calls for a deeper reflection on the issue of sustainable peace in Cameroon. The data have shown that the Anglophone teacher trade
unions are not ready to harmonize both subsystems. However, it remains a significant concern for lasting peace.

This study also leads to deepening the understanding and the practice of Cameroonian bilingualism. Cameroon is a bilingual country with both English and French as official languages. However, the French language dominates at all levels. According to the data, the current policy to make all educated Cameroonians proficient in both languages is ineffective. Given that good communication between Cameroonian citizens of the two linguistic groups is an asset for harmony and peace in the country, it is imperative to ensure that the national policy of bilingualism works perfectly within and outside educational institutions.

This study also encourages the building of a Cameroonian national culture that goes across various ethnic groups and the two official languages. Cameroon is a country of more than 250 ethnic groups. With the development of corruption, people gave in to favoritism, and hate speech emerged. All Cameroonians must support the anti-hate awareness program across political divides.

Another major peacebuilding implication of this research is enriching the citizenship education curriculum with traditional peacebuilding symbols. Both Mbembe (2016) and Zembylas (2018) have demonstrated that colonizers have imposed Western philosophies on colonized countries, excluding traditional knowledge and wisdom from the colonized people. They advocate for decolonizing African schools and universities and confronting Eurocentric thought. This implication goes beyond Africa and is also significant for all the countries that have suffered the horrors of colonization worldwide. In Cameroon, traditional peacebuilding symbols could be taught through the citizenship
education curriculum and could also be promoted through peace, citizenship, or national nitration clubs.

The necessity to strengthen the psychological and spiritual assistance for both the students and the school personnel is also one of the implications of this study. The data gave evidence that amid the crisis, trauma has been taking over the students and school administrators. However, there are not enough trained psychologists to cover the demand for the students. Additionally, the data have shown that almost nothing is done to assist the traumatized school personnel psychologically and spiritually.

The need to reflect on the Muslim/Christian relationship in order to preserve peace in Cameroon was also raised as a crucial issue in this research’s findings. The best place for anticipating friendly relationships between religions is the educational setting where students can learn about tolerance, mutual acceptance, and citizenship beyond religions. The issue was raised by the Lybicam teachers, a school with of high percentage of Muslims in an area where Boko Haram terrorists have wreaked havoc. As Cameroon is planning for sustainable peace and development, the issue of religious coexistence should be carefully scrutinized.

**Cross-Case Suggestions for Peacebuilding**

The following suggestions were made by participants in order to improve and complement what is already done in their schools. St. Angela and Baba Simon’s teachers suggest that the government establish systematic peace education in schools. At Baba Simon, teachers argued that Cameroon needs separate peace education programs because the national motto is "Peace, Work, Homeland.” Moreover, the Boko Haram and the
Anglophone crises have shown that peace is not given in advance; it must be conquered through education and dialogue.

Furthermore, teachers across the four schools greatly appreciated the use of traditional peacebuilding symbols that the citizenship education curriculum offers. This curriculum allows teachers to develop creativity and look into people's traditions to enrich their citizenship syllabus. Also, Lybicam teachers proposed that national symbols like the monument of the 50th anniversary of independence be made accessible to students across the country.

Additionally, the GHS National administrators advocated for the opening of the citizenship education section in Cameroonian teacher training schools. Cameroon's teacher training schools do not offer specific training for citizenship education teachers. Generally, history, geography, and philosophy teachers are asked to teach citizenship education. Along with Lybicam teachers, GHS National ones solicited to bring in experts to lead seminars and roundtables in peacebuilding.

Also, teachers across all four cases encourage the promotion of peace clubs or justice and peace clubs in Cameroonian schools. In the same line, Kamga, a Baba Simon administrator, advocated the celebration of the World Day of Peace established by the United Nations on every September 21. This celebration could make school communities think about peace and positively impact both the schools and the students.

According to Lybicam teachers, bilingual schools could foster living together by reorganizing the sectors within the schools. Instead of having a Francophone sector and an Anglophone sector, it is preferable to have the first cycle (7th to 10th grades) and the second cycle (11th to 13th grades). This reorganization will allow socialization among
students of both linguistic groups. The teachers also suggested that schools located in Islamic-dominated cities readjust the schedule to avoid friction between Muslim prayer and teaching time in schools.

Interviewees across the four schools also advocated that Cameroon's government release the separatist leaders and other prisoners involved with the crisis to encourage genuine dialogue for peace. In the same vein, Cameroonian authorities must collaborate with NGOs to favor dialogue with the rebels and stop firing guns.

The findings show that the Anglophone schools are undergoing a critical situation where fear and uncertainty dominate the learning and the school environment. Teachers and administrators can only manage the limited possibility they have for promoting peace because the citizenship education curriculum, central policies, and resources come from the government. Also, they are limited in their effort to address the crisis because of their lack of peacebuilding training. Therefore, my recommendations are addressed to the Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, Cameroon government, and the school administrators and teachers.

**Recommendations**

*To the Ministry of Secondary Education (long term, 1 to 3 years):*

- Establish systematic peace education program in schools. Cameroon faces many coexistence challenges, such as Anglophone / Francophone; Muslim / Christian; about 250 ethnic groups. The Anglophone crisis has proven that peace is not given in advance but must be pursued continuously. In order to prevent future crises in Cameroon and honor its motto, which is “Peace, Work, Homeland,” the government must support peace education.
To the Ministry of Higher Education (long term, 1 to 3 years):

- Establish a department for citizenship and peace education in teacher training schools. Teachers across the four researched schools asserted that they lack expertise to teach peacebuilding chapters. Additionally, citizenship is disregarded by the social studies teachers who are assigned to teach it. They consider themselves primarily as history, geography, or philosophy teachers. Given the importance of the subject for Cameroonians, it is crucial to have citizenship and peace education specialists.

To the Cameroonian government (short term, 6 months):

- Favor peace by releasing the Ambazonian leaders and other prisoners involved with the Anglophone crisis to encourage genuine dialogue. Peace cannot come back in schools and society if the conflict between the national army and the separatist Ambazonians does not stop. Many schools in the two Anglophone regions remain shuttered or destroyed. This situation also maintains the fear and hinders the peacebuilding efforts in schools.

To school administrators and teachers (short term, 6 months):

- Encourage peace clubs or justice and peace clubs in schools. Teachers acknowledged that it is not enough to teach about peace in the classroom. In order to foster transformation and effective peace builders, practical peacebuilding venues, such as clubs or community services, should be promoted.

- Develop the use of traditional peacebuilding symbols in schools (see figure 10, p. 157-158). The citizenship education curriculum allows teachers to develop creativity and look into people's traditions to enrich their citizenship syllabus so
that students can connect peace education with their family and traditional peacebuilding practices.

- Provide peacebuilding workshops and counseling for faculty and staff animated by peacebuilding professionals. The Anglophone schools’ administrators asked for peacebuilding experts to support their efforts. Francophone teachers and administrators also requested peacebuilding seminars and roundtables. For example, a peacebuilding program like “the National Program for Citizenship Competencies” (Diazgranados et al., 2014, p. 151) that was developed in Colombia can be replicated and adapted for Cameroonian schools.

- Provide psychological and spiritual assistance to teachers and administrators to help them improve their peacebuilding efforts. Psychological and spiritual assistance have been proved effective in workplace. Because both the school personnel and the students are victims of the Anglophone crisis, psychological and spiritual support is crucial for both parties.

- Enforce the competency-based approach pedagogy and examine that learning method at both official exams (Anglophone and Francophone). This pedagogy provides knowledge about the concepts, the skills or aptitudes, the values and attitudes, and methods and techniques to teach most of these topics. For example, the document requires that teachers use text analysis, simulation, discussion, brainstorming, role-play, debates, and inquiry. These teaching techniques, if adequately implemented, lead to agency and the expected change within the learner.
• Reorganize the sectors within bilingual schools. For example, instead of having a Francophone sector and an Anglophone sector, it is preferable to have the first cycle (7th to 10th grades) and the second cycle (11th to 13th grades) for both Francophones and Anglophones. This reorganization will allow socialization among students and teachers of both linguistic groups.

Conclusion

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon's schools amid the Anglophone crisis. According to Clarke-Habibi (2019), peacebuilding through education should be distinguished from peace education. The expression "peace education" refers to particular curricula, pedagogies, and practices aimed at cultivating in students the knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, and behaviors that are conducive to peaceful and violence-free communities, while "peacebuilding through education" refers to engagement with the wider educational system within which peace and conflict dynamics are shaped, and in which peace education is present. Clarke-Habibi (2019) explains that some peace education programs do not necessarily engage governments and politics beyond schools. However, a peacebuilding approach covers a larger spectrum and attempts to cultivate systemic change in order to fortify peace processes (including peace education) and render their impacts more sustainable (Clarke-Habibi, 2019).

Although some people have researched peacebuilding in Cameroon, very few had studied the promotion of peacebuilding in schools amidst Cameroon’s current Anglophone crisis. Because of this need, I sought to understand how peacebuilding is promoted in Cameroon’s schools at this time when English-speaking Cameroon is undergoing a violent
social crisis. Considering the social impact of the crisis in Cameroon's English-speaking regions, I advocated for peacebuilding through education, including social justice and educational policies. In this research I examined peacebuilding promotion in Cameroon’s schools, exploring what teacher and administrators were doing for peacebuilding in their schools amid the crisis. I wanted to understand how schools could contribute to bringing about sustainable peace in Cameroonian society.

The theoretical framework for the study was critical peace education, enriched by decolonial thought. According to Zembylas (2018), “critical approaches to peace education need… to engage more postcolonial and decolonial thinking” (p. 1). This school of thought posits that Western philosophies undermined the local cultures of colonized nations and established structural inequalities. Therefore, critical peace education must consider revising peace education curricula in former colonies, enriching them with local cultures to develop sustainable peace (Zembylas, 2018). This framework also allowed me to critically analyze social injustice and inequality that affect peaceful coexistence in Cameroon. It permitted me to critically look at the citizenship education curriculum and its peacebuilding component to value traditional peacebuilding practices and follow in the footprint of Mbembe (2016), who shows that it is by knowing ourselves (knowledge of our African culture) that our education can successfully transform us. So also, by promoting traditional peacebuilding practices, we can reach better transformation in developing peacebuilding consciousness.

I conducted a multiple case study inquiry in four selected public and private Cameroonian schools. I used an ethnographic data collection method through semi-structured interviews and observations, and also analyzed documents. The logic of
replication was favored to explore the conditions in which Cameroon’s schools can contribute not only to foster peacebuilding amidst the crisis, but also to lay down the strategies to prevent future conflicts and establish sustainable peace.

Besides their initiatives in schools, teachers and administrators are concerned about what led to the crisis and they fear for their security. Therefore, they are primarily preoccupied with the prompt resolution of the crisis.

The GHS National faculty and staff deplored the marginalization and oppression of Anglophones. Their priority was to have the school fully reopen and both students and school personnel coming to schools without fear. In other words, working and studying in peace was their concern. The school administration provided psychological help to the traumatized students and sponsored a peace club to sensitize the students on peacebuilding. It encouraged the students to consider their diversities and differences as strengths rather than weaknesses. Seminars were also organized to equip the teachers with the necessary skills to work with students with trauma. The teachers helped the students to develop agency for positive change and peacebuilding. They suggested that citizenship education be taught to all students and citizenship teachers be trained at teacher training schools.

At St. Angela, the data have shown that Anglophones were underrepresented in key government positions and judicial offices in Cameroon. This injustice needed to be addressed. The plan to harmonize the two educational subsystems became a problem because of its polarizing procedure and the government's authoritarianism. In order to mitigate the crisis’ effects, the school assists the students with counseling and organizes seminars to provide the teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach in times of crisis.
Peacebuilding discourses are also disseminated through school masses, Monday gatherings, religious and citizenship education courses. St. Angela's participants suggested that citizenship become compulsory and systematic peace education be instituted. They also found that the use of the peace plant will be an excellent complement to the peacebuilding aspect of the citizenship curriculum.

According to Lybicam teachers and administrators, the crisis has damaged education, hindered the economy, and driven many people out of jobs. Alongside Anglophones, many Francophones are also unhappy with the current political trend. Particularly, teachers are disgruntled. At Lybicam, teachers think that Cameroon must have a harmonized educational system in order to live in peace and work together to develop the country because both educational subsystems have advantages that can benefit the whole nation. Lybicam faculty and staff identified clubs as important venues to foster living together, multiculturalism, and peacebuilding. They advocated for bilingualism and the necessity to enrich the citizenship education curriculum with traditional symbols. For them, also, a peace education program is crucial in Cameroon’s schools today.

Baba Simon's faculty and staff stated that Cameroon's Anglophone crisis originated in the division of German Cameroon between France and England after the First World War. The reunification and administration of independent Cameroon created injustice and frustrations among Anglophones. Despite radicalization from both Anglophone separatists and some government members, Baba Simon teachers believed that peace was possible, and they capitalized on cultural similarities among Cameroonians to build peace. The school also offers religious and charitable activities that fosters peace and transformative
agency within the school community. Two programs, Education for Love and Live (EVA), and Human and Religious Culture (CHR) allowed the school to deepen the lessons about peaceful coexistence and religious tolerance.

Dialogue appeared as the key factor to bring back peace, between the Cameroonian government and Anglophone separatists and to harmonize the two educational subsystems in Cameroon. According to Freire (2000), dialogue is the only effective element of true liberation, the one that humanizes the revolutionary leader.

Teachers training for peacebuilding was pointed out by participants as crucial. In that line, the following model already experimented with in Colombian schools can be inspiring for Cameroonian schools: the teachers receive theoretical instructions on the ideology underlying the training content. They will then implement the lessons by practicing what they have learned using hands-on activities. The final step is to reflect and evaluate the impact of their lessons on the students and extend it to other schools in the area (Diazgranados et al., 2014).

Additionally, teachers and administrators also need to be psychologically supported in their peacebuilding work in school. According to Sergeeva et al. (2018), the process of psychological support contains practices for overcoming personal and professional difficulties. This psychological assistance can help the teacher and the administrator build inner peace and promote it in the school. In the same vein, beyond the faith-based message that both Catholic schools pointed out, spirituality in the workplace can also improve faculty and staff performances and effectiveness (Garcia-Zamor 2003).

Nine recommendations were made after a cross-case analysis and discussion: first, that Cameroon’s Ministry of Secondary Education establish systematic peace
education program in schools. Second, that the Ministry of Higher Education establish a department for citizenship and peace education in teacher training schools. Third, that the government favor peace by releasing the Ambazonian leaders and other prisoners involved with the Anglophone crisis to encourage genuine dialogue. Fourth, that faculty and staff encourage peace clubs or justice and peace clubs in schools. Fifth, that they develop the use of traditional peacebuilding symbols in schools. Sixth, that they provide peacebuilding workshops and counseling for faculty and staff animated by peacebuilding professionals. Seventh, that they provide psychological and spiritual assistance to teachers and administrators to help them improve their peacebuilding efforts. Eighth, that they enforce the competency-based pedagogy. Ninth, that bilingual schools reorganize their sectors to put Francophones and Anglophones together and allow them to meet more often.

**Suggestions for Further Research**

Further research can also focus on topics such as how the history of Cameroon, which caused frustrations, can provide better understanding and resolution of the Cameroonian Anglophone crisis. Fanso (1989) pointed out the poorly negotiated reunification in 1961. In the same vein, Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), as well as Bouopda (2018), talk about the decree signed by the President on February 14, 1984, to change the country’s name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon, which is the former name of French Cameroon. For them, that decree was perceived as a denial of the Anglophone heritage and a desire to brush aside everything that makes them specific. Bouopda (2018) affirmed that it was the institutional erasure of English-speaking Cameroon. Additionally, it is significant to develop a complete and
unique curriculum about the history of Cameroon and teach it to all the students, whether they learn in English or French.

Another research topic could be the bilingual impact on Cameroon. How do English and French, with the cultural differences they established in the country, affect peace? This topic would have also been a useful perspective in studying the school's promotion of peacebuilding in the middle of the crisis (Takam & Fasse, 2020) because language facilitates communication and cultural exchanges among citizens.

Research can look at participants' peacebuilding suggestions, such as Christian / Muslim relationships and the religious intolerance in the country. According to the International Crisis Group (2015), religious intolerance is taking root in Cameroon. However, the problem is denied by the Cameroonian government for political reasons. Deadly oppositions occurred between the Wahhabis and the Tijanis. “Disputes between Wahhabis and Tijanis led to fatalities in 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2012 in Foumbot, Koutaba, Bafia, Yaoundé and Ngaoundéré” (p.15). Opposition can also be observed between traditional Christian groups, namely Catholics and Protestants, and new Pentecostal Christian trends. Furthermore, the International Crisis Group (2015) shows that "the combination of religious fundamentalism and ethnic and political divisions is potentially destabilizing... A badly organized political transition could unleash the North-South tensions dividing Muslims and Christians" (p. 26). Despite friendly exchanges, the ferment of religious intolerance is gradually growing in Cameroon.
This flowchart gives the summary of recommendations and suggestions for further research.
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