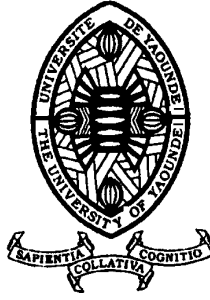


THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR
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SCIENCES

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR
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THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY



UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

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FORMATION DOCTORALE EN
"SCIENCES HUMAINES
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UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
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LE DEPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE

**YOUTH AND POLITICS IN BUI
DIVISION AND ITS IMPACT IN NATION
BUILDING : A HISTORICAL
INVESTIGATION, 1966-1990**

A Dissertation Submitted In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For The Award of a Master of Arts (M.A.) Degree in History
(Specialisation: The History of International Relations)

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To The Lukong's Family for their tremendous contribution to my success

ABSTRACT

This study titled “Youth and Politics in Bui Division and its impact in Nation Building 1966-1990: A Historical Investigation”, seeks to examine the role played by youth in politics in Bui Division and its impact in Nation Building. This work asserts that youth from Bui Division had played an active role in politics during the post colonial era. This participation however witnessed a decline during the post colonial era. The factors which favoured their active participation in politics included the creation of the youth wing political party which created more avenues for effective political participation. This was perceptible in the representation of youth in the decision-making structures of the state and their participation in the political life of the country. The latter had recorded far-reaching impact on youth governance in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular. This work has been realized with the help of qualitative and quantitative research methods. This helped us confront a variety of sources including primary and secondary. This was done with the administration of interviews to a well selected group of informants while using questions guide and questionnaires. In conclusion, our findings have proven that the youth had played a great role in politics in Bui Division during the post-colonial period. As concerns recommendations, the Youth should be included in the decision-making processes of the State, development programs and the rethinking of our educational systems to satisfy their aspirations.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude intitulée “Youth and Politics in Bui Division and its impact in Nation Building 1966-1990: A Historical Investigation” cherche à examiner le degré de participation des jeunes en politique dans le Département de Bui et son impact sur la construction Nationale. Ce travail affirme que des jeunes dans le département de Bui avaient activement pris part à la vie politique pendant la période poste-coloniale des années 1966 à 1990. Ce dernier était perceptible dans la représentation des jeunes dans les structures de prise des décisions et leur participation dans la vie politique nationale. Cette dernière avait laissé l’impact très profond sur la gouvernance de la jeunesse au Cameroun en générale et dans le département de Bui en particulier. Ce travail a été réalisé avec l’aide des méthodes de recherche qualitative et quantitative. Ça nous a permis de confronter une variété des sources partant des sources primaires aux secondaires y compris des enquêtes orales. Cela a été accompli avec l’administration des entrevues à un groupe d’informateurs bien sélectionné en employant guide des questions et questionnaires. En conclusion, nos enquêtes ont montré que les jeunes dans le département de Bui avaient joué un rôle pertinent pendant la période poste-coloniale. En ce qui concerne les recommandations, les jeunes doivent être inclus dans le processus de prise des décisions, les programmes du développement et nos systèmes éducatifs doivent être repensés pour satisfaire à leurs aspirations.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A. U:	African Union
BOSCUA:	Mbororo Socio-Cultural Development Association
CAMYOSFOP:	Cameroon Youth and Student Forum for Peace
C. Y.L:	Cameroon Youth League
C. N. F:	Cameroon National Federation
C.P. N. C:	Cameroon People National Congress
C P. D. M:	Cameroon People Democratic Movement
C. N U:	Cameroon National Union
C. N. P. P:	<i>Camp National Pour la Paix</i>
I. P. U:	Inter-parliamentary Union
I.L.O:	International Labour Organization
K. C:	Kumbo Council
K. N. C:	Kamerun National Congress
K. N. D. P:	Kamerun National Democratic Party
N D.I:	National Democratic Institute
N Y. M:	Nigerian Youth Movement
N. C. N. C:	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon
N. S. U:	Nso Student Union
N G. O:	Non Governmental Organization
O. K:	One Kamerun.
S. D. F:	Social Democratic Front
SHUMAS:	Strategic Humanitarian Service
S. C. Y.L:	Southern Cameroon Youth League
S. Y:	Socialist Youth
UNIYEAPAY:	<i>Union National et Internationale pour L'amour et la Justice</i>

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Youth have played a central role in global politics in general and Bui Division in particular. This cut across human history and varied from one society to another. Most of the revolutions in Cameroon History were spearheaded by young people especially nationalist movements in both French and British Cameroons. This cut across several periods in history. These included the colonial and the post colonial periods during which these young people championed the struggle for the Independence of British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon respectively including the reunification of Cameroon.¹This was due to the wind of change that was blowing across the African Continent in general and Cameroon in particular which created nationalist sentiments among Cameroonian youth and intellectuals who fought for the independence and reunification of Cameroon. This made them create Nationalist movements to champion the struggle for the independence and reunification of the British and French Cameroons².

Nationalism therefore evolved separately in British and French Cameroons after the partition of Cameroon between the two colonial powers in 1916 with the defeat and departure of the Germans. British Southern Cameroons was therefore administered as part of Nigeria and politics in Southern Cameroons was directly influenced by Nigerian politics. Youth politics in Bui Division happened to evolve collectively with the entire Southern Cameroons youth politics. The youth from Bui Division played a significant role in the struggle for independence and reunification of Cameroons. These youth constituted movements which championed the course for the struggle for independence and reunification of the Cameroons. Such youth's movements included the Nigerian Youth Movement (N.Y.M), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C), Cameroon Youth League (C.Y.L), Cameroon National Federation (C.N.F), Kamerun National Congress (K.N.C) and Kamerun National Democratic Party (K.N.D.P), Cameroon People National Convention (C.P.N.C), including One Kamerun (OK). Therefore, 24 youth from Bui Division had been distinguished as witnesses and actors of the independence and reunification of Cameroon who contributed in one way or the other towards its success. They included Bernard Fonlon, Lawrence Fonka Shang, Joseph N.Lafon, VincentT-

¹C. Hatt, *The African-American Slave Trade*, White Thomson publishing Ltd, United Kingdom, 2003, PP4-32.

² A. Klotz, *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle against Apatheid*, New York, Cornell

Lainjo, Boniface T- Sakah, John Nformi Tatah, Sylvester Kilo, Isaac Lukong Shey, Aloysius Wamkui, Benjamin Fabonge, Felix Mbutum, Daniel Lantum, Christian Cardinal Wiyghan Tumi, Daniel Yang, Evaristus Nsambam, Micheal Banseka and Joseph Kwi. Others included Verkijika Fanso, Peter Mbuh Faison, Thomas Peter Sunjoh, Francis Verdze, and Oliver Shang.³

One of the most outstanding young men who actively took part in politics in Bui Division was Vincent.T.Lainjo who was once the Minister of Youth Affairs in Southern Cameroons from 1958- 1959 and the Southern Cameroons representative in the Nigeria House of Representatives in the Eastern Regional House of Assembly. He was also Minister of Health in Nigeria and also Civil Administrator. He was known for his transparency and accountability while serving at the Native Authority Administration. He was born in Bui Division precisely in Kumbo Central Sub Division and was credited for having contributed a great deal in the area of local governance. He supplied documents for the settlement of dispute over the Bakassi Peninsular between Cameroon and Nigeria. He was also one of the five members of the Southern Cameroons Executive Council occupying the position of Social Services. He was equally the leader of Rural Development in the Western Grassfields. He acted as the bridge between the British Administration and also acted as the Consultant to the Governor of the South West Province. He also served as the Minister of Social Services under the Government of Endeley from October 1958-January 1959 at the age of 45.⁴

One could also talk of Bernard Fonlon who actively participated in the independence and the reunification of Cameroon and later became the secretary of Prime Minister John NGU Foncha at 37 in 1961 after independence and reunification of Cameroon. He later occupied several Ministerial positions in Cameroon such as the Transport and Social Welfare including his position as the speaker of the Federal House of Assembly until 1970. He was born in Kumbo in the North West Province of Cameroon in November 1923-August 1986. He was educated at Christ the King College in Nigeria and then entered the Bigard Memorial Seminary with the aim of going into the priesthood. He earned degrees from the National Universities of Ireland, Cork, Sorbone and University of Oxford specializing in Literature. He then served in the cabinet as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, then as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He also served as Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Transport, Health and Social Welfare. He left the Public Service in 1971 to join the University of Yaounde, where he taught literature

³E. A. Alogamo, *The Birth of Southern Cameroons. 1922-1961, Study in Colonialism and Under Development*, USA, Nkemnji Global Technology, 2002, pp. 45-59.

⁴ Ibid; pp 62-73.

rising to become Head of Department of Negro African Literature and publishing a number of Networks. He retired in 1984 and died in Ottawa Canada on 27 August 1986. Philemon Yang from Oku Sub Division in Bui Division equally became Minister of Mines, Water and Energy in 1975 at 28 years.

Sylvester Kilo was born on February 10th 1932 at Sop, Jakiri Sub Division in Bui Division. He attended Catholic Primary School Shisong from 1941-1952. He also attended his Secondary Education at Saint Joseph College Sasse. He entered the Public Service as the qualified Government Cooperative Inspector of Southern Cameroons in 1955 at 23 years after having graduated from the Ibadan Cooperative College. He resigned from the Public Service in 1959 and later became the C.N.U Section President for Bui for eleven years from 1966-1977 at 34 and 45 years respectively. He was equally the first Vice President of the Economic and Social Council. He was equally secretary of Denmark International Seminar where he represented Cameroon in 1966 at 34 years.⁵

These young Cameroonians from Bui Division played a significant role in independence and reunification of the Cameroons during the colonial era. Therefore, they needed more avenues to continue to play their role in the political evolution of the country during the post colonial era. This was because there existed limited avenues for youth participation in active politics in Bui Division during this era and their inclusion in decision-making processes.⁶

Literature Review

There exist published and unpublished works on youths and politics in Cameroon, with most scholarly works focusing on Southern Cameroons, French Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon. In the following review of literature, we shall first examine works on Youths and politics in Cameroon and end by stating what we intend to present in this work. This includes: F. E. Beaulaga et al, "*Les Jeunes et la Politique au Cameroun: Quelles Perceptions pour quelle Participation*"⁷ In this review, the authors defend the opinion that youths are not satisfactorily involved in politics and are completely excluded from decision-making processes. They equally explain the challenges faced by the Cameroonian Youth which hinder their effective political participation. They equally underline certain democratic values such as citizenship,

⁵ N. Emmanuel, "Intercommunity Relations and politics of Identity in the Nso Chiefdom, Bamenda Grass field Cameroon", University of Buea, July 2014, pp. 25-45.

⁶ W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon from Colonial to Post Colonial Periods: A Historical Perspective", *epassa motto*, vol 8, August 3, 2008, pp 26-45.

⁷ UNDP, *Youths political participation*, March 31, 2017, connect know politics/UNDP.org, pp. 25-27.

peace and security, social justice, freedom, equal opportunities for all, civil responsibilities, the separation of power, that is the executive, judiciary and legislative including the rule of law, good governance, accountability; fair trial, transparency and good electoral laws. The authors have not brought out the various decision-making structures where youths have been practically relegated to the background which we attempted to elaborate in our work.⁸

There is also the article written by W. Dze- Ngwa on youth and politics in Cameroon in which he has explained the role played by youth in politics in Cameroon from the colonial to the post colonial periods. He has also given some perspectives as remedies to youth's political inclusion. The author has not outlined the place of youths in citizenship,⁹ their place in the various decision-making structures and the impact of this under-participation of youth in politics which we have tried to examine in our work.

One can also talk of the book written by E. C. Monono titled "Youth and Nation Building in Cameroon: A study of youth day messages and leadership discourse. He has examined the place of youth in nation building in Cameroon based on youth day messages and youth governance. To add more value to the author's literature, we have examined this role from the practical viewpoint of Youth leadership.¹⁰

There is equally the article of Dze-Ngwa and al, on "Peace and Citizenship Education: Towards internal cohesion in Cameroon". In this article, the author outlines the importance of citizenship in nation building in Cameroon and also exposes the weaknesses of the current citizenship education. He also brings out the dangers it poses to the society if it is not redefined and given a befitting place in the society. They equally recommend a holistic and comprehensive approach to the teaching of citizenship including the fortification of citizenship with peace and moral education as a prerequisite for sustainable peace and development. Though the author looks at citizenship from the view point of peace building, we examine it from the perspective of democracy and political participation because the concept of democracy is deeply rooted in citizenship.¹¹

Another article is written by Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars titled "Youth and Politics in Conflict Context" May 16, 2007 conducting a project on leadership and building state capacity. This article examines the role played by youth in post conflict societies such as Liberia and Kenya. The author clearly underlines the role played by the former in

⁸W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon"; pp. 6-11.

⁹ Ibid; p.12.

¹⁰E. C. Monono, *Youths and Nation Building in Cameroon: A study of youth day messages and leadership discourse 1949-2009*, Langaa RPCIG, Cameroon, 2009, pp.1-5.

¹¹Peace and Citizenship Education: Towards Internal Cohesion in Cameroon, Bamako, ERNWACA, March 2009, pp 5-20

influencing socio-political reforms and decision-making by holding their leaders or elected representatives accountable without clearly defining their active participation in politics. Though the author examines the passive role of youth in politics in post conflict societies, we are examining their active role in politics.¹²

There is also a book written by N. Olivier Etoundi titled “Paul Biya *et la jeunesse*” in which the author projects the achievements of the person in question as a legacy for young people without bringing out the active role youths play in politics which we are elaborating in our work.¹³

Furthermore, we have other documents from the Buea, Bamenda and Yaounde archives which treat youth movements as actors of positive change in the society such as Cameroon Red Cross Association¹⁴ and Southern Cameroon Youth Movement. According to the authors, youth movements are a springboard to youths’ leadership meanwhile from our arguments, these movements have not succeeded to guide young people towards active politics.¹⁵

Moreover, we have consulted another book written by Paul Biya titled <Communal Liberalism> in which the author says that he does not want to train job seekers again; rather the new dispensation intends to train job makers or creators who do not only use their certificates to seek for employment but to create jobs for themselves thus shifting towards technical or vocational training. The author has addressed youth from the perspective of self employment to promote youth economic independence. This will enable young people acquire the required resources to take up leadership opportunities. The author does not outline the various obstacles faced by young people in creating jobs for themselves in order to take up leadership opportunities which we have elaborated in our work.¹⁶

One should not also neglect the work of E. Sobseh titled “Rethinking Citizenship, Politics and Governance in Cameroon” in which the author argues that economic, political and socio-cultural inequalities in the society make some young people behave as if they are not members of the same society. These citizens care less about public issues and the gap separating the governors from the governed widens perpetually without hopes of ever converging with terrifying consequences. We add more flesh to the bones by substantiating the work while

¹²<http://www.org/Woodrow Wilson Center>, youth and politics in conflict context, May 16, 2007, pp. 9-13.

¹³N. O. Etoundi, *Paul Biya et la Jeunesse: 21 ans de compréhension et de complicité*, Yaoundé, COGESET, October 2003, pp. 15-30.

¹⁴NAB, P1311, Si, 1968, 1 Youths Movement’s Red Cross, 1968, p. 6.

¹⁵NAB, V, 33/46, SI, 1958, 3, Southern Cameroons Youths movements, 28-8-1958, pp. 11-23.

¹⁶P. Biya, *Communal Liberalism*, London, Macmillan publishers 1987, pp 20-45.

giving recommendations to remedy the situation.¹⁷

There is also a book on citizenship by Ndifor Richard and Tazifor John titled “The Citizen” in which they have outlined the rights and duties of a citizen including types of citizens in the society. This has helped us to elaborate our work on citizenship and democracy and it has also added more value to our work by enabling us outline the responsibility of every citizen to make his own contribution to Nation Building. It also helps us to elaborate the rights of citizen’s vis-à-vis the Nation and vice versa.¹⁸

Another important document is the African Youth charter which outlines the rights and obligations of African Youths. This charter serves as a legal document that urges African Governments to include young people in the decision-making processes and development programs which is the main target of our work as outlined in the four chapters that constitute our work.¹⁹

Also, there is a report written by Yuha Korkeaja titled “Challenges faced by young people in rural areas” especially young farmers which create adverse effects on the local community. These challenges constituted an impediment to youth political participation in the rural areas such as unemployment due to few employment opportunities offered by agriculture in the rural area which is the main source of employment, limited resources and underscolarization of youth in the rural areas. This report has largely contributed to the evolution of our work as it has helped us to elaborate in details some the factors which hinder youth political participation in Bui Division.²⁰

There is also another article by Adam Fletcher called “Free Child Youth Consulting” in which the author outlines the rights of youth to political engagement and the requirements of youths’ effective engagement such as education and training. As for us coupled with education and training we examine it from the practical view point of effective participation and representation. The author does not bring out the various areas of Youth political engagement but has focused on the factors that could facilitate this engagement. This document has helped us to elaborate the prerequisites for Youth political participation in Bui Division.²¹

Another article is “Best Practices for Youth Engagement in municipal Governments” by

¹⁷Y. E. Sobseh, *Rethinking Citizenship, Politics and Governance in Cameroon: Towards a better future*, Bamenda, Global Press, 2012, pp. 20-40.

¹⁸J. Tazifor and R. Ndifor, *The Citizen, A Guide for Junior Secondary*, Bamenda, White House Publisher, 2015, pp. 3-15.

¹⁹African Youth Charter, July 2006.

²⁰J. Korkea, “Situation and Prospects of young people in rural areas”, Australia, May 15, 2001, pp 4-10.

²¹ A. Fletcher, “Freechild Youth Consulting”, January 20, 2017, p16

Astraea Augsberger and al in which the author suggests youth engagement in politics through active citizenship and civic engagement in community governance. The author brings out what should be done to get young people on board to engage in politics such as employing them as electoral managers, candidates, mass civic campaigns, campaign managers and lastly as voters. This would go a long way to galvanize young people not only to participate in politics not as mere voters but also scramble for leadership positions. This has contributed a lot in the elaboration of our work as far as youth political participation is concerned in Bui Division.²²

Furthermore, there is equally another article called “Enhancing Youths political participation for Africa’s Development” by Kudzai Goremusandu. In this article the author outlines the various factors which hindered youth political participation and their inability to run for elected offices while giving some key recommendations. These factors include unemployment, education, corruption, registration fees and political bottle necks. All these boil down to what we have elaborated in our work as limitations of youth political participation in Bui Division.²³

Another article is “Youths and Politics in Conflicts Context” by Woodrow Wilson International center for scholars in which the author brings out the role played by youths in post conflicts societies such as Kenya and Liberia. This article has helped us to elaborate our work in the area where young people from Bui Division were regarded as perpetrators of violence instead of partners in politics which dissuaded them from taking up leadership positions.²⁴

Another article is written by Alphones Akouyou titled “Youths and Peace for an Emerging Cameroon” in which the author underlines the role of youths in nation building in preparation for the youth day festivities in February 2015. The author brings out the role youth have to play in building peace for an emerging Cameroon in 2035 without bringing out the various challenges faced by young people in exercising their rights as Nation Builders which we have examined in our work.²⁵

Another important article was written by CAMYOSFOP titled “Youth and Cameroon’s Emergence “concerning a national workshop organized in Bamenda on February 23, 2011 attended by 120 youth leaders from around Cameroon. The 3rd day focused on the launching

²²A. Augber, “Best Practices for Youths Engagement in Municipal Governments, National Civic League”, 2017, pp.3-8

²³Ibid; pp. 11-25.

²⁴<http://www.Org/Woodrow Wilson Center, Youths and Politics in Conflict Context, May 16, 2007.>

²⁵A. Akouyou, *Youth and peace for an emerging Cameroon*, February 2015, <http://www.youth for peace.>

of CAMYOSFOP policy paper on “Youth Unemployment and Migration in Cameroon”. This paper has enabled us to elaborate our work on the unemployment factor in Bui which prevent young people from being economically independence and the resources needed to participate in politics in Bui Division and the migration factor which causes mobility of youth and their inability to take up leadership positions.²⁶

Another pertinent article is written by Mchill Daily Website titled “The Educational System and Unemployment in Bui Division” in which the author outlines the weaknesses of the educational system which does not tie with local realities and instead creates poverty. The author says this educational system was aimed at promoting migration towards Europe and America thus leading to brain drain, rural under development and youth’s unemployment including rural exodus. The author does not successfully outline the positive aspects of this system. This has helped us to substantiate our work in the area where our educational system has not been tailored towards job creation thus causing young people to flee from Bui Division in favour of Urban Centers. This has crumbled development in Bui Division including effective youth political participation which is our area of focus.²⁷

Another important article is written by Ranford E. Van Gyompo titled “Youths in Parliament and Youths Representation in Ghana”. In this article, the author presents the advanced democratic culture of Ghana in relation to the 2012 parliamentary elections during which 44 young parliamentarians between the ages of 21 and 40 were voted into parliament which was regarded by many as a great leap forward. The author clearly states that these young members of parliament were educated on the functioning of the system without leaving out their weaknesses characterized by tokenism. The author equally states that for these members of parliament to succeed, they must work with youth’s organizations. This is contrary to the Cameroon political system and Bui Division in particular.²⁸

One of the articles is “Youths Unemployment Challenge in Cameroon “which presents the statistics of the unemployment of the former while underlining the causes of this Canker worm and the various efforts or projects initiated by the state through the various ministries in charge of youth’s governance to fight against youth unemployment. The author also gives some perspectives. This article has helped us to elaborate our work in the area of unemployment as

²⁶CAMYOSFOP, “Youths and Cameroon’s Emergence”, Febuary 2, [2011, CAMYOSFOP@MAIL.COM](mailto:CAMYOSFOP@MAIL.COM).

²⁷MCGILL Daily Website, Education and unemployment in Bui Division, January 23, 2017, [Features@mcgill daily.com](mailto:Features@mcgill.daily.com).

²⁸E. Ranford “Youths in Parliament and Youths Representation in Ghana” November 29, 2013.

an impediment to youth political participation in Bui Division.²⁹

One of the most essential documents is the book written by Taylor and Francis titled “Hand Book of Children and Young People’s Participation: Perspectives from Theory and Practice” in which the latter brings out the legal framework for youth’s political participation such as voting age and age of candidacy which is regarded by many as an impediment to youth’s political engagement.³⁰ This goes in line with our narration concerning the constitution which limits the voting age and the age of maturity to run for any election which hinder young from participating in politics in Bui Division.

Another article is written by Alcinda. M.Honwana titled “The time of Youths, Work, Social Change and Politics in Africa” in which the author exposes the role young people played in informal politics such as riots or protests. This has crumbled some governmental institutions while imposing democratic changes especially in North Africa and some European countries like Britain. The author presents the damages incurred on the part of youths and national economy. These ties with the 2008 political unrest in Cameroon against an increase in the price of fuel which almost led to political instability during which public buildings were targeted by the protesters who were mostly the youth. This was preceded by a call by politicians for a nationwide protest against increase in the price of Fuel.³¹ Besides, there is an article written by Celina F. and Andria W. titled “The unexplored power and potentials of youths as peace-builders”. In this article, the authors present young people as victims of violence and perpetrators of violence at the same time agents of positive change in the society. They are regarded as peace-builders through positive engagement in youths’ movements and perpetrators of violence involved in violent conflicts. Contrary to the author’s view point, we consider the youth as agents of positive change in the society whose contribution can only be felt if they are involved in the decision making processes, development programs and the educationalsystem refined to suite their aspirations.³²

This article written by UNDP4 Youth titled “Youth’s Political Participation” presents the under-representation of youth in global politics following the data presented by the IPU on youth representation in parliaments worldwide which has inspired international organizations to study the problems of youth’s political participation and train youths’ activists to become political leaders. This has helped us to examine the under-representation of youth from Bui

²⁹<https://www.eddyhop.foundation.org>. E. Ekuh, “Youths Unemployment Challenges in Cameroon”, July 13,2014,

³³ Taylaor and Francis “Hand book of children and Young people’s participation, perspectives from theory and practice”.

³¹ M. Honwana, *The Time of Youths: Work, Social Change and Politics in Africa*. 2012, WWW. rienner.com.

³²C. Del.F., and W. Andria, *The unexplored power and potentials of youths as peace builders*, November 112007, <http://www.peace studies journal.org.UK>.

Division in the Cameroon legislative system whose constitution does not guarantee the effective participation of youth in active politics.³³

Another key article is written by Douglas G. “Leadership in Africa and the Role of Youths in the Leadership milieu” in which the latter presents the political leadership models and the need to acquire education for effective political participation, the virus of unemployment and participation in decision making processes. He equally treated female leadership in Africa including problems plaguing youths’ leadership in Africa such as tribalism, unemployment and corruption. This article has helped us to underline the limitation of youth’s politics in Bui Division while proposing the way forward.³⁴

Another article is titled “Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa”. In this article, the author presents the problems faced by youth’s leadership in Africa which often lead to frustration and violence. These included violent protests in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt Where unemployment and Political discontent pushed young people to the streets which led to the collapse of governments of the aforementioned countries. He also presents the opportunities for African youths with the United Nations programme of Action for Youths including African Youth Charter and agenda 2063 of the African Union promoting youth’s rights in the continent. The author equally gives some perspectives for youth’s effective political engagement in Africa. This is compatible with the general political climate in Bui Division where youth have become skeptical about politics due to the slow pace at which the Cameroonian culture is evolving.³⁵

Statement of the Problem

This work establishes the argument that the role played by youth from Bui Division during the colonial era witnessed a decline during the post colonial era especially from 1966 to 1990. This was due to the constitutional constraints of which created limited avenues for effective political participation of the youth. However, young people constituted majority of the total population but minority of the political class. They equally constituted a strong driving force of economic development and strength of the society. But when it comes to movements for democracy and socio-political reforms youth were at the forefront and yet they were less engaged in voting and party activism. The under representation of youth in the decision-making processes in Bui Division had created a large political vacuum. Therefore, to what extent have

³³ UNDP, Youths Political Participation, March 31, 2017.

³⁴ D. Gichuki, “Leadership in Africa and the role of youths in the leadership milieu”, March 2012.

³⁵ G. Jalata, “Challenges and opportunities of youths in Africa”, June 2011.

youth from Bui Division been involved in National politics and its impact in Nation building? In this light, this topic seeks to establish the degree of involvement of youth in politics in Bui Division and its impact in Nation Building.

Conceptual framework

This work could not be appreciated and comprehended without defining the key terms (Youth) and (Politics). There is confusion in the definition of youths because there is no standard and universally accepted definition of youth as well as the degree of their involvement in politics. The term has different meanings to different users depending on their interest. The Cambridge Advanced learners' dictionary defines Youth as "the period in your life when you are young or the state of being young". Young is defined here as "having lived or existed for a short period of time and not long". Old is defined as "having lived or existed for many years". Following this definition, there is no clear cut age limit for old or young. An adult is defined as "some one who has grown to full size and strength". Macmillan dictionary defines an adult as "some one who is no longer a child and is legally responsible for his actions". This definition does not give a clear cut definition of youth. Moreover, politically, the age limit for youth in Cameroon is determined by political parties based on their interest. For instance article 42 of the status of Cameroon National Union (CNU) party Classified the youth as young people between 10 and 30 years old. To the ruling C.P.D.M party, article 76 of its basic text defines the youth as "young persons between 15 and 25 years".³⁶

There is further complication because the voting age for Cameroon is 20, the age limit for civil service examination is 32 mean while age limit for integration in to public service is 35. It is clear that in Cameroon, the age bracket from 10 to 35 have been considered as youth for one reason or the other.³⁷ The African Youth Charter defines youth as persons between 15 and 35 years. Concerning international organizations, they do not equally have a common definition of youth, the World Health Organization (WHO) for instance classifies youth into categories. Adolescent between 10 and 19 years, youths between 15 and 25 and young people between 10 and 24. Cultures also play a great role in defining youth in Western societies for instance; youth are categorized between 12, 13, 21 and 25 focusing on the individual rather than the community. In Africa and Middle East, youth are considered as development age between childhood and adulthood which is largely determined by the community and corresponds to youth functions. These definitions of youths do not give a clear cut age limit for the youth. This

³⁶ W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics", pp. 1-2.

³⁷ *ibid*; pp. 3-5.

is because people within this age bracket may be married, have economic independence and voting rights including full judicial liabilities which are the criteria for reaching adulthood which renders this concept vague. The age limit for youth in Cameroon according to the constitution is between 18 and 35 years. We therefore buy this definition because it is this age bracket that is mostly affected in terms of political, economic and socio-cultural inclusion.

Furthermore, in the context of this work and for inclusive definition, youth can be considered as all young persons between (10 and 35) years, 10 years because it is college age for many Cameroonian children today and 35 years because it is the age limit for integration in to the country's civil service and when a person can run for the highest political office of the land.

Politics therefore could be defined as the science and art of government which deals with the form, organization and administration of the state or part of one and with the regulation of its relations with other state. According to Geoffrey, politics is:³⁸

The process in a social system not necessarily confined to the level of the nation state by which the goals of that system are selected, ordered in terms of priority both temporarily and concerning resource allocation and implemented. It involves both cooperation and the regulation of conflicts by means of the exercise of political authority and coercion. Politics usually involves the activities of groups of various kinds including political parties.

It could also be defined as “the ideas and activities involved in getting power” or coining policies to gain power and govern people, it is in relation with the above definitions in a bid to demonstrate how politics considers youth and the degree of their involvement in national politics Including youth perception of politics that we titled this work “Youth and Politics in Bui Division and Its Impact in Nation Building 1966-1990: A Historical Investigation”.³⁹

Objectives of the Study

The goal of this work is to promote youth's leadership through democracy and inclusive governance as a prerequisite for sustainable peace and development. This is because youth constituted a majority of the total population but minority of the political class. That is to say they have not been satisfactorily involved in decision-making structures such as the

³⁸ Ibid, P. 9.

³⁹ Idem; pp. 10-42.

government, parliament, political parties and the local councils. The presence of young people in the aforementioned decision-making structures could provide an effective and active platform for youth's political participation and representation. Moreover, the existing institutions such as the youth's wing political parties, Youth's parliament and youth's council have not been able to meet the aspirations of young people as far as inclusive governance and democratic leadership is concerned. This explains why International organizations such as the UNO, IPU and AU have recently and suddenly developed interest in promoting Youths' leadership across the world. This is done in synergy with states' actors and institutions including other auxiliary international actors interested in youths' governance such as the Fredrich Ebert Foundation present in over one hundred countries around the world today. This is with the goal of influencing policy makers to adopt good policies to promote youth governance, effective political participation, representation and positive contribution of young people to Nation Building.

The Significance of Study

This topic is very important because it will create awareness among Cameroonian youth in general and those of Bui Division in particular to rise and defend their political rights as well as take their destinies into their hands. It will equally influence policy makers to coin good policies defining youth governance, to improve and promote their participation in politics and decision-making processes including inclusive governance and development programs.

It will equally help stake holders to revisit their policies and redesign strategies to include young people in politics and the decision-making processes including development programs. This study will also help youths to participate in Nation Building through civic participation. This will also pave the way for young people to see the power in their numerical advantage and their unexploited potentials to bring about the desired revolutionary democratic change in the country. This will also help young people to press for more political reforms on their part and to influence policy makers to redefine policies concerning youth's governance. This work will also help to enrich the existing literature on youth and politics.

Scope and Limitation

This work covers the entire Bui Division which constitutes six sub divisions such as Kumbo Central, Jakiri, Miami, Nkor, Oku and Nkum having six municipal councils. It covers the period from 1966 which marked the birth of a lone national party called the CNU which

established a restricted form of democracy to 1990, marking the era of the reintroduction of multi party politics and the birth of SDF including other political parties in Cameroon. This was preceded by the 1990 liberty laws which granted more political freedom to all the citizens of Cameroon and greater avenues for political participation. This was also coupled with President Biya's project on democratization and the internal pressure from political opponents.⁴⁰

Hypothesis

This research work establishes the following arguments as backing to the topic in question:

(i) That youth from Bui Division actively participated in politics during the post-colonial era.

(ii) This participation was perceptible in their representation in the decision making structures of the state.

(iii) This participation had recorded far reaching impact at the local, national and international levels.

(iv) It also had some political, economic and socio-cultural limitations which required short and long term solutions. This entire work largely depends on the above mentioned hypothesis to justify its credibility.

Sources and Methodology

As far as methodology is concerned both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used. Qualitatively, information was gotten from informants through interviews and with the use of questions guide and questionnaires. These informants were between the ages 45 and 61 that were selected randomly from all works of life. The qualitative method was complemented with information tapped from secondary and tertiary sources which include archival materials, textbooks, dissertations, thesis, articles and internet sources.

Problems encountered

The laxity among workers at the Regional Archives Bamenda and lack of permanent working staff in the center made the research too complex, time consuming and too costly. It

⁴⁰F. E. Beaulaga et al, «les Jeunes et la politique au Cameroun: quelles perceptions pour quelle participation Friedrich Ebert Stiftung», Yaoundé, CEPER, 2011, pp. 1-6.

equally retarded the progress of the work.

Some of the informants were afraid of political repression which became difficult to persuade them that the exercise was purely academic. Those who engaged in meaningful talk with us were mostly youths and political authorities though some were still reluctant because of the prevailing socio-political atmosphere.

Moreover, we were regarded as spies of the government by some of the informants and some even requested us to present witnesses before meaningful interview could take place.

Organization of Work

The study begins with a general introduction that presents the structure of the work which explains the main ideas of each chapter and the link involved in every chapter. Each chapter has an introduction and a conclusion.

Chapter one is titled “Geographical presentation and Human background of Bui Division”. It treats the geography of the study area and its history. It begins with an introduction and further outlines the physical presentation of the area in question. It examines the origin and evolution of youth’s participation in politics in Bui Division including the role youth played in politics during the colonial era.

Chapter two is titled “Youth Political Representation and Participation in Bui Division”. It starts with an introduction and outlines the various areas of youth political representation such as the parliament, political parties, Government and Municipal councils. It continues with the various areas of Youth political participation such as citizenship building, elections, youth’s policy, International framework and ends with a conclusion which recapitulates the main ideas of the chapter.

Chapter three focuses on “impact of youth political participation in Bui Division”. It starts with an introduction and continues with the positive and negative impact of the aforementioned Participation. Under positive impact we have democratic rights, citizenship rights, youth’s political, aspirations, youth’s views on citizenship, democracy in ancient Greek, modern democracy, classical definition of citizenship, Marshall perception of citizenship and democracy, rethinking citizenship and democracy in Cameroon, youth’s movements as positive actors of peace, development and citizenship building while negative impact treats areas such as youths projected as vectors of violence, causes of violence among youths and challenges of youths in Bui Division. It ends with a conclusion which summarizes the main ideas of

thechapter.

Chapter four is titled “limitations and perspectives of youth’s political participation in Bui Division”. It starts with an introduction and continues with the presentation of the above limitations and perspectives under which we have treated political, economic and socio-cultural aspects. We end with a conclusion and lastly the general conclusion which summarizes the major ideas of the work, outlining the findings, limitations and perspectives for possible future solutions to youth political challenges.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Introduction

The youths in the Cameroonian society in general and those of Bui Division in particular undoubtedly represented an indispensable pillar to their economic, political and socio-cultural growth. Therefore, it was indeed a necessity to actively involve youths in politics or better still development programs. Moreover, to what extent had Youths in Bui Division been involved in national politics? The degree of Youths involvement in politics had been conditioned by their stakes and interests.⁴¹ This chapter acts as an elementary part of the work which paved the way for the succeeding chapters. This chapter focuses on the geographical and human background of Bui Division which is the area of study. This chapter examines Bui division as a single political entity pursuing a common goal and future. This division constituted one of the seven divisions of the North West Region of Cameroon created in 1968. Moreover, it is impossible to study the political history of Bui Division without conducting an examination of geographical location of Bui, its size, population and the organization of the division in the political, economic and social domains. The chapter therefore seeks to examine the geographical location of the area in question, its people and the historical evolution of youth politics in this area.

A. Geographical Presentation of Bui Division

i. Location

The area known as Bui Division today was initially represented by Nso state. It is located in the North West Region of Cameroon, having as headquarter Kumbo which is the second largest town in the region after Bamenda (see map 1). The division is administratively Balkanized into six sub-Divisions ruled by District Officers such as Kumbo, Mbiame, Oku, Nkor, Jakiri and Nkum.⁴² This area is also divided into six administrative political units known as municipal councils, governed by Mayors (see map 2).

Geographically, Bui is located between latitude 6250⁰c and longitude 10750⁰c. It covers

⁴¹Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon", pp. 26-45.

⁴²P. M. Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, Buea, Government Printers, 1969, pp. 26-27.

a surface area of 229700km.⁴³ It is a composite entity comprising of Nso *fondom* which was the leader of the Nso state, the fraternal chiefdoms of OKU and Mbiame to the south east and east respectively, the refuge fondom of Nseh to the North, Nzeen and Kiluun to the South. They are surrounded by some villages of Nso said to have joined Nso state in exchange for protection against wiya, Fulani, Bamun raids and the conquered chiefdoms of Nkar to the south encircled by the Nso villages and Djottin, Din, Mbinon, Dom, Nkor and Lassin to the West and North West. This state is constituted of Nso, Mbiame, Oku, Nseh, Noni, Din, and Nkar. Nseh, Din and Nkar were vassal states of the paramount *fondom* of Nso. Mbiame and Oku were offshoots of the Nso dynasty considered as *fondoms* of high status than the vassal states (see map 3).

Therefore, many of her vassal states submitted themselves willingly to Nso authority between 1450 and 1950. They were either converted as King Makers such as Nzendzev, Doh, Tan, Menjeje, Souor and Tatohs which included Mbiingiy, Mamo, Ka-a, Jem or remained as *Fons* with limited authority such as Nzen, Ron, Nkim, Kilun and Nderem.⁴⁴

ii. Size and Population

Demographically, in 1953, Bui Division had a population of over 50,000 people according to the 1953 colonial census. In 1971 the population statistics put it at about 105,000 inhabitants. The 1976 national census put the population of Bui Division at 142,000 people. The national census of 2001 established the total number of population of Bui Division at 322,877 inhabitants. Today, the Division counts about 800,000 people. After 1884, with the signing of the Germano-Duala treaty, Germany established her Administration in Cameroon run by governors. The latter were assisted by advisory councils which existed till the defeat and the departure of Germans after the First World War. After the War, the British in 1921 implemented the Indirect Rule system through the establishment of Native Authorities and Native Authority Court system which was a Customary Assembly. The administration of the assembly was presided over by a traditional head with Courts providing elementary health and education facilities. The *Fons* of Bali, Bum, Kom and Nso in Bamenda Division constituted Native Authorities and were assisted by tribunals and councils in the Grassfield during the British era. In 1948, the Native Authorities in the Bamenda Division were grouped into four federations

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴J. Nfi, "Inter-community Relations and Politics of Identity in the Nso Chiefdom" Bamenda, University Press, pp. 6-15.

except Bali and South Eastern federation was made up of Ndop, Bafut and Nso with headquarters at Ndop Bamunka. They decided to form one federated council known as the Tikar Council. After independence of Southern Cameroons and Reunification of Cameroons in 1961, Nso and Bafut seceded from the council. On the 1st of April, 1961, the Nso Area Council was created. The Native Authority was renamed Nso Sub-Division under Bamenda Division in 1963. In 1966, it became Nso Division by Presidential Decree N° 66–DF-432 of 26 August, 1966. In 1968, it was rebaptised Bui Division. Oku, Noni and Dzekwa Traditional councils were carved out as Jakiri Sub-Division while Kumbo Center, Nkum, and Mbiame formed the Kumbo Central Sub-Division. Noni went back to Kumbo as a result of the placement of headquarters. The Presidential Decree No. 77/203 of 29 June, 1977 replaced the Nso Area Council by the following autonomous councils such as: Kumbo Urban and Rural Councils, Jakiri and Elak Oku Rural Councils carved out with Noni and Mbiame under Kumbo.⁴⁵

B. Historical Background

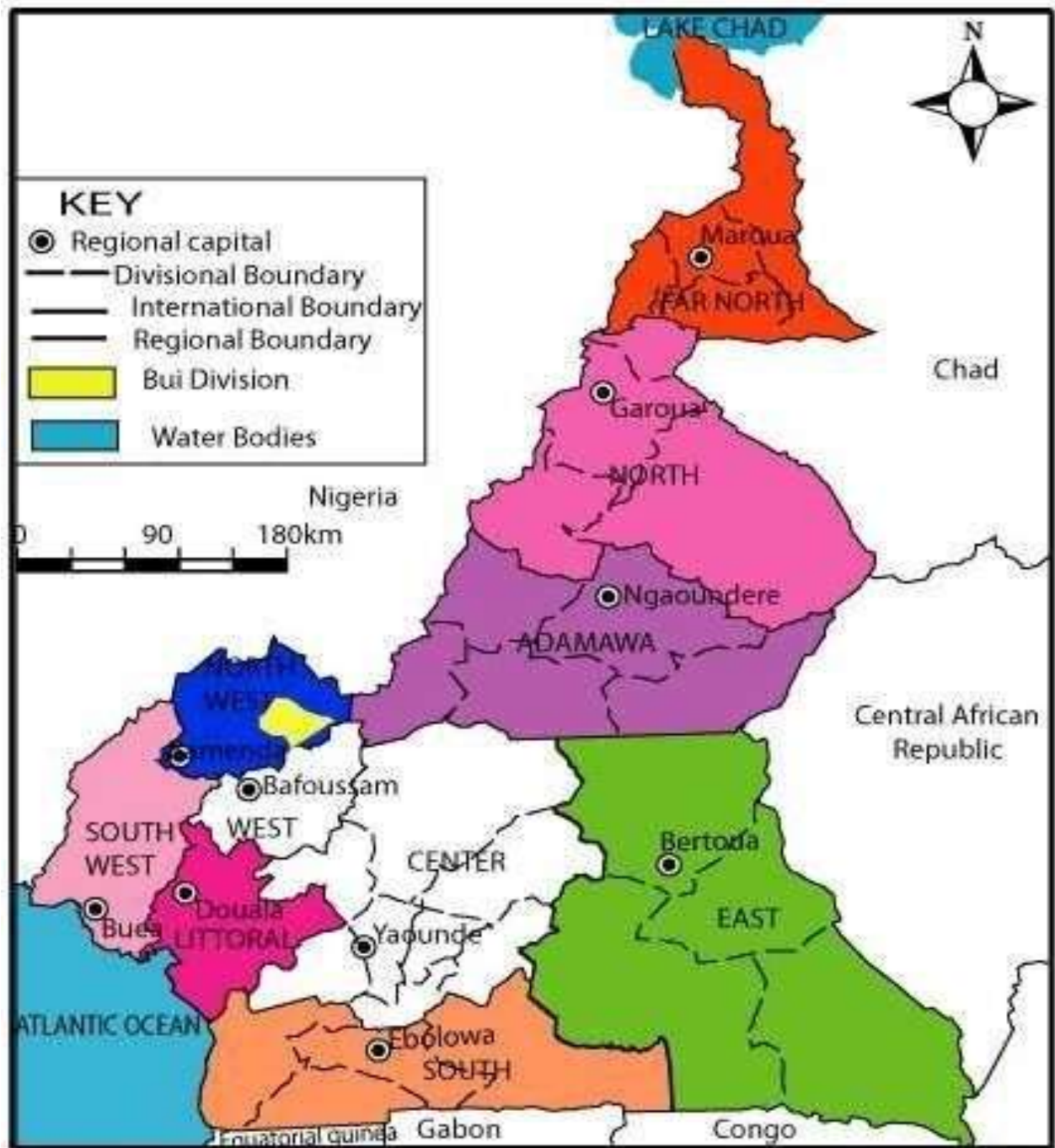
i. Early Politics

Before the introduction of modern politics in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular by the Germans in 1884 through the creation of modern academic institutions and the establishment of modern governmental and administrative institutions, succeeded by the British who introduced competitive politics and encouraged young people to get involved in politics by creating youth political movements which included NYM, NCNC and CYL, political pressure groups and later political parties. The Youth had played a great role in early politics in Bui Division.

Furthermore, these youths constituted the *Manjong* which was the military wing of the traditional government as they constituted the active population. The military headquarters were represented in every village known as *mfuh*. They were at the forefront of the war during the years of inter tribal wars. These youths equally represented a strong driving force in community development as they were in charge of the organ responsible for the regulation of community work known as the *ngiri*. They equally collected royal taxes and mobilized the local population for royal community work including the youths.

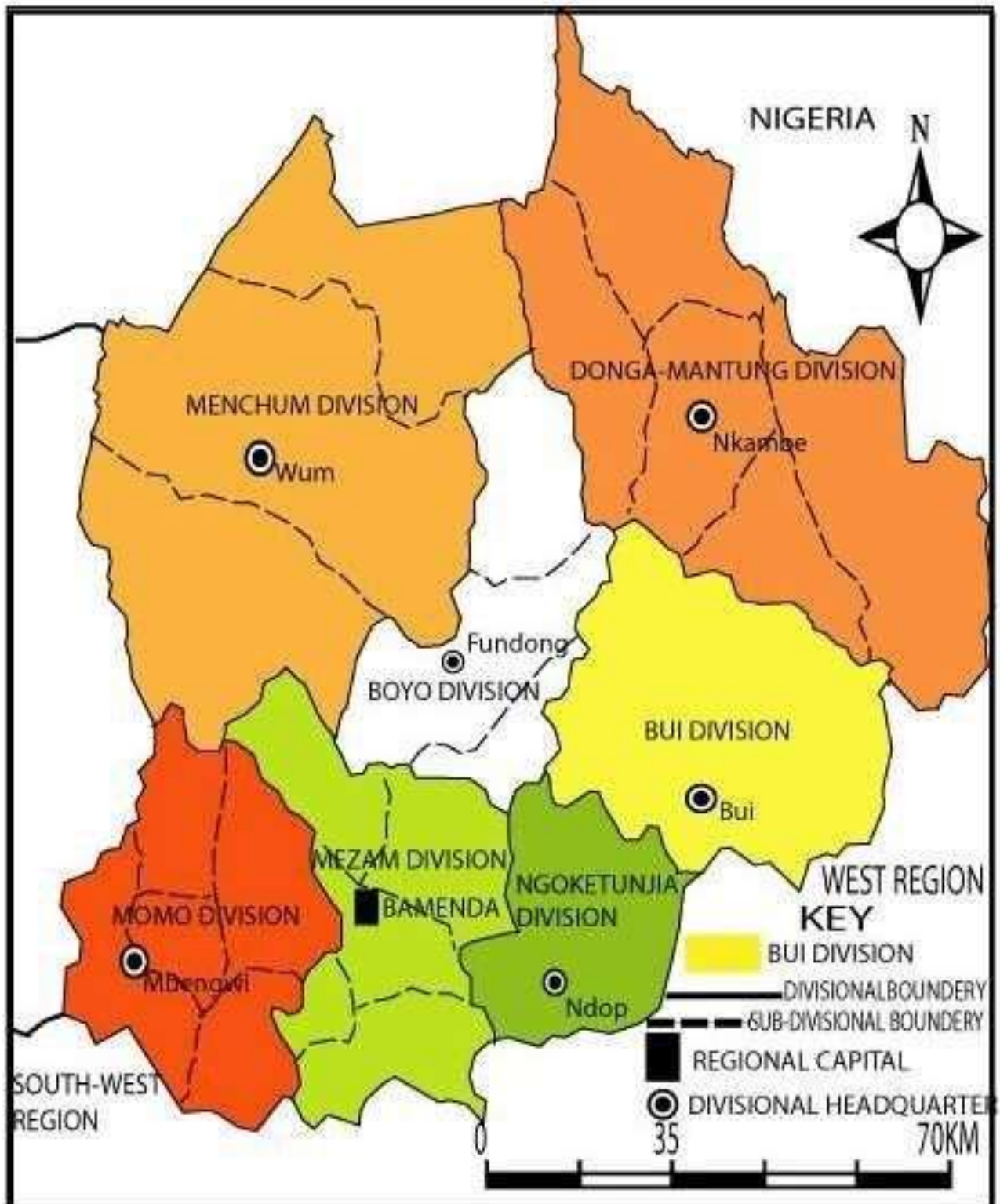
⁴⁵Ibid; pp. 16-30.

Map 1: Location of Bui Division in Cameroon



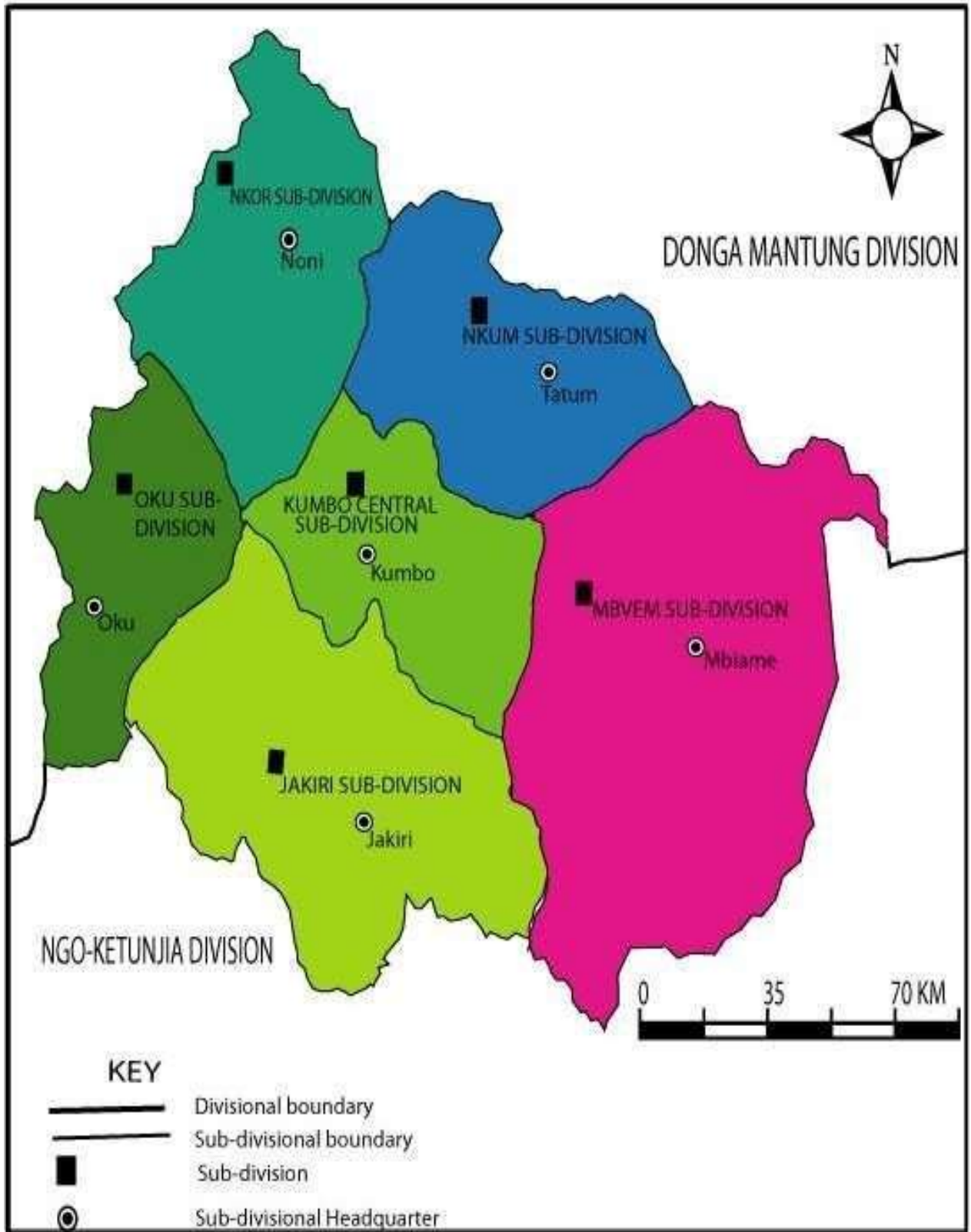
Source: Alfred Votinyuy Winker, Cameroon-Canada Cooperation Community Development in Kumbo Central Sub-Division: A Historical Analysis, 1970-2011, M. A. Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde1, July 2016, p.25.

Map 2: Location of Bui Division in the North West Region of Cameroon



Source: Alfred Votinyuy Winker, Cameroon-Canada Cooperation Community Development in Kumbo Central Sub-Division: A Historical Analysis,1970-2011,M.A.Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde1, July 2016, p.25.

Map 3: Map of Bui Division



Source: <http://www.map.com/google>, consulted on 25th February, 2017.

Moreover, these youth were part of the *nwerong* which acted as the legislative and regulatory institutions of the Village government. This institution enacted laws and controlled the powers of the *Fon*. The role played by the youths in this institution in Bui Division especially in the Nso traditional political organization was not much felt as those who controlled the institution were the seven *vibais* who were the king makers. A young man could become *Fon* since the kingship was hereditary. These young people were also members of the secret societies which managed the cultural settings of the local government though with some special super natural powers. The village councils which assisted the royal cabinet in regulating village affairs did not include youth's representatives. In the domain of economics, youths were mostly trained in informal education precisely farming and hunting. Some animals were reserved for the royal household and any young man who caught such animals had the legitimate obligation to bring them to the palace and was given the title of *tav njim* meaning the leader of the hunting expedition. During wars, these youths were being prepared spiritually by the *Nwerong* to fortify them against their enemies. The military wing has dwindled to nothing with the end of inter-tribal wars. The regulatory body was equally responsible for the enthronement of the landlords such as the *Fais* and the *Shufais*. This was carried out by young people under the authorization of the *Fon*. This youth leadership later metamorphosed into competitive politics during the colonial and post colonial periods.⁴⁶

ii. Modern Politics

Modern politics was introduced in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular by the Germans in 1884. This was done through the creation of modern learning institutions such as elementary schools by the German Bassel mission. This institution trained Cameroonians to become responsible citizens in future and it also intensified nationalist awareness among young Cameroonians thus preparing ground work for future nationalism. Some Cameroonians were awarded scholarships to study in Germany who later inculcated nationalist sentiments among Cameroonian youth such as Martin Paul Samba, the Bulu Leader who organised strong resistance against the German colonial rule in Cameroon.⁴⁷

Moreover, the Germans also constructed railways, roads, hospitals, plantations, trading firms and agricultural experiment centers where crops were being experimented. It won't be an overstatement to say that Cameroonian youth as well as youth from Bui Division were used as

⁴⁶Ibid; pp. 5-12.

⁴⁷J, Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1985, A Hundred Years of History*, Yaoundé, Navi Group Publication, 1987, pp 1-10.

labourers in the construction sites and in plantations for little or no payment including the German trading firms. Therefore, the Germans constructed these infrastructures using domestic labour, through involuntary or forced labour. The chiefs were used as auxiliaries of the German administration to supervise plantation works, collect taxes, road and railways construction and equally dispensed fines paid through flogging or forced labour. The youths were mostly victims of such works as they constituted the active population.⁴⁸ It is incumbent to note that the Germans constructed roads and railways to ease the transportation of goods from the hinterland to the coast and not for the well being of Cameroonian Youth. The hospitals were also created to ensure the health of the youths to be strong enough to serve in the plantations. In addition; they also created schools to educate youths to ease communication for future exploitation.

Another historical fact is that the Germans during their alien rule in Cameroon never promoted party politics. It was after the defeat and the expulsion of the Germans from Cameroon in 1916 that Britain and France partitioned Cameroon in 1916 after a failed attempt to create a joint administration. Britain therefore took 1/5 of the territory meanwhile France took 4/5. Britain therefore administered her own territory as part of Northern and Southern Nigeria Respectively.⁴⁹ This is because the latter divided her own part of Cameroon into Southern and Northern Cameroons to ease administration. During this period, British Southern Cameroonian youths including those from Bui Division took up the initiative to introduce democracy through the creation of youth's political movements, pressure groups and political parties in Nigeria and Southern Cameroons respectively. This was equally the same situation in French Cameroon, but France introduced the policy of Assimilation which wanted all French Cameroonians to behave like French men in all aspects of life, that is to say French citizens in black skin.

In this light, as British Southern Cameroons was governed as an integral part of Nigeria, youths from British Southern Cameroons in general and those from Bui Division in particular due to inadequate education infrastructures had to go to Nigeria for further studies.⁵⁰ They actively played a central role both in Nigerian and Cameroonian politics by creating and militating within youth's movements, pressure groups and later political parties which culminated in the liberation of Southern Cameroons and reunification of Cameroon.

⁴⁸T.L.Mangularandal., *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, Buea and Bamenda, ANUCAM, Education Books, 2 Edition, 2008, pp.13-42.

⁴⁹Ibid, pp. 51-65.

⁵⁰W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youths and Politics in ...", pp. 26-42.

The youth from Bui Division who constituted part of Southern Cameroons were not an exception to these nationalist sentiments in their various political movements, pressure groups and political parties they belonged and actively took part in decrying colonial rule in British Southern Cameroons and Bui Division in particular for instance Vincent Thomas Lainjo.⁵¹

The earliest Nigerian youth political movement which attracted the attention of youths from Bui Division was the Nigerian Youths Movement created in 1933 to foster Nigerian unity through the agglomeration of various entities which made up Nigeria. This greatly inspired Cameroonian youths in general and those of Bui Division in particular to promote unity as Cameroon unity was at the lips of every Cameroonian. This movement dwindled into nothing due to the introduction of ethnicity, class distinction and superiority complex within the ranks of the party.⁵²

Another youth's movement where youth from Bui Division played an indispensable role in the quest for independence and reunification of Cameroon was the Cameroon Youth League. This Movement saw the day on March 7th 1940. The latter was created by Cameroon students in general and youth from Bui Division in particular in Nigeria under the leadership of E. M. L. Endeley who was 24 years old. Other founding members included John Ngu Foncha (16 years) and P. M. Kale (0 years). We equally had youths from Bui Division such as Vincent T. Lainjo who was 30 years. In this light, the goal of this pressure group was to redress the economic, educational, political and social grievances of British administered Cameroonians. It equally encouraged national consciousness among youths from Bui division in Nigeria and sought for a recognized state for the territory. These youth did not lose a sense of being irrespective of the headquarters in Lagos and the administration of the territory as part of Nigeria.⁵³

After the N.Y.M and C.Y.L, later emerged the N.C.N.C in August 1944 under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay having as motto "Big Tent Nigerian Nationalism and Social Justice". This was created by young patriots of Nigeria and Cameroons. This was another forum where by problems confronting Nigeria and Cameroons were to be addressed. It was felt that the youths had done their best to rally intellectuals around Lagos and there was that necessity to sound a nationwide trumpet call for a united national crusade for the liberation of Nigeria and Cameroons. This was to be a new stage in the evolution of Nigeria and Cameroons Nationalism. This movement was charged with the goal of exerting mass pressure in order to hasten the political development of Nigeria and Cameroons. The organization had the following

⁵¹P.M. Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, Buea, Government Printers, 1969, pp. 22-26

⁵²W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youths and Politics in Cameroon from Colonial to Post Colonial Periods", p. 59.

⁵³P. M. Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, p. 23.

objectives defined in her constitution⁵⁴;

- (1) To organize and collaborate with all its branches throughout the country.
- (2) To extend democratic principles and to advance the interest of the people of Nigeria and Cameroons.
- (3) To adopt suitable means for the purpose of impacting political education on the people of Nigeria and Cameroons with a view to achieving selfgovernment.
- (4) To offer members with the medium of expression in order to secure political freedom, economic security, social equality and religious toleration in Nigeria and in Cameroons under the British mandate as a member of CommonWealth.

There also existed other pressure groups such as Cameroon Welfare Union, Cameroon Federal Union and Cameroon National Federation created in 1939, 1947 and 1949 respectively.⁵⁵ During this era, youth were consulted and included in decision making process and development programs. They occupied key positions in parliaments, political parties and government. Youths from Bui Division who occupied key positions included Vincent T. Lainjo who became Southern Cameroons parliamentarian to the Eastern House of Assembly in 1952 in Nigeria and was later elected to represent the Eastern House in the Federal House of Assembly in Nigeria alongside Endeley, Mbile, Kangsen, Ngala and Foncha. Following an interview granted to him in April 2006, Lainjo said that “He was Minister of Education, Minister of Natural resources and Agriculture, and Minister of Youth affairs from 1958-1959 at 49 years. Sylvester Kilo was also Inspector of cooperatives in 1955 at 23 years and Bernard fonlon who played a central role in the independence and reunification of Cameroon (see plates 1, 2 and 3).⁵⁶

Furthermore, during this period, there was a quest for freedom by every territory under alien rule. In this light; the struggle for independence in Southern Cameroons was characterized by contrast of self determination. This is because these young Cameroonians in this part of the territory were not accorded their right to self-determination which had remained questionable among youths and intellectuals today. This was in line with the creation of an African block and the burning desire of Cameroonians to return to One Cameroon as was under the Germans. This explains why these young Cameroonians and those from Bui Division were given two options

⁵⁴ *ibid*; pp. 26-27.

⁵⁵ *ibid*; pp. 37-38

⁵⁶ *Ibid*; pp.70-71.

to decide on the political future of their territory in 1959. These options included:

- (a) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the Independent Federation of Nigeria? OR
- (b) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the Independent Republic of Cameroon?⁵⁷ This culminated in the organization of a plebiscite in both Northern and Southern Cameroons on 11th February, 1961. Southern Cameroonian youths overwhelmingly voted to join French Cameroon. This was succeeded by the proclamation of the independence of Southern Cameroons on October 1st, 1961 and the subsequent reunification of the Cameroons.⁵⁸

Following the results of the plebiscite of 11th February 1961 in British Southern Cameroons, the KNDP party carried the day with a land slide victory with 233,571 votes against 97,741, mean while North Cameroons voted to join Nigeria.⁵⁹ In addition to this, these youths from Bui Division in synergy with other Southern Cameroonian youths ceaselessly contributed for the political evolution of this territory through a series of constitutional reforms such as the Richard's Constitution in 1946 which went operational in 1947, the Macpherson's Constitution in 1951 which went operational in 1952 and lastly the Lyttleton's Constitution in 1954. These constitutions regulated the administration of Nigeria and Southern Cameroons.

Furthermore, the Richard's Constitution of 1946 marginalized Southern Cameroonian youths and those from Bui Division in terms of political representation. This was because the territory merely occupied two Native Authority seats in the thirteen chambers Eastern Regional House of Assembly which were only given to traditional authorities such as Chief Manga Williams of Victoria and *Fon* Galegal II of Bali. These reforms were not welcomed by young Southern Cameroonian politicians in general and Bui Division in particular who saw this as a tragedy to the political evolution of the territory as the lone seat reserved for them in the federal legislature occupied by Chief Williams since 1942 was taken away.⁶⁰ Following the failure of the Constitution to grant a separate regional status to the southern Cameroons, and the low representation in the legislature created a tense atmosphere opposing young politicians in British Southern Cameroons. This culminated in the introduction of the Macpherson's

⁵⁷V.Fanso. *Cameroon History For Secondary Schools and Colleges, the colonial and post colonial periods* London, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, vol 2, 1989, pp. 15-40.

⁵⁸Ngoh, V, J, A hundred Years of History, p.101.

⁵⁹⁵⁷ibid; p. 102.

⁶⁰Ibid, pp. 102-103

Constitution in 1951.

Plate 1: V.T. Lainjo



Source: <http://w.w.w.google.com/V T.Lainjo>, 02-04-2018 at 6pm.

Plate 2: Nsokika Benard Fonlon



Source: <http://www.google.NsokilaBernard Fonlon.com>, 20-02-2018 at 5.

Plate 3: Sylvester Kindzeka Kilo



Source: <http://www.sakerpride.com/almanac/biography of Sylvester Kindzeka Kilo>, 18-03-2018 at 2pm.

Moreover, with the advent of this Constitution, the number of these young Cameroonian representatives rose from two to thirteen and Bui Division had one. They were equally granted six seats out of thirteen from the Eastern House of Assembly to the House of Representatives in Lagos. These Southern Cameroonian youths were also granted two ministerial posts in the Eastern executive council at Enugu and Federal executive council in Lagos respectively. These Ministries were run by S. T. Muna as minister of works and Endeley as minister of labour respectively. This constitution was handicapped in that it never made provisions for an autonomous region and legislature for Southern Cameroons.⁵⁹

In line with this constitution, elections were conducted in Southern Cameroons to get the thirteen representatives to the Eastern Regional House of Assembly. In preparation for this, Southern Cameroons was divided into six electoral districts which included Bamenda, Wum, Mamfe, Kumba, Nkambe and Victoria, and Bui Division was under Bamenda District. Each district was to provide two representatives with the exception of Bamenda which was the largest district and had to provide three representatives. The following young Cameroonians were elected to represent their various districts with V. T. Lainjo from Bui Division representing the Bamenda Division (see table 1).⁶¹

Table 1: Elected British Southern Cameroons representatives at the Eastern Regional House of Assembly at Enugu, 1952

Political District	Names of Candidates
Bamenda	J.N. Foncha, S.T. Muna, and V.T.Lainjo
Nkambe	J.T Ndze
Wum	J.C. Kangsen and S.A.J. Ngala C. Ndi
Mamfe	S.A. George and M.N. Foju
Kumba	N.N. Mbile and R.N. Charley
Victoria	E.M.L. Endeley and P.N.Motomby woleta

Source: V. J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1895, A Hundred Years of History*, Limbe, Navi Group Publications, 1987, pp. 189-190.

The aforementioned Constitution was short-lived due to interruption from the Eastern

⁶¹ P.M.Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, Buea, Government Printers, 1969, pp 5-25

Regional Crises of May 1953. The crises erupted as a result of power struggle which opposed Nnamdi Azikiwe President of N.C.N.C and Eyo-Ita Vice President and Leader of Government of Eastern Region.⁶²

Following the crises, these young Southern Cameroonians including youths from Bui Division staged a boycott of the session of the Eastern House of Assembly by adopting a policy of benevolent neutrality in Nigerian politics. This stand was adopted by nine representatives out of thirteen and four members were against. These four members included N.N. Mbile, R. N. Charley, S. C. Ndi and Motomby Woleta. The crises had far reaching impact on Southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular, due to the stand adopted by these young politicians. During the crises, the territory was granted a Quasi-federal status in 1954. The latter equally helped to awaken nationalist feelings among these youths and also exposed the place of Southern Cameroonian representatives in general and those from Bui Division in particular as a minority in Nigeria. These youths also demanded for a separate Assembly and Government for Southern Cameroons. This plea passed through the 1953 Elections during which the K. N. C. won 12 of the 13 seats beating the K. P. P. which stood against benevolent neutrality in Nigerian politics.⁶⁰

In addition, another constitution during which these Youth pressed for more political reforms for the territory was the Littleton's Constitution of 1954 named after Sir Oliver Lyttleton. This Constitution promised a separate legislature and government for Southern Cameroons. The latter became inevitable following the victory of the K. N. C. in the December 1953 elections. The provisions of this constitution required the territory to send six representatives to the federal legislature. The year 1954 marked a turning point in the history of Southern Cameroons when the aforementioned constitution went into effect. Endeley led a government of quasi-federal territory which was clamoring for self-government meanwhile a considerable portion of Southern Cameroons' population was out for total secession from Nigeria and reunification with French Cameroon. These youths constituted four members led by Endeley which marked the end of their participation in the Eastern Nigerian politics. The history of the territory from 1954 to 1961 centered on the latter's attachment to Nigeria or the break off from Nigeria and Reunification with French Cameroon.⁶⁰

In the course of this struggle, there existed different shades of opinion among youths from southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular in the K. N. C. such as

⁶² V.J.Ngoh, Cameroon 1884-1985, A Hundred Years of History, Limbe, Navi Group Publications, 1987, pp140-170.

autonomists, associationists and reunificationists. Since Endeley who was the leader of the party supported association with Nigeria, it led to the disintegration of the party in 1955 whereby Foncha defected and formed the K. N. D. P.⁶³ It would be futile to examine the role played by youth in politics in Bui Division without conducting a critical study of their contribution in conferences for the political evolution of the territory through political concertations, heated debates and talks. These conferences included the Ibadan conference 1950, the Mamfe Conference 1953, the Lancaster Conference 1953, the London Conference 1957, the Mamfe Plebiscite Conference August 1959, the London conference 1960, the Bamenda Conference 26-28 June 1961, the Fouban conference July 1961, the Yaoundé Tripartite Conference 2nd August, 1961. One of those conferences where by these youths participated and deliberated on the political future of Southern Cameroons was the Ibadan Conference, it was agreed that British Cameroons was to be represented by eleven elected Members in the Nigerian legislatures that in Lagos and the Eastern House of Assembly in Enugu. Those elections were to be held based on the Electoral College system following the newly adopted Macpherson Constitution. This culminated in the division of the territory into six political districts and each district was allowed two seats with the exception of Bamenda having three. As a result of this, the following candidates were elected.

In this light, British Southern Cameroons was represented in the House of Representatives in Lagos by E. M. L. Endeley, Muna, Ndze, Kangsen, George, Mbile and Endeley was subsequently appointed as Minister of Labour in the Council of Ministers in Lagos while Muna was appointed Minister of Works in the Eastern Regional Executive in Enugu. All the aforementioned youth boosted the political development of the territory and Bui was represented by V. T. L. ainjo.⁶⁴

Another conference where these youth met to concert on the future of the territory was the Mamfe Conference, May 1953. After the Benevolent Neutrality Bloc returned home, they conducted a nationwide tour calling on the people to send their representatives to the Mamfe conference. During this conference, these young politicians agreed to send a petition to Lord Oliver Lyttleton, the Secretary of State for Colonies. They demanded in the petition that British Authorities should create a separate and autonomous legislature for British Southern Cameroons. The letter was submitted to Lord Lyttleton on May 28, 1953 in London by E. M. L.

⁶³ibid; pp 22-28.

⁶⁴ Ngoh V.J., *Cameroon 1884-1895...*, pp. 189-190.

Endeley.⁶⁵

Another important event which marked this period was the creation of K. N.C. in June 1953. This resulted from the amalgamation of two political pressure groups of Endeley and Dibongue such as the C. N. F. and K. U. N. C. respectively. This led to the exclusion of Mbile from K. N. C. due to his opposition to the benevolent neutrality, though once a secretary of K.U.N.C. This newly created movement constituted youth with different political aspirations for the territory. The latter was made of four shades of political opinions. These opinions included the autonomists who were under the leadership of Endeley which wanted the territory to be given greater autonomy within the Nigerian Federation.⁶⁶

There equally existed the secessionists led by P. M. Kale who believed Southern Cameroons should secede from Nigeria and eventually demand for her independence or a separate independent state. There were also the reunificationists who were led by R.J. K. Dibongue and later Ndeh Ntumazah. This group stood for secession from Nigeria and reunification with French Cameroon. Finally, we have the "Foncharians" led by Foncha who preferred to be the sounding board of popular opinion. These are political platforms defended by these young politicians to shape the future and the destiny of their territory.⁶⁷

There exist a say that "a house that is divided against it is bound to collapse". Though several opinions dominated the K. N. C; there was that growing demand for constitutional reforms or changes by the A. G. and N. C. N. C. which was to be discussed in London. This led to the holding of Lancaster House Conference in 1953 in London. Furthermore, the aforementioned Conference paved the way for the traditional authorities to delegate their own young politicians to represent them in London on behalf of their people.⁶³ During this conference, British Southern Cameroons was represented by Endeley and Kangsen meanwhile Mallam Abba Habib represented British Northern Cameroons. Mbile, Motomby Woleta, Charley, Ndi and Kale who founded the K. P. P., attended the conference as delegates of N. C. N. C. During the conference, these youths under the leadership of Endeley demanded for either Regional autonomy or separate legislature for the territory. Mallam Abba Habib revealed the aspiration of British Northern Cameroons to remain with Northern Nigeria. Therefore, the Secretary of State for Colonies declared that if Endeley won the subsequent 1957 Elections, the

⁶⁵P.M. Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, Buea, Government Printers, 1969, pp 5-25.

⁶⁶Fanso, V.J. *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges: From Prehistoric Times to The Twenty-first Century*, Yaoundé, Team Work Press, Revised and updated, 2017.

⁶⁷Ngoh, V.J. , *A Hundred Years of History, Cameroon 1884-1985*, Yaoundé, Navi Group Publication, pp89-115.

territory would be given a separate legislature. An executive council was also created comprising of a president, the commissioner of the Cameroons, legal secretary whose official members were Endeley, Kangsen, Muna and George. Following the popularity of the K. N. C, she swept all the eight seats in to the House of Representatives in Lagos following the 1954 Elections in British Southern Cameroons.⁶⁴

Another important conference whereby these youths participated which subsequently fostered the political advancement of the territory was the 1957 London Constitutional Conference. This was the second London conference which was to review the Nigerian constitution and to deliberate on the constitutional process in Southern Cameroons. The Southern Cameroons was represented by the three main political parties with each party having its own representatives or delegates. The K.N.C. was represented by Endeley, *Fon* of Bali Galega 2 and Ndze, the K. N. D. P. was represented by Foncha, the K.P.P. by Kale and V.E. Mukete attended as adviser for K.N.C., Jua for K.N.D.P. and Mbile for the K. P. P. and there was no representative from Bui Division. During the conference, the secretary of state held a series of separate meetings which resulted to further constitutional advancement in Southern Cameroons. During the conference, it was unanimously agreed that:⁶⁸

- (a) The executive council will have an official majority consisting of commissioner as president, three ex-official members and five unofficial members of whom one would be styled Premier and the others ministers.
- (b) Public officers in southern Cameroons would remain members of the federal public service.
- (c) The term quasi-federal territory would be dropped in favour of Southern Cameroons.
- (d) The elected members of the house of assembly would be increased from thirteen to twenty six. As a result of these recommendations the following conclusions were arrived at:⁶⁹
 - 1) That the Leader of Government Business in the Southern Cameroons should be called premier.
 - 2) That the commissioner should be empowered to appoint the speaker of the House of Assembly in Southern Cameroons after consultation with the premier.

⁶⁹Aloagamo E.A. The Birth of Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961, Study in Colonialism and under development, USA, Nkemnji Global Technology, 2002, pp 15-45.

- 3) Those ministers in the Southern Cameroons ordered that premier should be appointed by the High Commissioner on the recommendation of the Premier.

In addition, another indispensable conference was held in London 1958. This was the third conference of its kind. During this conference, three regions of Nigeria were represented by ten delegates and five advisers. Southern Cameroons was represented by five delegates and three advisers. The personalities representing the three political parties in the territory such as the K.N. C.K. N. D. P. and K. P. P. were the same except the case of K.N.C. where the *Fon* of Bali and Mukete were replaced by *Fon* John Yai Kwanga of Bum and P. A. Ayuk respectively.⁶⁵ During this conference, the delegates from various political parties stated that their main political objective was for the territory to attain a regional status equal to other Nigerian Regions. In this light, they pushed for rapid constitutional progress for Southern Cameroons to get her rightful place with other Nigerian regions.⁷⁰

Moreover, the Mamfe Plebiscite Conference of August 1959 happened to be one of the Conferences whereby young Cameroonian politicians and those from Bui Division meet to deliberate on issues concerning the future of the territory. Before August 1959, the K.U.P. had been formed by P. M. Kale wished secession and independence for Southern Cameroons. At this Conference, Southern Cameroons was represented by the K. N. D. P., K. N. C., K. P. P., O. K., and K.U.P political parties. The K. N. D. P. Was given eight seats at the conference, the K. N. C./ K. P. P. alliance had six seats, the O. K., K. U.P. Kamerun Society and the National Union of the Kamerun Students had one seat each and traditional chiefs were reserved ten seats. During this conference these young politicians dealt with two issues: the qualifications for voting in the plebiscite and questions to be presented at the electorate. This heated debate centered on;

- (a) The status of self-governing Cameroon within an independent federation of Nigeria.
- (b) Separation from Nigeria with a period undertrusteeship.⁷¹
- (c) Separation from Nigeria with the opening of early negotiations for reunification with the French Cameroon on acceptable terms. These youths from K.N.C\ K.P.P coalition insisted that the plebiscite questions shouldbe:

⁷⁰ Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1895...*, pp. 216-217.

⁷¹ Kale, *Political Evolution in...*, pp. 47-48

- d) The status of self-governing Cameroon within an independent federation of Nigeria meaning integration.
- e) Separation from Nigeria with the opening of early negotiations with French Cameroon on reunification.

The O.K. party insisted on integration versus reunification. There was no consensus among the participants which culminated in the organization of another session whose agenda were the alternatives for the plebiscite and qualification for voting in the plebiscite compromise was reached after heated debate which was adopted by the UN General assembly and embodied in Resolutions 135 XIV of October 16, 1959 out lining the plebiscite questions as follows;⁷²

- (a) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?

or

- (b) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon?

The electorate questions were received with mixed feelings from the Southern Cameroonian youth and youth from Bui Division in particular O. K. supporters in Bamenda condemned it. The Kamerun Society and Cameroon Youth League Association of Buea supported the idea. The leader and founder of Muslim congress Mallam Sale of Nso in Bui Division equally supported it. The organized reaction against the compromise came from K. U. P. led by Kale. During an executive meeting of the K. U. P. held at Buea on January 24, 1960, these youths argued that the plebiscite looked like an imposition and departure from the fundamental principle upon which the UN charter was promulgated with regard to trust territories. In a letter to Dag Hammarskjold, the Secretary General of the UNO dated September 20 1960; P.M. Kale warned him that the K.U.P would do nothing short of boycotting the plebiscite if Britain and UN refused to include the third alternative at the plebiscite.⁷³ The K.U.P wanted an independent Southern Cameroons with membership in the Commonwealth. He equally said;

Must Cameroonians become compelled or forced after 30 years of German rule and 45 years of British Trusteeship to accept or should they be free to choose the form of government under which they would like to live? The plebiscite is compelling or forcing emancipated

⁷² *ibid*; pp.218-221.

⁷³ *ibid*; pp.235-236.

Cameroonians politically and other wise to accept living under

The government of Cameroon Republic or the Federation of Nigeria; for that reason, we denounce the plebiscite in its entirety.⁷⁴

Moreover, two other political parties denounced the compromise: the Cameroon Commoners Congress (C.C.C.). It was founded by Chief Stephen E.N Nyenti of Mamfe. The latter wanted separation from Nigeria and insisted that Southern Cameroons should remain independent for an interim period whether to join Nigeria or Cameroon or not. Another party was the Cameroons Indigenes Party (C.I.P.) which its detractors called it Cameroon ignorant party. It was founded by Jesco Manga Williams of Victoria.⁷⁵

However, as a result of this impasse, another meeting was organized and scheduled for January 1960 in London. This meeting was attended by these young Southern Cameroons politicians including Endeley, Foncha, Kale, and British Commissioner J.O. Field and Bui Division was not represented. This meeting was aimed at seeking ways and means of altering the plebiscite questions but nothing successful came out of it. This meeting instead created confusion as many of the electors went to vote believing that the third question was included which was independence with neither association nor reunification.⁷¹ Therefore, many Southern Cameroonian youths including those of Bui Division and old cast their votes in favour of independence meanwhile the outcome was reunification. The plebiscites therefore gave the following output;

⁷⁴ *ibid*; p 237

⁷⁵ V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1985...*, pp 25-48.

Table 2: The Results of the 1961 Plebiscite in Southern Cameroons

PLEBISCITE DISTRICT	NIGERIA	CAMEROON
VITORIA Southwest, South east, Northwest, Northeast	2552 1329 4744 3291	3756 4870 4205 9251
KUMBA North, east, North, west, Southeast	9466 14738 6105	11991 555 12827

South west	2424	2227
MAMFE West, North, South, East	2039 5432 685 1894	8505 6410 8175 10177
BAMENDA North, East, Central-West, Central- East, West, South	8073 1822 1230 529 467 220	18839 17839 18027 18193 16142 19426

WUM		
North, Central, East, West	1485	7322
	3644	3211
	1516	13133
	2139	3449
NKAMBE		
North, East, Central, South	5962	1917
	3845	5896
	5059	4288
	7051	2921
TOTAL	97741	233571

Source: E.A.Aloagamo, *The British Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961: A Study in Colonialism and Underdevelopment*, USA, Nkemnji Global Technology, 2002, pp. 254-256

The aforementioned plebiscite results paved the way forward for eventual negotiation for reunion of Southern Cameroons with French Cameroon. The plebiscite also witnessed the withdrawal of the Southern Cameroons from Nigeria. This led to the June 1961 Bamenda Conference. One should not underestimate the pertinent role these young politicians played in the Bamenda Conference. This Conference was attended by the representatives of the K.N.D.P in power, the O.K, House of chiefs, native authorities with Y.H.B Celey as chairperson of the conference Smith B.G., as legal adviser and J.Dixon as the secretary. The C.P.N.C was represented by some of its members such as N.N.Mbile, Mutomby Woleta, and Ando -Seh, the O.K. was represented by Ndeh Ntumazah and A.W Mukong, the house of chiefs was represented by eight chiefs including the Fon of Bali, chief Dipoko and chief Oben and the native authorities were represented by nine members including Bongmoyong, Banboye all from Bui Division and F.N.M Ikome and Y.M Molombe. Endeley who was the leader of C.P.N.C only send a letter due to his inability to attend the conference.

The main aim of the conference was to prepare the minds of these young politicians to understand the challenges ahead and to deliberate on important matters regarding its union with

French Cameroon. The issues that were discussed at the conference included the term of office and powers of the president, system of education, judiciary and the official languages among others. The different political parties held diverse opinions with regards to the presidential term of office. The K.N.D.P proposed two terms of five years each. The C.P.N.C proposed three consecutive terms of office, meanwhile the O.K preferred that the president should remain in office as long as the majority of the people wanted. The educational system also called for a major concern as several Schools of thought still emerged on this subject. The K.N.D.P expressed the opinion that higher education should be a federal subject as to be financed by the federal government.⁷⁶

The C.P.N.C held that all the education should be a regional subject to avoid confusion in educational policy between the English and French educational system. At this juncture, the Attorney General advised that a federal university would likely attract foreign financial assistance than a regional university. He equally proposed that a university should be a federal and other education should be regional. This idea was welcomed by leaders of C.P.N.C, K.N.D.P and O.K. In addition, concerning the judiciary, the O.K proposed that until the English and French legal systems were integrated and Cameroon law established, the English legal system should apply in Southern Cameroons and French legal system in the Republic of Cameroon. Moreover, it was generally accepted that English and French should be official languages of the Legislature and that English should be the official language in Southern Cameroons. These young politicians deliberated at the Bamenda Conference in preparation for the Foumban conference to take place.⁷⁷

In this light, this Conference was attended by a delegation from Southern Cameroons and Republic of Cameroon. The representatives of Southern Cameroons government included Premier Foncha, Jua, Muna and Kemcha, the House of Chiefs was led by *Fon* of Bafut, Bali, Mankon, Nsaw, Chief Kimbongs, Buh, Oben, Ebanja and Dipoko. The K.N.D.P was represented by Mbinkar, Fontem, Ntamfor, Kini, Kome and Carr, the C.P.N.C by E.M.L Endeley, Mbile, Motomby woleta and Ando-Seh, the O.K by Ntumazah and young politicians from Bui Division such as Bernard Fonlon and Mbikar were also present. Ahidjo led the delegation of the Republic of Cameroon. Therefore, Ahidjo explained why the federal framework structure was necessary for Cameroon. Ahidjo further stated that:

⁷⁶E. A. Aloagamo, *The British Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961: A Study in Colonialism and Underdevelopment*, USA, Nkemji Global Technology, 2002, pp. 254-256

⁷⁷Ngoh, Cameroon, 1884-1985....pp 238-239

...Linguistics, administrative and economic differences donot permit us to envisage seriously and reasonably a state of the unitary and centralized type.It was because a confederal system on the other hand being too loose, would not favour the close coming together and the intimate connection which we desire...⁷⁸

Foncha as the leader of Southern Cameroons delegation equally took the floor and stated that:

...In our previous discussions...we have kept in mind that in our desire to rebuild Kamerun nation we must not however forget the existence of the two cultures wehave, therefore proposed a form of government which will keep two cultures in the areas in the center. The center is therefore deliberately given very limited subjects which the state are left to continue largely as they are now...⁷⁹

Moreover, Endeley speaking as the opposition leader in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly called for the framing of a constructive constitution and cautioned against any haste. Therefore, at Fouban, the Southern Cameroons delegation agreed that the president should be elected by a direct universal suffrage and not by the electorate college.They held the opinion that the president should be re-elected only once whose election should be decided only by a simple majority.Concerning the state of emergency, the O.K proposed that it should be declared only after the approval of the National Assembly.The issue of nationality was also discussed. The Southern Cameroons delegation proposed dual nationality to federal Cameroonians.That is to say a Southern Cameroons citizen would maintain the Southern Cameroons nationality and the federal nationality.They equally insisted that the president and the vice should not come from the same state and that English and French should be the official languages of the federal legislature with English as the only official language in Southern Cameroons.Douala was equally proposed as the federal capital.⁸⁰The outcome of these proposals was the federal constitution in which the fate of Cameroonians was sealed. The final constitution contained important modifications proposed by Southern Cameroons delegation.For instance, citizens of both countries had a single nationality, English and French were adopted as the official languages in both East and West Cameroons and the seat of the Federal Government were Yaoundé instead of Douala. According to article10, the President of the federal Republic of Cameroon shall be elected for a term of five years renewable without limit and article 47 gave Southern Cameroons equal voice in decision-making if accurately applied, the article stipulated:

⁷⁸Ngoh, *Cameroon1884-1895...*, p. 239.

⁷⁹ibid;p. 240

⁸⁰Ibid; p.241-243

The revision of the constitution shall be voted by simple majority of all members of the Federal Assembly with the provision that such majority shall comprise a majority of the representation to the Federal Assembly of each federal state. This was the last major conference where these young politicians met to decide on the type of political union to be effected by the Republic of Cameroon and Southern Cameroons. That is to say major details were dealt with at the Yaounde Tripartite Conference of August 1961.

Above all, this was the last seating or meeting during which these young politicians met to effect final touches concerning the reunion of both states. During this Conference, the Southern Cameroons Delegation was led by John Ngu Foncha as Premier including other members such as S.T Muna, Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industries and A.N Jua, Minister of Social Services. The delegation of the Republic of Cameroon was led by President Ahidjo. The third delegation was the representative from the British Government; this Conference was opened on August 2, 1961. The aim of the conference was to deliberate on the status of Southern Cameroonian Youth and youth from Bui Division who were serving in the Nigerian Army and Police Force and the services which were under the control of the Commissioner of Southern Cameroons such as National Defense and Security. In this way, it was agreed that a mission would be sent to Lagos to contact Cameroonian soldiers to find out if they would like to return home and join the Cameroonian army.⁸¹

The services were placed under the Commissioner of Southern Cameroons in order to facilitate their transfer to the federal republic of Cameroon. Concerning National Defense and Security, Foncha wanted the Republican Troops to be sent to the hinterlands of Southern Cameroons to combat insecurity. When these issues were settled, reunification agreement was finally sealed and on September 30, 1961, President Ahidjo landed at Buea and he was constitutionally transferred the sovereignty of Southern Cameroons by the British Authorities. Southern Cameroons was therefore proclaimed an independent country and reunited with the Republic of Cameroon to create the Federal Republic of Cameroon on October 1, 1961.⁷⁶ There was also the institution of empire day and Commonwealth youths council in 1959 to Integrate the youth⁷⁶.

Conclusion

The Germans were probably the architects behind the introduction of modern politics in Cameroon after having been granted territorial sovereignty through the signing of the Germano-Duala Treaty of 12th July, 1884. This allowed them to create schools, plantations and awarded scholarships to Cameroonian youth to study in Germany, though she did not introduce

⁸¹V.J.Ngoh Cameroon 1884-1985..., pp. 205-209

competitive politics. During the Mandate and Trusteeship eras, Southern Cameroons politicians in general and those from Bui Division in particular began seeing themselves as an underprivileged minority in Nigeria. In addition, Bui Division happened to be one of those areas in Cameroon which were politically backward during the colonial era. The Youth in this area were less represented in Nigerian politics. There was no party leader or secretary from this part of the territory except V.T. Lainjo who was a member of Southern Cameroons representatives into the Nigerian House of Assembly in Enugu in 1952 and later became Minister of Youth Affairs in 1958, Social welfare and Natural Resources including Cooperatives. Though there existed several shades of opinions among Youths in British Southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular before 1954 such as secession from Nigeria and autonomy for Southern Cameroons by K N C and integration with Nigeria by the K P P. Their ceaseless effort in the struggle for independence of Southern Cameroons and the reunification of Cameroons culminated in the granting of regional autonomy to Southern Cameroons in 1954. Another outcome of this struggle was the formation of Southern Cameroons government in 1957 headed by Endeley, the creation of the second government in 1959 headed by Foncha which later led to independence and reunification of Cameroons. Furthermore, these young Cameroonians played a great role by creating and militating within pressure groups, youth movements and political parties like C.W.U., C.Y.L., C.F.U., C.N.F., K.U.N.C., N.Y.M, K.N.C, K.P.P.,K.N.D.P, K.U.P., O.K, C.C.C.,C.I.P.,and C.P.N.C which acted as springboard for Southern Cameroons nationalism. The historical background of this study allowed us to examine how youth in Bui Division participated in National politics in general and politics in Bui Division in particular.

CHAPTER 2

YOUTH POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN BUI DIVISION

Introduction

The Youth have played a central role during movement for democracy and socio-political reforms around the world and precisely in Africa, but they were less engaged than the older generation in electoral participation, party activism and political participation. They were mostly involved in informal politics such as the twenty nine days Youth Riots in Tunisia which led to ousting of President Ben Ali from power in January 2011. The similar socio-political uprising took place in Cameroon in 2008 which led to the destruction of properties especially in Bui Division. The young Egyptians equally took to the street which toppled the forty years reign of Hosni Mubarak in February 2011. The question of youth political leadership in Bui Division remained a major challenge in history. This is because the youth have not been properly included in the decision-making processes, political participation and involvement in development programs. This has been due to their young age, limited opportunities, lack of experience in leadership and politics was equally regarded as space for politically experienced men. In the same vein, the post colonial Cameroon Society in general and Bui Division in particular projected limited avenues for youth political participation. This has been due to the constitutional changes of the 1962 which which created a single National Political Party called the CNU with a restricted form of Democracy. This also put an end to the competitive politics which preceded this era and there was also no longer freedom of association and expression.

Furthermore, the under participation of youth in politics in Bui Division stemmed from bad governance and socio-economic policies instituted by the international financial institutions imposed on Africa and global South. The World Bank and I.M.F initiated the Structural Adjustment Programs otherwise known as Poverty Reduction Strategy Programs which deeply weakened the ability of states to determine national socio-economic policies and to uphold the social contract. This increased unemployment because the state investment capacity was weaken which resulted to the privatization of states companies which would have acted as employment opportunities to the youth. This was coupled with the economic crises in the 1990^s which led to salary cuts and low living standard, increase taxes which crumbled small and

medium size enterprises or infant industries.⁸² This also pushed the Government to stop recruitments into the public service which increased the wave of external migration in Cameroon and Bui Division suffered profoundly from this. This could be demonstrated from the low participation of youth from Bui Division in decision making structures such as the parliament, government, councils and political parties. This was coupled with their low participation in elections, citizenship building, developing youth's policies and limited international framework.

A. Political Representation of Youth in Bui Division

i. Representation in Parliament

Youth participation in decision-making processes brings about a sense of belonging and effective service delivery. Young people between the ages of 15 and 35 constituted majority of the African population. However, youths influence on national politics in Bui Division remained limited. They needed leadership opportunities to be able to gain experience and fulfill their potentials. These young people needed viable avenues through which they could use their skills and talents to make contributions.⁸³

Moreover, young people under 30 represented 1.9% of the world's members of parliament and more than 80% of the world's upper houses of parliament had no member of parliament aged less than 30.⁸⁴ The Cameroonian youths in general and youths from Bui Division in particular have not been given enough voice in representative politics during the post colonial era from 1966 with the creation of a single national party to 1990 with the introduction of the multi party politics. During this period, politics was probably played by the fathers of the reunification and also die heart Supporters of the C.N.U and C.P.D.M. This was known as politics of compensation. One could talk of P. M. Kale and Endeley who were speakers of West Cameroon House of Assembly. Even under the one Cameroon Assembly in the united Republic of Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon, S. T. Muna became the speaker of the house of Assembly without living out the exceptional case of Sylvester Kilo who became section president of C. N .U for Bui Division in his 30s. One could also talk of Benard Fonlon from Bui who was once a speaker of the Federal House of Assembly in his 40s. This had consistently evolved in the sameline with Lawrence Fonka Shang who was also the speaker of

⁸²B. Sydney, *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Youth Participation in Electoral Process, New Roles for African Electoral Management Bodies*, November 2005, [http://.www.Idea.Int](http://www.Idea.Int).

⁸³ UNDP, *know Politics.org/UNDP for Youths* /march 31, 2017.

⁸⁴ V.J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1985*, pp. 247-273.

the National Assembly of the Republic of Cameroon still from Bui Division from 1988- 1992.⁸⁵

Moreover, the members of parliament mostly constituted of people at and above 40.⁸⁶ This means that youth had no voice and power to bargain for political appointments and elective posts. This was because the Cameroon constitution did not protect the political rights of the youth. It states the one must attain forty years in order to qualify as a senator. It rather protected the rights of women as 30% of quotas were reserved for women during legislative elections and nothing for the youth.⁸⁷ This explains why today we have merely aging group in parliament. Some of whom were there in the 90s like the speaker of the National Assembly of Cameroon Carvaye Yague Djibril who took from 1992 to the present time. There is also Joseph Lukong Banadzem who had been Member of Parliament for S. D. F. Kumbo Center in Bui Division for 15 years. In the same vein, the upper house of parliament was constituted mainly of politicians of aging group; this discouraged young people from participating in active politics. The old people were reluctant to share power with the youths which was and is consistency in the Cameroon political setting. The fact that quotas were not reserved for youths during legislative elections gave a negative impression of the traditional mentality of politics for the old. During this period, Bui Division was still a rural area where most youths regarded politics as an affair of the old and considered themselves as political adversaries and not partners. Only few youths here participated in politics especially in voting. Majority of the youths in Bui during this period lived in villages. While possessing no identification papers which could enable them vote and be voted into offices. There were few educated youths here who could exercise their civic responsibilities and take up leadership opportunities. The government has the responsibility to enact inclusive electoral laws that will bring youth on board to massively take part in politics and fight to take up posts of responsibilities.

Furthermore, in 1998, the Head of states recognized the political importance of youths and created the junior parliamentary group, whereby young intelligent and vibrant youths were selected from academic institutions across the National Territory to represent their respective regions. They presented sketches concerning contemporary issues affecting lives of young people following mutations of events in global politics. The theme of June 14, 2017 was “culture of the patriotic spirit and mastery of the mad rush of young people towards information and communication technologies, a permanent challenge and collective

⁸⁵Zemkoue, Cameroon Senate goes operational, may 9, 2013 at 2:16 pm <http://Cameroon.tribune.com>.

⁸⁶Interview with Marcel Dzerjjo, 41 years, Town Planner and Youth Coordinator S. D.F., Jakiri, December 8, 2017.

⁸⁷ ibid

responsibility.” By so doing, the Head of state Considered young people as political assets rather than liabilities.⁸⁸ The question here is that, what Impact did it have on youths in Cameroon in general and youths in Bui Division in particular? These young or junior parliamentarians had never returned home and addressed the worries of their people. They were selected not elected, hence having no mandate and they did not also defend any budget. Also, these youth did not equally participate in decision-making and they met only once annually which rendered this institution powerless, incredible and unsuccessful.⁸⁹

Contrary to the Cameroon legislative system, some countries have taken a bold step to include youths in decision making processes and active politics. In this light, in Ghana, the civil society and youths’ activists were impressed when the youths between 21 and 40 years were accorded prominence in Ghana’s parliament after the 2012 elections, these elections culminated in the voting of 44 young members of parliament and this was hailed as unprecedented and described by many as a giant step towards youth representation in national politics and decision-making processes.⁹⁰ This number was considered by some people as inadequate in view of the demographic strength of the youth and their contribution to Ghanaian political history and there had been incessant calls for their representation and the eventual return to the days of 1950s when politics was dominated by the youth.⁹¹ In the same vein, in Uganda’s Legislature, 5 seats in Parliament were reserved for the youths.⁹² Also in Kenya’s National Assembly 12 seats were reserved for the representatives to be nominated by the political Parties to represent special interest including youths, persons with special abilities and workers. Same in Rwanda, the National Youth Council elected two members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Philippines’ Constitution included youth in party list.⁹³ In Morocco, the new election law included 30 seats reserved for candidates below 40 years of age mean while during Tunisia recent elections, each party had to introduce one candidate below 30 years. In Sri Lanka until recently, 40% of the candidates had to be youth between 18 and 35 years following a coalition of youths organizations. Local youth council in Turkey successfully campaigned to lower the age of eligibility from 30 to 25 years, five members of parliament between 25 and 30

⁸⁸Zekoue, Cameroon Senate goes Operational, consulted on 9th May, 2013

⁸⁹Interview with Mbikar Issa, 61 years, Divisional Coordinator S.D.F, Kumbo, August 10, 2017.

⁹⁰M. Ndum, Bamenda Online, consulted on 14th June, 2017

⁹¹<http://journal.ortice/Ghana>’s politics, consulted on 29th Novemeber, 2013.

⁹²Interview with Rene Fanven, aged 30, student at ENS, in Bambili on 17th November, 2017.

⁹³Taylor, Francis and Rutledge, Legal Frame work for Youths Political Participation: A hand book of Children and young people’s participation, perspectives from the Theory and practice, 2010, www. Fair play for children.org/pdf.

years won subsequent elections⁹⁴.

Moreover, there equally existed youths' organizations such as the Cameroon National Youth Council, the British Youth Council, the United Kingdom Youth parliament, the American Youth Congress, All Indian Socialist Council, in United Kingdom, there was a strong youth political movement consisting primarily of the British Political Youth Council and the United Kingdom Youth Parliament⁹⁵. Although, these institutions had no direct power, the youth had a close working relationship with members of the parliament and were influential at bringing about direct change.

In Cameroon, the Youth Parliament and the Youth Council were affiliated to the state institutions. Though having no direct influence like those of the United Kingdom, they could not influence youths' policies because they did not have direct access to Members of the Parliament and Government Ministers. The Youth Council in Cameroon was apolitical institution though it had a Political goal of sensitizing the youth on political matters and civic responsibilities. That is educating the youth on their rights and duties as Cameroonian citizens. The Youth Council in Cameroon had not been successful because it was too dependent on the government for directives. In addition, in Germany the Youth Parliament allowed citizens to scrutinize their legislators by asking questions and assessing information about voting behavior. Also, in Sri Lanka, 500000 youths 'club members elected the National Youth Parliament. Its 335 members assessed the work of the National Parliament and the government. They equally had access to Ministries and Parliament and influenced National Youth Policies⁹⁶.

In the same vein, in Cambodia UNDP supported students to witness parliamentary proceedings and spoke with legislators marking the first time in the history of this country. Contrary to the legislature in other countries, the Youth Council in Cameroon did not scrutinize the National Parliament and control government action regarding youths' policies. Cameroonian youths and those of Bui Division in particular did not also have full rights to scrutinize the Youth Council as well as the Junior Parliamentary Group which could not control National Parliament concerning youth policies and government's action.⁹⁷ After having examined the under representation of young people in legislative politics in Bui Division, we shall focus on the representation in political parties.

⁹⁴ibid; p.22

⁹⁵E. Ransford, *Youths in Parliament and Youths Representation in Ghana*, <http://journal/orticce/Ghana's> Politics, consulte on 29th Novemeber, 2017

⁹⁶Silchar, instruments of change, Nov 19, 2016, pp4-5, free encyclopedia

ii. Representation in Political parties

The youth constituency in Bui Division was too large to remain on the margins of the democratic process in Cameroon. Political parties remained a significant pivot to youth participation in decision-making structures through their control over the submission of the lists of the electoral candidates. This could be accomplished through the proactive approach of engaging youth as voters, electoral candidates and managers⁹⁷.

Moreover, three political parties have been active in Bui Division from 1966 to 1990. These political parties included the C.N.U, C.P.D.M and the S.D.F. In 1962, Ahidjo created the Youth Wing of the U.C party and in 1966 the U.C was transformed into the C.N.U with the Y.C.N.U as the Youth Wing from 1966 to 1985. The C.N.U was the lone political party throughout the National territory. Ahidjo therefore recognized the youth as political assets than liabilities and created the Youth Wing Political Party for them. This institution acted as source of inspiration for youth to participate in politics. Ahidjo knew the youth occupied an indispensable place in the society due to their physical and numerical strength and he depended on them for support. This was within the philosophy that the youths of today are the leaders of tomorrow. The idea was to train the youths to effectively integrate them into national life. To accomplish this, two Ministerial Departments of Youth and Sports and National Education were created to take care of the youth. According to article 42 of the status of Y.C.N.U, the youths were expected to:

- Mobilize young people of ages between 10 and 30 with no discrimination of race, religion and sex in order to educate them on real and profound spirit of fraternity and conscientisation towards their future role in nation building.
- Establish a training and employment program in the domain of the transformation of the political, economic, civil, social and cultural structures.
- Search and institute methods of physical and sport education⁹⁸.

The youths could organize conferences, cultural festivals, and seminars on political, economic and social matters like training and professional centers, sporting activities, traveling and creating relationships with youths from other countries⁹⁹. After the first C.N.U Congress in Garoua, (10-15 March, 1969) the main guide lines for the organs of the party were defined and

⁹⁷ibid; p. 42

⁹⁸W. Scott. *Generation Citizen: The Power of Youths in our Politics*, Counter Pointpress, New York, February 12, 2019, pp. 8-19

⁹⁹M. Chou, *Young People, Citizenship and Political Participation*, RLI, London, March 17, 2017.

the youths Y.C.N.U became an active wing¹⁰⁰. In a message to the youths on February 11th 1967, Ahidjo told the youth “you represent our hope and it is our concern to make sure that you have a chance in life, in other words, to prepare you for the day you will have to be able to direct the fortune of our dear country, honorably in its prosperity and progress”. In line with this message, he handed over power to his constitutional heir Paul Biya in November 1982. Paul Biya in his youthful age had handled several posts of responsibilities in National Politics. He was in charge of mission at the presidency of the Republic at 29, Director of cabinet in the Ministry of National Education, Youth And Culture at 31, Secretary General in the same Ministry at 32, Director of Civil Cabinet at the Presidency at 34, Secretary General at the presidency at 35, Prime Minister at 42 and President at 49 and his predecessor Ahmadou Ahidjo came to power at 35. This is to show that President has not respected the social contract with young Cameroonians especially those from Bui Division as compared to the past records¹⁰¹.

When Biya took over from Ahidjo on November 1982, he respected the place of the youth within the C. N. U. party. However, a rift soon developed between Paul Biya and Ahidjo on who held political powers: was it the President of the Republic or the Chairman of the party? This was because Ahidjo had handed over power to Biya and still remained Chairman of the party and wanted to control the President. Biya was merely going to implement Ahidjo's policies and this serious disagreement between them made Ahidjo leave the party. Biya then assumed the position of the president of the Republic and the chairman of the party. He later transformed the C.N.U to C.P.D.M with himself as chairman and the Y.C.N.U equally metamorphosed to Y.C.P.M in 1985.

According to Article 76 of the basic text of the C.P.D.M party, the Y.C.P.D.M was to be responsible for mobilizing young persons between the ages of 15 to 25 for vast national integration movement and preparing them for: “the achievement of the party's objectives through mobilization, their role in nation building, the development of love for the father land, a good civil spirit and the desire to work hard in order and discipline. In this line, one could not gladly advocate the youth's wing political party paved the way for young people in Bui Division to participate in active politics. This is because these youth wings acted as auxiliary organs of the party where by their ideas, opinions, contributions and aspirations were relegated to the background. They were merely taken into account, when it comes to mobilizing other youths

¹⁰⁰T. Silchar, Instrument of Change, consulted on 19th November, 2019

¹⁰¹W. Dze-Ngwa, “Youth and Politics in Cameroon”..., p. 31

in support of political party; participation in the national events such as the 11th February and 20th May including political rallies, conferences, congresses and riots to present their grievances. They equally took part in cultural evenings and football matches which were sources of entertainment. A good example of the riots was the call by politicians for a nationwide protest in 2008 which led to the destruction of both public and private properties and the mass arrest and detention of the rioters and non rioters followed by the payment of fines and eventual release.

These youth could not also contest national elections to become chairman of a party, section presidents, secretary of political party and this explains why when it concerned elections and party militancy, the older generation were more engaged than the youths. This is the general atmosphere which reigned in Bui Division between 1966 and 1990. It was equally thanks to the International Liberty Laws on Freedom and Human Rights in the 1990s and internal pressure from political adversaries including President Biya's project on Democratization that multi-party politics saw the day in Cameroon. Unfortunately, the rebirth of competitive politics rather resurrected ethnic, cultural; linguistics and regional loyalties. This gave rise to the creation of political parties and pressure groups on ethnic affiliations. This argument was real especially following the political map of the country in the early 1990s. The current ruling party was rightly or wrongly considered as a party predominantly for the Center, South and East provinces, the S.D.F party for the North west, West, littoral and Southwest; the National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) for the Adamawa, North and Far North provinces; the Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU) party for the Noun Division and the Union des Populations du Cameroun (U.P.C) party for the Bassa¹⁰².

These ethnic or regional divisions confused and divided the youths along party lines which fragmented national unity and cohesion. This equally gave birth to micronationalisms which overshadowed national loyalties. The youth now rallied behind politicians whom they thought could satisfy or at least promise to solve their acute problems of poverty and unemployment. In Bui Division, the C.P.D.M. and S.D.F became the dominant alternating political parties till date. The youth became divided into three groups, those who saw nothing good with the status quo and those who wanted change. They rallied behind alternative political parties. The last group was the outlaw Southern Cameroons Youth Leader (S.C.Y.L) who was frustrated at the point of considering secession of Southern Cameroons as the only way to

¹⁰²ibid; pp.35-49.

salvage their plight. These youths contributed to national politics in various ways.

In the ruling C.P.D.M. party, we had the Y.C.P.D.M., President Biya's Youths (PREESBY), Promo Jeunes and Chantal Biya's Youth to support the status quo. They were very active in the administration in support of government actions and against calls for demonstrations for change by other political parties or pressure groups, many of these Youth were compensated financially or gainfully employed or were awarded scholarships¹⁰³.

Meanwhile, there was a large youth support for the activities of rival political parties against the ruling C. P. D. M party. This group of young people believed in change through the rival political parties. They were actively involved in strike actions and civil disobedience in the early 1990s. They equally went as far as boycotting national festivities like the 11th of February and the 20 May. When these youth realized they could not beat the system; some crossed the carpet, meanwhile some became frustrated and chose emigration and scamming as the only way out. A handful of them accepted their plight waiting for the miraculous change in vain as age withered them. Yet others remained steadfast against the system.

Another more radical group was the S.C.Y.L. They saw nothing productive in the rival political parties such as the S.D.F to bring desired long awaited change by Cameroonians. They accused the government of Anglophone marginalization, who were equal partners at reunification. They believed in the argument of force unlike the S.C.N.C. which believed in the force of argument as a way out of Anglophone marginalization. The two groups wanted the independence of Southern Cameroons but sharing different shades of opinion. In collaboration with S.C.N.C, the S.C.Y.L accused the government of Cameroon for deliberate attempts to erase the history of Southern Cameroons. They equally blamed the successive governments of Ahidjo and Biya for declaring February 11th the day of 1961 Plebiscite as National Youth Day. They called on those who originated from the two English Regions to celebrate February 11th; instead as "Plebiscite Day".¹⁰⁶ They also described the designation of May 20th as National Day, the date of the inauguration of the Unitary State in 1972 as a "Day of Mourning".¹⁰⁴ Since the advent of open political space in Cameroon in the early 1990s, these young Cameroonian activists of English expression have been boycotting February 11th and May 20 celebrations and frequently attempted to hoist the federation, United Nations and Independent Southern Cameroons flag. These attempts on every first of October had often met with police brutality

¹⁰³ 103 Ngoh V.J. Cameroon, 1884-1985, A Hundred Years of History, Yaounde, Navi Group Publication, 1997, pp 50-72

¹⁰⁴ W. Dze-Ngwa, National Unity, National Integration in Cameroon 1961-2000: Dreams and Realities, PHD Thesis, University of Yaoundé 1, August 2007, p. 266.

and had always been the case in Bui Division which is contrary to the Cameroon Constitution which supports public manifestation¹⁰⁵.

Furthermore, while the Youth of the first and second group put more importance on a National Youth Day¹⁰⁶. The advent of multi-party politics created confusion and frustration among Youth as the long awaited changes promised by politicians were not forth coming and this weakened and diminished youth involvement in national politics as they adopted different survival strategies. The constitution of the S. D. F categorically classified the party into Socialist Youth, Socialist Women and the main wing of the party constituted of elderly men. The constitution stipulated that the Socialist Youth coordinator had as role to mobilize, rally and galvanize the youth in view of promoting the ideology and ideals of the party and the implementation of party directives and activities.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, the celebration of independence of Southern Cameroons by the S. C. Y. L was not of any historical invention. Historical findings have proven that the Independence and the reunification of Cameroon were celebrated separately in East and West Cameroon respectively from 1961 to 1972. During these celebrations, delegations were being invited from both communities to witness the events. This had instilled nationalist sentiments among Youth from the two distinct communities. It had also triggered micro nationalisms which had overshadowed national loyalties. This had not helped to foster national unity as a stepping stone to peaceful co-existence, inclusive governance and sustainable development¹⁰⁷. Another important institution where the interest of the youths had not been satisfactorily taken into account was the government.

iii. Representation in Government

Young people from Bui Division were often excluded from the decision-making process and politics was regarded as space for politically experienced men. The presence of young people in decision-making positions could benefit all citizens and brought about a sense of belonging and effective service delivery. These young people needed leadership opportunities to gain experience, express their opinion and demonstrate their talents, skills, make positive

¹⁰⁵ Amy Guttmann, *Identity in Democracy*, Princeton University Press, United Kingdom, 2003, pp 138-151 and 192.

¹⁰⁶ NAB, FN3853, SA (1961)12 *Independence and Reunification Celebration*, West Cameroon, 14 October, 1961.

¹⁰⁷ K. Goremusundu, "Enhancing Youths Political Participation for Africa's Development", <http://www.allnetafrica.com.Consulted> on 25 May, 2017

contributions to Nation Building and fulfill their potentials. The under representation of youth in governments and political parties made youth believe that they were being targeted by politicians seeking votes during elections. The Nation could effectively deliver this goal of including youth in decision-making processes, development programs by creating or strengthening platforms for youth participation in inclusive governance at local, national, and International levels as UN Secretary General Banki-Moon once said “Youth should be given a chance to take an active part in decision-making at the local, national and global levels.” This will enable nations instill in young people the culture of citizenship, patriotism, sense of belonging and Nationhood as prerequisites for sustainable peace and development¹⁰⁸.

Moreover, apart from Bui Division, we have recorded exceptional cases in history both national and international levels where by young people have been given the opportunities to participate in decision-making. This was marked by rupture and continuity and varied from one country to another, following different historical periods. At independence and reunification of Cameroons, we had out-standing young Cameroonian politicians who played a contributory role in the political, economic and socio-cultural development of Cameroon. These young Cameroonians included Mr. Paul Biya who was already in charge of Mission at the Presidency at 29 years and Head of State at 49. In addition, his predecessor President Ahmadou Ahidjo took power as Head of State at 35 years in 1960. We cannot also neglect the eminent role played by Foncha who became the Vice President and Premier of the Federal Republic of Cameroon at 45. Another young important political figure who contributed to nation building during the Federal Republic of Cameroon was A.N. Jua, he replaced Foncha in 1965 as Premier of West Cameroon at 41 including Benard Fonlon from Bui Division who became a secretary to Foncha in 1961 at 37 and later occupied several ministerial posts and Speaker of the Federal House of Assembly. Someone may term this a historical accident because as time went on, youth participation in politics started declining from governmental institutions. This means that youth leadership was no longer taken into account and the voice of the youth could only count at the ballot box. This had reduced youth’s appetite to clamour for political leadership and exercise their political rights as voters and militating within political parties¹⁰⁹.

Concerning Bui Division, she was to a certain extent politically dormant as far as the Youth governance and political leadership in Cameroon was concerned. From 1966 to 1990,

¹⁰⁸T. Tazifor, *Cameroon History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Buea, Education Book Center, 2003, p. 278

¹⁰⁹CRTV News, President Paul Biya urges Youths to work for economic emergence, <http://www.crtv.com>,

we have not had young government ministers below 35 years from Bui Division. We have not also had a young leader of political party. Real Youth's active politics, would have kicked off here in the 1990s with the introduction of the multi-party politics; yet the youth mostly became active in informal politics protesting in the streets alongside opposition leaders denouncing bad governance¹¹⁰.

Furthermore, in the composition of Government of Cameroon today, there exist six ministries in charge of Youths Affairs; these include Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education, Ministry of Vocational Training and Employment, Ministry of Youth and Physical Education, Ministry of Higher, Basic and Secondary Education. Among these Ministers, there is no Minister below fifty years and young Minister from Bui Division. If we start giving posts of responsibility to young Cameroonians, it will call for their attention to scramble for leadership. This practice does not date today; this organization of the political set up of our nation has completely disheartened young people from dreaming of taking up future leadership. In his end of year speech to the youths in 2012, the Head of State Paul Biya said that "A strong and ambitious nation must rely on its youthful and large population". The question here is that, how does a strong and ambitious nation rely on its youthful population to survive? These youths needed to be included in decision making process by appointing young ministers, governors, electing young mayors, counselors, senators and young members of parliament and also empowering youth economically. This will go a long way to transmit the speech of the head of state into practice. There is no magic a society can count on its youthful population without including the youths in question in development programs and decision making processes. This is because appointment depends on the Head of State and he should use his constitutional powers to appoint young ministers to respect his social contract with the youth¹¹¹.

Contrary to Bui Division, internationally, some youths have distinguished themselves in political leadership in history. We had Taavi Roivas who became Prime Minister of Estonia in 2014 at 34 years. Alexis Tsipras, who also became Prime Minister of Greece in 2015 at 40 and was the youngest Greek leader in 150 years, we equally had Viktor Orbanas Prime Minister of Hungary in 1998 at the age of 35. AtifeteJ ahjaga became the President of Kosovo in 2011 at 36 years. In Italy, Matteo Renzi became President in 2014 at 39 years. John Kennedy and Theodore Roosevelt were 43 and 42 as US Presidents respectively. We also had Napoleon Bonapart who was the youngest french leader in 1848 at 40 including Laurent Fabius French

¹¹⁰A. F. P., "Young Leaders around the world", Yahoo. Leaders.com/news, May 2017.

¹¹¹Interview with Fonyuy Claude, aged 50, councillor, Tatum, December 9, 2017.

Prime Minister in 1984 at 37 years. We also had Kimjon Un as president of North Korea at 34 and Quartar leader sheik Tamimat 36 including Gaddafi who took over power in Libya at 27 years in 1969, though through undemocratic means. The aforementioned young leaders effected great changes at both national and international politics which contributed to the evolution of political history. Some of these youths still exercise brilliant role to foster the economic, political and socio-cultural revolution of human society¹¹². We shall equally examine municipal councils which constituted one of the decision making institutions where youths could equally take part in decision making at the local level.

iv. Municipal Councils Representation

Young people in rural areas had often found themselves marginalized both by the decisions on the formulation and development of rural policies and by decision making processes related to youth governance. However, young people in the country side were more affected than other young people in urban centers following the mutations in the contemporary society. Bui Division was not an exception to this. As it is one of the Divisions in Cameroon which had undergone the same human transformation and had been exposed to the challenges of the contemporary era related to rural areas. A number of challenges confronting young people in this area such as high unemployment, marginalization and lack of appropriate resources and low level of education compared to that in the cities and towns and poor career prospect.¹¹⁶ This acted as a hindrance to youth political participation, the participation of youth in politics in Bui Division especially at the municipal level had been very timid due to their marginalization from decision-making and limited avenues for political participation. Politics was generally considered here as space for politically experienced men and only few youth have been participating in decision-making process and electoral participation. If youths could not vote, which is their civic and political rights, they could not take up leadership opportunities¹¹³. This explains why out of the six Municipal Councils in Bui Division where we conducted our survey, there were only few municipal young councilors compared to the number of councilors per council.

Concerning the Mbiame Municipal Council in Mbven Sub-Division we had young councilors in the name of Dijja Mumar and Tatinyuy Fadimatou 23 and 32 years respectively. There was also one young deputy mayor. The presence of the two female councilors facilitated

¹¹²Interview with John Bosco Mbikar, 54 years, S. D. F. District Chairman, Kumbo, December 7, 2017.

¹¹³Yucha K. Situation and Prospects of Young People in Rural Areas, May 15, 2001, report

my field work in this municipality. They both shared common views that youth were not interested in politics in Mbiame and only few of them were politically conscious due to unemployment and poverty. They equally recommended that youths should be involved in politics because they constituted the active population and were exposed to modern system of communication and technological development. There is still a great need for involvement of young people in decision making in this area as statistics showed that out of 25 municipal councilors here, there were only two young councilors and one young deputy mayor. This is an encouraging situation worth appreciating compared to historical records. Political parties still need to consolidate platforms facilitating youth inclusion in decision making in Bui Division¹¹⁴.

Another municipal council which is the largest in Bui Division was the Kumbo Council. This Council counted 41 Municipal Councilors and 4 Deputy Mayors. Among these municipal administrators; there were four young councilors among who were Vadeline, Adamu Shitu and Ngoran Marion. Our findings have proven that during elections, quotas were reserved for youth, women and underprivileged in this constituency¹¹⁵. These were probably recent practices because it is not long that the Constitution of S. D. F. included the interest of young people, if this was an old practice, we would not have had only 4 young councilors among 41 councilors and no young deputy mayor¹¹⁶. Politicians advanced arguments that youths were not willing to take up leadership opportunities and they did not believe in change through politics due to consistent incredible elections and slow evolution of democratic culture in Cameroon. This was the consequence of low participation of young people in the elections and their reluctance to take up leadership opportunities.

Moreover, in the Jakiri Municipal Council, we had 35 councilors. Among these councilors; there was only one young councilor in the name of Yuyun Marcel Nyundze and young deputy female mayor. Statistically, the number of young councilors was too small compared to the number of councilors in the Jakiri Council. The youth should be leaders of today and tomorrow and not only leaders of tomorrow because they have a great role to play in politics and decision making today. These youth did not have a sound judgment in choosing their leaders. Politicians ought to be voted based on their political programs or societal projects. It was the place of the youth to clamour for leadership opportunities because power is not given, but is rather seized. By so doing, they will shoulder their responsibilities and take their destinies

¹¹⁴Interview with Jaff Romanus, 50 years, mayor, Jakiri, December 8, 2017.

¹¹⁵Interview with M. Wiymanla Drenjo, SDF Youth Co-ordinator, Jakiri, November 2017.

¹¹⁶Interview with J. Bosco Mbikar, SDF District Chairman, Kumbo, November 2017.

into their hands. Our findings have also proven that youth were often used as campaign managers meanwhile the elders had already prepared their candidates in advance before consulting the youth like the case of Jakiri where by the youth prepared their own candidate and the elders rejected him and imposed theirs. This irresponsible and under democratic culture did not project a positive image about politics which could motivate youths to take up leadership opportunities. Contrary to the establishment of youth quotas in Kumbo constituency, the Jakiri constituency did not establish quotas for youth which were a primary stage to encourage youths to go in for political leadership. Though the wind of change had started blowing at the local level concerning youth involvement in policy development, more still needed to be done at the local, national and international levels to get the youths on board in decision-making processes¹¹⁷.

B. Youth Political Participation in Bui Division

i. Citizenship building

Citizenship refers to the state of being member of a particular community and having certain rights and responsibilities as prescribed by the law of that community¹¹⁸. Meanwhile citizenship education refers to the study of political, social and economic functions of the society as well as the rights, duties and responsibilities of the citizen as member of the community. A citizen is therefore a native or a naturalized member of a community who owes respect to its government and is entitled to its protection¹¹⁹.

Therefore, the government had the sole responsibility to provide effective legislative dispositions for the teaching of citizenship in all secondary schools and colleges in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular. This citizenship education should be complemented by peace and moral education with the sole aim of training peace builders. The teaching of peace, moral and citizenship education could give a comprehensive program on citizenship¹²⁰. This is in a bid to train active, informed and responsible citizens who are willing and able to take responsibilities for themselves and community and to contribute to nation building. It is

¹¹⁷ibid

¹¹⁸Interview with Jaff Romanus, 50years, Mayor, Jakiri, Decemeber 8, 2017.

¹¹⁹Interview with D. Marel, SDF Youth Co-ordinator, Jakiri, December 2017.

¹²⁰Dze-Ngwa, "Peace and Citizenship Education: Towards Internal Cohesion in Caneroon", Yaounde, Edition, March 2009, p. 5.

the job of the state and education stake holders to prepare young people for the challenges and the opportunities of the changing world. This goes in line with the presidential speech to the youths on the 11th of February, 2012 which the President His Excellency Paul Biya said: “In a country like ours, what should be expected from the education system? On the one hand, that it should enable the large majority of the population to acquire basic knowledge. On the other hand, that it should help mould responsible citizens who are conscious of their rights and duties and their belonging to one and same Nation”. This could only be achieved through a quality and comprehensive programme on peace and citizenship education aimed at making the youths and adults the promoters of peace and peace building.

The internal cohesion and citizenship in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular was under threat whose understanding could be better appreciated through the foundation of Cameroon as a nation. It is worthy of note that the present day Republic of Cameroon is a union of two former UN trust territories, one under the French administration and another under the British administration¹²¹. These two territories attained independence separately. While French Cameroon achieved Independence on January 1st 1960 with the name la Republic du Cameroun under President Ahmadou Ahidjo on the one hand, British Southern Cameroons achieved independence by first seceding from Nigeria through the UN organized plebiscite on February 11th 1961. She then went on negotiating independence through reunification with la Republic du Cameroon later on the other hand which paved the way for effective independence of British Southern Cameroons and reunification of the two separate political entities on 1st October, 1961. This union was based on pre-plebiscite and post-plebiscite accords which were finalized at the Fouban following the adoption of a Federal Constitution. Under the federal structure, Former British Southern Cameroons became West Cameroon while former French Cameroon became East Cameroon¹²². However, the political evolution of Cameroon witnessed the abrogation of the union accords by the successive governments of Biya and Ahidjo with the aim of constructing national unity. This culminated in the claims by Anglophones (former West Cameroonians) that they had undergone economic, political, and socio-cultural marginalisation from the two successive regimes of Ahidjo and Biya respectively. Some Anglophone activists under the umbrella of S. C. N. C went back to the UN to seek for their independence and others had been making secessionist attempts. The differences between the two communities were further compounded by the reintroduction of

¹²¹J. Tazifor and R. Ndifor, *The Citizen...*, pp.11-12.

¹²²*ibid*; pp.18-78.

the competitive politics in the 1990s which gave room for greater freedom in the country. This event had been a threat to the foundation of the country's unity which demanded effective peace and citizenship education. This is because if citizens of a country did not express the desire of belonging to one nation, there would be no possibility for them to exercise their civil rights and duties¹²³.

Apart from Anglophone-Francophone differences, other conflicting situations erupted with the advent of multiparty politics in the 1990s. These conflicts included the Arab-Shuwa and the Kotoko armed conflicts in the Logone and Chari Divisions in the Far North Region of Cameroon, the Bamileke problem, the Mbororo problem, the North West-South West divide, the Bali-Bawock conflicts and the serious series of 2008 socio-political crises which led to the destruction of lives and properties in many Regions of Cameroon including the Nso-Oku land disputes in Bui Division and Farmer-Grazier Conflicts in Mechum and Bui Divisions respectively. All the aforementioned conflicts could only be overcome through effective citizenship, moral and peace education. This is because education would bring understanding, pull people together both within the same community on the one hand and people from different communities on the otherhand.

Furthermore, historical findings had proven that peace, moral and citizenship education had not been given the attention they deserve in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular. Concerning peace education, it was only taught in form five out of the seven forms which constituted the Secondary and High Schools and it was only one lesson out of the 14 lessons for the whole academic year. Given the proliferation of conflicts in Cameroon in general and in Bui Division in particular, peace education remained a necessity and more lessons should be introduced on peace education while demonstrating some practical examples on peace and politics.¹³⁰ There should also be the introduction of lessons on the rule of law, social justice and meritocracy in the current curriculum content on peace and citizenship education, including great personalities who used non-violent methods in solving their problems and international conflicts which were peacefully dealt with such as Cameroon-Nigeria clashes over Bakassi¹²⁴.

Concerning citizenship education, it was threatened by inter-ethnic and Regional conflicts which resurfaced in the 1990s. And this was further compounded by corruption, favoritism, negative ethnicity and nepotism. There was need for lessons to be taught on a

¹²³CRTV News, <http://www.prc.com>. December, 2017

¹²⁴Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, the Colonial and Post Colonial periods*, London, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, vol 2, 1989, pp. 15-40

homogenous origin of these ethnic groups from the Bantou and the Sudano-Sahelian families to lessen conflicts among them and to promote solidarity and unity. The enormous powers of the executive over the legislative and the judiciary, the manner in which constitutional changes were conducted and the questionable character of the credibility of elections over the years did not project a positive image effective citizenship and political participation among youths in Bui Division and had shaken the foundation of effective citizenship education in this area of the country¹²⁵.

Moreover, in the francophone sub-system of education, there was higher degree of promotion of citizenship education through a branch in citizenship called “*L’education de la citoyennete*” while in the Anglo-Saxon educational system, citizenship was only taught from form one to form three and even accorded less concern because it was not tested in the public exams. It was only recently that Citizenship Education was introduced in Form Five and was tested in the G.C.E. in 2016 for the first time. We did not equally have trained teachers for peace and citizenship education despite the numerous teachers training colleges in the country and Cameroon was not also willing to include this program in the higher institutions.¹²⁶ The education program also needed to be completed through the teaching of national symbols and their importance, the basic notion of law, social justice, democracy, free and fair elections and good governance from form one to upper-sixth. If the above values of democracy were taught and implemented, this would go a long way to enable young people to understand their rights and duties and participate in the elections, clamour for leadership and involve in decision making processes. It would also inculcate in young people from Bui Division the love for the fatherland, the desire of belonging to one nation, possessing the same rights and duties as citizens of the same nation¹²⁷.

ii. Participation in Elections

The global participation of youth in politics and Bui Division in particular was determined by a legal framework which varied from one country to another. This is otherwise known as age of candidacy which is the minimum age which a person was legally qualified to hold certain elected government offices or determined the age which a person may be eligible to run for elections or be granted ballot access.

¹²⁵Dze-Ngwa, “National Unity, National Integration in Cameroon 1961-2000, Dreams and Realities”, PHD Thesis, University of Yaounde 1, August 2007, pp. 70-115.

¹²⁶¹³⁰W. Dze-Ngwa, “Peace and Citizenship Education”, pp. 20-22.

¹²⁷ *ibid*; pp 25-40.

Concerning the global voting age, it varied between 21 and 16 years. It is 16 years in Austria, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua and also, 17 years in Indonesia, Democratic people Republic of Korea and 19 years in Republic of Korea. It is equally 20 years in Bahrain, Cameroon, Japan, Nauru and 21 years in Ivory Coast, Gabon, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, Samoa, Singapore, Togo and United Arab Emirates. This is to show that each Nation has its own voting age and the age of eligibility to run for elected offices including Cameroon which determines the degree of involvement of young people in politics¹²⁸.

As concerns eligible age to run for office, the Cameroon Constitution stipulates that you must have at least 23 years to contest for parliamentary elections. Also, the Belgian Constitution stated that any Belgian who has reached the age of 21 years can stand for elections for the chamber of representatives, can become a member of the senate or elected in one of the Regional Parliaments. In Chile, the minimum age required to be elected as president is 35 years and 35 as senator and 21 years for deputies¹²⁹. In Germany, a citizen of 18 years of age or older can be elected in the national, regional or local elections but the minimum age for the president is 40 years as stipulated by the constitution. In France, any citizen of age 18 years or older can be elected in the lower house of the Assembly and 24 years for the senate and the minimum age for French president is 18 years.

Following the 1947 Constitution in Italy, a person must be at least 50 years to be the president, 40 to be a senator, 25 to be deputy and 18 to be member of the regional and municipal councils. The 1937 constitution of Ireland required the president to be 35; deputies to be 21, members of the European Parliament for Ireland must be 21 and members of local authorities to be 18. Following the 1917 Mexican Constitution, a person must be at least 35 years to be the president, 30 to be senator, and 25 to be deputy. In United States, a person must be at least 35 to be president, 30 to be senator and 25 to be deputy. This is in a bid to examine the International Legal Framework which determines the ability of young people to be granted ballot access and their eligibility to run for elected positions in their various Countries in general and the case of Cameroon in particular¹³⁰.

In United Kingdom, with the exception of Scotland, a person must be 18 years or 16 years in Scotland to contest elections in all parliaments, assemblies and councils at the European Union, UK and local levels. The above legal framework is considered by many as unnecessary

¹²⁸G. Amy, *Identity in Democracy...*, pp. 1-38.

¹²⁹Ibid, pp. 38-40.

¹³⁰Ibid, pp. 40-49.

discrimination and as an impediment for youth participation in global politics and at the national level. This has equally hindered youths from Bui Division in particular to involve in decision-making coupled with poverty and unemployment¹³¹.

In Cameroon from 1966 to 1990, we lived in a restrictive democracy of single party where by the participation and involvement of youth in decision-making was not greatly felt. With the open political space in the 1990^S, youth instead became very active in informal politics such riots, boycotts, student protest and street demonstrations in support of opposition political parties pressing for reforms. Only few were engaged in voting and when political promises were not fast coming, the youths interest in active politics such as voting and party activism drastically dwindled which was a threat to democracy. Youth's participation in political processes had been declining perpetually in Bui Division which was reflected in the low proportion of youths who registered to cast their ballots. This tied with the African Union report in 2011 that African youth had been only marginally involved in civic participation, electoral participation and political voice which was partly due to the lack of quota system in the political process and party systems in Africa, meanwhile, youths had been at the center of the struggle for democracy and good governance in Africa such as the recent North African Revolution or Arab spring in 2011¹³².

iii. Youth Policy

The development of youth's policy and institutional foundation for youth's governance in Cameroon has closely followed the various stages of the country's political history. This policy had evolved from the colonial era(1949-1960), the Federation era (1961-1972), the unitary era (1972-1982), the one party New Deal era (1982-1992) and the era of the New Deal Democratic Order (1992-2009).

During the colonial period, the management of youth's affairs depended on the colonial policies of the various administering authorities in both Anglophone and Francophone parts of the country. In Anglophone Cameroon, which was administered by Britain between 1922 and 1960 as an integral part of Nigeria, the management of youth's affairs was attached to the Ministry of Education. As part of its responsibility to prepare the people for nationhood, the British colonial Administration created a youths training center at Man 'war Bay, near Victoria

¹³¹International Framework Documents and Resolutions, (article 21).The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

¹³²Ben and Roberta R., "Youth and Citizenship" March 2004, pp 10-55.

to train young men from all over Nigeria on the ideals of citizenship, leadership and community development. The center successfully trained 2000 youths by 1958 as stipulated the Nigerian federal minister for education, Jaya NwanChukwu when he visited the center. Most of the graduate of this center became the first generation prominent local and national leaders in the Nigerian Federation. When Southern Cameroons became an autonomous region in 1954, youth governance was still maintained under the Ministry of Education headed by F. N. Ajebe—sone (1954-1957) and later by the Ministry of Social Services headed by V. T. Lainjo (1958-1959) from Bui Division and A. N. Jua(1959-1961)¹³³.

In Francophone Cameroon, the management of youth affairs was under the service for Youths and Sport and the Ministry of Education. This was regulated between 1954 and 1960 by order N°. 3959 of 27 July 1954 on the general organization, attribution and functioning of the service of the Youth and Sports was in the Ministry of Education. With the independence in 1960 and the creation of the presidential system, the management of Youth Affairs was transferred to the presidency by decree 60/70 of 1960 under the Secretariat for Youths, Sports and Information. This was held by Simon songue (1959), Gabriel Ndibo Mbarsola (1960) and William Eteki Mboumoua. One of the outstanding products of Man'O war center was W.N.O. Effioum, who had held considerable political leadership positions during post independent Cameroon serving as M. P., cabinet member, speaker and grand chancellor, in 1961, the Anglophone and Francophone sections of Cameroon became reunified in the two state federation from (1961-1972)¹³⁴ During this period, the management of youth's governance was under the General Secretariat from 1962-1965.

Furthermore, to promote further youths' governance in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular, to enable youth participate in national life, the head of state created two Ministerial Departments. These included the Ministry of Youths and Sports and the National Education. He equally institutionalized the 11th of February in 1966 as National Youth Day. This was within the framework of promoting physical, intellectual, moral and professional development of youth to prepare them for future leadership. It was equally a forum to remind the youth of their existence in the national life, their rights and obligations to the nation. Therefore, February 11 had been celebrated yearly as the National Youth Day since 1966¹³⁵.

¹³³UNDP, Youth political participation, March 31, 2017, pp. 3-8.

¹³⁴NAY, /sa/d .1990/4/ BK, Cameroon Rights and Freedoms, Collection of Recent Texts, (1990) Liberty laws.

¹³⁵ G. Jalata, "Challenges and opportunities of Youth in Africa", Vol.12, June 2014

During this day, the head of state addressed the youths on burning issues affecting them by recounting a balance Sheet of the past and future prospects for youth. This day was often characterized by youth's mobilization throughout the national territory whose activities rekindled the hopes of the youths. This celebration was often preceded by youth week activities and themes for reflection. The theme for the 42nd Youth Day of February 11, 2008 were "Youth, Patriotism and participation in Development". Several other institutions in charge of Youth affairs were later created during the post 1990 era such as the junior parliamentary group in 1998, the National Youth Policy in 2006, National Youth Council in 2009 including the National Youth Forum recently initiated. These institutions were succeeded by the initiation of youths programs such as the Youths Support Program for rural and urban youth, National Civic Service for participation in development, launching of national youth excellence Competition as enumerated by the Minister of Youth Affairs, Adoum Garoua during the 41st Youth Day Celebration. In this light, the Head of State on the eve of the 25th and 42th National Youth Day announced the professionalization of the higher education in a bid to create self-employment, the creation of the national youth forum and more employment in the education and health sector. He equally urged youth to check employment by obtaining the highest qualifications and training possible. But today, Cameroon counts at least six ministries in charge of youth governance, such as Ministries of Higher, Secondary, Basic, Youth's Affairs and civic education, Youth and Physical Education including Vocational Training and Employment.¹³⁶ Though the national youth day was often regarded as day set aside in honour of Cameroonian youth in general and those from Bui Division in particular, its historical importance and relationship between February 11 and national youth day remained questionable. The origin of this day was deeply rooted in the history British Southern Cameroons. This was due to the failure of Britain and France to jointly rule Cameroon as on territory which eventually resulted to their agreement to partition the territory into British and French Cameroons in 1916.

During this partition, Britain took 1/5 while France took 4/5 of the total surface area. This division instilled within Cameroonian youths and youths from Bui Division the Pan-Kamerun spirit of recreating Cameroon within the framework of one German Cameroon, nationalist sentiments evolved within the two territories separately; while French Cameroon got independence on January 1, 1960, British Southern Cameroons which was administered as part

¹³⁶ W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and politics in Cameroon...", pp. 18-28.

of Nigeria achieved independence either by association with Nigeria or Reunification with the Republic of Cameroon. After long heated debates and disagreements about the political future of the territory by Southern Cameroons Politicians, the UN therefore organized a plebiscite on February 11, 1961 for Southern Cameroonians to decide their political future. This was followed by the following plebiscite questions:

- Do you wish to achieve Independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria? OR
- Do you wish to achieve independence by reunifying with the independent Republic of Cameroon?¹³⁷

The greatest majority of Southern Cameroons youths and adults voted to join the French Cameroon. Effective reunification took place on the 1st October of 1961 based on negotiations between the two parties which led to the adoption of the Federal System of Government backed by the Federal Constitution. Therefore, February 11th was the plebiscite day (which was celebrated as Empire Day) in West Cameroon before 1966. This day therefore had no direct historical event related to the youths. This could not enable youths have the true knowledge surrounding the reunification of Cameroon. Apart from this; there were also youth groups which had contributed enormously to the evolution of the country. The State could use these youth's movements as platforms to campaign for youth's involvement in citizenship and political participation¹³⁸. This would enable young people to lobby for their involvement in decision-making and development programs based on their bargaining power; this could also help youths to influence Decision-making, policy options and political actions to work with politicians as partners and not as targeted groups.¹³⁹ These groups could be of national, regional or local character. Some of these groups could equally be political or apolitical. They included National Union of Cameroon Students, Cameroon Red Cross Society, Nso Student Union and National Youth Camp for Peace and Cameroon National Youth council, this would go a long way to call for International Partners¹⁴⁰.

Conclusion

Following our findings, we have concluded the inclusion of youths from Bui Division

¹³⁷W. Dze-Ngwa, "National Unity, National Integration...", pp. 25-40.

¹³⁸P. M. Kale, Political Evolutions in the Cameroons, pp. 20-35.

¹³⁹IPU, "Data gathering and report drafting on youths participation in parliament", <http://www.IPU.org>, 2017, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁰E. Ranford, "Youths in Parliament and Youths Representation in Ghana", 29th November, 2013, p. 10.

in decision making was very minimal. During this period, the governance of the nation was mostly in the hands of the fathers of the reunification and youth's representation in parliament, government and councils left little or no impact in history. The youth's wings created by political parties were rubber stamps movements which could not influence policy options and bargain for political power. Just because this period also witnessed the creation of a single national party limited the political and democratic rights of youths to exercise their political rights and duties. Though youths were not represented at the local levels, today has witnessed some changes as one could witness the presence of four young councilors in Kumbo municipal council out of 41. We could also count 1 young councilor and a female deputy mayor in Jakiri rural council out of 35 councils. There were also two female young councilors in Mbiame municipal council out of 25 councilors. This means that the local government and political parties still have a long way to go to boost more reforms concerning policy options to help youths engage in politics. Our findings have also proven that with the advent of competitive politics in 1990s, youths were divided along party lines which created sub nationalisms throughout the territory. Some of the youths supported the system in place and were granted scholarships or were integrated into the public service meanwhile some sided with the opposition political parties and pressed for more reforms through strike actions, protests and sit-ins. The third group was the S.C.Y.L which chose the independence of Southern Cameroons as a solution to their plight while confronting police brutality and repression. As time went on, the youths who long awaited the reforms promised by politicians saw nothing fast coming and they chose other means of survival either by scamming, bushfalling and involvement in banditism and other uncivil acts such as corruption which tarnished national image. As concerns citizenship in Cameroon, it was the sole responsibility of the government to define educational programs on citizenship as incubators of youth political engagement in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSEQUENCES OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN BUI POLITICS

Introduction

The impact of youth participation in global politics in general and Bui Division in particular was deeply rooted in citizenship and citizenship education which was strongly and directly related to democracy as a prerequisite for effective youth political participation. The concept of citizenship was legally and academically oriented and was defined by several scholars to have different meanings and interpretations which determined the degree of its implementation in each human community through out history¹⁴¹. Academically, the idea of citizenship that schools were failing to provide students with sufficient knowledge to be citizens in a democratic society had been identified many times and at various periods in history. This conclusion was drawn from a demonstrated low level of youth's participation in formal politics. The dynamics of citizenship education had varied from one period in history to another and had recorded major changes in the content and teaching. These key periods were the 1890s, the 1930s, the 1950s and the 1990s. The present global interest in citizenship education could be traced to enquiries of the senate standing committee at the end of the 1980s and the report of the Civic Experts Group in 1994¹⁴². Civics seemed to have gone into decline in the 1950s and 1960s around the world and was not revised until 1990s. The proposed reasons for this decline included wide spread political radicalisation of teachers, unappealing pedagogy to students and teachers alike and the failure to maintain civics as a distinct discipline. Civic literacy surveys had repeatedly found low level of knowledge about the formal governments' institutions on the part of the whole community particularly the youths including participation in formal politics. The perception of citizenship either held by young people, taught in citizenship education or constructed by the surveys was rather too narrow and focusing on the duties of citizens. Many states have recently made attempts to reform or reintroduce citizenship education and some of these attempts were new and often lacked fully implementation mechanisms. This

¹⁴¹Maning and Ryan, Youth and Citizenship <http://www.org.AU/internet/programmes/youths.Nyars.htm>, March 2004, pp. 1-15.

¹⁴² R. M. Smith, Citizenship, Borders and Human Needs, Pennsylvania, University Press, 2015, pp. 5-17.

was the same scenario in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular from 1966 to 1990 during the period of one party system¹⁴³.

A. Positive impact

The role of every citizen in a country is to participate in the decision making processes that assist in the governance of the state. This simply refers to the ability of the citizens to influence the affairs of the state. Moreover, in Bui Division the youth played an indispensable role in politics during the colonial era which helped in Nation Building. This was thanks to the competitive politics which existed during the Colonial Era and the existence of the freedom of association coupled with the constitutional changes that took place in Nigeria which helped to hasten Nationalism in British Southern Cameroons.¹⁴⁴

1. Youth movements and their contribution.

Furthermore¹⁴⁵, the role played by the youth from Bui Division during the post colonial era did not create more impact as compared to the when there existed competitive politics. But the few youth who actively took part in politics in Bui division during this era actually put in their best which created a great positive impact in the political evolution of the territory thus Nation Building.¹⁴⁶

However, since British Southern Cameroons was administered as part of Nigeria and politics in British Southern Cameroons was directly influenced by Nigerian politics; Youth politics in Bui Division happened to evolve simultaneously with politics in British Southern Cameroons. The youth from Bui Division therefore played a significant role in politics during the colonial era which led the independence and the reunification the two Cameroons.¹⁴⁷ These youth created movements which championed the course for the Independence and Reunification of the Cameroons. These movements included the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), Cameroon Youth League (CYL), Cameroon National Federation (CNF), Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), Cameroon People National Convention (CPNC), and One Kamerun Party (OK).

¹⁴³ Interview with Mbika Issa, SDF Bui District Chairman, Kumbo.

¹⁴⁴ Paul Njolai S. Teacher, Islamic High School Kumbo

¹⁴⁵ Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon...". pp. 10-30.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 30-40.

¹⁴⁷ P.M. Kale, Political Evolution in the Cameroons, Buea, Government Printers, 1959, pp 10-30.

2. Individual Actors

One of the outstanding young politicians from Bui Division who actively took part in politics during the colonial era and contributed to the political evolution of the territory was V.T. Lainjo. He was one of the Southern Cameroons Representatives in the Nigerian House of Representatives in the Eastern Region. He was also Minister of Youth Affairs in Southern Cameroons from 1958 -1959 and Minister of Health in Nigeria and Civil Administrator.

One could also talk of Benard Nsokika Fonlon who actively participated in the struggle for the Independence and Reunification of the Cameroons. He later became the Secretary of the Prime Minister of West Cameroon Mr. John Ngu Foncha in 1961 at 35 years. He later occupied several Ministerial positions in Cameroon such as the Ministries of Transport and Social Welfare and the Speaker of the Federal House of Assembly.¹⁴⁸

Another young Cameroonian Politician from Bui Division who created a positive impact in politics of British Southern Cameroons which helped in the political evolution of the territory was Sylvester Kindzeka Kilo. He was the only qualified Government Cooperative Inspector in 1955 at 23 years and subsequently became the CNU section President for Bui Division for eleven years in his 30s¹⁴⁹.

3. Constitutional Development

Furthermore, with aid of the aforementioned Youth Movements, these young politicians British Southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular also pressed for more constitutional reforms which helped in the institutional development and political evolution of British Southern Cameroons. The first Constitution was the Clifford Constitution which attached British Southern Cameroons to Nigeria. The Cameroon Welfare Union criticized the Constitution because it did not allocate a single seat for Southern Cameroons¹⁵⁰. Following pressure from the Cameroon Welfare Union, the Constitution was amended and one seat was given to Southern Cameroons in the Nigerian Legislative Council in Lagos occupied by Chief Manga Williams from 1942.

In addition, the second Constitution which replaced the Clifford Constitution was the Richard Constitution in 1946. Before the Constitution was introduced, the young Nationalists in British Southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular had joined the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1944 to fight for

¹⁴⁸ Nfi, "Inter-Community relations...", pp. 15-45.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid*; pp. 45-58.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem*, 60-85.

Independence. Following this Constitution, Southern Cameroons was made part of the Eastern Region of Nigeria with headquarters at Enugu.¹⁶⁴ The territory was also given two seats in the Eastern Regional House of Assembly. The two seats were occupied by Traditional Rulers namely Chief Manga Williams of Victoria and Fon Galega of Bali. Southern Cameroons also lost one seat in the Legislative Council in occupied by Manga Williams since 1942.¹⁵¹ The Southern Cameroonain young Nationalists in general and those from Bui Division in particular rubbished the Richards Constitution because it did not grant a separate Region to Southern Cameroons. The two seats granted to Traditional Rulers were imposed not elected. These young politicians led the NCNC delegation to London in 1947 to protest against the Richards Constitution and also pleaded for a Regional Status for Southern Cameroons but the British Colonial Secretary rejected their plea and requested to go back home and give the constitution a try. Following the aforementioned Constitution, the Cameroon Province was divided into the Cameroons and the Bamenda Provinces and six Administrative Divisions were created. These Divisions included the Mamfe, Victoria, Kumba, Bamenda, Nkambe and Wum. Therefore, in 1949, Endeley created the Cameroon National Federation to fight for a regional status for British Southern Cameroons. In 1950, he equally demanded a regional status for British Southern Cameroons during the Ibadan Conference which was rejected on the grounds that Southern Cameroons was not economically viable to finance a Region.¹⁵²

Another Constitution which granted more seats to Southern Cameroons from two to thirteen into the Eastern Regional House of Assembly was the Marcperson Constitution in 1951. Following the election of the thirteen Southern Cameroons Delegates into the Eastern Regional House of Assembly, V.T Lainjo from Bui Division represented the Bamenda Division alongside John Ngu Foncha and Solomun Tandeng Muna. The thirteen elected Southern Cameroons Representatives into the Eastern Regional House of Assembly in Nigeria were members of the NCNC. The Marcperson Constitution was short lived due to the outbreak of the Eastern Regional Crises of 1953.¹⁵³ The Crisis was provoked by the power struggle within the NCNC between Nnamdi Azikiwe the National Chairman and Iyo Eta the deputy Chairman and Leader of Government Business in the Eastern Region. During the crisis, 9 out of 13 representatives of Southern Cameroons led by Endeley adopted the policy of Benevolent Neutrality which required them to stay away from Nigerian political controversies. The policy

¹⁵¹ P.M. Kale, *political evolution in the Cameroons*, pp. 35-45.

¹⁵² Ibid; pp. 46-75.

¹⁵³ Aloagamo E. A., *The birth of Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961, study in Clonialism and under development, USA, Nkemnji global tecnology, 2002, pp. 15-35.*

was supported by S.T. Muna, Foncha, A.J. Ngala, F.N. Forju, J.T. Ndze, S.A. George, and J.C. Kangsen including V.T. Lainjo from Bui Division. The four out of thirteen representatives led by Mbile did not support the policy of Benevolent Neutrality on the grounds that Endeley had no right to adopt the policy without consulting the Traditional Rulers and the electorate. Solomon Tandeng Muna was therefore dismissed as Minister of Works in Nigeria because of his support to the policy. This therefore led to the holding of the Mamfe Conference in May 1953 to redress the situation and the following measures were taken.

1. They agreed to boycott future elections in Nigeria
2. They agreed to boycott the NCNC and formed their own political parties
3. They agreed to boycott future representation in National Assemblies
4. Endeley therefore led a delegation to London to demand for a separate Region for Southern Cameroons through the petition tabled to the Colonial Secretary Sir Oliver Lyttleton.¹⁵⁴ The Crisis had the following consequences on the political development of Southern Cameroons:
 1. It led to the holding of the Mamfe Conference in May 1953 by the supporters of the Benevolent Neutrality.
 2. The crisis intensified the demand for a separate Region for Southern Cameroons.
 3. It led to the birth of the indigenous political parties in Southern Cameroons with KNC being the first party followed by KPP.
 4. It made Southern Cameroon to acquire a Regional Status which was granted by the London Constitutional Conference of 1957.
 5. It led to the collapse of the Macpherson Constitution and the introduction of the Lyttleton Constitution which granted Southern Cameroons a Quasi Federal Status.¹⁵⁵

Moreover, the advent of the Lyttleton Constitution in 1954 granted Southern Cameroons a quasi regional status with the Nigerian Federation. It also created an executive council for Southern Cameroons whose members were E.M. Endeley, S.T. Muna, S.A. George, and J.C. Kangson. It equally created the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly with 13 seats which met for the first on 24th October 1954 to deliberate on legislative issues concerning the political future of the territory.

Following the role played by the Southern Cameroons Youth in general and those of Bui Division in particular Endeley was able to form the first Government of Southern Cameroons as Premier in 1958. This was preceded by the democratically conducted elections of 1957 which was contested by the KNC, KNDP, KPP and KNC of Endeley emerged victorious

¹⁵⁴Ibid, pp. 40-65.

¹⁵⁵P.M. Kale, *political evolution in...*, pp. 39-55.

with 6 seats out of 13¹⁵⁶. The London Constitutional Conference of 1957 played a significant role in the political development of Southern Cameroons as it granted the territory a regional status. It also increased the number of seats in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly from 13 to 26 and equally established a Ministerial System of Government which paved the way for Endeley to become Premier in 1958.¹⁵⁷

In this light, it was also thanks to the role played by the Southern Cameroonian Youth in general and those of Bui Division in particular that Foncha was able to form his first Government after the February 1959 elections. The elections were contested by the KNDP-OK Alliance which campaigned for Secession from Nigeria and the reunification with French Cameroon and the KNC-KPP Alliance campaigned for integration with Nigeria. The KNDP won 14 seats against 12 and formed the second Government in 1959 with Foncha as Premier. It was the government of Foncha that led Southern Cameroons to the 11th February 1961 UN organized Plebiscite to vote in favour of Reunification with La Republique du Cameroon against the CPNC which wanted Integration with Nigeria¹⁵⁸.

Also, the February 11th 1961 polls paved the way for the creation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon the status of the two Cameroons were transformed to East and West Cameroons respectively having four House of Assemblies such as the West Cameroon House of Assembly, the East Cameroon House of Assembly, the Federal House of Assembly and the West Cameroon House of Chiefs. The Federal Republic of Cameroon existed from 1961-1972 after which the Nation wide Referandum was conducted. Following the Referandum, the Federal structures were dismantled in favour of the Unitary System of Government as a result of the vote cast by Cameroonians in general and the inhabitants of Bui Division in Bui Division in particular¹⁵⁹.

Though, the post colonial era witnessed in general decline in Youth participation in politics in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular; the few youth who participated in politics in Bui Division put in their best and contributed positively to the political evolution of the territory. These youth included Nsokika Bernard Fonlon who became Secretary to the Prime Minister of West Cameroon and Vice President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon Mr John Ngu Foncha in 1961 and later occupied several Ministerial posts including the Speaker of the Federal House of Assembly. Philemon Yang from Bui Division also became the Minister of Mines, Water and Energy in 1975 at 28 years and Sylvester Kindzeka Kilo also became the

¹⁵⁶ Ibid; pp. 65-89.

¹⁵⁷ Aloagamo E. A., *The birth of Southern Cameroons, 1922-1961*, pp. 41-65.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 69-80.

¹⁵⁹ Ngoh, *Cameroon, 1884-1985...*, pp. 45-70.

CNU section President for 11 years from 1961-1975. The above youth contributed to the political evolution of Cameroon starting from the era of the creation of a Single National Party called the CNU to the dismantling of the Federal structures in favour of the Unitary System which gave Cameroon the status of the United Republic of Cameroon. This was unilaterally changed by Mr Paul Biya in 1984 to *la Republic of Cameroon*. This marked a turning point in the history of Cameroon and has always generated controversies among intellectuals and student researchers in political history about the political future of Cameroon. These controversies gave birth to the 1996 constitutional amendments which led to the adoption of decentralization which the Government is struggling to implement today 27 years later¹⁶⁰.

4. Current Changes

However, some youth from Bui Division have contributed to the political evolution of Cameroon at the local level such as Tartinyuy Fadimatu from Mbiame Municipal council and Shitu Adamu from Kumbo Urban Council.¹⁷⁵ In order to honour the place of youth in the society, His Excellency President Ahmadu Ahidjo created the youth wing political party called the YCNU to prepare the youth for future leadership and eventual Nation Building. When President Paul Biya took over power in 1982, he respected the place of the Youth within the ranks of his newly created party in 1985 known as the CPDM. By so doing, he created the youth wing political of the CPDM called the YCPDM to prepare the Cameroonian youth in general and those of Bui Division in particular for effective political leadership¹⁶¹.

B. Negative Impact

1. Youth Political interest at stake

Concerning the negative impact, the youth of Southern Cameroons in general and those of Bui Division in particular saw their interest not properly taken into consideration in Nigerian politics until 1954 when the territory was granted a Quasi-regional status. Also the principle of self-determination as underlined by article 76 of the Trusteeship Agreement of 1946 which stated that the Trust Territories were to be prepared politically, economically and socio-culturally for eventual self-rule was not respected in British Southern Cameroons. This was refuted under the pretext that the territory was not economically viable to achieve independence as a separate territory. This refusal by the United Nations deprived the youth of Southern

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*; pp. 89-120.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Tartinyuy Fadimatu, aged 32, Counsellor, Mbiame, November 8, 2017.

Cameroons in general and those of Bui Division in particular from their political right to self-rule. This has generated what is known as the Anglophone problem in Cameroon today and has also created controversies among intellectuals, politicians and student researchers about the political future of Cameroon¹⁶². The inability of these youth to adopt a common stand about the Future of Southern Cameroons made the United Nations to resort to a plebiscite to decide the political future of the territory without including the third option which talked about the Independence of Southern Cameroons. This deprive those youth who were inclined to the idea of independence the right to express their free will as a people¹⁶³.

Furthermore, the post colonial era from 1966 to 1990 witnessed a general decline in youth political participation in Bui Division. This is because the constitutional constraints and the creation of the CNU as the Single National Party also created limited avenues for effective political participation of the youth. The competitive or multi-party politics which existed during the colonial era ceased to exist with the creation of the CNU as the lone political party throughout the National territory. There was no longer freedom of association and expression as youth became prisoners of conscience and were living at the mercy of the ruling parties the CPDM and the CNU. The constitution also gave the Head of State absolute powers to appoint and dismiss his collaborators unilaterally which was not the case during the colonial era when there existed multi-party politics.

2. Rights and application

The right of every citizen in a country is to participate in the decision making processes which assist in the governance of the State. This was really problematic in Bui Division as there existed a dichotomy between the formal granting of rights and the ability to exercise them¹⁶⁴.

Following the view of some writers such as Rimmerman, the youth from Bui Division did not have equal civil and political rights. This could be distinctively seen from the age discrimination between those under 18 and those who have attained the age of legal maturity in Cameroon. The problem of inequality in youth political participation in Bui Division was not only associated with the restricted rights and the concept of legal adulthood. Although, full citizenship rights were granted automatically upon reaching the age of 20, there were still some constraints linked to youth political participation in Bui Division. The lack of economic independence by many young people in Bui Division contributed significantly to their inability

¹⁶² V.G. Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, pp. 80-130.

¹⁶³ Ibid; pp. 65-87.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Issa Mbinkar, aged 61, politician, Kumbo, November, 2017.

to participate in the political life of the country. In other words, the lack of equality in terms of social rights stemmed from the limited economic independence and autonomy held by young people¹⁶⁵.

3. Rights and resources

Moreover, one of the most influential theories of citizenship was “Social Citizenship” articulated by Alfred T. Marshall. He argued that there are three sets of rights that enabled young people to participate in politics which were essentially the requirements of citizenship. These rights included civil, political and social rights. He equally advanced the argument that civil and political rights were not backed by resources to exercise them¹⁶⁶. This was typically of Bui Division where youth political participation witnessed a decline from 1966-1990 due to the above limitations. This contributed negatively to the political evolution of Bui Division. Since voting was not mandatory, young people from Bui Division were becoming more and more disengaged from politics and active citizenship. The number of young voters declined persistently which was considered as the base line indicator of youth political disengagement¹⁶⁷. The fact that citizenship witnessed a general decline in global politics between 1950 and 1990 and Cameroon between 1966 and 1990 created a negative impact in the political participation of youth in Bui Division. This is because the Citizenship Education provided by academic institutions comprised of a low level of knowledge about formal politics. It merely focused on the system of duties and rights of citizens without examining the formal institutions of the state. Also, the academic program on citizenship education played a negative role in the political participation of youth in Bui Division¹⁶⁸. This is because the program was not given equal treatment in both the Anglophone and the Francophone sub systems of education. In the Anglophone sub system of education, it was only taught from form one to three and was not tested in public exams. It was only recently included in form five and tested in the G.C.E in 2016 for the first time. The fact that it was not tested in the public exams made teachers and students alike not to focus their attention on the teaching and learning of citizenship. Also, the fact that there were no trained teachers for citizenship and it was only handled by teachers from other disciplines such as Geography, History and Economics made the discipline not to be given due attention¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁵C.A. Rimmerman, *The New Citizenship, Activism and Service*, UK, West View Press, 1997, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid; pp. 21-30.

¹⁶⁷ R. M. Smith, *Citizenship, Borders and Human Needs*, Pennsylvania University Press, 2015, pp. 5-17.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Alfred Tatah, aged 55, Political Activist, Kumbo, October 12, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Abdu Karim, aged 50, Islamic Scholar, Bamenda, October 15, 2017.

4. Misconception by politicians and researchers

In addition, there was a strong tendency among politicians and researchers to see the youth as a problem to be solved which veiled the unexplored power and potentials of youth as key political actors and positive agents of change in Bui Division. That is to say youth were considered to be inexperienced and incompetent to take up leadership positions and could only vote their leaders. This also determined the degree of effectiveness of youth participation in politics and the decision making processes of the state and their ability to influence policy options. This also created bottleneck networks which culminated in distrust among politicians and the youth and had a negative impact in youth political participation in Bui Division¹⁷⁰.

5. Ethnic division

Another factor which played a negative role in the political participation of youth in Cameroon in general and those of Bui Division in particular was the re-introduction of competitive politics in the 1990. That is politics among youth was influence by ethnic affiliations. The CPDM party was wrongly or rightly considered as a party predominantly for the Center, South and the East Provinces. The social Democratic Front (SDF) was also considered as a party for the North West, South West, Littoral and West Regions. The National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) as party for the Adamawa, North and Far North Regions.¹⁸⁶ The Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU) was considered as party for the Noun Division and *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* as party for the Bassa. The Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) was also created which saw nothing good in the dystem and Bui Division happened to be one of its strong hold with the goal of fighting for the independence of Southern Cameroons in synergy with the SouthernCameroon National Council (SCNC). This created a negative impact in youth political participation in Bui Division as National loyalties were reduced to identity inclinations. This has equally led to the struggle among the elite in Bui Division seeking to defend their interest in the distribution of state power and resources. It also created a new class of elite who were used to rule without popular mandate and selfish political agendas to exploit the youth¹⁷¹.

6. Youth perception of Politics

Moreover, the fact that some religious young people from Bui Division considered politicians as dishonest and unscrupulous set of people created a negative impact in the political

¹⁷⁰ Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon". p. 42.

¹⁷¹ Ibid; pp. 45-75.

participation of young people. Political institutions were also regarded to be corrupt and incredible. They were considered by the youth as praise singers to the Government who owed them no accountability. This created a wide gap between those youth who were inclined to their religious teachings and moral values. This therefore retarded the effective political participation of youth in Bui Division¹⁷².

7. Unemployment

Another negative impact of youth political participation in Bui Division was the problem of unemployment. This part of the country was highly affected as the backbone of the economy of Bui Division was agriculture. The lack of employment opportunities in the agricultural sector created the problem of unemployment and contributed tremendously to the decline in the political participation of young people in Bui Division. In other words, since youth were unemployed, they did not have the required resources to take up leadership opportunities. This therefore favoured the old but wealthy candidates who were able to sponsor their political campaigns. The fact that young have lost trust in politicians and regarded politics as a game of interest contributed negatively to the political disengagement of young people in Bui Division¹⁷³.

8. Inadequate financial resources

Also, the lack of financial resources by young people played to the advantage of the old and wealthy class. A good example is when a young man had to run for parliamentary elections, he had several villages under his constituency where he had to carry out his political campaign. He was already defeated at the grassroot due to lack of financial resources to influence the electorate. This explains why the CPDM political party mostly targeted the working class in some constituencies in Bui Division precisely in Mbiame Sub Division because they had the available resources to influence the electorate¹⁷⁴.

9. Educational system

Furthermore, the educational system also had a great negative impact in the political participation of youth in Bui Division. This is because the educational system was disconnected from the needs of the local economy which prevented young people from acquiring the required

¹⁷²Interview with Alfred Tatah, November 6, 2017.

¹⁷³ Interview with Awaou Atini, aged 49, Teacher, Kumbo, November 3, 2017.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Jaff Romanus, aged 50, Mayor, Jakiri, December 8, 2017.

resources for effective political participation. This explains why in 1925, the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa recommended studies in Native Languages, Technical Education and Vocational Training. That is the education adapted to the needs of the population. According to John Mukum Mbaku, a professor at the University of Texas in USA; Cameroonian Nationalists during the struggle for Independence vowed to bring School curriculum in line with the local needs, aspirations and interest and sixty years after independence, nothing has changed. The system was highly successful in training students to desire office work or to be dependent on the public service for employment. The prime educational goal was orientating youth towards Europe which culminated in brain-drain and the lost of labour force in Bui Division¹⁷⁵.

Following the Berlin West African Colonial Conference of 1884 to 1885, a group of African Educators asserted that “only when education is relevant the needs of the local people” will the schools educate useful members of the society and only will the schools be able to prevent problem of migration among youth. The mere existence of the educational system does not guarantee any benefit to the society in general and to the youth in particular but what matters is what comes out of it. An education system could exist to teach skills that enable young people to be self-employed and not the one that impoverished young people and deprived them off their political and civil rights due to the non existence of social rights which guaranteed their economic independence. The current system does not promote creativity¹⁷⁶.

The fact that the citizenship model in Cameroon did not enable young people from Bui Division to effectively participate in politics and decision-making processes created a negative impact on the political participation of youth. This is because the discipline did not yet have trained teachers and was not made a compulsory academic discipline. The non respect of the principle of equality which defines the fundamental foundation which defines the bases of citizenship deprived the youth from engaging in politics. The question of youth marginalization in Bui Division in relation to age discrimination remains crucial in their desire to get involved in politics, decision-making and assist in the governance of the state¹⁷⁷.

Moreover, the fact these young people from Southern Cameroons in general and Bui Division in particular could not come to a compromise with regard to the political future of the territory had a negative impact in defining the future of the territory concerning self-determination. This has also created controversies among researchers and intellectuals about

¹⁷⁵Idem.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Jai Kilian, aged 49, Politician, Jakiri, December 8, 2017.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Tatinuy Fadimatu.

the political future of Cameroon¹⁷⁸.

10. Constitutional changes

Also, the Constitutional mutations in Cameroon during the post colonial era equally played a negative role in the political engagement of youth in Bui Division. This is because the changes dismantled the existing democratic culture in West Cameroon that paved the way for young people to effectively participate in politics and decision-making structures of the state such as the Government, parliament and councils. This is because the competitive politics which preceded this era in West Cameroon and enabled young people from Bui Division to actively take part in politics ceased to exist with the creation of one party system¹⁷⁹. There was no longer freedom of association as opposed to the colonial era during which young people had the right to create youth movements such as pressure groups, trade unions and political parties which enabled them to influence policy options, decision-making and to participate in Nation building. They were equally represented in the decision-making structures of the state such as the parliament, municipal councils and the government. This was replaced by the youth wing political parties such as YCNU and YCPDM whose opinion did not count concerning decision-making and policy development with regard to youth governance. Hence they could not influence policy options and government action and were subjected to manipulation by politicians for their selfish gains. They were mostly used as tools for electoral mobilization because of their numerical strength¹⁸⁰.

11. Electoral registration fees

Furthermore, the participation fee for elections as a candidate was also considered by young people to be too exorbitant and this had a great negative impact on the political participation of youth in Bui Division. For instance, to participate in municipal elections as a candidate; one needed to pay a sum of 50,000 FRS to the Public Treasury. The same goes with the parliamentary elections which required candidates to pay a sum of 1000,000 FRS to the Public Treasury and 30,000,000 FRS for presidential elections. The amount allocated for the municipal elections was backed by section 183 of the electoral code and the amount for parliamentary elections was backed by section 166 (1) of the electoral code. This amount was considered by many young electoral contestants to be too much for them. This prevented them

¹⁷⁸ K. Gurenmusandu, "Enhancing Youth Political Participation for Africa's Development", P. 2

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Claude Funyuy, aged 55, Politician, Tatum, November 17, 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Njing Stephen, aged 61, Teacher, Jakiri, December 20, 2017.

from participating in politics in Bui Division and there also existed limited avenues for effective youth political participation during the Post Colonial era¹⁸¹.

12. Political system

In the same line, the fact that there existed no competitive politics during the colonial era had a negative impact in the political participation of youth in Bui Division. This is because the multi party politics and the culture of democracy which existed during the colonial era ceased to exist with the creation of one party system called the CNU in 1962 which went operational in 1966. The advent of this party created limited avenues for effective youth political participation in Bui Division. The political movements created by the youth during the Colonial era were now created and imposed on the youth by politicians with little or no power to influence decision-making, control Government action and policy options such as the YCNU and YCPM. This simply means that these youth movements did not have the power to influence decision-making, Government actions and policy options within the ranks of the CNU and CPDM. Hence, decisions were taken and imposed on them without due consultation. They did not participate in policy-making concerning youth governance as their voices did not count but were used by politicians as key actors for electoral mobilization. This means that the numerical strength of the youth could bring about tremendous changes at the electorate and influenced the electoral results. This went a long way to retard youth participation in active politics in Bui Division as they realized they were exploited by politicians for selfish gains.

13. Rural Urban Migration

In addition, another factor which created a negative impact in the political participation of the youth in Bui Division was rural urban migration. The problem of rural exodus in Bui Division remains a critical issue in history. This is because the economy of this area was agriculturally based and agriculture did not provide the required employment opportunities to absorb the persistent growing youthful population in Bui Division. The lack of employment opportunities in this sector had orchestrated the migration of youth from Bui Division to the urban centres of Yaounde, Douala, Bamenda and Bafoussam. This has reduced the youthful population in Bui Division who could actively take part in politics and boost local development. The geographical mobility of youth from Bui Division to the urban centres did not allow them to take up leadership opportunities. Also, the negative impression expressed by the youth from

¹⁸¹ Interview with Yula Funyuy , aged 50, Counsellor, Kumbo, November 16, 2017

Bui Division towards agriculture contributed a great deal to their inability to mobilize the financial resources needed for effective political participation¹⁸².

The fact that rural areas in general and Bui Division in particular was often marginalized in terms of policy development and inadequate infrastructures such as Schools, Hospitals, Water, Electricity and roads have recorded far reaching negative impact in the political participation of youth in Bui Division. This is because the youth from Bui Division were often attracted by infrastructural development in urban centres which pulled them to migrate from rural areas in Bui Division to settle in urban centres. They equally migrated to urban centres to seek for greener pastures which made most of these youth to settle permanently in urban areas thus reducing the rural youthful population who could actively take part in politics and contribute to the political evolution of Bui Division, development of the local communities thus Nation Building. This explains why rural areas were often deserted in favour of City Centres which slowed down local development and paved the way for the older people to always dominate the political landscape of Bui Division. This made young people in Bui Division not to have a greater say in politics, decision-making and policy development concerning youth governance¹⁸³.

14. Economic Crises

Another factor which played a negative role in the political participation of youth in Bui Division and had far reaching negative impact on youth governance in Cameroon was the Global Economic Crisis of the 1980s. The early 1980s recession was a severe economic crisis that affected much of the world between approximately the start of the 1980 and early 1983. It is widely considered to have been the most severe recession since World War II. The key event which orchestrated the recession was the 1979 energy crisis mostly caused by the Iranian Revolution which caused a disruption to the global oil supply which oil prices rising sharply in 1979 and early 1980¹⁸⁴. The sharp rise in oil prices pushed the already high rate of inflation in several major advanced countries to new double-digit highs, with countries such as the United States, Canada, West Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and Japan tightening their monetary policies by increasing the interest rate to control the inflation. These G7 countries had “double dip” recessions involving short declines in economic output in parts of 1980 followed by a short period of expansion and a longer period of economic contraction. Most of these countries

¹⁸² Interview with Adamu Shang, aged 50, Driver, Kumbo, November 19, 2017.

¹⁸³ Interview with Issa Mbinkar.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Claud Funyuy.

experienced stagflation, a situation of both high interest rate and high unemployment.

Globally, while some countries experienced downturns in economic output in 1980 and 1981, the worldwide decline of economic activity and the largest increase in unemployment was in 1982 with the World Bank naming the recession the “ global recession of 1982”. Many countries were in recession into 1983 and high unemployment world continue to affect most nations until at least 1985. Long term effects of the early 1980s recession contributed to the Latin American debt crisis, it also slowed down economic activities in the Caribbean and Sub-saharan African Countries, the US savings and loans crisis and a general adoption of neoliberal economic policies through out the 1980s and 1990s.

Following the effects of the crisis in Cameroon, the Government stopped recruiting people into the public service and salaries of civil servants were equally slashed down. The Government was unable to uphold the social contract with the population. This created a serious problem of mass unemployment in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular among youth leading to external migration as those who could not gain employment opportunities in the private sector had to migrate to Europe and America for greener pastures. Those youth who could not afford the means to travel out of the country stayed back home and devised new strategies of sustainability. As the Government stopped recruitment into the public service, those students who graduated from High Schools and Universities found life unbearable and had no choice than to resort to the informal sector for sustainability. As the social rights which could guarantee the economic independence of the youth in Bui Division were not there, their political participation was also farfetched as they did not have the required resources for effective political participation. This also rendered thousands of youth unemployed in Bui Division and agriculture which was the backbone of the economy of this Division became the only principal source of revenue. But the employment opportunities provided by agriculture were very limited and the prices for agricultural produces were also very low thus creating poverty and low living standard among youth in Bui Division. This incapacitated them to participate in politics and decision making processes of the state. Moreover, the type of agriculture that was carried out in Bui Division was subsistence whose produces were mainly for consumption and not for marketing. Therefore, only the surplus was taken to the market. The youth from Bui Division who were involved in subsistence agriculture found it difficult to mobilize the resources needed to take up leadership positions and contribute to Nation Building.

Moreover, the problem of accessibility and land ownership was a big constraint to the youth in Bui Division as most of the lands in Bui Division were owned by families. This simply means that the lands belonged to the family and not to individuals and young people found it

difficult to access the land in order to mobilize the resources needed to lead. The land tenure system practiced by some landlords was really an impediment to youth political participation as most of the lands were reserved for the sons of the landlords who could neither cultivate well nor put the lands for effective use. The scarcity of land hindered youth political participation and their ability to take up leadership responsibilities.

Furthermore, the centralization of Tertiary institutions in Urban Centres in Cameroon played a negative role in the political participation of youth in Bui Division and had a negative impact on Nation Building. This is because the youth from Bui Division migrated to the Urban Centres especially Yaounde for Higher Education which led to rural exodus that orchestrated mass influx of youth from Bui Division to Yaounde. This reduced the number of youth in Bui Division who could actively take part in politics and participate in the decision-making processes which assisted in the governance of the state. During this period, there existed only one lone University of Yaounde which was initially the Federal University of the Federal Republic of Cameroon from 1961 to 1972 when the Federal system of Government was dismantled and the Unitary System instituted. Hence the former East and West Cameroons were merged to create the United Republic of Cameroon and the University of Yaounde still remained the lone University in Cameroon throughout the National Territory. It remained so under the new Republic of Cameroon under the leadership of President Paul Biya from 1982 to 1993 when the lone Anglosaxon University of Buea was created and the nomenclature of the state changed from United Republic of Cameroon to *La Republique du Cameroun*.¹⁸⁵

15. Lack of identification papers

Another factor which retarded youth political participation in Bui Division was the lack of identification papers such as the National Identity Cards and Birth Certificates by several youth in Bui Division during this era. This had far-reaching negative impact in the political participation of the youth in Bui Division. Hence, the youth were mostly not in possession of identification papers which could enable them participate in the political life of the country and influence policy options, Government actions and decision-making processes especially matters related to youth governance. This is because decisions were always taken and imposed on the youth without due consultation. This means their voices did not count in matters of decision-making and were only obliged to abide by the laws enacted by the elderly.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵Interview with Adamu Shang.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Adamu Shang

16. Political repression

Also, the Government had the tendency of repressing youth protest in Cameroon State Universities which widened the gap between the youth and the Government. This is because the youth strongly believed that their Constitutional right to public manifestation as defined by the Cameroon Constitution was not respected. They did not understand that there existed a dichotomy between the existence of the law and its implementation. These political repressions which took place between 1973 and 1990 made the youth to believe they were not part of the society and adopted a luke-warm attitude towards the management of the political affairs of the Country. This had retarded the participation of the youth from Bui Division in politics as they believed that they had no power to voice their grievances to their leaders as their Constitutional right to public manifestations was often faced with police brutality. Academic problems should be handled by academic experts and not the forces of law and order who understood no other language besides force. The 1973 youth protest in the University of Yaounde was orchestrated by the Government criteria in distributing Scholarship Awards. The situation witnessed the dispatchment of gendarms to the Campus and the protest was contained but the problem remained unsolved. This provoked another youth protest in 1980 during which students demanded scholarships for all the students as well as the elimination of discriminatory policies in scholarship awards to students in the same class. President Ahmadou Ahidjo therefore solved the problem by abolishing the discriminatory policies but still instituted a system whereby a student above 25 years was not suppose to be admitted into the University which deprived this class of youth from their right to education.

Moreover, the 1990 witnessed a great win of change across the world in general and Cameroon in particular. During this year, the International Liberty Laws were passed which granted greater rights and freedoms to citizens of the world. However, coupled with the internal pressure from political opponents who cherished freedom very much gave birth to the rejuvenation of the Cameroon political system. This year saw the rebirth of multi-party politics in Cameroon which was abolished in 1966 by his Excellency President Ahmadou Ahidjo. Following this development, several political parties saw the light of the day such as the SDF under the leadership of Ni John Fru Ndi which changed the political landscape of Cameroon, the CDU under the leadership of Adamu Ndam Njoya, the UNDP of Bello Bouba Maigari including the existing previous ones such as the CPDM which was created in Bamenda in 1985 under the leadership of Mr. Paul Biya and the UPC. The mere existence of political parties did not guarantee a successful democratic culture in Cameroon. It instead created the freedom of associations for Cameroonian youth in general and those of Bui Division in particular. This

inturn culminated in the proliferation of political parties divided along tribal links and family affiliations. Since then, the elections that were conducted following these changes were often contested by the political opponents. They decried massive electoral fraud and lack of transparency and credibility in the conduct of elections in Cameroon which has gradually led to the political disengagement of the youth from Bui Division and the decline in electoral participation. This is because the ruling CPDM party has always won every election in Cameroon. The development of youth policies in Cameroon from 1966 to the present time has always been in the hands of the Government without taking into account the opinions of the youth who are the beneficiaries of the law in question. The youth would have been able to influence policy options in Cameroon concerning Youth Governance if they were elected or included in the decision-making structures of the state such as the councils, parliament, Senate and Government. This would enable them to participate in the decision-making processes of the State and influence policy options concerning youth governance and political participation.

Also, the totalitarian political system that was put in place in Cameroon from 1966 to 1990 by President Ahamadou Ahidjo and his successor his Excellency President Paul Biya played a negative role in youth political participation in Bui Division and contributed enormously to the civic decline among youth and thus their political disengagement. This is because it gave the President special prerogatives to dismiss and appoint his collaborators unilaterally as well as Constitutional amendments. The President had absolute powers to take decisions and no body could question his authority. The eradication of competitive politics gave rise to the so called Presidential Monarchy in Cameroon.¹⁸⁷ The dismantling of institutions of multiparty politics which guaranteed the freedom of association gave the president absolute powers to enact laws and imposed on his followers. This simply means any person with an opinion contrary to that of the President was arrested and imprisoned or summarily executed. There was a tensed political atmosphere in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular as every one especially the young people feared of getting engaged in politics due to political repression which was used as an instrument of governance. There existed no room for criticisms as young people became prisoners of conscience. Event strike actions in the University were faced with police brutality such as the 1971 and 1980 student protest in the University of Yaounde. The tensed atmosphere, the dictatorial regime and the fear of the unknown did not creat a conduisive atmosphere for the effective political participation of youth in Bui Division. This simply created an atmosphere of fear whereby young people shun away from politics. They

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Issa Mbinkar.

regarded politics as diabolic because they did not want to become victims of political repression. The creation of one party system in Cameroon in 1962 which went operational in both East and West Cameroon in 1966 was a historical political blunder made by politicians which was not corrected until 1990 with the re-introduction of multiparty politics. This was the time they sold their political freedom to the Government of Ahmadou Ahidjo which allowed him to tread on their rights.

When Mr. Paul Biya took over power in 1982 as the president of the United Republic of Cameroon, he ensured continuity of the system of governance he inherited from his predecessor President Ahmadou Ahidjo. He unilaterally changed the name of the state from the United Republic of Cameroon to *La République du Cameroun* which created mixed feelings among young politicians from Anglophone Cameroon and those of Bui Division in particular such as Dr. Benard Nsokika Fonlon, Professor Ayangwe and Barister Gorgi Dinka who immediately declared the state of Ambazonia in 1985. This intensified separatists' activities among youth from Anglophone Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular which happened to be a stronghold of Separatists movements. This prevented youth from Bui Division from effectively and actively taking part in politics as they had different political ideology which animated their political life from that of the Central Government. The Head of State his Excellency Mr. Paul Biya continued with the system of Government he inherited from his predecessor President Ahmadou Ahidjo until 1990 when the International Liberty Laws were passed and the internal pressure from the political opponents obliged him to bow to competitive politics which rather resulted to the freedom of association than the real political freedom desired by young Cameroonians and those of Bui Division in particular. This created a negative impact in the political participation of the youth in Bui Division.¹⁸⁸

17. Election management and political system

In the same line, the limitations of the elections management in Cameroon has equally discouraged young people in Bui Division from actively taking part in politics which had a negative impact in their political participation. This is because the general atmosphere which animated the electoral politics in 1990 was considered by the youth as incredible and unreliable. The youth from Bui Division put their trust in the political leaders who animated the political scene of Cameroon during this period with the hope of effecting change through them. As a consequence, when their burning desire for change ended in a fiasco as the opposition did not

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Alfred Tatah.

succeed in taking power in Cameroon, they became frustrated and resorted to different means of seeking solutions to their problems. It was with time they realized that the opposition in Cameroon was a rubber stamp and the overwhelming expectations of massive youth participation in politics following the reintroduction of competitive politics began to experience a decline. This is because the youth did not see their dreams being realized through politicians and politics.¹⁸⁹

In addition, youth perception of the political systems, institutions and governance in Bui Division remains very crucial in determining their level of participation in politics. The low engagement of youth in more institutional form of political participation remains a major concern. The fact that the years 1960 to 1990 witnessed a decline in civic engagement among youth across the globe in general and Bui Division in particular coupled with youth perception of formal politics such as voting, engaging in political parties and fighting for political leadership has contributed a great deal to youth political disengagement in Bui Division. The youth in Bui Division have also been skeptical about politics, politicians and institutions as they strongly believed that there exist a dichotomy between political speeches and practical realities. We could observe distrust among youth in Bui Division towards the authorities and public institutions. This was really a threat to Nation Building. This is because this area was characterized by a decline in the political engagement of young people and their low participation in formal politics since the recovered democracy in the 1990 to date. However, research has proven that youth have been very critical about the performance of the political system in Cameroon. Young people have always expressed the burning desire to be given the chance and opportunity to participate in the decision making processes of the State. However, young people in Bui Division have been less engaged in politics than the older generation despite their projected numerical strength. They have been skeptical about electoral institutions and political system in the country.

Moreover, the fact that voting has not been made mandatory in Cameroon like it has been done in Australia and Commonwealth has been responsible for the decline in youth political participation in Bui Division. There would be high probability of greater youth participation in politics if voting is made mandatory for all eligible citizens in Cameroon. This is because mandatory voting would oblige young people to participate in choosing their leaders and be voted into office. This has increased the level of participation of or engagement of citizens in politics in Australia whereby the percentage of voters rose from 50% to 95% and

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Haruna Adamu, aged 48, Deputy Mayor, Jakiri, November 15, 2017.

those who did not participate in elections without tangible reasons were to pay a fine of 55 dollars and failure to do so was tantamount to a jail sentence by the Australian Court. The optional character of elections in Cameroon has given those who were reluctant to vote the pretext to stay away from the polling stations. This is because no penalty was allocated for those who did not take part in elections and voting was a matter of choice. This has created a negative impact in youth political participation in Bui Division which led to civic decline among young people.¹⁹⁰

Furthermore, the manner in which the society in general and politicians in particular considered youth in relation to politics has also had a negative impact in youth political participation in Bui Division. This is because politics was considered as a space for politically experienced men and youth were systematically excluded as political candidates due to their young age, limited opportunities and projected lack of experience. The increase political participation of youth in Bui Division would benefit the entire society and the presence of young people in the decision-making positions of the State would also benefit all citizens and not only the youth. While young often played a central role in movements for democracy around the globe, they were less engaged in formal politics than the older generation. This has inspired many International Organisations to study the low level of youth political participation in formal politics and put in place strategies to promote youth political participation.¹⁹¹ That is why the Inter-Parliamentary Union made recommendations for countries to include young people in National Parliaments. It also recommended that parliaments and political parties should design strategies to include Young Members of Parliament and also to align the minimum age of parliamentary candidates with the minimum voting age and to establish youth quotas (seats) as a means of increasing the number of Young Members of Parliament. Therefore, the Government, Parliament and councils of Cameroon have a huge task ahead of them to ensure the political representation of youth in the decision-making structures of the state for the purpose of political inclusion of the youth in Bui Division.

In this light, the fact that Cameroon does not have a youth friendly-legal instrument that protects the political rights of the youth has had a negative impact in the political participation of youth in Bui Division. A youth friendly-legal framework is very crucial in enabling youth political participation. This is because the law would have the obligation to reserve some seats or quotas in parliament for the youth. This would stimulate their interest in politics and strong desire about the management of the affairs of the country including their active engagement in

¹⁹⁰Interview with Adamu Foka, aged 55, Deputy Mayor, Kumbo, November 14, 2017.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Nfor Emmanuel, aged 50, Political Analyst, Kumbo, November 16, 2017.

politics and their ability to influence government actions, policy options in relation to youth governance in Cameroon and decision-making processes.¹⁹²

However, there has been persistent decline of youth interest in politics in Bui Division which has had a great negative impact in youth political participation. In the same line, for a governance system to be inclusive, all parts of the society must be included. When young people are dis-enfranchised or disengaged from the political processes, a significant portion of the population has little or no influence in decisions that affect the governance of the state. A key consequence is undermining the political system representativeness. To make a difference in the long term, it is indispensable that young people are engaged in formal political processes and have a say in formulating today's and tomorrow's politics. Inclusive political participation is not only a fundamental political and democratic right but also crucial in building stable and peaceful society and developing policies that respond to the specific needs of younger generations for young people to be adequately represented in political institutions, processes, decision-making and electoral participation. They must know their rights and be given the necessary knowledge and capacity to participate in politics at all levels. When there are obstacles to participate in formal or institutionalized political processes, young people can rapidly be disengaged. Many young people in Bui Division believed that their voices would not be heard and taken seriously. The problem here is that politicians might lose interest in young people if they cannot galvanize enough support for the party to win elections. This in turn leads to young people being increasingly excluded from taking part in decision-making about key socio-economic and political issues.¹⁹³

There was a group of young people in Bui Division who remained indifferent to political matters and attributes their behaviour towards politics to lack of relevance in their lives. They simply had no knowledge and understanding of politics and the perceived limitations of getting engaged in politics has turned some young people away from politics. They frequently expressed difficulty in comprehending political language and political engagement of youth in Bui Division required the mastery of political concepts and ideas or they were not politically informed. There was also persistent lack of trust in politicians by the youth in Bui Division due to their unfulfilled promises and lack of accountability in political leadership has also turned some young people away from politics. The young people perceived politicians as selfish and greedy individuals pursuing their selfish gains which went a long way to deepen youth lack of interest in politics and their inability to participate in the decision-making processes and

¹⁹² Interview with Haruna Adamu.

¹⁹³ Ngoh, *A hundred Years of History...*, pp. 75-96.

influence policy options in Bui Division.

On the other hand, politicians did not have interest in the opinions and concerns expressed by the youth as they were deeply concerned about their selfish political ambitions and agenda. The process through which political interest was acquired and shaped also involved the interaction between the personal and financial circumstances of an individual, their beliefs and values and a range of external factors that shape and influence youth interest in politics. It also determined how young people conceptualized politics which influenced their level of political engagement and effective participation.¹⁹⁴ Despite the fact that they constituted more than half of the population of Bui Division, young people often found themselves marginalized from mainstream politics and decision-making. They struggled to make their voices heard by the governing class but were seen as lacking the skills and experience to engage in political activity and made a positive change in their communities. This exclusion coupled with limited political education and economic opportunities left young people in Bui Division frustrated with their status quo. The youth needed real opportunities to participate in political processes and contribute to practical solutions that advance development. When given an opportunity to organize, voice their opinions and play a meaningful role in political decision-making, young people consistently demonstrated their willingness and ability to foster positive change in the society. They also became more likely to demand and defend democracy and gain greater sense of belonging. Programs build young people's skills, knowledge and confidence while helping them more effectively to express their opinions, build relationship with political leaders and break down socio-cultural and institutional barriers to their active political participation.

Also, the low level of youth political participation in Bui Division was one of the biggest challenges facing representative democracy in Bui Division. There had been a sharp increase in youthful population in recent years in Bui Division and 70% of the population of this area was under the age of 30. The level of youth engagement in Bui Division remained lower than that of the older generation which might lead to emerging crisis of youth political representation in Bui Division.¹⁹⁵ The increasing youth political engagement in Bui Division remained vital to advancing democratic development. Hence, youth political engagement in Bui Division is pivotal to ensuring inclusive participation and protecting the fundamental political and democratic rights of the youth. Beyond the theoretical considerations surrounding norms and values linked to equal participation, inclusion and representation, it is also important to acknowledge that youth engagement is all about practical politics. The younger generation

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Abdu Salam, aged 55, Islamic Scholar, Kumbo, November 12, 2017.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Fondzeyuf Killian, aged 48, Politician, Kumbo, December 12, 2017.

has grown up in different cultural, social, economic, political and crucially technological contexts to older generations and simply have different experiences, ideas and solutions to bring to the table concerning issues of Nation Building. However, young people have not been sufficiently included in formal political processes. They were less likely to be elected into the parliament or as members of political parties or to register and participate in elections. From a representative point of view, youth were grossly underrepresented in politics in Bui Division. Although not active in formal politics, young people were showing both interest in and dedication to democracy and politics. In this regard, one of the key ways to successfully addressing the challenges posed by the low level of youth participation in politics in Bui Division is to get young people elected into office. It is also important to note that specific age-related eligibility requirements to be elected into office represented a key barrier to youth representation in decision-making positions within democratic institutions such as the Parliament, Government and councils.¹⁹⁶

In the same perspectives, with the exception of Cameroon, Gabon and Ivory Coast, African youth are eligible to vote from 18 years. The legal age to run for elections is often higher. To be elected in to the Parliament and Senate in Cameroon, candidates must have reached the ages of 23 and 40 respectively. Young people were often excluded from effective political participation. This is exemplified by the failure of the ruling political class to share power with young people and the inability of young people to utilize their social and political capital to influence politics and shift the balance of power in favour of youth. Weak and undemocratic political parties, Constitutional age restriction and money politics were some of the obstacles against effective youth political participation in Bui Division.¹⁹⁷

Conclusion

In the final analysis, this chapter seeks to examine the impact of youth's participation in politics in Bui Division, which ranged from negative to positive impact. It largely depended on the government to coin good educational policies to educate young people on citizenship values through citizenship education, complemented by peace education. This citizenship was deeply rooted in democratic values or principles without which there was no effective participation of young people in decision making processes. This chapter has covered a wide range of topics from the conceptualisation of citizenship by young people and how they related to

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Awaou Atini.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Issa Mbinkar.

themselves, to trying to apply the various established definitions and theories of citizenship to the lives of youths to identify barriers to young people feeling that they were citizens within the context intended by policy makers. In addition, the study found that even within the literature, there is no single agreed definition of citizenship. While there are wide definitions of citizenship, the study found that it was difficult to apply many of them to young people because they entailed criterias which often excluded some or all young people like the voting age in Cameroon which is 20, meaning those below 20 years could not vote which underlines an aspect of discrimination. Moreover, the basic powerful Concept of citizenship is equality, yet all citizens are not equal and young people are not equal with older people in terms of citizenship. At the basic level; there are arrange of citizenship rights including many basic civil and political rights which are not extended to minors. The study found that there are limitations on the citizenship status of young people that derived from factors such as limited economic independence. Other theories suggested that there is a basic level of knowledge of citizenship which is required for a person to participate in civic life. The study equally revealed that although there are currently education initiatives in citizenship education, they lack implementation mechanisms. This idea was echoed by politically active young people who asserted that from their experiences, they have learned that in order to be effective in creating change or influencing decision makers.¹⁹⁸ It is necessary to understand government functions.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Adamu Foka.

CHAPTER 4

LIMITATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES OF YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BUI DIVISION

Introduction

The political participation of youth in Bui Division was deeply rooted in the state institutions. That is economic, political, social organisation and legal frame work of every society determined the degree of participation of youths in decision making and development programs of that society. This could also go a long way to act as determining factor to youth political participation. The degree of participation of young people in the political life of the country was conditioned by the level of their economic independence which was the ability to have the available resources to exercise the political and civil rights. If the social rights which constituted the economic autonomy of young people were withheld, the chances to exercise the political and civil rights were limited. The three rights that were the social, political and civil rights could not exist independent of each other. They were compartible in the building of responsible citizens who were conscious of their rights and duties.¹⁹⁹ It is the responsibility of the society to establish an appropriate legal frame work for youth's political participation. If the state institutions did not protect the rights of young people, the future of the society was seriously at stake. It is the protection of these rights that would shape the building of effective citizenship among youths as prerequisites for effective youths political participation. Moreover, when young people lived in a society where the fundamental human rights were being violated, and the society did not protect their interest, they were obliged to creat a social network which did not protect the interest of the society. This explains why there had been constant street confrontations between the forces of law and order and the youths through out history. Young people in Cameroon in general and those of Bui Division in particular have always expressed the desire to present their grievances through street protest which is a constitutional right in Cameroon. .When this right was violated youths felt they were not part of the society. The promotion of youth's mainstreaming could enable young people to change the world with new ideas, aspirations and technology which were the back bone of every modern economy. These

¹⁹⁹H. V. Gursteren, *A Theory of Citizenship: Organising Plurality in Contemporary Democracies*, London, westview press, 1998, pp. 35-58

talents were only possessed by the new generation who were exposed to the technological advancement of global society. To better understand and examine the degree of youth's participation in politics in Bui Division, we must critically examine the limitations of their political participation and give recommendations for effective and inclusive governance.²⁰⁰

A. Limitations

i. Economic limitations

Youth's unemployment was one of the major hindrances of youth's participation in global politics and the Bui Division in particular. This unemployment is the cankerworm which had destroyed the younger generation aspiring to take up leadership opportunities in Bui Division. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that there are seventy five million young people from fifteen to twenty four years old looking for work across the globe. Globally, about 85% of the world's young people lived in developing countries and an increase number of these young people were growing up in cities. In Africa, more than 70% of the inhabitants are under the age of 30 with about 65% of the total population below the age of 35 living in cities making Africa the most youthful continent in the world²⁰¹.

Nationally, in 2013, the International Labour Organization reported that the unemployment rate in Cameroon stood at 30% while underemployment stood at 75%. It is worth noting that Cameroon had a population of twenty million inhabitants and most of the people belonged to the middle class. It may interest you to know that the working population of Cameroon stood at twelve millions and only the little over 200,000 people worked in the public service with government being the highest employer. This means that 11.8 millions people who were not employed by the state were a call for concern. It is no doubt that youths unemployment was one of the major challenges faced by the government as thousands of youths could not find job opportunity after school. These had retarded the economic development of the country. This unemployment was caused by the unprecedented global economic crises of the 1980s which led to mass unemployment, salary cuts and the drop in the economic growth.¹⁹⁸ This was equally caused by the education system of Cameroon which focused mainly on theories and concepts with little or no training in technology education and entrepreneurship, low quality jobs, the

²⁰⁰Haruna A. Deputy Major, Jakiri, 50 years, November, 2017

²⁰¹ C. A. Rimmerman, *The New Citizenship: Unconventional Politics, Activism and Service*, London, Westview press, 1997, p19.

problem of work experience, no access to capital, little or no entrepreneurship or Business training, limited youths participation, social discrimination and corruption, frustration and discouragement, inadequate skills compatible with the available jobs in the job market.²⁰²

Also, there was a problem of consumption of public investment budget by foreigners which did not favour national economic growth. For instance, some African governments including Cameroon were undertaking massive infrastructural projects from rail lines to pipe lines and the super highways. Currently, at the construction site of the bridge over the River Wouri, the republic of China was the major supplier of material, technical expert and the financing of this project. In some African Countries, they were reported to have brought with them everything, ranging from unskilled labour to basic construction materials. Where there was localisation of labour, unrest centered on lack of overtime payment, unwritten employment contracts, and arbitrary paycuts.²⁰³

Locally, Bui Division was one of the Divisions in Cameroon that was highly affected by unemployment. The backbone of the economy of this Division was agriculture. The lack of employment opportunities in the primary sectors such as fishing, farming and the forestry had created a large economic problem of unemployment. The threat facing young people in Bui Division affected more or less the entire country as rural areas across the country were going through a period of transition. The sector currently employs less than five percent of the rural youthful population. The drift away from agriculture had been very rapid and the low implementation of agricultural policies led to a perpetual decline in the number of young people employed by agriculture.²⁰³

Moreover, the transition in the agricultural sector contained the trend in the major rise in unemployment. The service and the manufacturing sectors would not be to provide immediate alternative employment for labour force being shared by agriculture. Rural areas had only limited resources with which to hold on their population and the results had already been seen in the depopulation of the country side as people moved into urban centers. The transition in the rural areas was having particularly strong impact on the youths in Bui Division as more and more youths were seeking a different quality of life.²⁰⁴ The problems encountered by young people and young farmers in the rural areas mainly concerned difficulties such as financial, fiscal and legal in setting up businesses and finding adequate training as well as high

²⁰² Y. G. Gedion, Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa, vol12, June 8, 2014, pp. 237-541, <http://www.AU.int/YouthCharterpdf>.

²⁰¹ E. Edmond, "Youth Unemployment Challenge in Cameroon", July 13, 2014, pp.1-2, <http://www.eddyhopefoundation.org>.

rate of unemployment and the lack of alternative jobs, the traditional shortcomings of rural areas as regards infrastructural development and services, not to mention the negative image of farming conceived by young people.²⁰⁴

In addition the youths planning to enter the agricultural sector in Bui Division faced problems due to frequently inadequate availability of finance and tax regime unfavourable to young farmers.

These young people were continuously confronted with the problems of high sets cost such as the availability and the price of land and the cost of machinery, farm modernisation, credit and production licences which were granted through administrative procedures. It is the responsibility of the Government to coin policies regulating the problem of accessibility to land by young people in Bui Division.²⁰⁴

Moreover, changes of land ownership in Bui Division were often difficult when parents continued to work on the farm and the younger generations intended to join agriculture. Most farms were run by families and were homes to several generations and were not profitable to supply more than one household. These young people who wanted to join the farming did not own land; they had to begin by buying land. In this light, agriculture was affected by the general problem of education and the lack of appropriate training courses. It was through training that young people acquired basic knowledge of the job, their environment and their prospects. Contrary to Bui Division, in Bahrain for instance, three quarters of young farmers had a qualification at least equivalent to the Advance Level.²⁰⁵

Some young farmers in Cameroon were well trained like in the Veterinary School in Jakiri and the agricultural school in Bambili, but there was still a dichotomy between training and entering the sector, there was also the problem of farms losing their fertility thus culminating in lower farm output, which chased away young farmers. There was also the perpetual quest for land by young farmers in Bui Division which often resorted to farmer grazer conflicts. The lack of employment opportunities in the country side had created the general problem of unemployment. This led to rural exodus whereby the rural areas in Bui Division were deserted by the active and youthful population, this handicapped the local economy as the man power or the required labour force which would have boosted the local economy deserted in favour of city centers in search of greener pastures.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴McDaily Website, "Education and Unemployment in Bui Division", January 23, 2017, pp.1-5, Featines@mcgilldaily.com.

²⁰⁵ Interview with Wilfred Tatah, Political Activist, Wvem, November 2017

²⁰⁶ 204 Interview with Adamu Foka, Deputy Major, Kumbo Urban Council, Tobin, December 2017

In addition, it has equally led to clandestine migration of young people in Bui Division. This is because they believed that the society in which they lived did not protect their interest. This clandestine migration had been very disastrous as thousands of young people were fleeing their country every day through the illegal means which often led to death in the Mediterranean Sea and some were being held as captives and sold to countries in need of labour force. The migration of these youths had equally devastated the national economy, thus causing brain drain as the available human Capital was fast deserting the country in favour of foreign development.

Moreover, following the challenges faced by the Youth, real effort has only been made during the post 1990 era at the international, regional and national levels to address the global plight of youth in general and Bui Division in particular. Globally, the United Nations Program of Action for youth sought to assist government in 15 priority areas which had clear relevance for youth's agenda in Africa. The African Union had equally adopted and entered into force the African Youth Charter. The Charter provided a framework for developing and implementing more tangible youth's policies and programs for young people in some areas which included employment, sustainable livelihood, education, health, youth's participation, peace and security and law enforcement. It also called on governments to guarantee participation of young people in parliaments and other national and Regional decision-making bodies.

Other key developments included the approval of a plan of action for accelerating the ratification and implementation of the African Youths Charter, the declaration of the period 2009 to 2013 as a decade of youth's development and the approval of the plan of action to implement the priority activities identified during the youth decades. There was also the establishment of youths network including the panAfrican youths union to serve as channel for youths engagement and platform for conveying youths perspectives²⁰⁸. Agenda 2063 of the African Union was also instrumental in promoting youths rights in the continent as the agenda was designed after the debates and consultations held with the youths, women and diaspora representatives during the OAU-AU50th anniversary celebration held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in May 2013.¹⁵² The youth were a vital component of the agenda 2063 as it explored the past, present and the future in order to create a new generation of Pan Africanists that will harness the lessons learned and use them as building blocks to consolidate the hopes and the promises of the founding fathers for a true renaissance of Africa.

At the national level some African countries were making efforts to involve youths in politics and decision-making processes. A good example is Ghana where 44 young people between the ages of 21 and 40 were voted into parliament during the 2012 parliamentary elections which was considered by many as a positive kick-off. This is contrary to Cameroon

and Bui Division in particular where we have not recorded any young parliamentarian at 40 or below²⁰⁷.

Following the problem of unemployment in Cameroon and Bui Division in particular, the situation worsened with the unprecedented economic crisis of the 1980s, causing the government to stop recruitment into the public service and the salaries were slashed down. The privatization of most public corporations and the Structural Adjustment Program all sponsored by the IMF and the world Bank with the aim of reducing poverty and relaunching the economy made things worse.

In this light, the situation became worse following the growing number of unemployed youths who were forced by circumstances to leave the country in search for greener pastures mainly in Europe and USA. In order to address this issue, the government created the ministry of youth affairs, employment and vocational training on December 8, 2004. The functions of the ministry were to elaborate strategies and policies aimed at facilitating the integration of youths in development programs. According to statistics from the ministry of youth affairs about 11% of youths aged 15 to 29 were unemployed and it was worse in urban areas. The underemployment rate for qualified youths leaving schools aged 15 to 29 years and 20 to 24 years stood at 94 and 84 % respectively. One of the projects initiated to fight against youth's unemployment was Rural Urban youths support Program.²⁰⁸ This was and is being piloted by the ministry of youth affairs aimed at promoting the socio- economic insertion of Cameroonian youths both literate and illiterate through mobilisation, training and financing to enable youths become real actors of development. The aim of this project was to mobilise 5000 youths to develop their competencies in the creation of micro enterprises either as individuals or groups, employed or self employed. There was equally another project called Nationale Employment Fund. This was one of the first structures put in place in 1990 with a direct responsibility to careter for increasing youth unemployment placed under the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training. There was equally another project called Intergrated Support Project for Actors of the Informal Sectors. This was designed with specific objectives of training and facilitating funding of income generating projects submitted by youth. It should be noted the informal sector in Cameroon presently recruits youths than the formal sector. In 2007, PIAASI received 1450 applications for credits, 1160 billions was disbursed for this application and this created 5650 direct and indirect. In 2008, it created 960 direct and indirect employment

²⁰⁷Interview with Evans Fonyuy, CPDM Youth President, Bui, Tobin, November, 2017

²⁰⁸CRTV News, *African Union-European Union summit: Investing in Youths for Sustainable Development*, November 28, 2017, at 6:00 pm.

following support to 2490 promoters of micro projects and an amount of 1312 billions. In addition, another project included integrated strategy for rural development growth and job creation. One could also talk of the integrated projects for manufacturing of sporting materials for actors in the informal sector. During the 2013 investment budget 50 millions was allocated for the execution of projects in Kumbo.²¹⁰ Apart from the government working to fight against youth's unemployment in Bui Division, there existed NGOs with the goal of promoting employment and the economic empowerment of young people. These NGOs had been active in the domain of agriculture, health, education, training and services. We had the voluntary alliance called Meridian International Institute for Capacity building and this was created in 2002 as a common initiative under the authorization number 211ARIE. 26IA21SA/PA/PS/II8 and was registered as NGO in 2010. It had the goal of helping the vulnerable and the underprivileged in Kumbo, supporting agricultural projects and help educate young people.

There is also the Cameroon Opportunities Industrialisation Center (COIC) which was an affiliation of the OIC international with head quarters in Philadelphia USA. It was established in 1986 with headquarters in Buea and placed under the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training after an agreement signed between Cameroon and the OIC in April 11, 2014. The organisation had been operating in Kumbo Central Sub Division in Bui Division with the goal of building capacity in areas such as tailoring, information and communication technology, car mechanics and the kneatting. One of the strongest NGOs which had been operating in Bui Division was SHUMAS which had been very active in the agricultural field and had already created an agricultural school in Kumbo which trained and empowered young farmers. It had equally been very instrumental in the health sector through the construction of health centers like the health center recently constructed in the Jakiri town. The government action coupled with the action of the NGOs in Bui Division had helped reduced unemployment though to a lesser extend.²⁰⁹

Despite the twin effort of the later, there is still the acute problem of youth's unemployment, underemployment, lack of skills, inadequate relevant education, lack of access to decision making and political process, lack of political will to get the youth involved in politics. The gap between youths policies and their effective implementation, poor lobbying and advocacy skills, lack of adequate political avenue for youth participation, shortage of financial and human resources, lack of platform of exchange of best practices, fragmentation and lack of effective coordination.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹CRTV News, Tuesday 28th November, 2017

²¹⁰N. Ngalime, "Youths Unemployment in Cameroon", 2014

Furthermore, the unemployment of youth in Bui Division was further compounded by limited access to information concerning the job market; limited access to jobs in the private sector especially for the less qualified, corruption had equally penetrated the private sector thus decreasing the intergration of youth from marginalized economic and political background. Low participation of youth in the decision making processes and even in political parties, hence youth felt and acted like excluded citizens, there by paving the way for clandestine migration. There was also the problem of the existing wide gap between economic growth and demographic growth and the canker worm of corruption in the job sector, thus jeopardizing the future of youth. This has greatly affected the political participation of youth because there was no way for them to exercise civil and political rights without the available social rights or economic resources.²¹¹ The compensation of youth talents did not promote the economic empowerment of youth. It should rather be taped and developed for collective progress. This could create mass employment and boost the gross domestic product of the country and could equally help to develop local technology and prevent brain drain among young people leaving the country.

There should be annual resettlement often thousands youths from the urban centers to the rural areas especially Bui Division accompanied by an investment capital of five millions per youth precisely to boost the agricultural sector which is the back bone of the local economy. This should be followed by the modernization of the rural economy. We could also learn from the Chinese development policy of modernization known as the [four modernization of china] based on agriculture, technology, industrialization and culture launched by Mao Tse-Tung which revolutionarised the Chinese economy²¹². There should equally be the electrification and industrialization of the rural areas to allow the establishment and sustainability of of light industries such as food processing and road infrastructural development which would help in the transportation of farm produce to the market and boost youth's employment.²¹³

ii. Political limitations

The legal framework remains instrumental in youth's participation in politics, decision making and development programs globally and the Bui Division in particular. For instance in Cameroon, the age of participation which is the minimum age which a person can legally

²¹¹G. Yalata, "Challenges and opportunities of Youths in Africa", pp. 80-115

²¹²G. Yalata, "Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa", pp. 539-540.

²¹³K. Yucha "Situation and Prospects of Young People in Rural Areas", pp. 3-9.

qualify to hold certain elected government offices or which determines the age which a person may be eligible to stand for an election or be granted ballot access is 20 for qualified voters, 23 to contest as a parliamentary candidate and 40 as a senatorial candidate and 35 as a presidential candidate. Another good example is Nigeria where a person must be at least 40 years to be elected president or vice president, 35 to be a senator or State governor and 30 to be a representative in parliament. This age of candidacy varied from one country to another and from one historical period to another. It is considered by the entire young generation across the globe and youths from Bui Division in particular including interest groups promoting youth politics as unnecessary discrimination against the youths. This prevented them from exercising their political rights and duties including obligations as citizens of a nation²¹⁴.

Moreover, this did not respect the principle of citizenship which was deeply rooted in democracy based on equality, the fact that young people at 20 were able to vote their leaders into offices and they could not be voted was already a handicapped to the law. This equally outlined or projected an aspect of marginalization where by youth were considered as a less important class of people in the society who could not influence decisions and they were put in positions where they had no power. The fact that the Cameroonian legislature did not protect the political rights of young people was a clear impediment to the political engagement of youths. The Cameroonian legislature reserved 30% for women in parliament following the provisions of the UN charter and nothing for the youths²¹⁵. The age of participation as candidate for senatorial elections in Cameroon is forty years which prevented those below 40 years to be elected into the senate. The elections of mayors and senators through an indirect universal suffrage prevented young people from participating in choosing their rightful leaders, this explains why in Bui Division there was no member of the Upper House of Parliament below 50 years and even some youths leaders or coordinators were in their 40s and 50s in some constituencies. Most of these senators, mayors and parliamentarians were of the working class like the deputy mayor of Mbiame who was Cameroon ambassador to Nigeria, the youth's leader of Mbiame National Youth council who was a trader. This deprived those who were not of the working class to exercise their rights." Youths were suppressed at the grassroots due to unemployment and poverty.²¹⁶

The junior parliamentary group in Cameroon was probably a rubber stamp as compared to the Scottish Youth Council which acted as platform of exchange between youths and their

²¹⁴B. Maning and R. Roberta "Youth and Citizenship", p. 540

²¹⁵Interview with Marcel Dzernjo Wiymanla.

²¹⁶Interview with Issa Mbikar

elected representatives. This was often characterized by questions and answers sessions though youths were being selected from Bui Division to participate in a session in Yaounde such as Mbikar Marcel from Kingomen, they had no mandate. They defended no budget and they could not return home and address challenges faced by Young people in their communities. This was not also effective because they were not elected and they merely met once in a year and had no parliamentary immunity²¹⁷. The age bracket for the members of the lower and upper houses of parliament which ranged between 50 and 90 years made young people believe that politics was an affair of politically experienced men and that they did not count as far as political leadership was concerned. When youths were referred to as leaders of tomorrow, the youths had to work side by side with the older generation to take up leadership, for there is no leader without a successor. This was not the case in Cameroon and Bui Division in particular; the fact that there are six ministries in charge of youth's governance and there is no young minister from 35 downward is already a failure. Following our findings in Bui Division, there was distrust of politics and politicians by majority of the young people. Youth described Cameroon politicians as corrupt, dishonest and who did not fulfill their promises. Hence, there was a dichotomy between political speeches and practical realities. By so doing; they avoided politicians as people who were untrust- worthy. This was due to lack of dialogue between youths and their elected representatives. Young people equally believed that they were targeted by politicians during elections and after elections; they were abandoned to themselves which projected a negative image about politicians and politics and made youths to be skeptical about politics. This created an ever growing gap between the elected and the electors. These young people were not also selected as members of the electoral management body like ELECAM which was only constituted of the older generation. This did not put a smile on the faces of youths aspiring for political leadership. This also prevented them from participating in voting which were their democratic and inalienable political rights.²¹⁸ In addition, there also existed distrust of the electoral process and the institutions among youths from Bui Division thus questioning the credibility of elections and the electoral institutions. Perceptions of problems with the reporting of the election results in Africa and Cameroon in particular had led to skepticism about electoral process and had raised questions of transparency and the independence of electoral institutions. This was raised by the majority of youths in Bui Division including politicians and opinion leaders. These young people were of the opinion that there is an urgent need for an independent National Electoral Commission, thus

²¹⁷Interview with Rene Fanven

²¹⁸Interview with Fonyuy Claud, Councillor, Tatum, December, 2017

discrediting the existing one. They were equally clamouring for good electoral code and electoral laws which would assure credibility, transparency and the fairplay in the electoral processes. The fundamental principles of democracy such as the separation of power between the judiciary, legislative and the executive constituted a major gear in the democratization process, which inspired trust among the electors and the elected or the governors and the governed. The distrust among youth about politics and politicians, retarded the participation of youth in politics in Bui Division.

Furthermore, under-representation of youth in the government and political parties discouraged youth political participation in Bui Division. Youth felt that they were targeted by politicians seeking their votes during elections. However, when elections were over, they were not adequately represented in political parties or in governments. Even if young candidates were elected, they often felt they had no political power and could not influence decision making processes.²¹⁹ Some politicians from Bui Division such as Marcel Drenjo felt that if more young candidates were appointed or elected to meaningful, influential and prominent positions, they would not have a massive turn out at the polls “since politics is a game of numbers, politicians choose candidates who are popular and can mobilize strong support for the party (Marcel Dzernjo)”. Young people do not know how politics affects their lives and they need to be educated (RamanusJaff).²²⁰

Moreover, young candidates who contested elections were also affected by political patronage networks and lack of financial resources. This played to the advantage of well resourced candidates. For instance, to contest elections as a municipal councilor, one needed to register 100,000 FCFA and young people considered the amount to be exorbitant which made them shy away from political leadership. Another good example is when a young person had to contest elections to be a member of parliament. He had several villages under his constituency where he had to conduct his political campaign, if he did not have the available resources; he was already defeated at the grassroots. This was because in order to conduct his political campaign, he had the responsibility to organize rallies, conferences and provided transportation, food and shelter for those who were going to participate. It equally involved his own transportation which he may not be able if he was not a well resourced young man. This explains why mostly the working class was being targeted by politicians in some constituencies in Bui Division like in Mbiame Sub-Division because they had the available resources to

²¹⁹CAMYOSFOP, “Youths Unemployment and Migration in Cameroon”, 3rd February, 200.

²²⁰G. Yalata, Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa, p. 208

influence the electorate.²²⁴ In Cameroon; youth were discouraged from running for elected offices because of the perception that political leadership was reserved for politically experienced men. With this, these young people were deprived of their basic fundamental human rights and freedoms of this country, following the declaration of President Paul Biya in his book called communal liberalism. Our main objective is to build a new society by transforming Cameroonians into citizens who are aware of their rights and obligations and who are determined to assure and assume them fully. They have to become citizens like others and enjoy their basic rights. This can only be achieved in a state governed by law and in system of equal opportunities based on social justice.²²⁵

This means that all Cameroonians were equal before the law and enjoyed equal freedom and opportunities. If we intend to put this in context of Marshall theory on citizenship, all citizens were not equal for there was still age discrimination against the young people to vote or to be voted into offices and the poor according to him who could not exercise their civic and political rights because they had been deprived of their social rights were not considered as citizens. He went further to say that there was no equality with the ever growing gap between the rich and the poor created by the capitalist political economy. This originated from the quest for materialism which had made the society to be stratified into the upper, middle and the lower classes.²²¹ As a result of this stratification of the society following the capitalist model, the upper class that were of the governing class often trampled on the rights of the middle and the lower classes. This had made some young citizens in our contemporary society not to care about governance in our Country.²²² The Head of state equally stated in his youth day message on February 10, 1984 that *“je nai jamais cesse de souligner l’importance toute special du role qui revient a la jeunesse camerounaise dans l’edification de notre jeune nation”*. This means that youths from Bui Division have a great role to play in nation building to foster national development. These youths have not been given their befitting place in the society to enable them contribute sufficiently to Nation building especially in the economic and political organization of the Cameroonian society as demonstrated from the political and economic under representation of youths in Bui Division (see also appendix 2).

In this light, President Paul Biya also stated in his youth day message on February 10, 1986 that *« vous etes l’avenir de notre pays. je compte sur vous...vous pouvez compter*

²²¹P. Tangwing, “Cameroon Opportunities Industrialisation Center”, <http://.org.com>, April 11, 2014, p. 6.

²²²E. Sobseh, *Rethinking Citizenship, Politics and Governance in Cameroon*, p. 25.

surmoi. Le Cameoun du renouveau tient toujours ses promesses ». He said here that youths can count on the state and the state also counts on the youths to achieve it, s goal of development. He had enumerated the previous achievements of the state for the youths such as the construction of primary, secondary and High schools including tertiary institutions and professional schools. This had helped to eradicate illiteracy both as not improved the quality of life of young Cameroonians (see also appendix 3).²²⁸

Moreover, he equally stipulated in his youth day message on February 10, 1991 that « *vous savez bien que la jeunesse Camerounaise demeure une de mes preoccupations majeurs* ». This means that he had young people at heart and he worried about their future. The fact that he sympathized with the youth has not helped to promote youth political and economic participation in inclusive governance in Bui Division (see also appendix 4).²²³ Also, in his youth day message on February 10, 1992, he stated that « *le comportement plus responsable de tous les Camerounais, jeunes ou moins se traduira par une participation massive Lors des prochaines elections legislatives anticipees. C'est le moment ou jamais de faire entendre vos voix et de participer concretement a la vie politique camerounaise* ». Certainly, it is the fundamental civic and political rights of the youths to choose their leaders by taking part in elections. The political role of the youth of Bui Division should not be limited only to electoral participation as the youths had to be equally voted into political offices (see also appendix 5).²²⁴

The gap separating the governors from the governed widened perpetually without hopes of ever converging with far reaching consequences.²²⁵ For instance, in Bui Division, those who were not employed felt that they had no equal rights with those who were employed and that they were equally second class citizens due to the social regard accorded to them. Those who were employed believed that they were more of Cameroonian citizens than others. Those who were given quality education because they came from wealthy background believed they were better citizens than others as well as those who had access to quality health care believed they were better off and were better placed in the society and had more rights than others and the poor felt abandoned to themselves. This posed the problem of social inequalities which were institutionally and socially constructed by man. Some young people in Bui Division such as Hudu Dzelamonyuy, in this regard went further to question non- limitation of the presidential mandate and the freedom of political parties including that of the youths to express their

²²³Maning B. and R. Roberta, 'Youths and Citizenship', pp. 55-99.

²²⁴Interview with Kilian Jai

²²⁵Paul B., "Communal Liberalism", p. 15-20

grievances through street demonstrations which was their constitutional rights.²²⁶ The accumulation of functions by individuals is also one of the limitations of youth's political participation as it created unemployment which was an economic virus which prevented youths from having access to the available resources required for effective political participation.²²⁷

iii. Socio-Cultural limitations

One of the socio-cultural fundamental limitations of youth's participation in politics in Bui Division is education. The education system or policy in the country did not favour the exigencies of the job market. The government was committed to putting a school in every village while she did not always provide enough teachers or funds for construction, as there were not enough government teachers in Bui Division.

The government went further to give free education for primary schools to eradicate illiteracy among young Cameroonians from Bui Division. The era equally saw the multiplication of universities and today we have eight state universities including several professional schools. The creation of so many schools had not helped to solve the problem of youth's unemployment in Bui Division.²²⁸ The people of Bui Division were not generally poor but the problem was the educational system which did not improve quality of life. In Bui Division precisely in Kumbo Central Sub-division, public primary Schools often had 40-60 pupils, secondary classes ranged from 70-180 students despite the fact that education did not improve the quality of life.²²⁹ That explains why Paul Biya in his book titled *Communal Liberalism* stated that: "As regard the academic culture then new policy no longer encourages students to look for jobs after training but to use their qualification to create jobs (page 99)". He stated that he intended to shift the education from mere academic theories which only trained job seekers to technical education which promoted self-reliance. That is to say he did not want to train job seekers rather he intended to train job creators. That means an education system which promotes creativity rather than letter writing.²³⁰ The fact that education was not productive was neither due to the reluctance on the part of parents to pay fees nor of the government funding or of the dedication on the part of students. The real cancer was the educational system which created poverty in Bui Division. This is because after graduation from schools, youths would count on the

²²⁶P. Biya *Communal Liberalism*, p. 20.

²²⁷S. Rogers M., *Citizenship, Borders and Human Needs*, Pennsylvania, University press, 2015, pp. 5-17.

²²⁸ Interview with Issa Mbika

²²⁹ Interview with Marcel Dzemjo

²³⁰ Mcdaily Website, "Education and Unemployment in Bui Division", pp. 3-8.

government for employment and when the goal was not delivered they were bound to be roaming the streets. Some would join the informal sector as the only means of survival. This gave room for increase high crime wave in towns and cities.²³⁶

Furthermore, the biggest problem facing the youths in Bui Division was unemployment, affirmed Cletus the Divisional Delegate for the Ministry of Youth Affairs. In this light, unemployment was not a product of inadequate education, most of the unemployed youths had completed secondary education, and including degree holders. The problem was the disconnection between the educational curriculum and the needs of the local economy. In Bui Division, the economy was primarily based on agriculture and there was little need for office workers. The students who graduated from schools could not make something out of the available resources in their environment because the education did not train them to fit in the society. The system did not train job creators, it rather trained job seekers, and hence it did not promote selfemployment²³¹.

Moreover, the local government officials blamed pervasive unemployment on the economic crisis of the 1980s, but the true problem felt in the same basket because the school curriculum at the time was not relevant to the local needs. The local economy would have been diversified to water down the crisis²³². The curriculum in use was identical to the one designed by the Germans and the British colonial authorities. The colonial administrators even noted that the system was not productive, for instance German colonial authorities made repeated recommendations for school instructions in local languages rather than in German. In 1925, the British advisory committee on native education in Africa recommended studies in indigenous languages, technical and vocational training. In general terms education adapted to the needs of the population. According to John Mukum Mbaku, Professor at the University of Texas in USA Cameroonians in the struggle for independence vowed to bring school curricular in line with local needs, aspirations and interest” and sixty years after independence, nothing had changed. The youth of Bui Division after their secondary education went for further education in urban universities. After graduation, some sought for full sponsored scholarship at schools in North America and Europe. This was only successful with few bright students which led to the draining of human capital and to the disadvantage of the masses. This inequality demonstrated how the school system created unemployment in Bui Division. The system was highly successful in training students to desire office work. However, graduates shun

²³¹Interview with Yula Fonyuy, Councillor, Njaro, December, 2017

²³²Interview with Rene Fanven

Cameroon's rural economy because their educational system trained them for a western urban economy. This shows how the school system created poverty among youths in Bui Division²³³.

The first schools were opened by European Christian Missionaries. According to the Cameroonian Jacob Fonyuy, the process was initiated by Jamaican Baptist Christians, who felt that "something ought to be done to emancipate Africa from its illiteracy and ignorance". A renowned German mission educator, Gustav Warneck also said that "it is impossible to Christianise a people without schools". Cultural conversion was a prime goal of Cameroon's educational system and on the eve of independence 95% of schools were still run by European Christian missionaries. That is why all mission schools beside their Christian missions became institutes for the propagation of German language.²³⁴ Some years later a renowned German Africanist, Martin Schlunk sought to justify the use of indigenous languages in schools on the grounds that "it is possible to give the natives the feelings of patriotism towards the fatherland without teaching of the German language".²³⁵

The prime educational goal was orientating youths towards Europe leading to brain-drain and the loss of labour force in Cameroon and Bui Division in particular. However, hopes for change upon independence had gone unfulfilled. In his 1986 work of political theory Cameroonian President Paul Biya wrote that "from mere anonymous element in a shapeless and passive mass, Cameroonians have to be upgraded to be mature and responsible individuals. He talked of African solutions to African problems yet remained attached to the European models."²³⁶

Following the 1885 Berlin Conference, a group of African educators asserted that only when education is relevant to the needs of the local people "will the schools educate useful members of the society and only then will the schools be able to prevent the problem of rural urban migration among educated youths". Yet from its inception, the education system in Cameroon was designed to inculcate students with European values for over a century. The educational system had given birth to a host of crippling weaknesses such as instruction in foreign languages, teaching irrelevant to rural life and high fees. The institution which was expected to bring immeasurable benefits to the society instead created poverty.²³⁷

However, an exemplary educational system which was compatible with the rural setting

²³³McDaily Website, Education and Unemployment in Bui Division, p. 10-25

²³⁴Ibid, pp. 27-35

²³⁵K. Gorenmusondu, "Enhancing Youth Political Participation for Africa's Development", p. 2.

²³⁶p. Biya, *Communal Liberalism*, pp. 6-15.

²³⁷Interview with Kilian Sendze Jai, SDF District Chairman, Nkar, December 18, 2017, at 4: pm

was the vocational training education especially the school runs by Madam Elisabeth in Kumbo central subdivision. This school trained hairdressers, barbers, shoe makers, traditional and modern dress makers with the hope of expanding it to carpentry and computer training. There were future plans to supplement class room lessons in English and arithmetic with extensive training in agriculture. Moreover, Cletus was equally administering two ministries of youth affairs programs, training youths in agriculture and trade. This was a good initiative worth promoting because it fitted the reality of the local economy.

The mere existence of a school system did not guarantee any benefits to the youths or to the society, but what matters was what came out of it. An education system could exist to teach skills that give lives to the youths and their communities rather than the one which impoverished young people thus depriving them of their political and civil rights due to the non existence of social rights which guaranteed their economic independence. The current system teaches young people to be dépendent on the society rather than the society depending on them.

One of the limitations of youth's political participation in Bui Division was the citizenship model in Cameroon which did not enable young people to be effectively involved in political processes and decision making. The fact that the system did not yet have trained teachers and was not yet a compulsory academic discipline was already a crippled project in the beginning. The non respect of the principle of equality which defined the fundamental existence of citizenship deprived youths from engaging in politics. The question of marginalization of young people in connection with age discrimination remained fundamental in their desire to get involved in the political life in Bui Division. The Citizenship Education despite the numerous sub regional and ethnic nationalism, did not grant priority to peace education to complement the existing citizenship education. The superficial nature of the current academic programs on citizenship did not train citizens or youths to master the states institutions and how they functioned and the system merely emphasized the rights and duties of citizens without detail orientation on how to get those rights and utilize them.²³⁸ The fact that the system was handled separately in the two educational systems did not sufficiently orientate youths towards a sense of belonging coupled with the various social mal- practices such as corruption, favouritism, ethnic negativity, including the evolution of the constitutional changes of the Country and the questionable conduct of the election had equally marred the application of citizenship in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular.²³⁸

²³⁸W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and politics in Cameroon", p. 42.

Another pertinent fact which retarded youth's participation in politics in Bui Division in particular was ethnic division.²⁴⁴ The waves of democratic action in Cameroon in the 1990s rather witnessed an increase in the visibility of ethnic politics among youths in Cameroon and Bui Division in particular. The ruling CPDM party was rightly or wrongly considered as a party predominantly for the center, south and east provinces. The Social Democratic Front (SDF) as a party for the North West, South West, Littoral and the West Regions. The National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP) as party for Adamoua, North and the Far north region. The Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU), was party for the Noun Division and Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) as party for the Bassa. Following this division, national unity and loyalty were fragmented a long party or ethnic lines among youth. The Southern Cameroons youths league also surfaced which saw nothing good in the system and had created sub nationalist sentiments in Bui Division with the goal of fighting for the independence of Southern Cameroons in synergy with the SCNC.²³⁹

This had equally led to the struggle among elite seeking to defend their interests in the distribution of state power and resources. It obliged elite who were long accustomed to rule without popular mandate and the advent of opinion or political leaders with selfish agendas who exploited these youth for selfish aims. This division of the country along ethnic lines had helped to retard economic growth, the intensification of ethnic negativity visible in the public administration and private sector as well as the development of ethnic conflicts like the Nso-Oku Land dispute and Nso-Noni conflict. The political parties which emerged in the post 1990s were deeply rooted in tribal links which instead shattered the wind of democratic change and the multiplication of political parties along ethnic lines questioned the foundation of our desire to build a common nation. This equally questioned the credibility of the foundation of nation building in Cameroon.²⁴⁰

In addition, this had been responsible for the multiple ethnic conflicts in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular and the multiplication of youths associations based on ethnic lines like the Nso Student Union (NSU). This greatly influenced the political participation of youths and the exercise of their citizenship rights as votes were being cast in favour of parties which had ethnic affiliations such as linguistic, historical and cultural links. The problem of ethnic division along party lines was lessened in Bui by the existence of merely two political parties in the area. The CPDM and the SDF were the main political parties which

²³⁹ W. Dze-Ngwa, *Peace and Citizenship Education*, pp. 15-30.

²⁴⁰ G. Amy, *Identity in Democracy*, pp. 50-95.

had been dominating in Bui Division since the 1990s.

The existence of the two parties in Bui Division mostly divided families and created hatred among youths from this part of the country where one could find youth insulting each other in the streets because of party differences. It had equally brought in favouritism and nepotism among youths as supporters of the party and non sympathisers of the party concerning job distribution. Collective interest had been dragged in the mud to the advantage of family interest which destroyed the culture of meritocracy and equality which were deeply rooted in citizenship.²⁴¹

The university students had often been victims of repression following students' unrests between 1973 and the 1990 in the University of Yaounde1. This made youths to feel that they were not part of the society and adopted a luke-warm attitude towards the management of the political affairs of the Country. Moreover, this had retarded their political participation because they felt that they had no voice to present their grievances to their leaders which was often challenged by police brutality thus leading to unrest. Academic problems should instead be handled by academic experts and not soldiers who did not understand any diplomatic language a part from argument of force. For instance, the years 1973, 1980 and 1991 saw the youth's unrest in the University of Yaounde1.

During this period, in 1973, the students went on strike against the government criteria in distributing scholarship awards. This situation witnessed the dispatched of gendarmes to the campus to prevent any destruction of property and the situation was contained but the problem remained unsolved, this provoked another youths protest in 1980 during which students demanded scholarships for all the students as well as the disparities in scholarship awards to students in the same class. This was abolished by Ahidjo. He equally instituted a system where by a student above 25 years was not supposed to be admitted into the university which deprived this class of young people from their rights to education. We could not talk of equality when others were prevented from their educational rights due to age.²⁴²

Moreover, some young people considered religion as a major set back to the participation of youths in political and decision making processes, mean while others did not buy the ideology. This is because politicians were presented as dishonest and unreliable class of people whose political speeches were incompatible with the practical realities. Political

²⁴¹G. Feliks Citizenship and Ethnicity: The Growth and Development of a Democratic Multiethnic Institution, London, Green Wood Press, 1999, pp. 11-21

²⁴²Ngoh V.J., A Hundred Years of History, pp 45-60

institutions were regarded to be corrupt and incredible. This was coupled with the fact that youth and religious groupings considered politics as sect constituted of immoral personalities who did not believe in any God than personality cult and money worship. They were equally regarded by youth as praise singers who owed them no accountability. All these practices were considered immoral and against moral and divine principles which painted politicians negatively before the youths who very much cherished to abide by their religious teachings. This made politics to appear as a mystery for young people in Bui Division. This is because we needed the youth to effect the desired change in the democratization process by creating new awareness, ideas, technology, opportunities, policies, systems and cultures which foster development. This enabled us to examine circumstances surrounding youth political participation in Bui Division while projecting perspectives which could help remedy the situation.²⁴³

B. Perspectives

i. Political perspectives

Politically, the African Charter on Democracy, Governance and the elections and the African Youth Charter as well as agenda 2063 remain the primary legal frameworks to ensure the constructive involvement of youths and their effective participation in decision making processes in the development agenda and its emergence. Knowledge and experience sharing among countries of the developing world on the role of youth in governance and employment creation is an important tool which could assist in managing issues related to youth governance. There is great necessity for comparative experience in terms of best practices, challenges and prospects among African states especially successful states. In this regard, Cameroon government should accelerate the signing, ratification and the implementation of the African Charter on Democracy, Governance and elections and the African Youth Charter.²⁴⁴ In addition, African governments in general and Cameroon government in particular should increase youth participation in governance at the local and national level structures such as the parliament, councils and government through constitutional amendments. There should be inter-governmental leadership dialogue with a view to ensuring that young people take over leadership of each African country.²⁴⁵ Youth leadership needs to create a new culture of national and regional solidarity in which the drive towards African citizenship devoid of the divisiveness of

²⁴³D.MCGILL Website, "Education and Unemployment in Bui Division", Failures@mcgilldaily.com

²⁴⁴Interview with Isaac Banla, , teacher, Bambili, November 2017.

²⁴⁵G. Yalata, *Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa*, p. 135

ethnicity, religion, race, colour and sectarianism were emphasized.

However, civic and voter education programs also increase young people's commitment to democratic values and principles of their interest in political affairs and awareness of opportunities to engage and their knowledge of how elections work in practice. The election managing body may work with ministries and education authorities to develop a school curricula and materials on democracy and elections. By so doing, the electoral management body helps to build the foundation for responsible, participatory and engaged citizenship and awareness of citizen-state relations, roles and responsibilities. The voter education activities can address young people motivation and preparedness to participate constructively in elections. This may involve working with civil society organizations and political parties including their youth wings to organize seminars and voters education campaigns. In Ghana, for example, the electoral management body had worked closely with political parties, religious leaders and youth focused civil society organizations to provide workshops and seminars on the steps required to take part in elections and in elections regulation.²⁴⁶

Furthermore, The National Civic Agency can help political parties and young candidates to enhance generational representation by offering training to young contestants. Providing young contestants with knowledge of the electoral environment and the legal framework governing elections may help them run effectively. In Ghana for example, the National Commission for Civic Education organized training for young candidates in the pre-election phase to clarify elected parliamentarians on legal mandates roles and responsibilities.²⁴⁷

In addition, the electoral management body should also engage with political parties to lower intra-party barriers which prevent youths from taking elected positions. Such works could go beyond promoting non discrimination in party codes of conduct. For instance, parties should reserve a certain percentage for youths on list of candidates submitted to registration authorities. In situations where there existed inter-party dialogue platforms; it will facilitate agreement among political parties on such issues. There should also be a legislative framework on the reservation of quotas for youths at the local, national and international level which should be respected and implemented at the party level. For instance, at least 30 percent should reserve for youth in parliament and this be respected at the party level.²⁴⁸

In this light, the youth's constituency in Bui Division was too large to remain on the

²⁴⁶B. Sydney, *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: Youth Participation in Electoral Process, New Roles for African Electoral Management Bodies*, Nov 2015, pp. 4-19, <http://www/idea/Int>.

²⁴⁷Ibid, p. 215

²⁴⁸Ibid, pp. 33-40.

margins of democratic process. Cameroonian political parties must engage in multi-dimensional programs and start thinking more creatively about how to bring youths on board. Specifically, they needed to take a proactive approach to engaging youths as voters, electoral candidates and electoral managers'. They needed to engage effectively with key partners on youth's related issues such as civil society organizations and youth's movements. Also, the age limits should be revised for young people to take part in elections at all levels.²⁴⁹

Furthermore, political parties remained a significant barrier to youth's participation in decision making structures through their control over the submission of lists of electoral candidates. They should therefore consider facilitating inter-party dialogue to foster broader agreements on the need for the advancement of youths as election contestants. For example they should agree on the common percentage to be allocated for youths at the party levels during elections.²⁵⁰

Moreover, by working with youths led or youths focused civil society groups, political parties may likely achieve their goals when it comes to promoting youths as voters. Political parties also need to examine their own internal structures and policies to promote youth's participation in the management of the electoral process. The age of candidates should also be aligned with voting age to enable youths contest elections. One way to encourage the participation of young people in governance in Bui Division is to carry out vast civic education on the rights, responsibilities, and the electoral power possessed by the youths. Knowledge from this will form a starting point in addressing the problem of poor participation of the youths in political leadership. The youths should also realize their numerical strength to influence government policies and political leadership in Cameroon.²⁵¹

Although progress has been made, young people living in rural areas in Bui Division still encountered many difficulties especially as a result of urbanization and rural decline. This is particularly true of Bui Division which was experiencing greater imbalances owing to the vast socio-economic changes in the contemporary world. There was need to give young people and their representative organizations a greater say at both local and national levels in the preparation of youths on rural and urban sustainable development policies that concern young people.²⁵²

²⁴⁹Sydney International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, pp. 15-25

²⁵⁰G. Yalata, *Challenges and opportunities of Youths in Africa*, pp. 115-225

²⁵¹Interview with Issa Mbikar, SDF District Chairman Bui, 20 October 2017

²⁵²K. Yucha, "Situation and Prospects of Young People in Rural Areas", pp. 1-10

ii. Economic perspectives

Economically, the Cameroon government should adopt and promote youth employment schemes including education system and curricula reforms to ensure that youths are trained with basic skills in business and resources to minimize their economic marginalization and to build a peaceful and democratic society.²⁵³

Also, the Cameroon government should increase the unleashing of youths development potentials through the creation of greater economic opportunities, incentives, rewarding and promoting youths invention and innovations in the economic sector. The involvement of the private sector in the youth's employment strategies is critical in this regard as the private sector has the resources, expertise and capacity to generate wealth and create employment opportunities. Government should cooperate with the private sector to provide high quality technical education at both secondary and tertiary levels.²⁵⁴

The government also needs to ensure the expansion of social and economic infrastructures necessary for anticipating the rise in youthful population in Cameroon. This should include quality and affordable skills based education, health care services, recreation facilities and promoting labour market information. Labour market information is a key factor for better youth employment programmes. Once information gaps are identified and filled, all stake holders, the government partners, civil society and the private sector should come together at national and regional levels for consultations that critically address the problem of youth unemployment through the formulation of youths employment strategies.²⁵⁵

The economic growth level in Cameroon though not commendable had proven that there is a greater need for the economy to be made inclusive and empowering for young people through better planning, coordination and progressive economic policies. Cameroonian youths need to tirelessly and continuously organize for political change in the country through the power of ideas and activism. They need to develop strong ingenuity especially in the sphere of economic entrepreneurship aimed at creating not only independent economic bases but creating wealth for Cameroon. Modern technology social network facilities are good for social and political mobilization but they cannot replace active and practical engagement in the political process in Cameroon. These tools must be adapted for concrete political engagement.²⁵⁶

The problems encountered by young farmers and youths living in Bui Division mainly

²⁵³Interview with John Bosco m. SDF District Chairman Kumbo, November 2017

²⁵⁴G. Yalata, *Challenges and opportunities of Youths in Africa*, p. 275

²⁵⁵Ibid, pp 125-145

²⁵⁶B. Sydney, *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, pp. 1-15.

concerned financial, fiscal and legal difficulties in setting up business and finding appropriate and adequate training as well as high unemployment and the lack of alternative jobs. Also the traditional shortcomings of rural areas as regards infrastructures and services not to mention the often negative image of farming and lower standard of living.²⁶² There is an urgent need to change this state of affairs; if not living conditions will become even more difficult for rural population especially youths.

The Cameroon government should take the first steps in promoting youth's talents by being the biggest contractor for youths. By implementing policies and rules that dictate that they should use companies primarily owned by youths in certain projects, they will promote their innovations and provide them with a platform to contribute meaningfully to the economic development of the country. For example, government uses a big client when it comes to office works. Actions such as procuring artwork for all government offices from young artisans and furnitures should be locally made rather than imported, design of government offices done by young domestic designers and entertainment at all state functions provided by the young artists. Cameroon government needs to have tougher negotiations in signing economic international agreements and even take on board young people as negotiators. For example, putting in place employment quotas—requiring that these contractors hire a certain percentage of nationals and also that a significant percentage of materials must come from Cameroon. This will help create employment for young people since the youths count over 80% of the unemployed, this will directly benefit them.²⁵⁷

In another dimension, painters, sculptors, carvers, weavers and welders in Africa are trained and self employed. Most end up in the profession by default without institutions that provide training in these areas and many are stagnate in their skills and cannot develop. Furthermore, several more youths who would have been interested in this field are discouraged by the lack of formal institutions to learn these trades. By investing in training institutions for these arts will help build capacity for such talents and will decongest the urban centers. National incubators will also thrive if found better as the quality of production will improve and thus promote the media and performance industry in Cameroon.²⁵⁸ The government should improve the investment climate by reducing taxes. It is better to have more investors paying less taxes than few investors paying higher taxes. The government should design training programs as incubators for youth projects. Training young people is one of the most widely used strategies to advance youth political participation. This has value but may not bring about the desired

²⁵⁷K. Yucha, "Situation and prospects of Young People in Rural Areas", pp. 1-8

²⁵⁸G. Yalata, *Challenges and opportunities of Youths in Africa*, p. 25

change if it does not go beyond individual level and include the development of organizations.²⁵⁹

iii. Socio-cultural perspectives

Socio-culturally, the education curriculum in Cameroon should be revised to also include trainings that would develop a work force that can solve problems from the Cameroon perspective. This therefore calls for reforms in the curriculum to teach about challenges faced in the Cameroon context and how best to have locally developed talents to solve these challenges. In order to ensure that modern form of education does not marginalize especially the rural youth, government need to include traditional education in the formal curriculum. This will ensure a holistic approach to education that is customized to solve challenges that are unique to the Cameroonian set up. It is not enough that certain countries such as Kenya have adopted free education policies same like Cameroon where primary education is free. These states need to go a step further and ensure that the citizens maximize on this affordable opportunity by setting down strict laws that will compel individuals to access such education. Also, the government should harmonise the programs for peace and citizenship education in the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems of education in order that the subject should be treated with the same degree of seriousness throughout the national territory.²⁶⁰

More over, the solution to tribalism in Cameroon is for the government to adopt laws, policies and programs that will ensure the redistribution of resources and opportunities such as employment, education, infrastructure and access to health among others. This should be done in views to ensure equitable access to resources across generations and within different regions. The effects of these will be that rural and urban youths are on equal footing thereby reducing any need for unfair advantage in accessing the resources.²⁶¹ The decentralisation of power will also ensure marginalized population have a big hand in their own governance. A federal form of government can also be adopted in order for the Cameroonian government to grant the people the power to govern themselves thereby addressing problems of development and tribalism. The Cameroon should also adopt strict laws on non discrimination and promote affirmative or positive action to ensure the participation of less favoured groups in government and resource distribution.²⁶²

²⁵⁹Ibid, pp 30-55

²⁶⁰O. E. Ngwa, *Paul Biya et la Jeunesse*, pp. 25-36

²⁶¹G. Yalata, *Challenges and Opportunities of Youths in Africa*, p. 155

²⁶²Ibid, p. 185

In order to become engaged in politics in the most effective ways, young people can learn about political systems, political actions and political issues and other political realities within and around the political systems. They can also conduct action learning oriented activities that allow them to gain credit for their involvement. Training young people to change the world through politics means teaching them the skills they need to become involved. These include communication, problem solving, change management, team spirit, and community development and conflict resolution skills. It also means participating in knowledge sharing activities designed to build their capacity for powerful engagement. This could also pave the way for sustainable peace and development and also eliminate the barriers of youth political participation in Bui Division.²⁶³

The ability of young citizens to hold their elected representatives accountable is a fundamental characteristic of a democratic society. Accountability should not be limited only to election day. Before and after elections; the elected representatives should be responsive to citizen's demands. Avenues for communication and advocacy have to be opened to young parliamentarians and government officials should develop the capacity of questions from youths and media which will help imbibe the values of transparency, accountability and responsibility in politics and foster inclusive participation.²⁶⁴

Considering aligning the minimum voting age with the minimum age of eligibility to run for office, there is strong argument to be made that youth should have the right to choose their leaders and also to run for office. The Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) has recommended that parliaments align the voting age with the minimum age of eligibility to run for office in order to ensure greater representation of youth in parliaments. Considering the introduction of youth quotas in electoral laws, one hundred and eight countries had constitutional, electoral or political party quotas for women. This has been instrumental in enhancing women political representation. With due attention to the electoral system, quotas for youth in parliaments and local councils including international organisations could be one way to increase youth representation. In Cameroon, candidates have to finance a large part of their campaigns giving those with wealth a significant advantage. It is often a huge challenge for young candidates to mobilize funds. Registration fees should equally be reduced for young contestants to run for office.²⁶⁵

A proportional voting system may also be more favourable for youth political

²⁶³Ibid, p. 215

²⁶⁴IDEA, "Youth Participation in Electoral processes", pp. 1-3

²⁶⁵Ibid, pp 5-16

participation since they faced the same patriarchal norms as women. In a majoritarian system, if political parties suspect a prevalence of these norms in society, they might be more inclined to nominate men above 35 years old because they expect them to have a greater chance to win constituencies. In this system, political parties might be more willing to nominate a representative team including women and youth. This could attract additional votes from different demographic groups without turning away Conservative votes.²⁶⁶ The government should support youth led community development and voluntary organizations that engage youth in civic life in Cameroon. They make tremendous contributions to their communities every day which is a first step in career and political engagement. This will help youth develop multiple leadership skills including team work, public speaking, communication, decision-making and time management.

Conclusion

The role of youth participation was very crucial for effective democratic governance. Youth are citizens too but their participation in politics was often thought to be good idea but not widely practiced and understood. Several arguments had been advanced to back the importance of youth involvement.²⁶⁷ They may benefit from participation in governance process identified under the concept of civic engagement and positive youth development. These benefits include feelings of empowerment, competence and connection. They gained information about their options and rights, develop decision making skills and understanding of decision-making processes. It may also enhance youth interest and propensity to engage in community service, political actions or other forms of public engagement.²⁶⁸ Youth can also provide relevant information that leads to better-informed decision making particularly in regards to youth policies. They had the right to engage in the decision which affected their lives. There was widespread consensus that avenues should be created for young people to have input in community decisions.²⁶⁹ Yet there remained limited information about the strategy for doing so. Moreover, in Bui Division, youth had been and are still facing difficulties in engaging in the political and decision-making processes. These limitations ranged from political, economic and socio-cultural. Though efforts had been made to solve some of the issues; there is still a lot to do as far as the youth political engagement is

²⁶⁶Ibid, pp.3-4.

²⁶⁷V.G. Ranford "Youth in Parliament and Youth Representation in Ghana", p. 1.

²⁶⁸IDEA, "Youth participation in Electoral Process", pp. 1-5.

²⁶⁹M. Ben and R. Roberta 'Youth and Citizenship', pp. 34-37.

concerned. The aforementioned perspectives if well adopted and implemented can help young people in Bui Division to effect the desired democratic change in Cameroon and also improve on the local economic development, hence having the available resources at their disposal to exert their civil and political rights for effective political participation and representation.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰K. Yucha “Situation and Prospects of Young People in Rural Areas”, pp. 1-4

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In the final analyses, it was a question for us to examine the degree of participation of youths in politics in Bui Division in the North West Region of Cameroon from 1966 which marked the end of multi-party politics and the creation of a single unified national party called the CNU which metamorphosed into CPDM in 1985 to 1990 which marked the birth of competitive politics and the advent of international liberty laws and democratic rights and freedoms. Following our findings, we have discovered that the colonial period was marked by active political participation of young people. This was also followed by their participation in community development programs and cultural emancipation of the youths including the protection and defense of the territorial sovereignty and independence of their territories during the colonial era.²⁷¹ During the colonial era, they fought ceaselessly to defend their political right to self determination as stipulated in Article 76 of the International Trusteeship Agreement of the United Nations Organization.²⁷²

Moreover, history has reminded us that the Germans were the brain behind the introduction of modern politics in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular. This was done through the creation of modern academic institutions and the establishment of modern administrative institutions and the advisory councils. These administrative units were run by governors assisted by the advisory councils.²⁷³ This was succeeded by the British who introduced competitive politics by encouraging the creation of youths political movements such as the NYM, CYL and CNF which culminated in the creation of political parties such as the KNC in 1953, KNDP in 1955 including OK and CPNC which fought for the independence and reunification of Cameroon. The British administrative units were run by British High Commissioners assisted by Native Authorities.²⁷⁴

During the colonial era, the youth from Bui Division equally played tremendous role in the political evolution of the territory. One could talk of Vincent .T. Lainjo from Bui Division who was a member of parliament for Southern Cameroons in the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly in Nigeria. He was also Minister of Youth affairs in Nigeria from 1958 to 1959 at 48 years. One could also talk of Sylvester Kilo from Bui Division who was the Inspector of Co-operatives in Southern Cameroons in 1955 at 23 years. He equally represented Cameroon in

²⁷¹N. Joseph, *Intercommunity Relations and Politics of Identity in the Nso Chieftdom*, pp. 15-25.

²⁷²W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and politics in Cameroon", pp. 8-12

²⁷³H. Ndifon, "Oku Fondom in the Politics of Bui Division", pp. 3-12

²⁷⁴P. M. Kale, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, pp. 8-20

Denmark on the occasion of an international business forum and was also the Section President of the CNU party for Bui for 11 years. There was equally a man of exceptional wisdom and intelligence Bernard Nsokika Fonlon who played an active role in the Cameroon reunification and later translated the Cameroon National Anthem from French to English while occupying several Ministerial posts in the country.²⁷⁵

Due to the fact that these youths saw their interest threatened in Nigeria made them hasten nationalism in Southern Cameroons. This was balanced after the Eastern Regional crisis in the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly which gave the territory a quasi Regional autonomy with a legislative Assembly and the first government created in 1957 after the 1957 elections won by Endeley against Foncha.²⁷⁶

To better appreciate the work, we have partitioned the work into four chapters with chapter one focusing on the geographical and historical presentation of the area of study. The second chapter examined the political representation and the participation of youth in Bui division mean while chapter three focused on the impact of this participation on nation building and chapter four treats the limitations of this participation and the perspectives. This work advances the argument that Youth from Bui Division have played an active role in politics during the colonial era but their participation witnessed a decline during the post colonial era.

To better understand this, we have conducted comparative analyses ranging from global youth politics to national youth politics and youth politics in Bui Division in particular. Results have proven that youths were politically under-represented in global politics in general and politics in Bui Division in particular. This under-representation had awakened the international organizations such as IPU, UNDP, UNO and AU to promote the inclusion of youth in local, national and international governance with the goal of achieving sustainable peace and development. We have demonstrated this by looking at the various areas of youth's political representation such as the parliaments, government, local councils and political parties without living out areas of youth's political participation such as elections, citizenship building, youth's policy and international legal framework.

Concerning the representation of youth in politics in Bui Division, we have recorded low representation of youth in politics at the level of the government, political parties, parliament and the local councils. Though at the level of the local councils, out of a hundred and one councillors who constituted the executive team in the three councils out of six where we conducted our survey in Bui Division there were only ten young councillors below 35 years with

²⁷⁵McDaily Website, "Education and Unemployment in Bui Division", pp. 1-6.

²⁷⁶V. J. Ngoh *A hundred Years of History*, pp. 45-85.

Kumbo council having four, Mbiame three and Jakiri three.²⁸¹ Though few cases have been recorded in history such as Bernard Fonlon who became a private secretary to Foncha in 1961 at 37 years and he later occupied certain Ministerial and political posts in the country in his 40s such as the Ministry of Youths and SportS and the President of the Federal House of Assembly. This was considered as a historical accident because as time went on, youth's political representation gradually declined and politics became a space for politically experienced men and partisan politics gained ground.

At the level of the party, the youth wing political movements such as the YCNU, YCPDM and the Socialist Youth were created to recognize the political importance of the youths in national life. This was to make youths feel that they were part of the political organization of the society meanwhile practically; these movements were rubber stamps as they constituted only the auxiliary organs of the main party parties. These youth political movements could not influence national policies to include youth in their programs. They could not also contest elections to become national presidents of the party, vice presidents and secretaries. They were mainly dormant political actors whose voices could only count at the level of the polls and could not exceed the ballot box.²⁷⁷

Internationally, we have recorded exceptional cases of youth's political leadership in history such as the American presidents in the name of Bill Clinton and John Kennedy who became presidents at 42 and 43 years respectively and today we have Emmanuel Macron who became the French president at 39 years.²⁸³ Nationally, Ahidjo became the President of Cameroon at 36 years.

As far as parliamentary representation is concerned, the head of state in 1998 created the youth parliamentary group to recognize the place of youth in national politics. Though it was a rubber stamp because it did not have the powers to influence policy makers to enact good policies in favour of youths and it could not also control government actions. Following the universal declaration of Human Rights, 30% of quarters are reserved for women during legislative elections in Cameroon and nothing for the youth.²⁷⁸

The electoral participation of youth in global politics in general and Bui division in particular as well as the civic engagement has persistently experienced a decline. The youth have been very much interested in informal politics and entertainment such as street protest, demonstrations alongside political parties pressing for more socio-political reforms and the cultural evenings. The quality of citizenship education had been very low to get the youth

²⁷⁷Interview with John Bosco Mbikar

²⁷⁸W. Dze-Ngwa, "Youth and Politics in Cameroon", pp. 8-25

engaged in effective political participation as it had been hand led separately in the English and the French educational systems but not with the same degree of seriousness. This civic education had not been also adequately.²⁷⁹ Taught to enable youths acquire the desired knowledge for effective political participation.

Concerning youth policy, it has evolved separately in the two systems. Under the British, the youth policy was controlled by the Ministry of Youth Affairs and the Secretariat under the French. The youth day was equally instituted in 1966 to enable youth participate in national life and youth governance was under the Ministry of Youth and Sports until 2004 which marked the creation of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education and the Ministry of Youth and Vocational Training and every government project for the youth had been executed through these Ministries though they did not yield the desired fruits. We can also talk of Youth Policies in 2006 and National Youth Council in 2009 acting as representative platform for the Cameroonian youth with the head quarters in every region, division and sub-division. Though it is considered as a political institution, it orientates youth on political issues and civic responsibilities. The ruling party had been accused of using this institution as a machinery to protect its political interest.²⁸⁰ Concerning the international framework on youth's governance we have had international organizations promoting youth governance such as the IPU, AU, UNO, UNDP 4 YOUTHS and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation operating in over one hundred countries around the world including Cameroon though not represented in Buidivision.

Moreover, the participation of youth in global politics in general and Bui Division in particular was determined by the legal framework from international to national level. This legal framework varied from the voting age to the age of eligibility to vote and be voted into office and the implementation of international and national documents on youth governance. This age of eligibility varied from one country to another following the stakes and the interest of that particular country and the kind of political system in that country for instance, in Cameroon you must have at least 35 years to run for the office of the president, 23 years as member of parliament and 40 years as a member of the senate.²⁸¹

The political marginalisation had recorded serious democratic and citizenship deficit around the world and Bui Division in particular. This was due to inadequate educational programs on citizenship and programs offered are unappealing to the youth and superficial. As concerns positive impacts, the youths had become very active in the civil society organizations

²⁷⁹AFP. "Young Leaders around the World", pp. 2-5

²⁸⁰Interview with Marcel Dzernjo Wiymanla.

²⁸¹Dze-Ngwa Youth and Politics in Cameroon, pp. 15-42

than political organisations. They were also peacebuilders by engaging in civil society organizations and youth led organizations promoting peace and citizenship engagement such as SHUMAS and CAMYOSFOP and youths serving in the military to defend the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the nation and to maintain peace, order and security. These youth serving in the military were often victims of violence during political instability and aggression. The violence suffered by the youth was often structural violence which stemmed from political, economic and socio-cultural organisation of the society.²⁸² As regards negative impacts of youth political participation, youth were projected in global politics in general and Bui Division in particular as perpetrators of violence. This had masked the unexplored power and potentials of youth as peacebuilders and promoters of citizenship. This led to the mass movement of youth from rural areas especially from Bui Division to the urban centers and the clandestine migration thus leading to economic slavery among youths especially in countries like Libya, Kuwait and Yemen. The future of African youth in general and youth of Bui Division in particular was at stake if current youth policies are not enhanced.

In addition, the low political representation and participation of youth in global politics in general and Bui Division in particular had been orchestrated by a certain number of limitations ranging from economic to political and socio-cultural. In the domain of economics, unemployment appeared to be one of the most disturbing factors which hindered youth's political participation in Bui Division. This is because youth who were not employed did not have the required resources to exercise their political and civil rights. They equally had to pay registration fees and finance their political campaign which gave significant advantage to the well resourced candidates who were often of the older generation.²⁸³

There was equally the phenomenon of rural exodus in Bui division which had led to the dissipation of rural areas in favour of city centers in search for job opportunities. Since the local economy is mostly agriculturally-based and agriculture did not provide enough job opportunities thus leading to rural exodus hindering the political participation of youths and their contribution to community development due to inadequate availability of human resources. The problem of unemployment had tremendously contributed to the phenomenon of clandestine migration and emigration whereby thousands of youth expressed their desire of leaving the country in order to seek for greener pastures in Europe and America. They did not believe in domestic employment opportunities which they claimed were non-existent. The problem of employment was equally critical as thousands of employed youths suffered from

²⁸²Churchill Ewumbu M. *Youth and Nation Building in...*, p. 1

²⁸³G. Yalata, *Challenges and opportunities of Youth in Africa*, p. 105.

indecent or low income earning jobs to meet up with their needs. There was equally the problem of limited capital to setup an enterprise and the fiscal policies did not encourage youth's enterprises to develop.²⁸⁴

In the domain of Politics, the legal framework remained instrumental in the participation of youth in politics in general and Bui Division in particular. This is because youth were politically discriminated in terms of age regarding their eligibility to vote and be voted into office. The fact that people below the ages of 20 could not exercise their voting rights and one must attain 23 years before contesting elections into Parliament, 35 years as President and 40 years as senator was already a handicap to youth's political participation. There was also a greater necessity for youths led organisations, international organisations promoting youth's politics and national legislators to press for more political reforms on the part of youth leadership as a stepping stone towards the involvement of youth in decision-making processes. This is because without these reforms, the dream of youth's leadership and inclusive governance remain a nightmare. It is equally necessary for state authorities, politicians and civil society organizations to cease considering youth as vectors of violence and as problems in the society or as liabilities. Youth should be considered as powerful actors of positive change in the society and also as political and development partners. This is because youth's leadership remained critical in nation building as they have a good mastery of modern techniques of communication and technology which play a central role in international politics today.²⁸⁵

The slow evolution of the democratic culture in Cameroon led to distrust among youths and politicians in Bui Division. This is because they believed they were targeted by politicians during elections and after elections they were abandoned to themselves. The improvement in the respect of fundamental democratic principles of participation, representation, competition and the regulation complemented by the rule of law, social justice, equal opportunities for all, accountability, responsibility, fair trial and fair play, transparency in electoral management and management of public affairs would make a positive step in the changing of mentality among youths to see politics as an instrument of change in the society. This means that if the rules of the game of politics are respected, there is greater probability of youth participation in politics as a step towards the democratic revolution in Cameroon in general and Bui Division in particular.

In the Socio-cultural domain, the educational system appeared to be one of the major

²⁸⁴Zekoue, Cameroon Senate Goes Operational, p. 5.

²⁸⁵D. F. Celina and W. Andria, *The Unexplored Power and Potentials of Youth as Peace Builders*, pp.

impediments to youth political participation in Bui Division. It is a system that was inherited from colonialism which did not suit local realities. This system instead promoted poverty and unemployment because it trained youths to be dependent on the government for employment after leaving school. It did not prepare youth for self-employment. Even colonial authorities recommended the need for the educational system corresponding to local realities. The Germans recommended teaching and training in local languages and the British emphasized the promotion of technical education and vocational training as a source of wealth and creativity thus enabling youth to be economically independent. This would provide the youths with the available resources to fund their political campaigns. The poor educational system explains why there had been incessant calls for the professionalization of the educational system which would enable young people to join the work force or integrate the job market after training.²⁸⁶

The various schools constructed over the national territory and Bui Division in particular have helped to fight against illiteracy but have not helped to improve quality of life. This is because the educational system was the problem itself. One could equally mention the expression of citizenship by young people in Bui Division where by young people expressed different views regarding citizenship and the manner in which they felt they were affected by the various political and educational institutions as well as religious and international bodies concerning citizenship and political participation.²⁸⁷

Following the Marshall theory on citizenship based on equality, there existed dichotomy between the granting of formal rights and exercising them. This is because youth had limited social rights to exercise their political rights and there also existed age discrimination against them,²⁸⁸ following the various limitations of youth's political participation in Bui Division and its impact in nation building, we have advanced several perspectives as remedy to the situation. These perspectives ranged from political to the economic and socio-cultural. These proposals can only yield the desired fruits if the international and national legislators expressed strong political will to get youths involved in decision making processes and development programs including interest groups, civil society organisations, youth led organisations, state authorities, political parties and the readiness and willingness of youths to seize leadership opportunities to effect the desired change in politics in Bui Division. The following perspectives have been advanced as remedy to youth's political participation in global politics in general and politics in Bui Division in particular. The African Youth Charter and African Charter on Democracy

²⁸⁶McDaily Website, "Education and Unemployment in Bui Division", pp.3-6.

²⁸⁷Ibid, p.135.

²⁸⁸YuchaK, "Situation and Prospects of Young People in Rural Areas", pp.1-5

and Elections remained premodial in promoting youth's politics and governance including international organizations such as IPU, UNO, AU, UNDP and Fried Drich Foundation currently present in over 100 countries in the world.⁹⁵

Also, we have equally recommended the introduction of youth quotas in electoral laws to enable young people take up leadership opportunities. Due to the problems of financing political campaigns, registration fees should be reduced for young contestants. Proportional voting systems should also be adopted which could be favourable to youth political participation. Youth led community development projects and volunteering organizations should equally be supported. The minimum voting age should be aligned with the minimum age of eligibility to run for office. Elected representatives have to be accountable to the electors at all times and not only during elections. Training programs should equally be designed as incubators for youths projects. To fight against youth unemployment, we propose that 10.000 youth should be resettled in rural areas with an investment capital of 5 millions francs each annually to boost local development, reduce urban poverty and urban disorder and equally to decongest urban centers. Youth talents should equally be developed and state should be the first business partners of the youths. The harmonization of citizenship programs for both Francophone and Anglophone sub systems of education remained a necessity to inculcate in young Cameroonians the spirit of nation hood. The decentralization of power and resources to the local communities will equally enable the marginalized people to take part in their own governance.²⁸⁹

Moreover, strict laws should also be adopted on non discrimination and promote positive actions to ensure the participation of less favoured groups in governance and resource distribution. Vast civic campaigns should also be carried out to encourage effective youth political participation. Political parties should equally work with youth led and youth focused civil society groups to achieve their goals and they should also verify their internal structures to purge discriminatory policies. The electoral management body should also work with political parties to reduce barriers of youth political participation among parties and also youths should be included as electoral managers and contestants. Finally, civic and voters education programs also increase youths commitment to democratic values and principles, their interest in political affairs and awareness of opportunities to engage and their knowledge of how elections work in theory and in practice.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹O. N. Etoundi, *Paul Biya et la Jeunesse*, pp. 15-35

²⁹⁰G. Yalata, *Challenges and Opportunities of Youth in Africa*, p. 170

APPENDIX

Appendix I: Question Guides

1. What is the origin of youth politics in Bui Division?
2. What was the place of youth in politics during the colonial and post-colonial period in Bui Division?
3. How the role did played by the youth in politics during the aforementioned periods help in the political emancipation of the youth in Bui Division?
4. How was youth governance managed during this era in Bui Division?
5. Could the aforementioned period be considered as a period of youth political awareness in Bui Division?
6. Did the post-colonial governments from 1966 to 1990 encourage the effective participation of youth in politics in Bui Division?
7. What are the various political platforms which could enable youth to get involved in decision-making structures in Bui Division?
8. Do we have adequate avenues for effective participation of youth in politics in Bui Division?
9. How can youth political participation in Bui Division help in consolidating civic engagement, peace and National Unity?
10. What is the place of youth in political parties in Bui Division?
11. What is the impact of youth political participation in Bui Division?
12. What youth public participation in Bui Division?
13. Can the international legal framework be considered as a springboard for youth politics?
14. Are the youth considered as agents of positive change in Bui Division?
15. Is there affective implementation of youth policy in Bui Division?
16. What is the outcome of this policy?
17. What are the setbacks of youth political participation in Bui Division?
18. How do the setbacks prevent the youth from effectively engaging in politics in Bui Division?
19. Are these limitations created or they are the handywork of the youth?
20. Wat is the way foreward?

Appendix II: Questionnaires

1. What was the political ideology of the CNU concerning youth politics?
.....
2. Was it implemented in Bui Division?.....
3. What did party do to encourage the youth to vote and be voted into office in Bui Division?.....
4. What is the political ideology of C.P.D.M concerning youth politics?
.....
5. Is it implemented in Bui Division?.....
6. What does the party do to encourage the youth to vote and be voted into office in Bui Division?.....
7. What is the political ideology of SDF concerning youth politics?
.....
8. Is the ideology implemented in Bui Division?.....
9. What does the party do to encourage the youth to vote and be voted into office in Bui Division?.....
10. Are quotas reserved for youth during elections in Bui Division?
.....
11. What are the challenges faced by the youth in Bui Division?
.....
12. Does the Cameroon legislative protect the political right of the youth?
.....
13. Do youth have the required political knowledge to lead?
.....
14. Are they voted to lead key positions in political parties?
.....
15. Do youth take part in dicision-making?.....
16. Should youth be given an opportunity to lead and why?
.....
17. Are the youth interested in politics in Bui Division?.....
18. Do youth political movements enable them to be actively involved in politics in Bui Division?.....
19. Is there any youth parliamentary group in Cameroon and for what purpose?

.....

20. Do we have any international organization in Bui Division educating the youth on politics?.....

21. Is there any national forum to educate the youth politically?.....

..

22. How does unemployment affect the political participation of youth in Bui Division?.....

23. How does citizenship education help youth to be actively involved in politics in Bui Division?.....

24. Does the education system in Cameroon help youth in Bui Division to gain their politicalright?.....

.

25. What is the future of youth politics in Bui Division?

.....

APPENDIX III: African Youth Charter

4

PART 1: RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Article 1: Obligation of State Parties

1. States Parties of the African Union to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, freedoms and duties enshrined in this Charter.
2. State Parties shall undertake the necessary steps, in accordance with their Constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Charter, to adopt such legislative or other measures that may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of the Charter.

Article 2: Non-discrimination

1. Every young person shall be entitled to the enjoyments of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in this Charter irrespective of their race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status.
2. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that youth are protected against all forms of discrimination on the basis of status, activities, expressed opinions or beliefs.
3. State Parties shall recognize the rights of Young people from ethnic, religious and linguistic marginalized groups or youth of indigenous origin, to enjoy their own culture, freely practice their own religion or to use their own language in community with other members of their group.

Article 3: Freedom of Movement

1. Every young person has the right to leave any country, including his/her own, and to return to his/her country.

Article 4: Freedom of Expression

1. Every young person shall be assured the right to express his or her ideas and opinions freely in all matters and to disseminate his or her ideas and opinions subject to the restrictions as are prescribed by laws.
2. Every young person shall have the freedom to seek, receive and disseminate information and ideas of all kinds, either orally, in writing, in print, in the form of art or through any media of the young person's choice subject to the restrictions as are prescribed by laws.

Article 5: Freedom of Association

1. Every young person shall have the right to free association and freedom of peaceful assembly in conformity with the law.



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1. Young people shall not be compelled to belong to an association. Article6: Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion

Every young person shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Article 7: Protection of Private Life

No young person shall be subject to the arbitrary or unlawful interference with his/ her privacy, residence or correspondence. Or to attacks upon his /her honour or reputation.

Article8: Protection of the Family

1. The family, as the most basic social institution, shall enjoy the full protection and support of States Parties for its establishment and development noting that the structure and form of families vary in different social and cultural contexts.
2. Young men and women of full age who enter into marriage shall do so based on their free consent and shall enjoy equal rights and responsibilities.

Article9: Property*

1. Every young person shall have the right to own and to inherit property.
2. States Parties shall ensure that young men and young women enjoy equal rights to own property.
3. States Parties shall ensure that youth are not arbitrarily deprived of their property including inherited property.

Article10: Development

1. Every young person shall have the right to social, economic, political and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in equal enjoyment to the common heritage of mankind.
 2. States Parties shall encourage youth organizations to lead youth programmes and to ensure the exercise of the right to development.
 3. States Parties shall:
 - a) Encourage the media to disseminate information that will be of economic, political, social and cultural benefit to youths,

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- b) Promote the development of youth's media for the dissemination of information to young people;
- c) Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of information from both national and international sources that are of economic, social and cultural value to youths;
- d) Provide access to information, education and training for young people to learn their rights and responsibilities, to be schooled in democratic processes, citizenship, decision-making, Governance and leadership such that they develop the technical skills and confidence to participate in these processes;

Article 11: Youth Participation

- 1. Every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society.
 - 3. States Parties shall take the following measures to promote active youth participation in society:

They shall:

 - a) Guarantee the participation of youths in parliament and other decision-making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws;
 - b) Facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional and continental levels of governance;
 - c) Ensure equal access to young men and young women to participate in decision-making and in fulfilling civic duties;
 - d) Give priority to policies and programmes including youth advocacy and peer-to-peer programmes for marginalised youth such as out-of-school and out-of-work youth, to offer them the opportunity and motivation to re-integrate into mainstream society;
 - e) Provide access to information such that young people become aware of their rights and of opportunities to participate in decision-making and civic life;
 - f) Institute measures to professionalize youth work and introduce relevant training programmes in higher education and other such training institutions;
 - g) Provide technical and financial support to build the institutional capacity of youth organisations;

- h) Institute policy and programmes of youth voluntarism at local, national, regional and international levels as an important form of youth participation and as a means of peer-to-peer training.
- l) Provide access to information and services that will empower youth to become aware of their rights and responsibilities.
- j) Include youth representatives as part of delegations to ordinary sessions and other relevant meetings to broaden channels of communication and enhance the discussion of youth related issues.

Article 12: National Youth Policy³

- 1. Every State Party shall develop a comprehensive and coherent national youth policy.
 - a) The policy shall be cross-sectoral in nature considering the inter-relatedness of the challenges facing young people;
 - b) The development of a national youth policy shall be informed by extensive consultation with young people and cater for their active participation in decision-making at all levels of governance in issues concerning youth and society as a whole;
 - c) A youth perspective shall be integrated and mainstreamed into all planning and decision-making as well as programmes development. The appointment of youth focal points in government structures shall enable this process;
 - d) Mechanisms to address these youth challenges shall be framed within the national development framework of the country;
 - e) The policy shall provide guidelines on the definition of youth adopted and specify sub groups that shall be targeted for development;
 - f) The policy shall advocate equal opportunities for young men and for young women;
 - g) A baseline evaluation or situation analysis shall inform the policy on the priority issues for youth development;
 - h) The policy shall be adopted by parliament and enacted into law;
 - i) A national youth coordinating mechanism shall be set up and shall provide a platform as well as serve as a linking agent for youth organizations to participate in youth policy development as well as the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of related programmes;

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- j) National programmes of action shall be developed that are time bound and that are connected to an implementation and evaluation strategy for which indicators shall be outlined;
- k) Such a programme of action shall be accompanied by adequate and sustained budgetary allocation.

Article 13: Education and Skills Development

1. Every young person shall have the right to education of good quality.
2. The value of multiple forms of education including formal, informal, distance learning and life-long learning, to meet the diverse needs of young people shall be embraced.
3. The education of young people shall be directed to:
 - a) The promotion and holistic development of the young person's cognitive and creative and emotional abilities to their full potential;
 - b) Fostering respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as set out in the provisions of the various African human and people's rights and international human rights declarations and conventions;
 - c) Preparing young people for responsible lives in free societies that promote peace, understanding, tolerance, dialogue, mutual respect and friendship among all nations and across all groupings of people;
 - d) The preservation and strengthening of positive African morals, traditional values and cultures and the development of national and African identity and pride;
 - e) The development of respect for the environment and natural resources;
 - f) The development of life skills to function effectively in society and include issues such as HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, substance abuse prevention and cultural practices that are harmful to the health of young girls and women as part of the education curricula;
4. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving full realization of these rights and shall in particular:
 - a) Provide free and compulsory basic education and take steps to minimize the indirect costs of education;
 - b) Make all forms of secondary education more readily available and accessible by all possible means including progressively free;

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- p) Adopt preferential recruitment policies for African youth with specialized skills amongst States Parties.
5. Youth are determined to transform the continent in the fields of science and technology. Therefore they are committed to:
- a) Promoting and using science and technology in Africa;
 - b) Conducting research towards science and technology.
6. State Parties should encourage youth to conduct research. In this regard an African discoveries day should be established along with mechanism of awarding prizes at the continental level.
7. Enterprises that are located in Africa should establish partnerships with training institutions to contribute to technology transfer for the benefit of African students and researchers.

Article 14: Poverty Eradication and Socio-economic Integration of Youth.

1. States Parties shall: Recognise the right of young people to a standard of living adequate for their holistic development.
2. Recognise the rights of young people to be free from hunger and shall take individual or collective measures to:
 - a) Enhance the attractiveness of rural areas to young people by improving access to services and facilities such as educational and cultural services;
 - b) Train young people to take up agricultural, mineral, commercial and Industrial production using contemporary systems and promote the benefits of modern information and communication technology to gain access to existing and new markets;
 - c) Provide grants of land to youth and youth organizations for socio- economic development purposes;
 - d) Facilitate access to credit to promote youth participation in agricultural and other sustainable livelihood projects;
 - e) Facilitate the participation of young people in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of national development plans, policies and poverty reduction strategies.
3. Recognise the right of every young person to benefit from social security, including social insurance.

In this regard, States Parties shall take the necessary measures to achieve the full realisation of these rights in accordance with their national law especially when the security of food tenure, clothing, housing and other basic needs are compromised.

Article 15: Sustainable Livelihoods and Youth Employment

1. Every young person shall have the right to gainful employment.
2. Every young person shall have the right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing work that is likely to be hazardous to or interfere with the young person's education, or to be harmful to the young person's health or holistic development.
3. States Parties shall address and ensure the availability of accurate data on youth employment, unemployment and underemployment so as to facilitate the prioritization of the issue in National development programmes complemented by clear programmes to address unemployment;
4. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving full realization of this right to gainful employment and shall in particular:
 - a) Ensure equal access to employment and equal pay for equal work or equal value of work and offer protection against discrimination regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, disability, religion, political, social, cultural or economic background;
 - b) Develop macro economic policies that focus on job creation particularly for youth and for young women;
 - c) Develop measures to regulate the informal economy to prevent unfair labour practices where the majority of youth work;
 - d) Foster greater linkages between the labour market and the education and training system to ensure that curricula are aligned to the needs of the labour market and that youth are being trained in fields where employment opportunities are available or are growing;
 - e) Implement appropriately-timed career guidance for youth as part of the schooling and post-schooling education system;
 - f) Promote youth entrepreneurship by including entrepreneurship training in the school curricula, providing access to credit, business development skills training, mentorship opportunities and better information on market opportunities;

Curative programmes to control the consumption of tobacco, exposure to environmental tobacco smoke and alcohol abuse;

- k) Raise awareness amongst youth on the dangers of drug abuse through partnerships with youth organizations and the community;
- l) strengthen local, national, regional and international partnerships to eradicate the demand, supply and trafficking of drugs including using youth to traffic drugs;
- m) Provide rehabilitation for young people abusing drugs such that they can be re-integrated into social and economic life;
- n) Provide technical and financial support to build the institutional capacity of youth organizations to address public health concerns including issues concerning youth with disabilities and young people married at an early age.

Article 17: Peace and Security

In view of the important role of youth in promoting peace and non-violence and the lasting physical and psychological scars that result from involvement in violence, armed conflict and war, States Parties shall:

- a) Strengthen the capacity of young people and youth organizations in peacebuilding, conflict prevention and conflict resolution through the promotion of intercultural learning, civic education, tolerance, human rights education and democracy, mutual respect for cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, the importance of dialogue and cooperation, responsibility, solidarity and international cooperation;
- b) Institute mechanisms to promote a culture of peace and tolerance amongst young people that discourages their participation in acts of violence, terrorism, xenophobia, racial discrimination, gender-based discrimination, foreign occupation and trafficking in arms and drugs;
- c) Institute education to promote a culture of peace and dialogue in all schools and training centres at all levels;
- d) Condemn armed conflict and prevent the participation, involvement, recruitment and sexual slavery of young people in armed conflict;
- e) Take all feasible measures to protect the civilian population, including youth, who are affected and displaced by armed conflict;

- a) Encourage the media, youth organisations, in partnership with national and international organisations, to produce exchange and disseminate information on environmental preservation and best practices to protect the environment;
- b) Train youth in the use of technologies that protect and conserve the environment;
- c) Support youth organisations in instituting programmes that encourage environmental preservation such as waste reduction, recycling and tree planting programmes;
- d) Facilitate youth participation in the design, implementation and evaluation of environmental policies including the conservation of African natural resources at local, national, regional and international levels;
- e) Develop realistic and flexible strategies for the regeneration of forests;
- f) Initiate intensive actions to prevent the expansion of deserts.

Article 20: Youth and Culture.

- 1 States Parties shall take the following steps to promote and protect the morals and traditional values recognized by the community.
 - a) Eliminate all traditional practices that undermine the physical integrity and dignity of women;
 - b) Recognise and value beliefs and traditional practices that contribute to development;
 - c) Establish institutions and programmes for the development, documentation, preservation and dissemination of culture;
 - d) Work with educational institutions, youth organizations, the media and other partners to raise awareness of, teach and inform young people about African culture, values and indigenous knowledge;
 - e) Harness the creativity of youth to promote local cultural values and traditions by representing them in a format acceptable to youth and in a language and forms to which youth are able to relate;
 - f) Introduce and intensify teaching in African languages in all forms of education as a means to accelerate economic, social, political and cultural development;

- g) Promote inter-cultural awareness by organising exchange programmes between young people and youth organizations within and across States Parties
- 2 States Parties recognize that the shift towards a knowledge-based economy is dependent on information and communication technology which in turn has contributed towards a dynamic youth culture and global consciousness. In this regard, they shall
- a) Promote widespread access to information and communication technology as a means for education, employment creation, interacting effectively with the world and building understanding, Tolerance and appreciation of other youth cultures;
 - b) Encourage the local production of and access to information and communication technology content,
 - c) Engage young people and youth organizations to understand the nexus between contemporary youth culture and traditional African culture, and enable them to express this fusion through drama, art, writing, music and other cultural and artistic forms;
 - d) Help young people to use positive elements of globalisation such as science and technology and information and communication technology to promote new cultural forms that link the past to the future;

Article 21: Youth In the Diaspora // -

States Parties shall recognize the right of young people to live anywhere in the world. In this regard, they shall:

- a) Promote the equivalence of degrees between African educational institutions to enable the youth to study and work in State Parties;
- b) Promote the recruitment of African youth with specialized skills, in the spirit of African solutions for African problems, according to national policies and priorities;
- c) Facilitate youth organizations to live and collaborate with the African youth Diaspora.
- d) Establish structures that encourage and assist the youth in the diaspora to return to and fully re-integrate into the social and economic life in Africa;

Article 25: Elimination of Harmful Social and Cultural Practices

State Parties shall take all appropriate steps to eliminate harmful social and cultural practices that affect the welfare and dignity of youth, in particular;

- a) Customs and practices that harm the health, life or dignity of the youth;
- b) Customs and practices discriminatory to youth on the basis of gender, age or other status.

Article 26: Responsibilities of Youth ✎

Every young person shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the State, and the international community. Youth shall have the duty to:

- a) Become the custodians of their own development;
- b) Protect and work for family life and cohesion;
- c) Have full respect for parents and elders and assist them anytime in cases of need in the context of positive African values;
- d) Partake fully in citizenship duties including voting, decision making and governance;
- e) Engage in peer-to-peer education to promote youth development in areas such as literacy, use of information and communication technology, HIV/AIDS prevention, violence prevention and peace building;
- f) Contribute to the promotion of the economic development of States Parties and Africa by placing their physical and intellectual abilities at its service;
- g) Espouse an honest work ethic and reject and expose corruption;
- h) Work towards a society free from substance abuse, violence, coercion, crime, degradation, exploitation and intimidation;
- i) Promote tolerance, understanding, dialogue, consultation and respect for others regardless of age, race, ethnicity, colour, gender, ability, religion, status or political affiliation;
- j) Defend democracy, the rule of law and all human rights and fundamental freedoms;



Source: Nagiam. African Youth Charter, <http://www.africanunion/au.int/treaties/youthcharter>, 08-05-2018.

Appendix IV: Youth day message 10th february, 1984

10 FÉVRIER 1984 * 1

" Mes chers et jeunes Compatriotes !

L'heureuse tradition qui, d'année en année, conduit le chef de l'Etat à s'adresser à la jeunesse camerounaise, me vaut encore aujourd'hui le plaisir de vous adresser mon premier message officiel en tant que président élu de la République du Cameroun. Cette opportunité représente, pour moi, davantage qu'une simple coïncidence : elle m'apparaît comme un signe du destin. Aussi, est-ce avec chaleur et fierté particulières que je vous apporte, en ce 18^{ème} anniversaire de la fête nationale de la jeunesse, les vœux de bonheur, de prospérité et de réussite du chef de l'Etat, en même temps que le témoignage de la sollicitude, de l'affection et de la confiance de la nation toute entière envers vous, représentants de la composante la plus dynamique de notre peuple et richesse la plus précieuse de notre pays.

Je n'ai jamais cessé de souligner l'importance toute spéciale du rôle qui revient à la jeunesse camerounaise dans l'édification de notre jeune nation. En ces premiers temps de l'ère du Renouveau national, ce rôle acquiert une signification plus dynamique, qui implique de votre part un nouvel engagement et des responsabilités accrues.

En effet, le Renouveau national, sous le signe duquel j'ai placé mon actuel mandat de président de la République, doit apporter au développement de notre pays un rythme accéléré de progrès, lui donnant ainsi les meilleurs chances de s'affirmer comme une nation solidement unie dans une communauté de destin et d'aspirations.

Faut-il le rappeler ? Le Renouveau national recouvre un projet de société dont les axes principaux, soumis à l'ensemble du pays ont été plébiscités lors de l'élection présidentielle du 14 janvier 1984. Il s'agit donc, maintenant, comme je l'ai dit, de les mettre en œuvre en poursuivant ensemble une politique dont les mots d'ordre seront la rigueur et la moralisation, la libération et l'ouverture

vous revient d'y répondre mobilisant les efforts qui permettront à vous-mêmes et aux générations futures de monter toujours plus haut les cimes de la solidarité, du développement et de la paix.

*Vive la Jeunesse Camerounaise,
Vive la République du Cameroun.*

Source: Olivier EtoundiNGA, *Paul Biya et la jeunesse: 21 ans de compréhension et de complicité*, Ydé, COGESET, Oct, 2003. Pp. 84-87.

Appendix V: Youth Day Message 10th February, 1986

10 FÉVRIER 1986 ✱ ✱

" Mes chers jeunes Compatriotes,

Je suis heureux de m'adresser à vous aujourd'hui.

A la veille de la vingtième fête de la jeunesse, placée sous le thème : " participation, développement, paix ", je veux vous témoigner l'importance que j'attache dans mon cœur à la jeunesse du Cameroun.

En tant que Chef de l'Etat et en mon nom propre, je vous présente tous mes vœux de santé, de réussite et de bonheur.

Vous êtes l'avenir de notre pays.

Je compte sur vous... Vous pouvez compter sur moi.

Le Cameroun du Renouveau tient ses promesses :

A Buéa: ouverture du Centre universitaire et de son Ecole supérieur des traducteurs et interprètes.

A Yaoundé:

- début de la construction de cinq amphithéâtres à l'Université ;
 - réfection du restaurant universitaire ;
 - achèvement des travaux d'extension de l'Ecole nationale supérieure polytechnique ;
 - allocation de plus de 1 000 bourses supplémentaires ;
 - mise en place d'études pour l'extension de l'ESSTI ;
- plus généralement :
- des aides financières substantielles ont été allouées à nos étudiants résidents à l'étranger et au Cameroun ;
 - des appuis financiers ont été apportés aux centres de Ngaoundéré, Dschang et Douala ;
 - 1 700 diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur ont été récemment recrutés.

Au plan scolaire :

- poursuite de la construction d'écoles, des collèges, des lycées et

sion professionnelle ;

- Le développement et la création de micro-entreprises, notamment en milieu rural ;

- L'identification des travaux à haute densité de main-d'œuvre, afin de mieux orienter les jeunes vers ces secteurs.

La formation professionnelle, priorité des priorités, verra la mise en place d'une nouvelle dynamique associant étroitement les partenaires sociaux aux actions entreprises.

Le gouvernement vient également de prendre des dispositions pour professionnaliser davantage l'enseignement supérieur.

La somme de tous ces efforts doit déboucher sur une relance de l'économie, où vous pourrez mettre en œuvre toutes vos compétences, que vous soyez diplômé ou non, cadre ou simple travailleur. Tous les secteurs ont besoin de renfort et d'énergies nouvelles, à tous les niveaux.

*Jeunes Camerounaises,
Jeunes Camerounais,*

Vous faites partie intégrante d'un système économique.

A nous tous ensemble, de le rendre plus performant.

Votre participation est essentielle.

Demain, notre pays sera à votre image.

Ne cédez pas à la facilité. Ne trichez pas. Sachez donner le bon exemple.

En ce début d'année, toutes les énergies doivent se mobiliser.

Vous êtes l'avenir du Cameroun, et vous portez tous nos espoirs.

Demandez-vous aussi ce que vous, vous pouvez faire pour votre pays.

*Vive la 24ème fête de la Jeunesse !
Vive le Cameroun ! "*

Appendix VI: Youth Day Message 10th February, 1992.

10 FÉVRIER 1992 ✎ ✎

Jeunes Camerounaises, Jeunes Camerounais,

Merci d'être présents une fois encore à notre rendez-vous annuel.

Je me réjouis autant que vous à l'idée de célébrer cette fête de la jeunesse, votre fête.

La jeunesse symbolise l'espoir, l'espoir en notre pays, l'espoir en l'avenir.

L'année qui vient de s'écouler marquera notre histoire. Année charnière au plan politique, elle restera dans les mémoires comme l'année de la démocratie.

Car le processus démocratique que nous avons mis en place depuis mon accession à la Présidence de la République, aboutit enfin, après des années d'efforts et de réflexion.

Le climat social et la vie nationale reflètent bien cette mutation profonde.

L'effervescence qui en découle provoque des changements dans les mentalités et dans les comportements, ... parfois en dépit du bon sens, vous êtes bien placé pour le savoir... mais vous savez également que la démocratie est une conquête difficile...

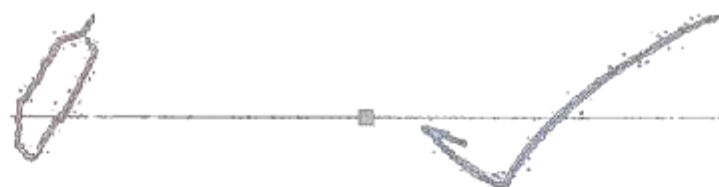
Le Cameroun a choisi sa voie et fait figure de pionnier dans le genre sur le continent Africain : il se démarque ainsi de bons nombres de pays où liberté et tolérance ne règnent pas toujours...

Même si nous sommes soumis encore aujourd'hui à une certaine agitation, le climat social devrait bientôt refléter une vision plus juste et plus nuancée de la réalité.

Le comportement plus responsable de tous les camerounais, jeunes ou moins jeunes, se traduira par une participation massive lors des prochaines élections législatives anticipées. C'est le moment où jamais de faire entendre vos voix et de participer concrètement à la vie politique camerounaise.

Source: Olivier Etoundi NGA, *Paul Biya et la jeunesse: 21ans de compréhension et de complicité*, Ydé, COGESET, Oct 2003, Pp.116-118.

Appendix VII: International Legal framework document for youth political participation



International Framework Documents and Resolutions

■ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) has codified everyone's "right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives" (Article 21).

The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the most widely ratified international agreement, has affirmed various civil and political rights for all individuals up to 18 years of age, such as the right to participate: "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (Article 12).⁶⁰

In 1996, the UN General Assembly adopted the *World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond*, which is still an international benchmark document concerning youth. Priority 10 is concerned with the "full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making" and proposes to:

1. "Develop and strengthen opportunities for youth to learn their rights and responsibilities,
2. Promote the social, political, developmental and environmental participation of young people, and remove obstacles that affect their full contribution to society.

3. Encourage youth associations and their activities through financial, educational and technical support.
4. Foster national, regional and international cooperation and exchange between youth organizations.
5. Strengthen the involvement of young people in international forums, for example by considering the inclusion of youth representatives in their national delegations to the United Nations General Assembly.⁶¹

In 2003, the UN General Assembly re-affirmed its commitment to youth participation with resolution A/RES/58/133. It stresses the "importance of the full and effective participation of youth and youth organizations at the local, national, regional and international levels in promoting and implementing the World Programme of Action and in evaluating the progress achieved and the obstacles encountered in its implementation."⁶²

In July 2011, 27 UN organizations concerned with youth (among them UNDP) signed an *Inter-agency statement on the occasion of the UN High-Level Meeting on Youth*. On participation, the statement calls for: "Full and effective youth participation in society and decision-making, in both rural and urban settings, striving to include young people with

disabilities, young people living with HIV, indigenous young people, young people from minorities, young migrants, young people who are stateless, internally displaced, young refugees or those affected by humanitarian situations or armed conflict.⁶²

In 2010, the United Nations Development Group published a *Strategic Action Plan on Young People 2010-2011 for the Middle East and North Africa*. In its updated version (April 2011), it calls for the "full and meaningful participation of young people in the development, implementation and evaluation of relevant national policies, legislation and programs."⁶³

In 2006, the African Union passed the *African Youth Charter*. Article 11 on youth participation specifies that every young person has the right to participate in all spheres of society. States parties agree to:

1. "Guarantee the participation of youth in parliament and other decision-making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws;
2. Facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional, and continental levels of governance;
3. Ensure equal access to young men and young women to participate in decision-making and in fulfilling civic duties;
4. Give priority to policies and programmes including youth advocacy and peer-to-peer programmes for marginalised youth, such as out-of-school and out-of-work youth, to offer them the opportunity and motivation to re-integrate into mainstream society (...);

Provide technical and financial support to build the institutional capacity of youth organisations (...).⁶⁴

In 2010, the 122nd Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) adopted an ambitious resolution on youth by consensus. It:

1. "Calls on the IPU, parliaments, youth organizations and other relevant stakeholders to strengthen efforts aimed at achieving appropriate representation and participation of youth in decision-making bodies, bearing in mind that girls, boys, young women and young men are all entitled to the same rights (...);
2. Calls on parliaments to develop practical measures (such as the possible introduction of quotas for young people) to increase the participation of young people in parliament and other representative bodies, while respecting the values of human dignity, freedom, democracy and equality (...);
3. Recommends that parliaments align the minimum voting age with the minimum age of eligibility to run for office in order to ensure greater participation by youth in parliaments (...);
4. Requests parliaments to provide political and financial support, notably adequate operating budgets, to form strong youth parliaments, youth councils or equivalent bodies and to strengthen existing ones, thus providing further opportunities for more young people to become active in decision-making and in shaping their societies."⁶⁵

Source: UNDP, Democratic governance/enhancing youth political participation through out the electoral cycle, 08-05-2018, <http://www.org>.

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1. List of Informants

Name	Age	Profession	Place of interview	Date of interview
Abdu Mumini Foka	58	Political Activist	Kumbo	06-11-2017
Adamu Shitu	45	Councilor	Kumbo	09-12-2017
Adamu Foka	60	Deputy Mayor	Kumbo	14-11-2017
Abdu Nohu	49	Teacher	Oku	21-12-2017
Abdu Salam	55	Electronic	Mbiame	12-11-2017
Achuo Gilbert	58	Retired Police Officer	Bambili	17-11-2017
Alhadji Yahya	50	councillor	Kumbo	10-11-2017
Awaou Atini	52	Teacher	Kumbo	03-11-2017
Bime Amedu	45	Driver	Kumbo	10-11-2017
ChinPatrick	50	Councilor	Mbiame	09-12-2017
DzernyoMarcel	50	Town planner	Jakiri	08-12-2017
FanKilaghan Robert	45	Veternerian	Mbiame	09-12-2017
Fondzenyuy Wilfred	50	Councillor	Mbiame	12-11-2017
Fonyuy Claud	55	Teacher	Tatum	17-11-2017
Fondzeyuf Killian	55	Vertenerian	Tatum	12-12-2017
Hassan Mohammadu	54	Political Activist	Kumbo	17-11-2017
Haruna Adamu	50	Deputy Major	Jakiri	15-11-2017
Jai KilianSendze	47	SDFDistrict Chairman	Nkar	08-12-2017
Keofon Asana	53	Designer	Kumbo	9-12-2017
LeinyuyMohammed	45	Teacher	Kumbo	13-11-2017
Mbikar Marcel	45	Teacher	Bamenda	30-12-2017
Mbikar Issa	61	Divisional	Kumbo	10-08-2017
Mbikar John Bosco	54	SDFDistrict	Kumbo	07-12-2017
Ngalim Paul	45	Trader	Yaoundé	29-12-2017
Nformi John	50	Teacher	Mbiame	20-11-2017
Nfor Emmanuel	55	Contractor	Bambili	16-11-2017
Njionou Willy	55	Teacher	Mbiame	17-11-2017

Neba Stephen	60	Councillor	Oku	20-11-2017
Ngoche Emmanuel	54	Business Consultant	Kumbo	17-11-2017
Neba Francis	49	Sport Teacher	Tatum	20-11-2017
Njong Fonyuy Donatus	60	Mayor	Kumbo	7-11-2017
Njolai Selamo paul	75	Farmer	Jakiri	14-11-2017
Njotah Pouette	65	Trader	Kumbo	20-11-2017
Njing Stephen	50	councillor	Kumbo	20-12-2017
Shang Moses	50	Football Coach	Oku	10-12-2017
Shang Adamu	50	Farmer	Kumbo	19-11-2017
Tardzenyuy Usheni	56	Driver	Kumbo	15-11-2017
Tatinyuy Aliyu	45	Councilor	Mbiame	9-12-2017
Verkijika Jaff Romanus	50	Mayor	Jakiri	08-12-2017
Wirba Gerald	55	councilor	Mbiame	9-12-2017
Wirba Therence	50	Teacher	Buea	29-10-2017
Wirnkar Adamu	55	Political Analyst	Kumbo	13-11-2017
Wilfred Tatah	60	Political Activist	Kumbo	15-12-2017
Winkar Yula	60	Teacher	Yaoundé	16-11-2017

