



2018 Public Opinion Survey on Governance, Economy and the 2018 Presidential Elections in Cameroon



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Survey** On Governance,
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ABOUT THE DENIS & LENORA FORETIA FOUNDATION

The Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation is a private foundation established by Dr. Denis Foretia and Mrs. Lenora Ebule Foretia to catalyze Africa's economic transformation by focusing on social entrepreneurship, science and technology, innovation, public health and progressive policies that create economic opportunities for all. It works in partnership with local governments, policy makers, private enterprises, civil society organizations as well as development partners to expand the resources available to entrepreneurs, farmers, and small business owners in addition to improving individual livelihoods. The foundation is in Special Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) – the highest distinction granted to a non-governmental organization.

ABOUT THE NKAFU POLICY INSTITUTE

The Nkafu Policy Institute is a Cameroonian think tank at the Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation which provides independent, in-depth and insightful policy recommendations that advance the Cameroonian economy and the economies of other sub-Saharan countries. Its reputation is founded on its independence, high quality research and innovative policy prescriptions. Its mission is to advance public policies that help all Africans prosper in free, fair, and sustainable economies.

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FOREWORD

BY DENIS FORETIA



Cameroon is a country in deep crises. The economy faces major structural difficulties. The security atmosphere continues to degrade not only in the northern regions and the east but, more importantly, in the Anglophone territory with the unfolding civil war. In spite of these challenges, the government plans to organize presidential elections next month. Most advanced economies will struggle to successfully complete such an electoral calendar. Cameroon unfortunately is not an advanced economy and will be organizing these elections against a backdrop of worsening political.

The country continues to see considerable recessions in democracy. For many years now, Cameroonians have been living in fear as political freedoms, individual liberties and basic human rights are blatantly violated by a repressive government. Since independence in 1960, the country has been ruled by a single party, and by a single president since 1982. The ruling Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM) is intricately enmeshed with the administrative power structure.

Popular pressure in the 1990s forced the current president to allow multiparty elections. However, since the adoption of the 1996 Constitution, the President has used a rubber-stamp Parliament to modify the Constitution removing the two-term limit. The electoral process has neither been free nor fair.

The country today also faces multiple economic, structural and security challenges, which have been greatly exacerbated by the current Anglophone Conflict. English-speaking Cameroonians, who make up approximately 20 percent of the population, complain of perceive marginalization and have been agitating for the last 24 months. Non-violent protests and civil disobedience in these regions were met by excessive military force by the government. Thus,

calls for dialogue on equality have transformed into a growing demand for separation and the restoration of the independent Southern Cameroon, now called the Federal Republic of Ambazonia.

The impact of the presidential elections scheduled for October 2018 are critical to Cameroon's future. Their outcomes could represent a tipping point for the country towards a genuine democracy and respect for the rule of law, or a further nose dive into the current self-destructive system. The stakes could not be higher.

Yet, there has been no reliable, scientific, national survey of the current thinking and aspirations of Cameroonians with regards to the upcoming elections, the direction of the economy and the governing apparatus. In fact, there has historically not been any credible surveys in previous elections. That is why our team at the Nkafu Policy Institute conducted a nationwide public opinion survey, in all ten (10) regions of the country, to understand the opinions and aspirations of the Cameroonian people. Our team interviewed a total of 2,024 Cameroonians, both in rural and urban settings in 54 urban areas and 25 rural areas. This representative sample allowed us to fully understand the challenges facing Cameroonians with a margin of error of +/- 1 percent.

The findings reveal a country in free fall. 79.1 percent of Cameroonians believe the economy is headed in the wrong direction. The poverty level is alarming. Less than 17.65% percent of Cameroonian adults earn more than 200,000 FCFA (~\$400) dollars a month. Cameroonians are mostly concerned about the state of infrastructure in the country: electricity, water, bridges, roads, railways and sea ports. Today, 90 percent of Cameroonians believe the road infrastructure is bad or very bad.

Governance:

A large majority of Cameroonians (82.17 %) want local administrators such as Governors to be elected by the people. Cameroonians have very little confidence in the legislature (only 16.31 % support the work done at the national assembly and 14.48 at the senate); supreme court (only 18.15 % of support), central government (16.93 % of support); constitutional council (16.40 % of support). The vast majority of Cameroonians (65.04%) believe the Anglophone conflict is the greatest threat to the security of the country and most do not support the government's war in the Northwest and Southwest regions. Only 7.84 % percent of Cameroonians support the use of force while 85.49 % percent believe dialogue or negotiation should be the way forward.

Political Preference:

Not surprising, the incumbent president, Paul Biya, is deeply unpopular after 36 years in power, managing only 29.82% percent of support. Three opposition candidates stand out with the

young 38-year Cabral Libii among the group with 11.24 percent. The other top two candidates being Mr. Maurice Kamto (12.65 percent) of the Cameroon Renaissance Movement and Mr. Joshua Osih (13.10 percent) of the Social Democratic Front. The top three candidates were all within the margin of error. Mr. Libii's is mostly supported among Francophone youths where he commands 19.37 percent support among those less than 35 years old. The biggest surprise is the very poor showing from Mr. Akere Muna, with a support of only 2.12 percent. It is very clear today that if Cameroon's opposition parties are seriously interested in winning the single-round presidential elections scheduled for October 7, 2018, coalescing between Mr. Libii, Mr. Kamto and Mr. Osih, or only two of the three would greatly increase their chances. One must be worried as 49.65 percent of Cameroonians are concerned of the risk of post-electoral violence.

This survey and report would not be possible without the dedication of a very large team at Nkafu led by Dr. Fuein Vera Kum and Mr. Eugene Arnaud Yombo Sembe. Special thanks to Agathe Djomeghu, Odette Kibu, Antoinette Koudjon, Laura Njitone, Egoh Aziz, and Ulrich D'Pola Kamden for their role as field supervisors. We are grateful to our 10 data collectors (enumerators) who each spent ten days in the field collecting primary data for this report. We recognize Mr. Melaine Nsaikila for his initial input into survey design and thank Mr. Edwin Lontum and Ms. Sarah Glacel for statistical support. We are grateful to our communications team for the design and layout of the report. They include Mr. Epoh Severin Magloire, Mr. Martin Arrey, Ms. Dorice Njonkep and Mr. Stephane Douanla.

In conducting this survey and publishing this report, we hope to cultivate the spirit of evidence-informed policymaking to unleash shared prosperity. The challenges facing the country demand collective action. Our future is on the line.

Denis A. Foretia, MD MPH MBA FACS
Co-Chair
Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since Cameroon's return to a multiparty electoral system in the 1990s, a common thread of many national and local elections has been the wave of disputes that follow the proclamation of results. These disputes have sometimes resulted in real post-election crises, as was the case in the presidential election of 11 October 1992.

Then Nkafu Policy Institute believes that such post-election disputes can be significantly reduced or eliminated through promoting transparency in the electoral process and respect for the rules governing the processes. Understanding and reporting the opinions, preferences and intentions of the adult population through scientifically sound public opinion surveys can be instrumental in propelling Cameroon towards better democratic governance and inclusive economic development. Without a doubt, such surveys are critical in informing and possibly enhancing democratic choices.

With a goal of improving transparency, the Nkafu Policy Institute, one of the leading think tanks in Cameroon, conducted a large scientific public opinion survey on the eve of this year's presidential elections to understand the perceptions of adult Cameroonians on issues related to the economy, governance, public institutions, democracy, media interactions, and candidate preferences. The survey was conducted with high scientific rigor and a very large sample size of 2,024. It surveyed adult Cameroonians in both rural and urban regions, in all 10 regions, from September 10 to September 20, 2018. All interviews were conducted before the official start of campaign season.

The key findings of this survey are all very impressive. It shows that adult Cameroonians perceive their standard of living to be very low and the available public infrastructures dilapidated. 77.06% of Cameroonians, especially men, believe that the country is heading in the wrong direction, with a small minority (14.88%) stating that the country is on the right path. Key issues highlighted by Cameroonians include a lack of portable water, poor road infrastructures, low quality education, limited electricity, and poor access to basic healthcare. A large number of Cameroonians, 43.37%, state that their personal economic situation has gotten progressively worse compared to last year, while only 13.65% say their economic situation has improved and 37.23% report no change.

On governance, 51.91% of Cameroonians are against an easy process for any government to make modifications to the country's constitution. They think Cameroon's laws should make it very difficult to amend the constitution. When asked to choose between democracy and

prosperity, a slim majority (50.85%) say they prefer democracy, while 45.05% say they prefer prosperity. However, women have a higher preference for prosperity than democracy (49.09% against 46.00%), while men have a much stronger preference for democracy than prosperity (55.52% against 41.16%).

47.37% of Cameroonians think the democratic process has gotten worse in the past two years with only 10.35% of respondents reporting an improvement in the same period. These sentiments are shared almost similarly across the gender and age groups. Respondents were also asked about their perception of the government, state institutions and form of state they prefer. The results reveal a serious legitimacy crisis of institutions in the country. Cameroonians do not trust and do not have confidence in the Judiciary system, the Legislative system (parliament and senate), and the Executive arm of government.

This survey also uncovered a high level of voter apathy. Only 65.36% of respondents reported being registered to vote, with an even smaller number 54.13% reporting that they are likely or somewhat likely to vote. 58.76% of respondents think president Paul Biya is going to win the forthcoming elections even though only 29.82% of adult Cameroonians report a preference for his candidacy. Three opposition candidates stand out with the young 38-year old Cabral Libii among the group with 11.24 % support by Cameroonians. The other top two candidates are Mr. Joshua Osih (13.10 %) of the Social Democratic Front and Mr. Maurice Kamto (12.65%) of the Cameroon Renaissance Movement. 23.54% are undecided or chose not to respond. Obtaining a consensus candidate from two or all of the leading oppositions candidates will dramatically improve their chances of winning at the polls. Disturbingly, 49.65% believe that post electoral violence is likely after 7 October 2018.

With regards to the security situation in the country, 65.04% of Cameroonians think the Anglophone problem is the greatest threat to peace and unity. When asked about a possible path to a solution, 85.49 % of Cameroonians stated that the problem should be resolved through dialogue and negotiation. 60.72% of participants also proposed the implementation of an effective decentralized system. It is clear from the analysis that only 33.5% of Cameroonians are in support of a federal form of government as the way out of this crisis. Assuming a federal form of government is to be put in place, 46.31% of Cameroonians, prefer a federal state with 10 regions while 40.37 % prefer Federalism with 2 states based on the former 1961 constitution.

Almost half, 47.74% of survey respondents receive news and information via Television. This is followed by the social medias with 22.89% and radio with 18.63%. Only 5.50% of the population read newspapers, specifically in cities and towns. 74% of respondents also report believing and trusting the information they receive on social media to a very large extent. 27.16% of respondents watch equinox television regularly, more than even the state-owned TV station – CRTV with only a 19.60 viewership, and an even smaller population, 12.35%, believe the content in their reports.

RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Cameroon has held four (4) presidential elections since the return to multiparty democracy in 1990. These elections - in 1992, 1997, 2004 and 2011 have been marred by significant irregularities and fraud. The electoral process reveals major flaws in the country's democratic framework. The incumbent, President Paul Biya, who has been in power since 1982, has instituted an electoral system that allows him to have total control of the democratic process. The electoral calendar is decided by the president, who has the authority to postpone all elections. The ruling party has opposed all attempts to institute two-rounds of voting in the presidential election, has refused the institution of a single bulletin, and fully controls the members of Elections Cameroon (ELECAM), an institution that is supposed to be non-partisan in nature. The persistent complaints of election rigging underscore the need to create conditions that increase the legitimacy of Cameroon's elections.

Since 2013, the Nkafu Policy Institute, a leading Cameroonian think tank at the Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation in Cameroon, has been working to promote policies that improve economic and political freedoms in order to stimulate shared prosperity. To contribute to the achievement of this objective the Nkafu previously conducted the Cameroon Governance Survey. This current survey report serves to contribute to this body of work by presenting results of a survey of adult Cameroonians on issues related to the economy, governance, institutions, democracy, media and the upcoming presidential elections.

At the time of this report Cameroon is experiencing several crises, most notably the Anglophone conflict that is draining the economy, causing severe suffering in refugees and internally displaced, with thousands of Cameroonians haven lost their lives. This survey attempts to understand the perceptions of citizens on these major crises, their means of accessing the media and their views on the presidential elections. The findings are very useful in informing policymakers and the international community with critical information regarding governance in Cameroon and how to better strengthen the democratic process.

This report details the findings from a representative, nationwide public opinion survey conducted by the Nkafu Policy Institute. This survey was supported by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Nkafu modified a 69-question survey instrument that was administered to 2,024 randomly selected Cameroonians in all 10 regions from September 10 to September 20, 2018. An extensive data cleaning was conducted prior to analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted via direct face to face interviews with the respondents from September 10 to September 20, 2018. This was carried out by experienced enumerators recruited and trained for the specific exercise by the Foundation. The design, training, administration and analysis of results was conducted by an experienced external consultant hired specifically for the purpose.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire used for this study was adapted from the Survey of Burma/Myanmar conducted by the International Republican Institute between March and April 2017. After an extensive literature review on issues related to democracy, good governance and the rule of law, and consultations within the research team members on the realities of Cameroon and additional needs of the country, a list of 69 Multi-select questions was finalized. This questionnaire covered a range of issues like demographics, public service delivery, governmental institutions and the democratic process, elections, political participation, rule of law and communication habits. The questionnaire was originally written in English and subsequently translated into French by professional translators to facilitate its proper administration in Cameroon's two official languages.

Tool of Administration

The survey was directly administered to respondents via a platform call KoBo Toolbox. Developed and administered by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Kobo Toolbox allows structured surveys to be administered whilst offline, with data uploaded and synthesized automatically when the user reaches a hotspot. Although KoBo Toolbox permits both web and mobile entries, this survey exclusively used the mobile entry format to avoid voluntary sampling bias. We used a dedicated app called Kobo Collect installed in android tablets acquired explicitly for this purpose.

Interviewers

Ten interviewers with background and extensive experience in field data collection techniques were recruited to conduct the survey in each of the ten regions of the country. The selection process was done to make sure interviewers mastered the geography and customs of the respective regions they had to cover.

All interviewers underwent two days of extensive training at the Foundation headquarters in Yaounde to equip them with the specific research goals and refresh their ideas in sampling and interviewing methods. In addition, interviewers also received instruction containing a general description of the project, the questionnaire, the method of selecting addresses for the interviews, respondent selection method and communication courtesy. Finally, the entire digital questionnaire was jointly examined and tested and important issues that could arise in the field were discussed.

Sample

A total of 2,024 respondents were initially interviewed across the ten regions of the country, representing both urban and rural settings in each region. Respondents were Cameroonian citizens of voting age currently resident in the country.

While sampling locations and number of sampling units for each location were defined in advance by the consultant based on population demographics, the selection of addresses, the selection of households and the selection of individuals of voting age was randomly performed by enumerators following general instructions from the consultant.

Finally, Census data was used to weigh the final sample based on regional and gender distribution. With a population size of 21,173,237 inhabitants for a 95% confidence level, the survey's margin of error stands at 3%.

Data Analysis

The data from KoBo Toolbox was first downloaded into a spread sheet where basic data cleaning was initially conducted. The data was then imported into Stata MP 13 for additional processing and logical control. All the analysis performed was on Stata 13, and the data, codebook and code were handed to the Foundation.

This distribution was drawn to fit the national population distribution as follows:

Table 1: Regional distribution of respondents.

Region	Percentage composition of total population (%)	Number in Sample
Adamawa	5.35	60
Center	18.51	210
East	3.89	44
Far North	17.96	203
Littoral	14.99	169
North	10.92	123
North West	8.98	101
South	3.50	41
South West	7.00	79
West	8.81	100
Total	1,130	100%

SURVEY FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHICS

A majority of respondents were male, making up 51.15% of the total sample with women making up 48.85 percent. 63.09% of respondents were between 20 and 35 years old, 32.03% were between 35 and 60 years old, and the remaining 4.88% were above 60.

A plurality (35.94%) identified as Christian (Catholic), followed by Protestants (26.35%), Muslim (18.10%), Other (9.85%), Pentecostal (6.48%) and native traditional religions (3.28%). 33.75% of respondents are holders of the GCE Advanced levels or the Baccalaureate, followed by holders of bachelor's degrees and other undergraduate diplomas at 24.67%. Those with primary education make up 22.44%, master's and post graduate diplomas (10.77%), Religious/ Islamic education (3.56%), no formal education (3.47%) and doctorate degrees (1.34%)

In terms of employment, 39.05% say they are self-employed, 30.52% are unemployed, 16.25% are employed in the private sector and 14.18% work for the government.

Of those who disclosed their monthly income, 28.80% earn less than 25,000; 34.80% earn between 25,000 and 75,000 FCFA; 11.16% make between 200,000 and 500,000 FCFA per month, and only 0.94% earn more than 500,000 FCFA a month.

THE ECONOMY

Asked to describe the current economic situation in the country, a great majority (79.1%) think it is bad or very bad, while only 16.82% consider it as good or very good. Ninety percent (90%) of those in the highest income group (above 500,000 FCFA per month) think the current economic situation is bad or very bad. Of those with the least income (earning less than 25,000 per month), 81.11% think the situation is bad or very bad.

At the level of the top priority in the economy, 30.4% think general infrastructure (roads, railways, bridges, water, etc.) should be the first priority; 27.6% believe social amenities (healthcare, education, housing, etc.) should be the top priority; 22.6% think security (crime, conflict, violence) should be the top priority while 18.6% consider employment, prices and income as top priority.

Table 2: Top priority in the economy

Priorities	Percentage of respondents	General rank in terms of priorities
General infrastructure: roads, electricity, bridges, telecommunications, water, railways, ports, etc	30.4%	1
Social amenities: healthcare, Education, housing, child and family support etc	27.6%	2
Security: conflict, crime, violence, etc	22.6%	3
Economy: employment, prices, income, etc	18.6%	4

Asked to think back to a year ago and assess their present personal economic situation, 46.37% of respondents say their personal economic situation has gotten worse, 13.65% say it has improved and 37.23% say things have stayed the same. Of those who said their situation has improved over the past year 50% are those who earn 500,000 FCFA and above; 17.65% are those earning between 200,000 and 500,000 FCFA per month; 14.34% are those making between 75,000 and 200,000 FCFA per month; 15.09% of those making between 25,000 and 75,000 FCFA and 11.07% of those making less than 25,000 FCFA per month. This same group, those with the least income, appears to have been hit the hardest with 51.47% saying their economic situation has gotten worse over the past year, with only 20% of those in the highest income group reporting that their situation has gotten worse.

On the current standard of living of their households, 58.6% of respondents say it is bad or very bad, while 38.21% report that it is good or very good.

Asked about what proportion of household's income is spent on basic necessities like food, clothing and housing, 14.84% of respondents say 0 to 10% of their income is spent on these necessities; 43.59% of respondents spend between 10 and 40% of their income on basic necessities; 27.11% of respondents spend between 40 and 70% of their income on these needs and 14.47% of respondents spend above 70% of their income on basic needs.

For spending on social amenities (education, healthcare, etc.), 25.88% of respondents say they spend between 0 and 10% of household income, 44.64% say they spend between 10 and 40%, 22.09 spend between 40 and 70%; and 7.39% say they spend above 70% on social services.

INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND PERCEPTION OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

General Concerns and Public Service Delivery.

77.06% of respondents say that overall, things in the country are headed in the wrong direction. Men share this sentiment more strongly than women with 79.41% of men saying the country is headed in the wrong direction against 74.59% for women. Only 14.88% of the general population think that the country is headed in the right direction, with the remaining 8.06% saying they don't know.

When asked about what the top priority area for the government should be, a plurality of respondents proposes general infrastructure (49.47%), followed by levels of security at 39.56%. Quality of health services comes third at 22.14% and the economy comes last with 18.73%. Women however place social amenities at the top with 30.42%.

On the state of road infrastructure in Cameroon, an overwhelming majority (90%) of respondents think the road infrastructure is Bad or very bad, with only 8.23 saying the roads are good or very good. Men and women share this sentiment in almost equal proportion with 88.77% of women and 91.17% of men saying that the road infrastructure is bad or very bad. 87.54% of respondents say they have access to electricity in their homes, (87.43% of women and 87.65% of men). Of these, 38.06% describe the stability of their electricity supply as bad or very bad, while 61.64% describe the stability of their electricity supply as good or very good. 53.78% of respondents say they have access to portable water in their homes, with both women and men in equal proportion. Of these, 48.61% describe the quality of water in their homes as bad or very bad, while half (50%) describe it as good or very good. Asked about the stability of the water supply they get at their homes, 41.28% describe it as good or very good, while 57.73% describe it as bad or very bad. For the remaining 46.22 of respondents who say they have no access to portable water at home, 22.00% get water from a neighbor's tap, 19.06% from a public / community tap, 12.77% get theirs from a stream, 8.25% from a well and the remaining 37.92% say they get water from other sources. Asked about the quality of water they get from these sources, 45.76 describe it as bad or very bad, while 49.9% describe it as good or very good.

An overwhelming majority of respondents have access to the cellular network (90.29%), and this is almost the same for both males and females. Of these, 74.01 describe their connectivity as good or very good, while 25.49 describe it as bad or very bad.

65.63% of Cameroonians describe the quality of health care services as bad or very bad, against 31.27% who describe health services as good or very good. 54.26% of Cameroonians describe the quality of education in the country as bad or very bad, against 43.16% who describe it as good or very good. Meanwhile, 2.58% of respondents remained silent.

Asked to describe the security situation in the country, the vast majority (76.55%) described it as bad or very bad, with women sharing this sentiment slightly more than men: 79.53% against 73.71%. 21.86% of respondents describe the situation as good or very good.

Table 3. Assessment of the quality of services.

Service	Very good (Percentage)	Good (Percentage)	Don't know / No response (Percentage)	Bad (Percentage)	Very bad (Percentage)
State of road infrastructure	0.27	7.96	1.77	40.53	49.47
Stability of electricity supply	4.45	57.19	0.30	29.86	8.20
Quality of potable water at home	3.81	46.19	1.32	36.42	12.25
Stability of home water supply	4.44	36.84	0.99	42.43	15.30
Quality of water obtained by those without portable water at home	2.96	46.94	4.34	34.71	11.05
Cellular network connectivity	11.07	62.94	0.49	19.17	6.32
Quality of health services	1.33	29.94	3.14	31.75	33.88
Quality of education	2.22	40.94	2.58	36.68	17.58
Level of security	1.24	20.62	1.59	36.99	39.56

PERCEPTIONS ON DEMOCRACY, CORRUPTION AND INSTITUTIONS.

Asked about the relative ease with which it should be possible to amend the constitution of Cameroon, 51.91% of respondents think it should be difficult or very difficult to amend. On the other hand, 33.45% of respondents think it should be easy or very easy to amend. We notice a significant gender gap here, with even more women (53.62% saying the constitution should be difficult or very difficult to amend, against 50.26% for men.

Asked to choose between democracy and prosperity, a slight majority (50.85%) say they prefer democracy, while 45.05% say they prefer prosperity. However, women have a higher

preference for prosperity than democracy (49.09% against 46.00%), while males have a much stronger preference for democracy than prosperity (55.52% against 41.16%).

Asked about progress made in the democratic process within the past two years, 47.37% of respondents think things have gotten worse, with 34.70% saying things have stayed the same. Only 10.35% of respondents think that the democratic process has improved over the past two years. These sentiments are shared almost similarly across the gender groups.

Respondents were also asked about their perception of various arms of government, state institutions and levels of government. Their responses are summarized in table 3 below.

Table 4: Perception of State Institutions and Levels of Government.

Entity	Very good	Good	Don't know / No response	Bad	Very bad
Central government	0.71	16.93	6.65	45.21	30.50
National Assembly	1.06	16.31	11.17	38.03	33.42
The Senate	0.62	14.48	19.18	34.01	31.71
The Constitutional Council	0.89	16.40	30.59	29.61	22.52
Supreme Court of Cameroon	0.98	18.15	23.40	31.85	25.62
Regional administrations headed by the Governor	1.51	30.14	13.03	34.57	20.74
local council headed by the Mayor/ Government delegate	5.24	29.37	8.25	32.30	24.84

Asked about whether they will support more autonomy and power for the regions or support centralized power and decision making from the central government in Yaoundé, respondents overwhelmingly say they will support more autonomy to be given to the regions with 82.55% of respondents sharing this view against 10.77% who support centralized power in Yaoundé. Anglophones are even more vocal about this with over 96.55% of English speaking respondents saying they would prefer more autonomy to be given to the regions against 78.26% of Francophones.

Asked about whether or not regional and local administrators, such as Governors should be elected by the citizens or appointed by the head of state, 82.17% of respondents say they should be elected by the citizens, while 11.14% think they should be appointed by the President. Again, Anglophones more than Francophones support the notion that local and regional administrators should be elected by the citizens: 93.10% against 78.86%.

Bribery and Corruption

Interviewed about bribery and corruption in the formal justice and police systems, in the last three months, in order to know whether or not they have given money, goods or provide service to a police or gendarme officer or to a judicial officer (judge, public prosecutor or any court official), in exchange for a service you believe should be provided free of charge, fortunately, 76.07% Cameroonians attest having no more been victim or author of a corruption practice, while only 23.93% accept been part of it in justice and with police.

ON THE 2018 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The 2018 Presidential elections are scheduled for 7 October. The Nkafu Policy Institute sought to survey the candidate preferences of adult Cameroonians of voting age. 65.36% of those surveyed reported being registered to vote with more males (70.10%) compared to females (60.44%). Regarding the last presidential elections in 2011, 46.54% report haven voted. Gender and age associations were not statistically significant. For the upcoming elections, 54.13% are Very Likely or Somewhat Likely to vote. In terms of likelihood to vote in the elections, Francophones are more likely or very likely to vote than Anglophones (60.49% against 32.33%), while Anglophones are somewhat unlikely or very unlikely to vote than Francophones (58% against 34%).

When asked who they will vote for president if the elections were held today, the incumbent president Paul Biya is deeply unpopular, receiving only 29.82% support. Three opposition candidates have distinguished themselves and are by far the leading contenders. They are the 38-year-old Cabral Libii at 11.24%, Maurice Kamto at 12.65% and Joshua Osih at 13.10%. The other candidates received little support: Garga Haman Adji (3.89%), Ndifor Afanwi Franklin (2.21%), Akere Muna (2.12%), Serge Espoir Matomba (0.71%) and Ndam Njoya (0.71%). 23.54% chose not to respond to this question.

Asked who they thought was likely to win the elections 58.23% believed the incumbent Paul Biya; 8.05% for Joshua Osih, 6.81% for Maurice Kamto and 6.02% for Cabral Libii.

Given the current political context, the Nkafu Policy Institute was interested in the likelihood of conducting peaceful elections. It is surprising to notice that almost a majority of Cameroonians are concerned at the prospects of post-electoral violence. 49.65% of respondents believe post-electoral violence is Likely or Somewhat Likely.

Table 5. Likelihood of having a post-electoral violence in Cameroon

Likelihood	20-35	35-60	Above 60	Overall
Very likely	27.12%	18.11%	18.18%	23.80%
Somewhat likely	27.26%	23.12%	25.45%	25.85%
Don't know / No response	15.54%	15.60%	20.00%	15.78%
Somewhat unlikely	14.41%	22.84%	20.00%	17.38%
Very unlikely	15.68%	20.33%	16.36%	17.20%

Interrogated on their opinion regarding the decision by President Biya to again run for re-election, 64.20% are against another mandate. There were no significant gender associations.

Table 6. Opinion on the candidacy of the President Biya

Answer	Overall percentage	20-35	35-60	+60
No	64.20%	66.91%	60.67%	53.70%
Yes	35.80%	33.09%	39.33%	46.30%

This survey also shows how there is a lack of political participation of Cameroonians in politics via political apparatus or Political Parties. To the question of their political affiliations, only 14.18 % of Cameroonians report being members of political parties while 85.82 % are not interested in joining a political party.

Table 7. Participation of Cameroonians in Political parties

Answer	Overall	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	+60
No	85.82%	88.32%	83.39%	90.37%	78.33%	76.36%
Yes	14.18%	11.68%	16.61%	9.63%	21.67%	23.64%

For those who are already in political parties, the survey reveals that 38.74 % do not have a specific reason for joining the party. 18.14 % became members because of the party platform and networks while 12.64 % are influenced by the charisma of their leaders.

Table 8. Reasons of Cameroonian’s affiliation in political parties

Reason	Overall	20-35	35-60	Above 60
Don't know / No response	38.74%	42.86%	30.61%	42.59%
Family ties	3.57%	2.52%	5.45%	3.70%
Others	14.17%	13.95%	14.55%	14.81%
Party leader	8.26%	6.72%	10.91%	9.26%
Party platform	18.14%	16.64%	20.91%	18.52
Quality of Candidates	12.64%	12.10%	14.24%	7.41%
Regional origin	4.49	5.21%	3.33%	3.70%

Since the birth of multiparty politics in Cameroon, there has been a proliferation of political parties in the country, with more than 200 political parties currently registered. Asked on what should be the ideal number of political parties in the country, 35.63% think the country should have as many political parties as possible; 26.45% think political parties should be restricted to those with current representation in parliament; 31.86% think the country should be restricted to only two political parties, and 6.06% think the country should return to a one-party state.

It is also important to understand the crisis of legitimacy in Cameroon between elected officials and the people. 81.91% of Cameroonians have not in the past year had any interaction with the parliamentarian representing their constituency, while only 18.09% have had such an opportunity.

Table 9. Representation of interactions between the people and elected officials

Answer	Overall	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	+60
No	81.91%	85.40%	78.57%	84.42%	78.21%	72.73%
Yes	18.09%	14.60%	21.43%	15.58%	21.79%	27.27%

In the same line, 44.80% of respondents do not want any interaction with elected officials while 55.20 % think they will welcome such an opportunity.

Table 10. Availability of Cameroonian to meet elites

Answer	Overall	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	+60
No	44.80%	53.13%	36.72%	41.77%	50.57%	49.06%
Yes	55.20%	46.88%	63.28%	58.23%	49.43%	50.94%

A majority (70.91%) would like to see elected officials hold regular meetings with their constituents.

Table 11. Preferred form of interaction with any politician

Form of interaction	Overall percentage	Females	Males
Call me on phone	2.81%	3.94%	1.99%
Organise a political rally	13.22%	12.99%	13.39%
Organise a neighborhood or local town hall meeting	70.91%	65.75%	74.64%
Send me an email or text message	1.82%	1.18%	2.28%
Visit my home	11.24%	16.14%	7.69%

Asked if politicians listen to the needs and ideas of the people, only 19.36% percent of Cameroonians Agree or Somewhat Agree.

Table 12. Perception of gap between citizens and elites

Perception	Overall percentage	20-35	35-60	+60
Strongly agree	5.33%	5.93%	4.17%	5.45%
Somewhat agree	14.03%	13.42%	16.11%	7.27%
Don't know/ No response	7.19%	8.76%	3.89%	9.09%
Somewhat disagree	34.55%	32.06%	38.89%	40.00%
Strongly disagree	38.90%	39.83%	36.94%	38.18%

ON THE ANGLOPHONE CONFLICT

Asked to give their opinion about security context in the country, a majority of Cameroonians (65.04%) think that Anglophone conflict is the greatest threat to peace and security in the country. Only 11.36% think Boko Haram is the most important threat. There is a major perception difference between Anglophones and Francophones. 79.01% of Anglophones believe the crisis is the most important threat compared to only 60.95% of Francophones.

Table 13. Perceptions on insecurity in Cameroon

Source of threat	Overall percentage	Females	Males	Anglophones	Francophones
Electoral fraud	13.21%	9.44%	17.01%	11.07%	13.90%
Inter tribal disputes	5.94%	3.81%	7.99%	4.58%	6.37%
Others	4.39%	3.27%	5.38%	2.67%	4.87%
The Anglophone crisis	65.04%	70.42%	59.90%	79.01%	60.95%
The Boko Haram Insurgency	11.36%	13.07%	9.72%	2.67%	13.90%

In terms of preserving a unified Cameroon, 65.80% Cameroonians think decentralization is the best way with 33.57 thinking it is through a federal state.

Table 14. Form of State

Form of State	Overall percentage	Anglophones	Francophones
Centralised government	0.63%	1.92%	0.23%
Decentralisation	65.80%	26.82%	77.63%
Federation	33.57%	71.26%	22.13%

If a federation is agreed to as the form of the state 46.31% Cameroonians would prefer to have a 10-state federation; 40.37% prefer a return to the 2-state Federation as per the 1961 constitution. Only 13.32 % think we need 4 states based on geographical representation (North, South, East and West). Remarkably, 36.60% of Francophones would prefer a 2-state Federation.

Table 15. Constitution Revision

Number of States	Overall percentage	Females	Males	Anglophones	Francophones
10 (based on the current regional configuration)	46.31%	40.37%	52.56%	37.40%	49.58%
2 (based on the 1961 constitution)	40.37%	45.44%	35.04%	50.39%	36.69%
4 (based on ethnic lines)	13.32%	14.20%	12.39%	12.20%	13.74%

Asked about how they think the Anglophone conflict should be resolved, an overwhelming majority (85.49%) think it should be resolved through dialogue or negotiation rather than 7.84% who support the use of military force as is currently the case.

Table 16. Solving Anglophone Crisis

Mode of settlement	Overall percentage	Anglophones	Francophones
Others	6.68%	15.38%	4.07%
Through dialogue / negotiations	85.49%	84.62%	85.71%
Through the military / use of force	7.84%	0.00%	10.22%

When asked what they thought was the best solution to the Anglophone conflict 60.72% of Cameroonians sited implementation of effective decentralization. There was a major difference between Francophones and Anglophones. Among Anglophones, an astounding 39.77% were willing to accept on one-on-one interviews, that the best solution was the separation/restoration. This is particularly significant because in the country being a proponent for separation/restoration is a treasonous offense punishable by the death penalty.

Table 17. “Best” solution to the Anglophone Conflict

Proposed solution	Overall percentage	Females	Males	Anglophones	Francophones
A federation	25.83%	24.45%	27.15%	40.93%	21.31%
Cessation / separation	13.45%	17.83%	9.28%	39.77%	5.50%
Implementation of effective decentralization	60.72%	57.72%	63.57%	19.31%	73.19%

ON THE MEDIA AND INFORMATION

About Social media usage and information access, namely as far as new and traditional media are concerned, Cameroonians obtain news and information from three (3) main sources: Television (47.74%), social media (22.89%) and radio (18.63%). Only 5.50% read newspapers, especially in cities and towns. 70.50% of Cameroonians use social media very frequently: 67.30% daily; 13.96% once a week; 4.40% once a month and 13.08% even less often. Among these social media users, 42.12% look for news, 33.29% stay in touch with

relatives, 9.58% for entertainments, 5.30% for business reasons and only 4.92% discuss politics online. Among them, a very large majority, almost 74 % trust the information they receive through social media.

The preferred TV station for Cameroonians is Equinoxe (27,16 %), followed by Canal 2 (23,74%), CRTV (19,60 %), Vision 4 (12,95 %) and STV (3,87%). Equinoxe is thought to be the best channel for reporting objective news as it is on the ground (39.86%), Canal 2 (17.94%), Vision 4 (13.89%), Crtv (12.35%), Stv (3.16%).

Table 18. Main source of information about happenings in the country.

Source of information	Overall percentage	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	>60
News papers	5.50%	4.17%	6.77%	6.63%	3.88%	1.82%
Others	5.24%	6.35%	4.17%	4.65%	5.54%	10.91%
Radio	18.63%	16.88%	20.31%	15.94%	21.33%	34.55%
Social media	22.89%	22.14%	23.61%	26.94%	17.73%	5.45%
Television	47.74%	50.45%	45.14%	45.84%	51.52%	47.27%

Table 19. Form of social media (Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, etc) used in the country.

Answer	Overall percentage	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	+60
No	29.50%	34.79%	24.43%	21.64%	38.27%	74.55%
Yes	70.50%	65.21%	75.57%	78.36%	61.73%	25.45%

Table 20. Usage of social medias in Cameroon

Activity	Overall percentage	Females	Males
Discuss politics	4.92%	2.77%	6.71%
Don't know / No response	0.88%	0.83%	0.93%
Get intertainment	9.58%	10.53%	8.80%
Look for news	42.12%	38.78%	44.91%
Others	3.91%	5.26%	2.78%
Perform business	5.30%	4.71%	5.79%
Stay in touch with family and friends	33.29%	37.12%	30.09%

Table 21. Proportions of reading news magazines, journals or newspapers in Cameroon

Frequency	Overall percentage	Females	Males
Every day	11.43%	8.20%	14.54%
Every week	18.39%	15.85%	20.84%
Every month	10.71%	10.56%	10.86%
Even more rarely	32.77%	31.33%	34.15%
Never	24.02%	31.51%	16.81%
Don't know / No response	2.68%	2.55%	2.80%

Table 22. Rank of National TV stations preferences of Cameroonians

TV network	Overall percentage	Females	Males	20-35	35-60	+60
CRTV	19.60%	19.85%	19.37%	18.45%	21.29%	22.22%
Canal 2	23.74%	25.00%	22.54%	22.46%	26.61%	20.37%
Equinoxe	27.16%	28.68%	25.70%	28.33%	25.21%	25.93%
STV	3.87%	4.04%	3.70%	3.15%	5.32%	3.70%
Vision 4	12.95%	8.46%	17.25%	15.59%	8.40%	9.26%
Others	12.68%	13.97%	11.44%	12.02%	13.17%	18.52%

CONCLUSION

This report details the results of a scientific, nationwide public opinion survey on the state on the economy, governance, security issues, democracy and electoral preferences of adult Cameroonians conducted by the Nkafu Policy Institute at the Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation. It was completed with the support of the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington D.C. The survey showed that the incumbent President Paul Biya is deeply unpopular with a large majority (7 out of 10 Cameroonians) opposed to the idea of him being a candidate for the October 7 presidential elections.

Three candidates – Cabral Libii (Parti Uniers), Joshua Osih (Social Democratic Front) and Maurice Kamto (Cameroon Renaissance Movement) are the runaway leaders among the group of 8 opposition candidates. No other opposition candidate registers more than 5% of national support. Mr. Cabral Libii, the youngest of all approved presidential candidates at 38, has been able to muster broad support despite haven spent less than two years in politics. It is evident that presenting a consensus candidate among two or all three of the leading opposition candidates will dramatically improve their prospects of winning at the polls and mobilizing the population to vote and ensure an accurate reflection of voter preferences in the official results. Cameroonians are genuinely worried about the prospects of post-electoral violence and therefore the international community should be proactive in helping to defuse the growing tensions.

Not surprising, less than 30 percent of Anglophones surveyed are likely to vote in the upcoming elections due to the ongoing conflict in the Anglophone regions. It remains unclear polling stations will be operational in these regions. This raises a key question regarding the election results: will the winner of the vote effectively be considered the President of Francophones? This is the central question regarding the elections.

A clear majority of Cameroonians now see the Anglophone conflict as the greatest threat to the security and unity of the country. In the same light, Cameroonians are strongly opposed to the use of military force and, by a wide majority, are supportive of dialogue and negotiations as the means of resolving the conflict. The international community should therefore seize on this opportunity to pressure the various factions to the negotiating table. Today, close to 40 percent of Anglophones living in Cameroon are not afraid to publicly support separation or restoration as the ultimate solution to the conflict. This development should be extremely worrying to Francophones especially and the international community as it is a clear indication that this conflict will not be resolved without significant compromise.

A large majority of Cameroonians would like to elect their local administrators such as Governors. However, with regards to the system of government, most Francophones indicate a preference for “Effective Decentralization”- a system that allows Governors to be appointed by the President. It is therefore not very clear whether Francophones really want Governors to be elected. Or, it may also be an indication that most Francophones do not want Effective Decentralization but are very opposed to the use of the word “Federalism” even though they welcome a federal system of governance. Only active national dialogue can bridge most of these differences.

The survey also showed a deep dissatisfaction among Cameroonians with regards to the direction of the economy and the country. Poverty is widespread, and most Cameroonians want government spending to be prioritized to major infrastructure and social services. The ongoing war in the Anglophone regions, rather than the pursuit of a peaceful negotiated outcome, will ensure that resources continue to be prioritized to the security sector. There are real concerns about the sustainability of such a priority. It is therefore very important that Cameroonians, with the strong support of international partners, actively hold the government accountable.

The survey, in very simplistic terms, shows a society in deep decay, with no sense of direction and very little agreement on the most basic processes. There is great concern that the growing tensions between communities and various political actors may degenerate into popular uprisings as societal norms continue to be eroded. There is great need, in the lead up to this presidential election, for a stronger involvement of the international community. It would be deeply unfortunate should the October 7 presidential elections further plunge the country deeper into crises. Strong actions must be taken to avert this real possibility. There is great yearning for a new consensus among Cameroonians, for a new beginning.

ANNEX A: REGIONAL MAP OF CAMEROON



 Far North

 North

 Adamawa

 East

 South

 Center

 Littoral

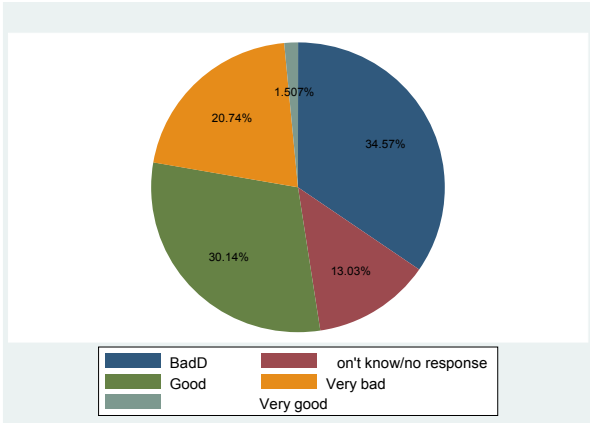
 South West

 North West

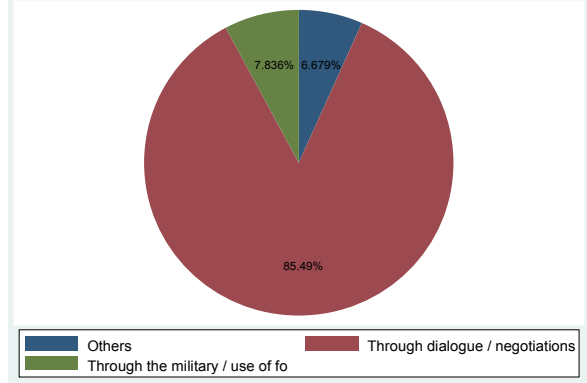
 West

ANNEX B: GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF RESULTS

How would you rate the performance of your regional administration headed by the governor??

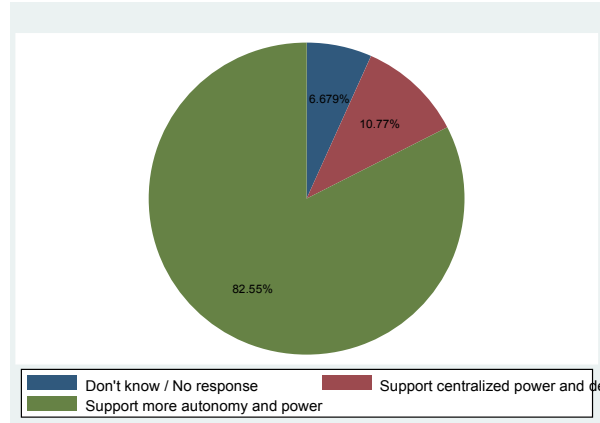
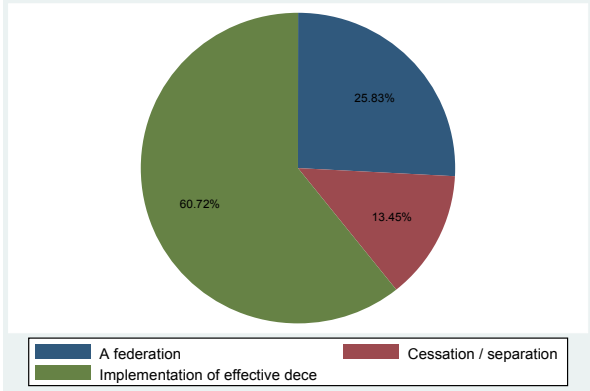


How do you think the Anglophone problem can be settled?

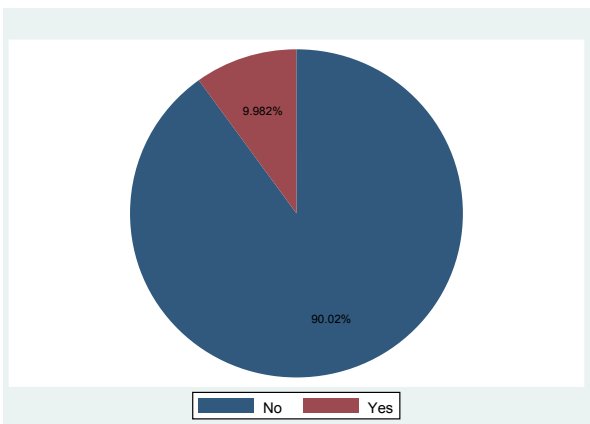


Based on your assessment of the current state of affairs in the country, would you say you

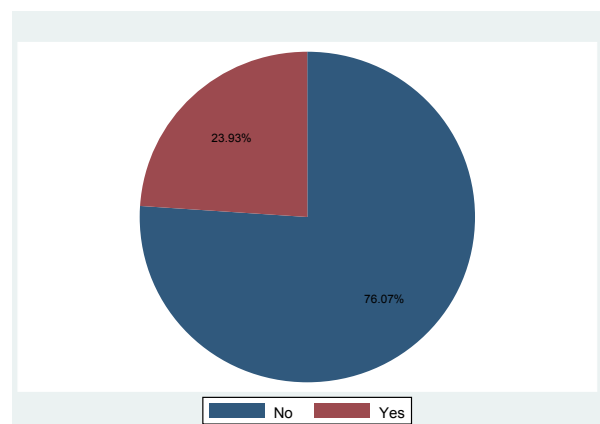
What do you think is the best solution to the Anglophone crisis



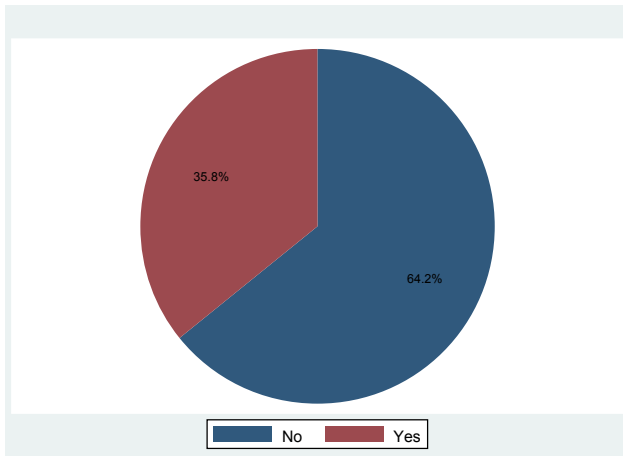
In the last three months, did you give any money, good or provide a service to a judicial officer (judge, public prosecutor or any court official) in exchange for a service you believe should be provided free of charge?



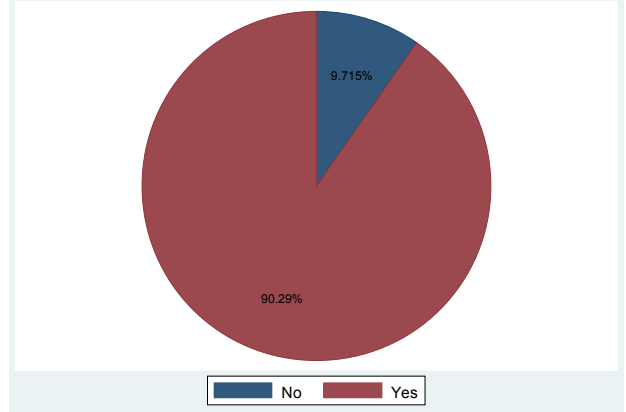
In the last three months, did you give money, goods or provide service to a police or gendarme officer in exchange for a service you believe should be provided free of charge?



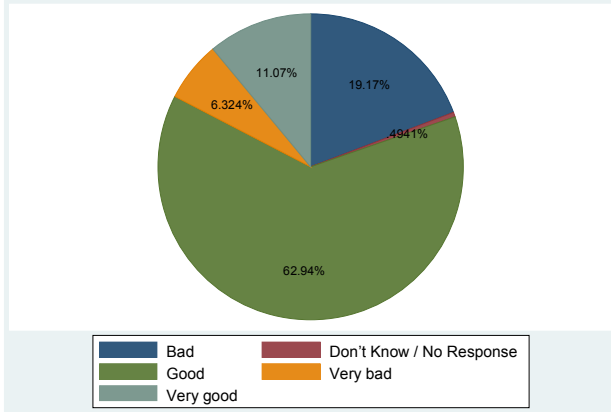
Do you think the president should present his candidacy for the next presidential elections?



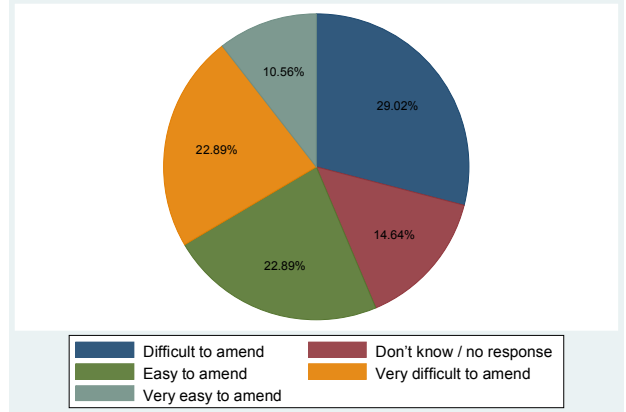
Do you have access to the cellular telephone network in your area?



How will you describe the cellular connectivity in your area?

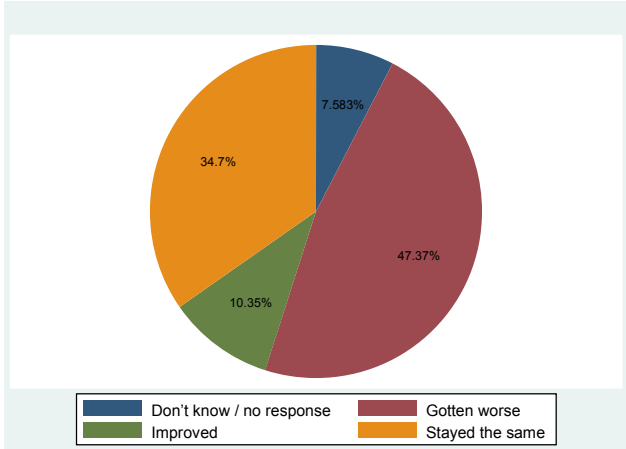
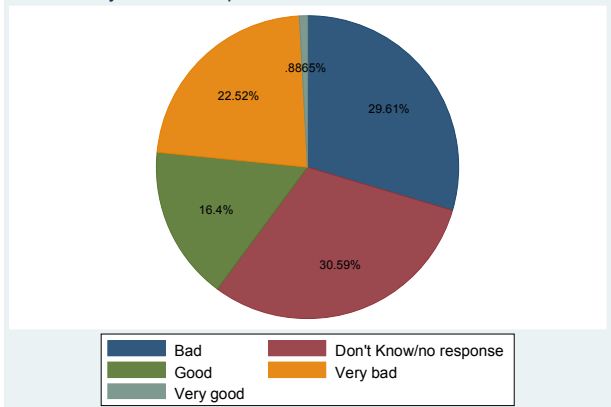


Would you prefer that in Cameroon, the constitution should be

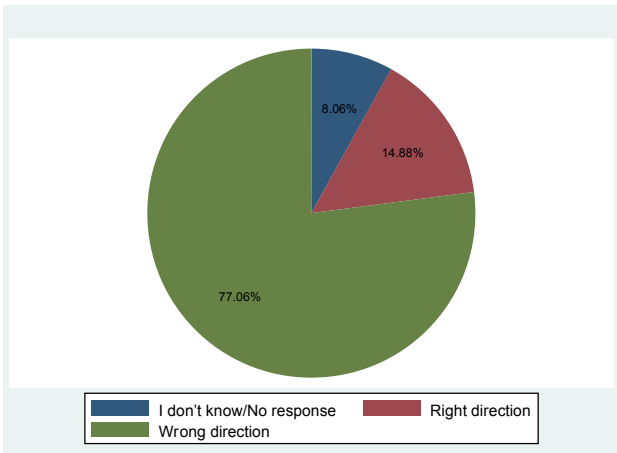


When it comes to the democratic process in Cameroon over the last two years, would you say things have

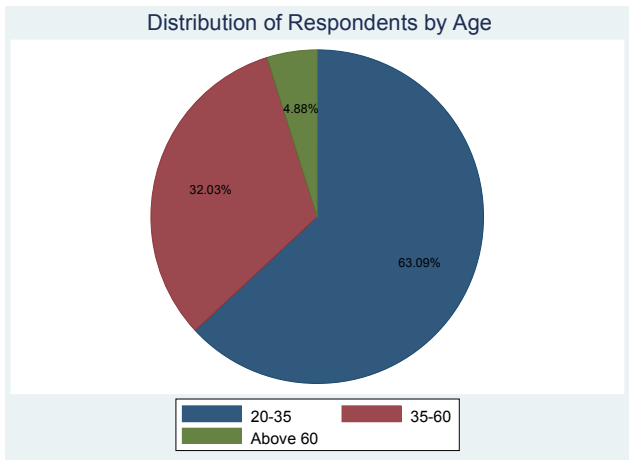
How would you rate the performance of the constitutional council?



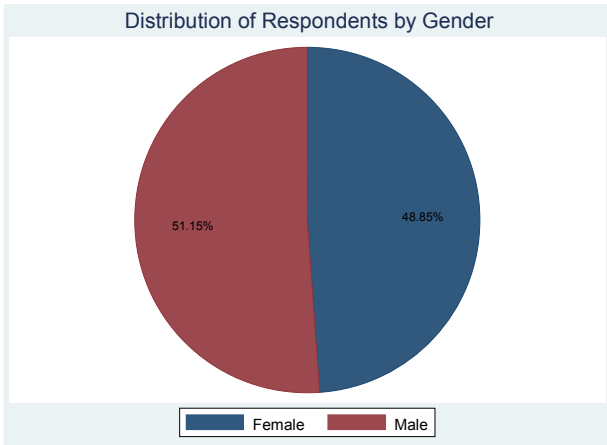
In general, would you say things in the country are headed in the right or wrong direction?



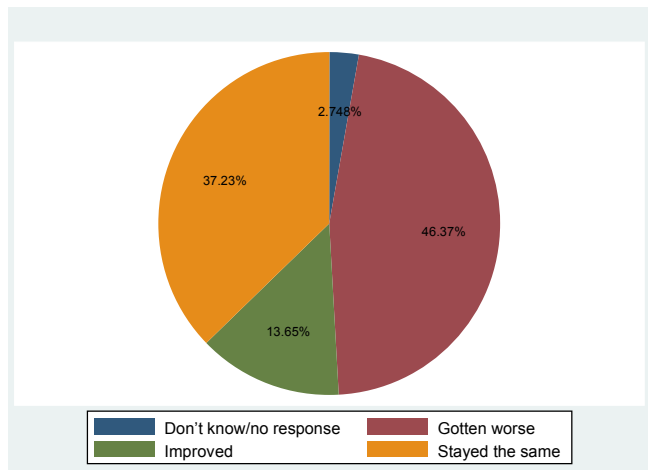
Distribution of Respondents by Age



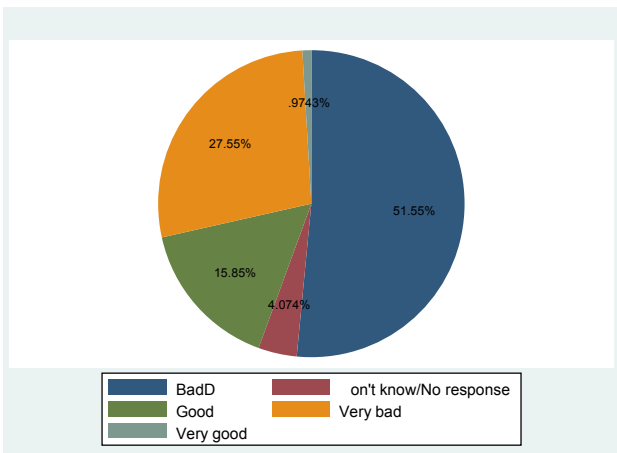
Distribution of Respondents by Gender



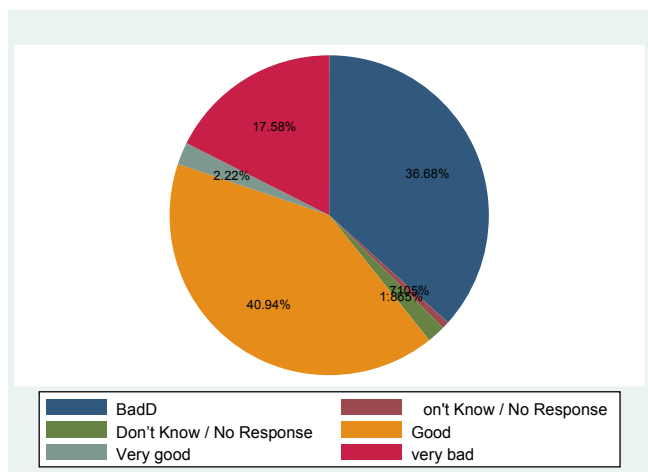
Thinking back to your economic situation a year ago, would you say that at the moment, your situation has:

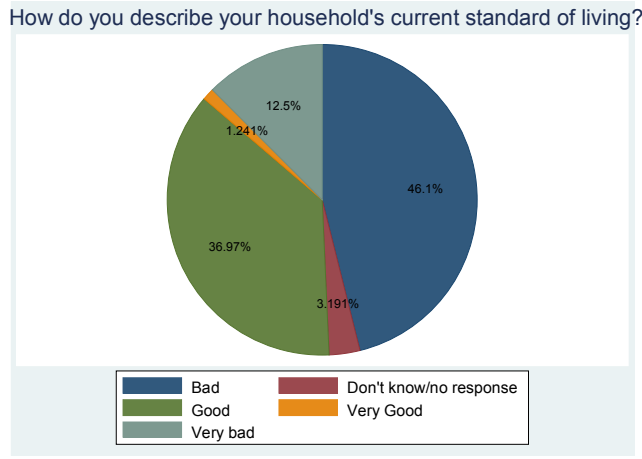
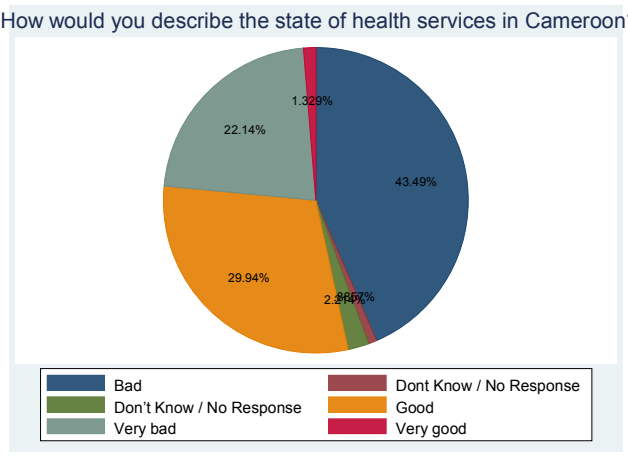
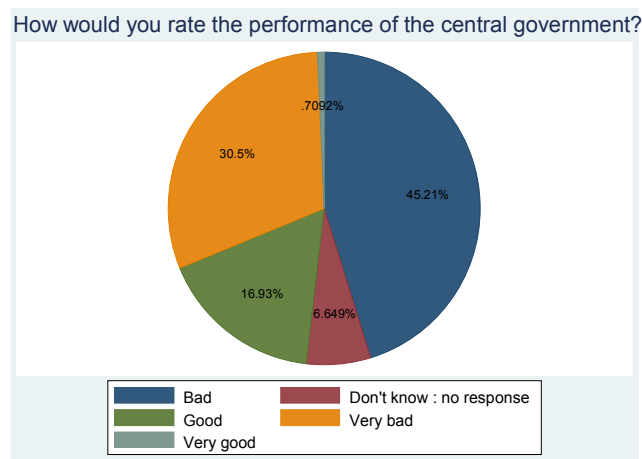
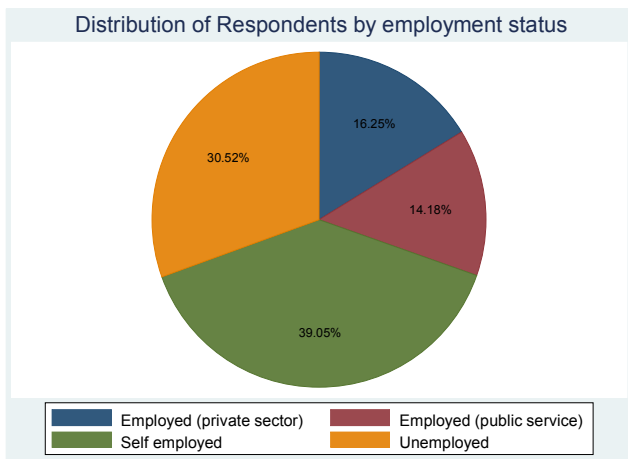
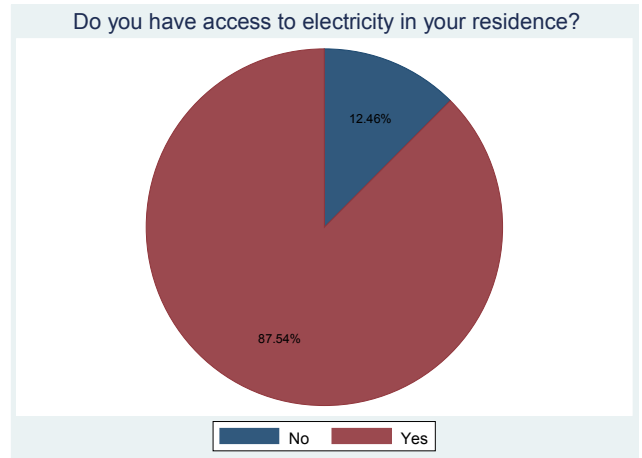
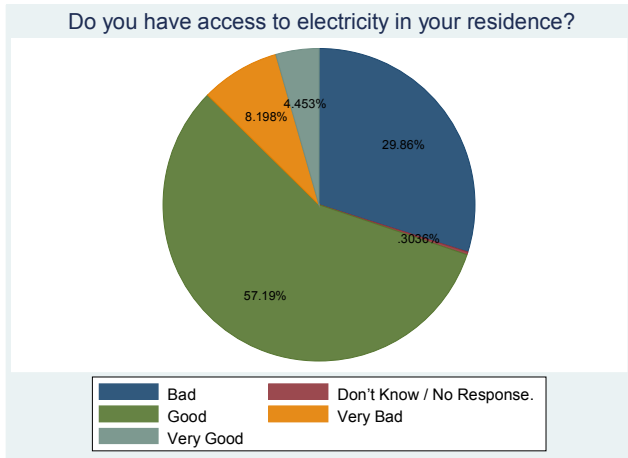


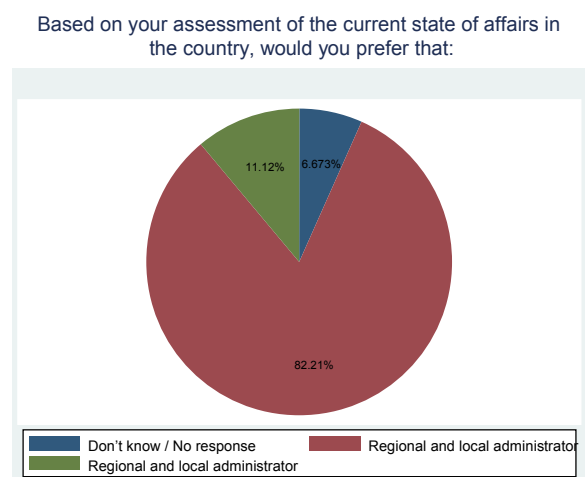
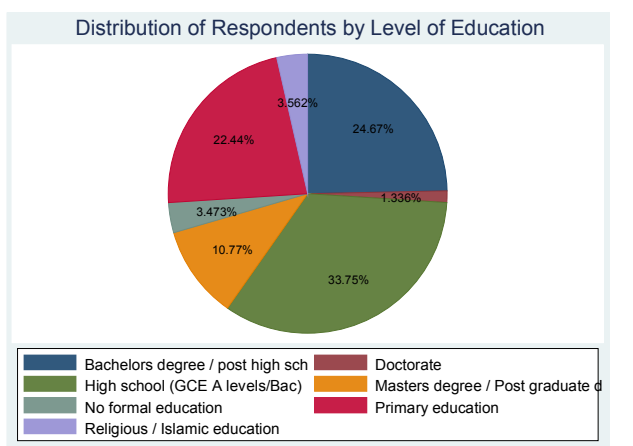
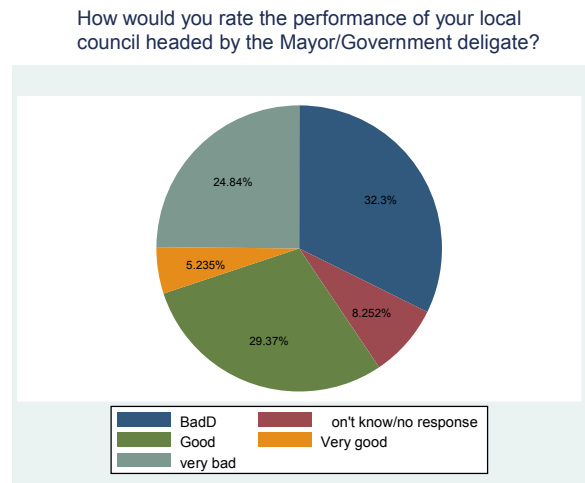
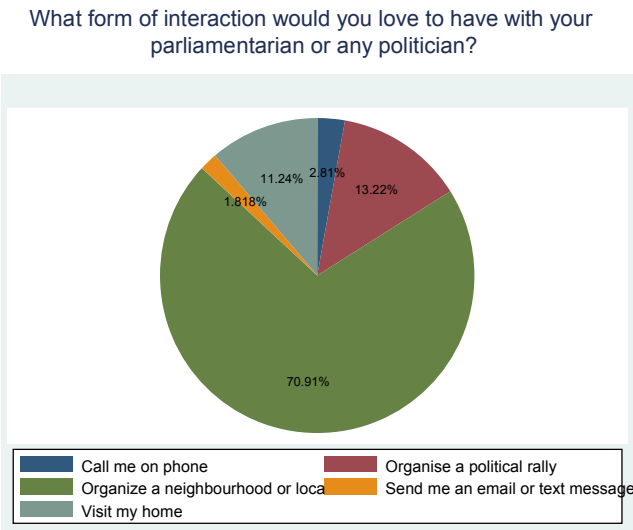
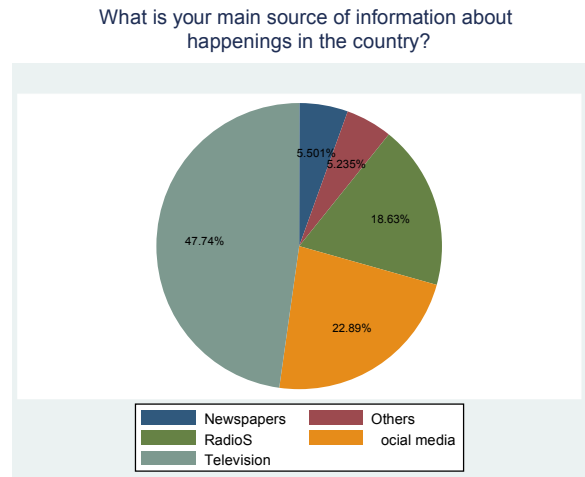
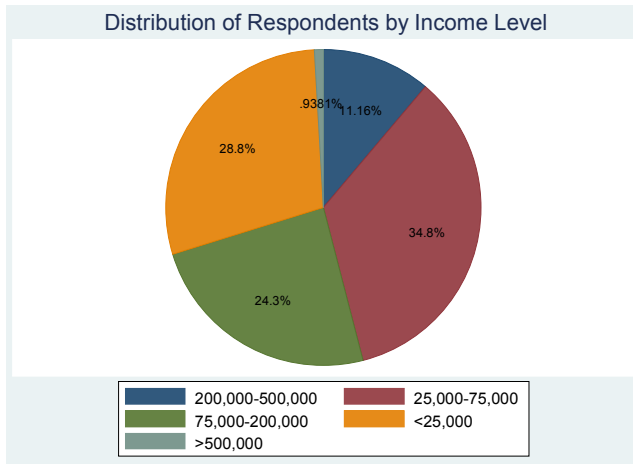
How would you describe the current economic situation in the country?



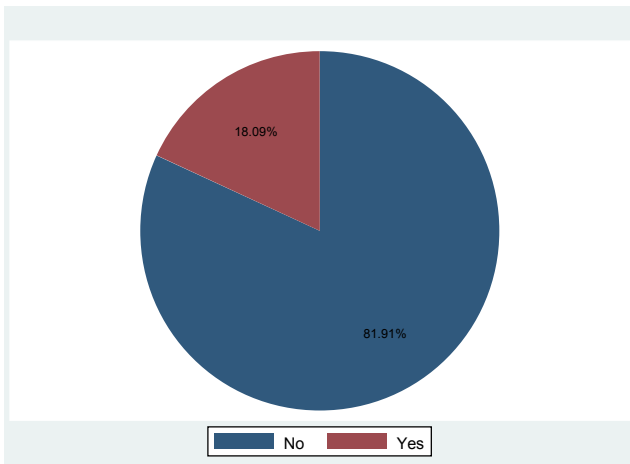
How would you describe the state of the education sector in Cameroon?



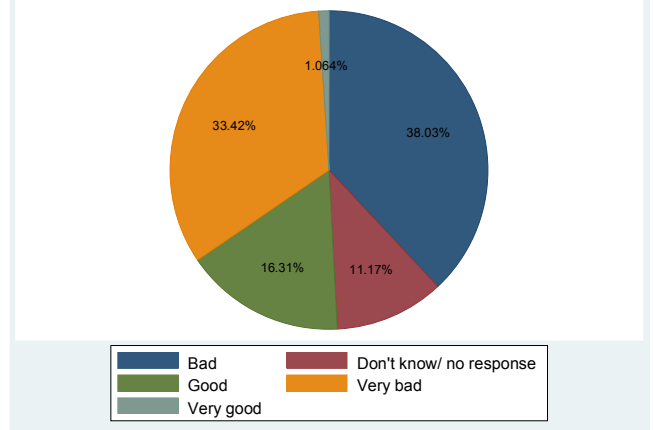




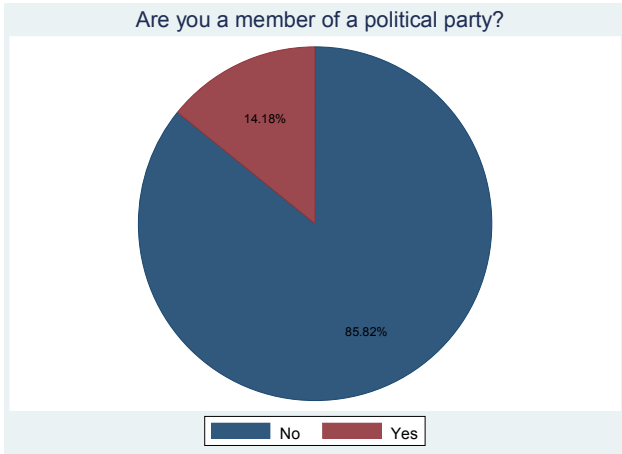
Have you in the past year had any interaction with the parliamentarian representing your constituency?



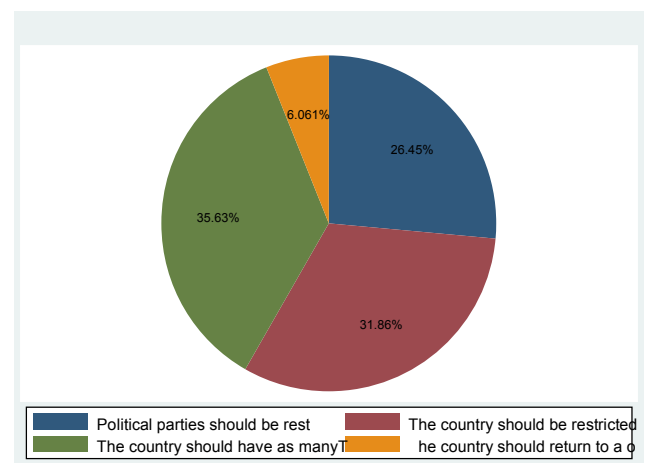
How would you rate the performance of the national assembly?



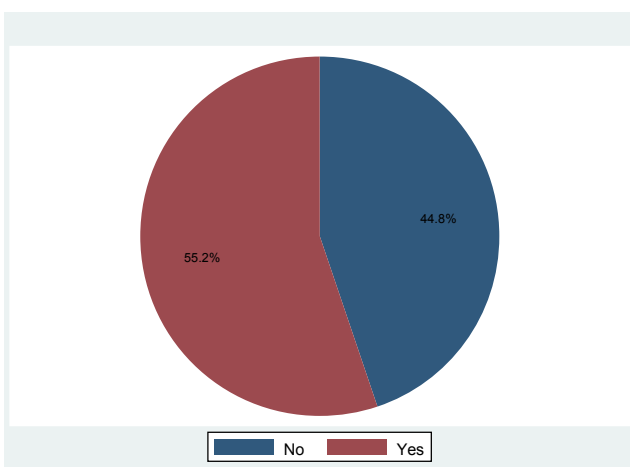
Are you a member of a political party?



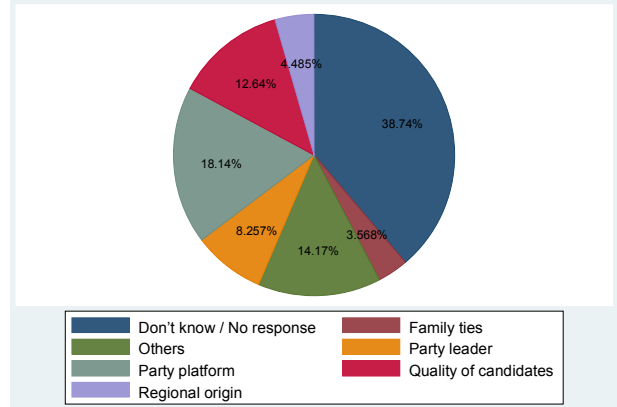
Since the birth of multiparty politics in Cameroon, there has been a proliferation of political parties in the country, with more than 200 political parties currently registered. In your opinion, do you think:



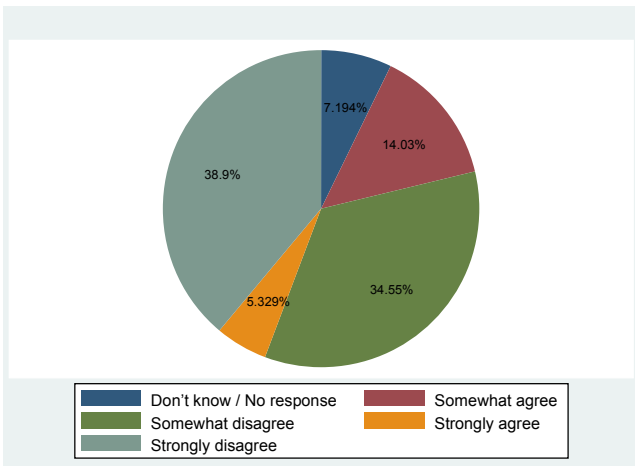
Going forward, would you welcome any interactions with a parliamentarian or political party?



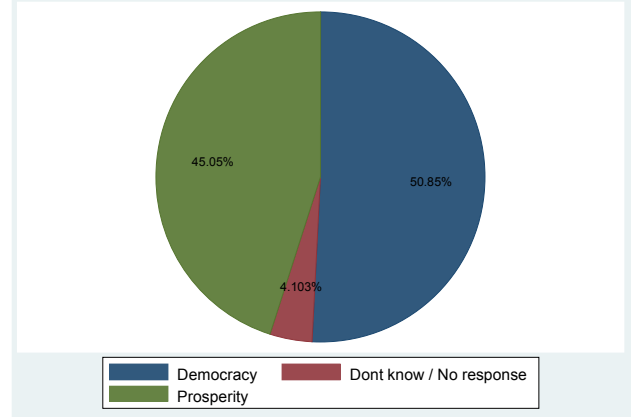
What is the most important reason for you choosing a political party?



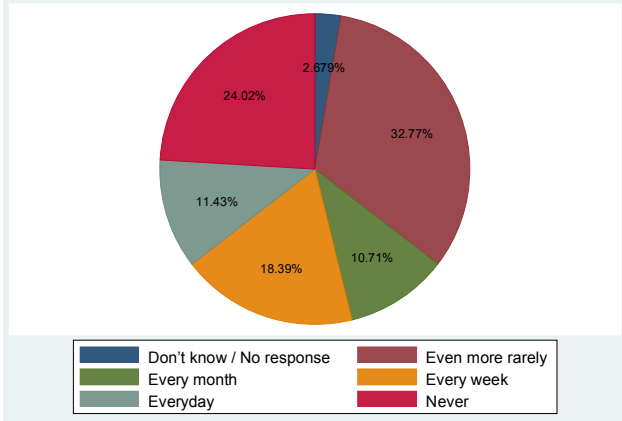
Would you agree that Cameroonian politicians listen to the needs and ideas of the people?



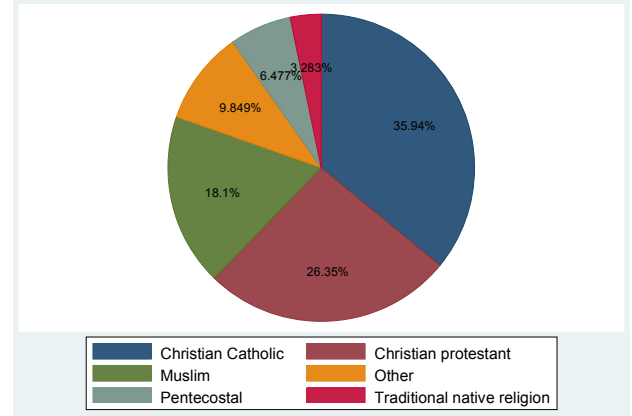
If you could only have one, would you prefer



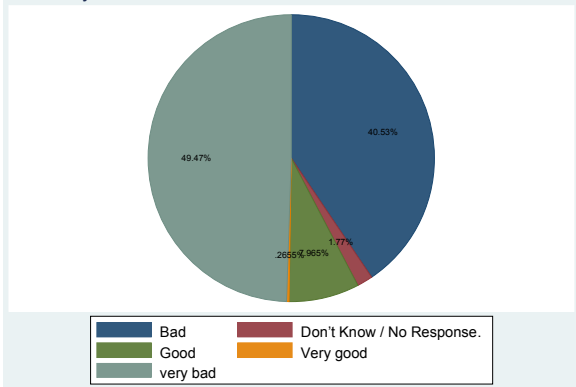
How often do you read news magazines, journals or newspapers?



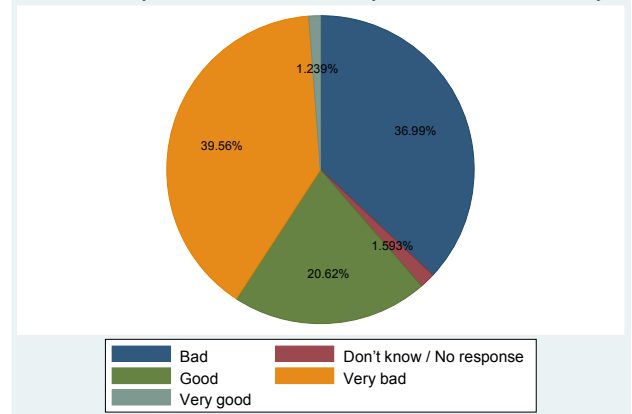
Distribution of Respondents by Religious Affiliation



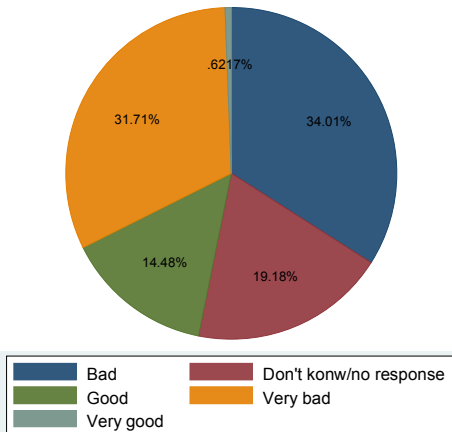
How would you describe the state of road infrastructure in the country?



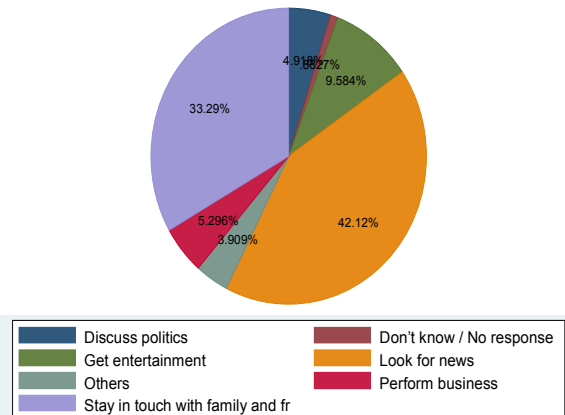
How would you describe the security situation of the country?



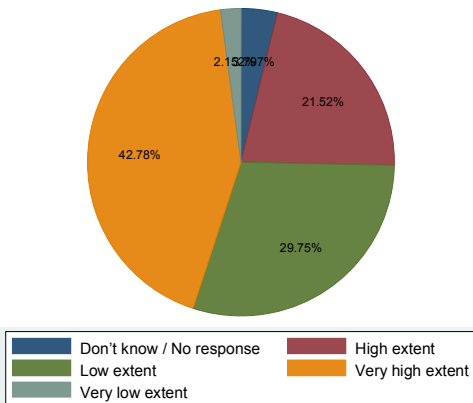
How would you rate the performance of the Senate?



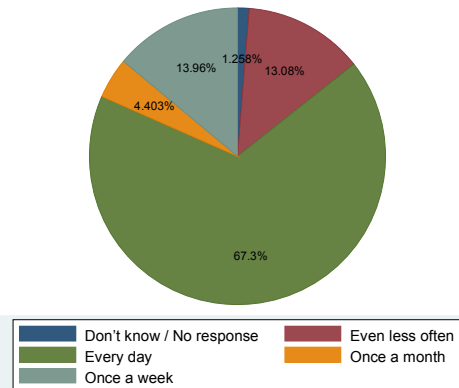
What would you say you do most on social media?



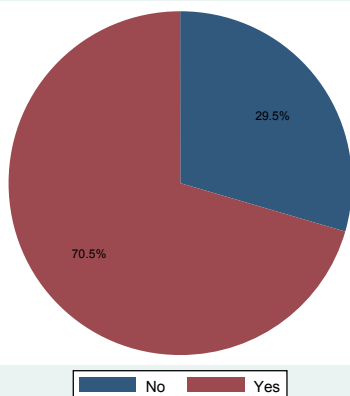
To what extent do you trust the information you get from social media?



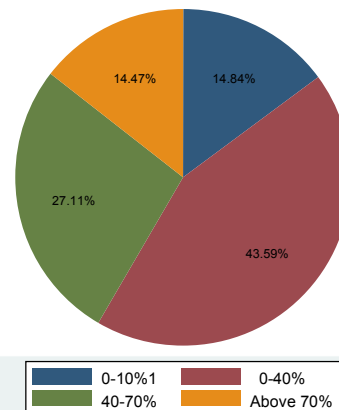
How often do you use social media?



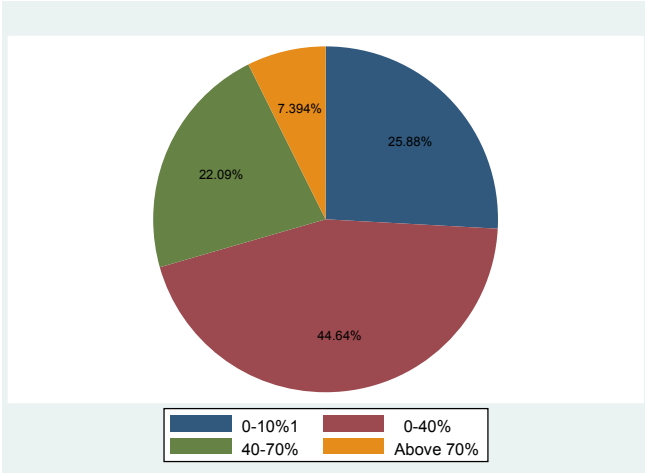
Do you use any form of social media (Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, etc)?



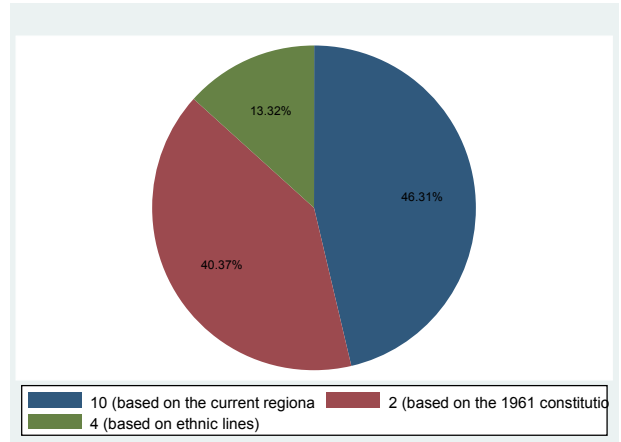
What proportion of your household income would you say is spent on basic necessities like food, clothing and housing?



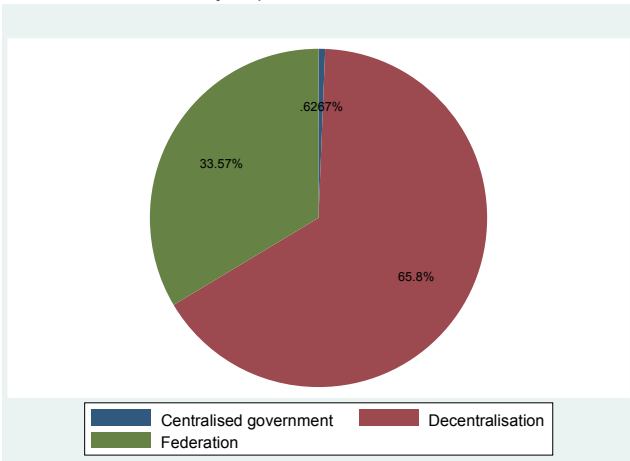
What proportion of your family income is spent on social amenities (education, healthcare)?



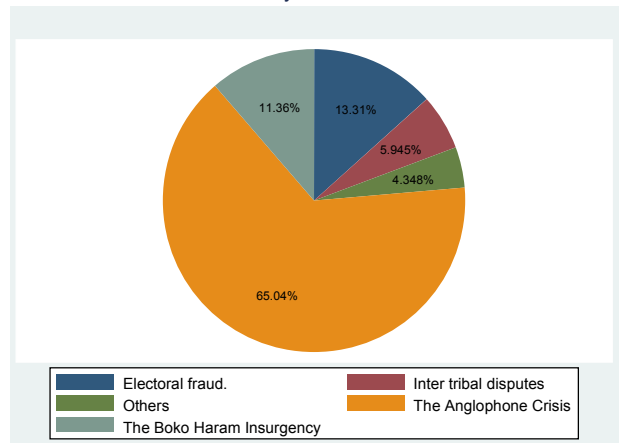
Suppose a federation is to be chosen as form of state, how many federal states would you prefer the country to have?



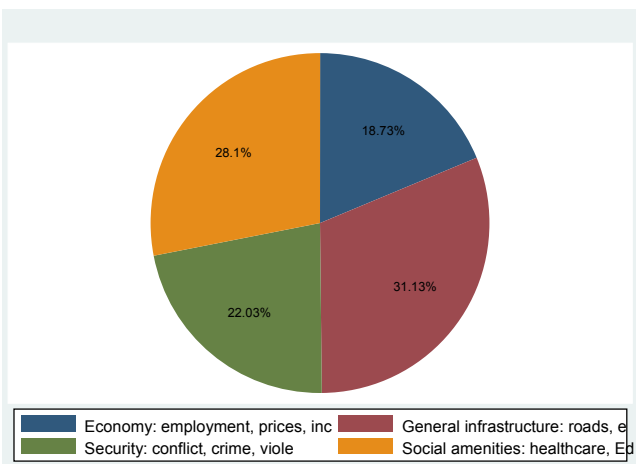
In terms of preserving a unified Cameroon, which form of state would you prefer?



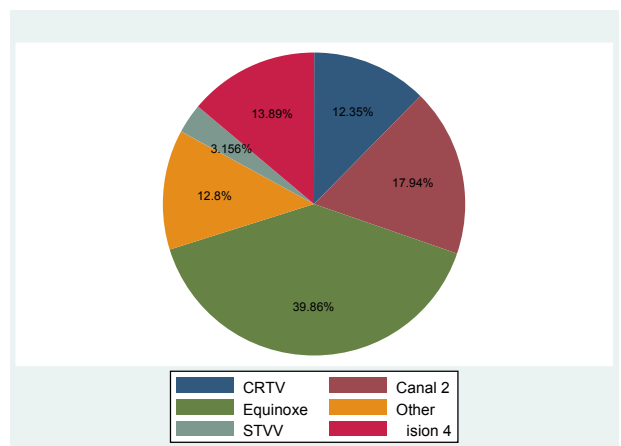
What do you think is the greatest threat to peace and security in Cameroon?

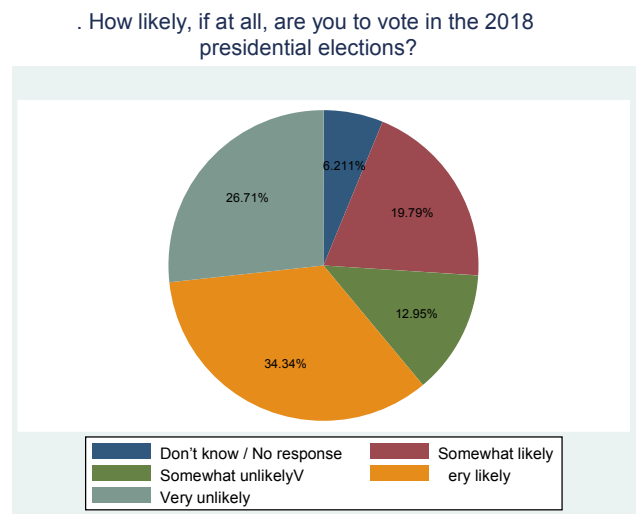
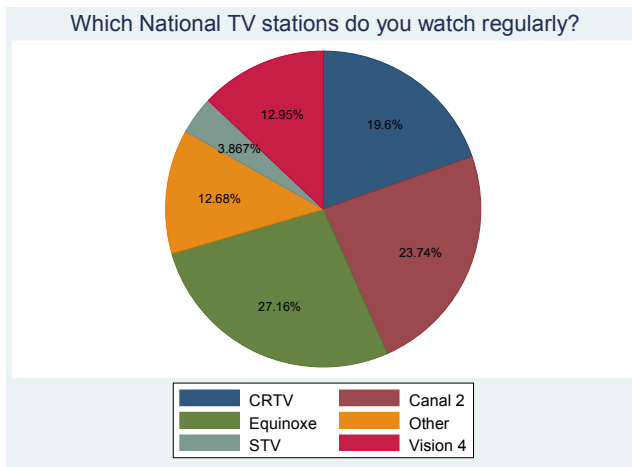


In general, would you say things in the country are headed in the right or wrong direction?

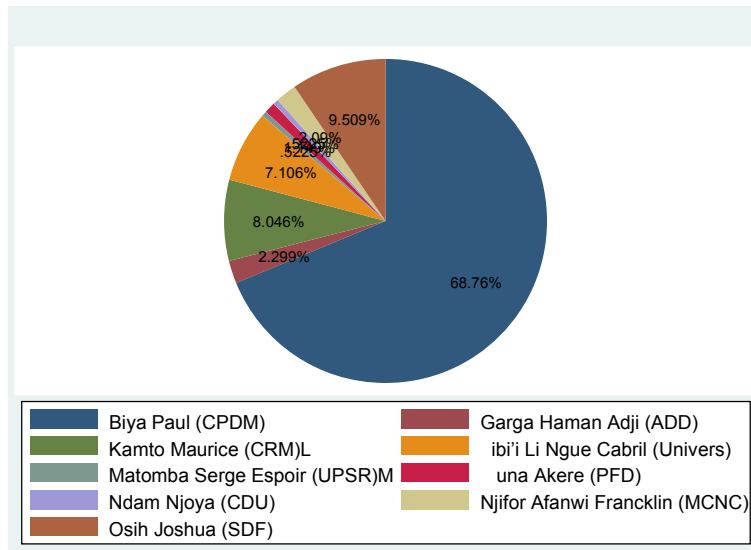


Which national TV station in your opinion best reports news as it is on the ground?

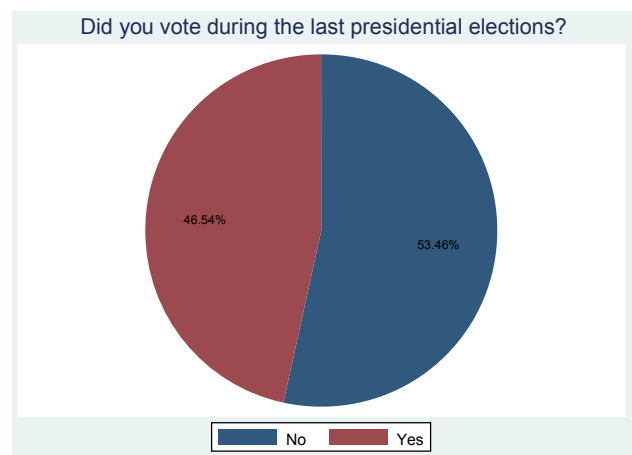
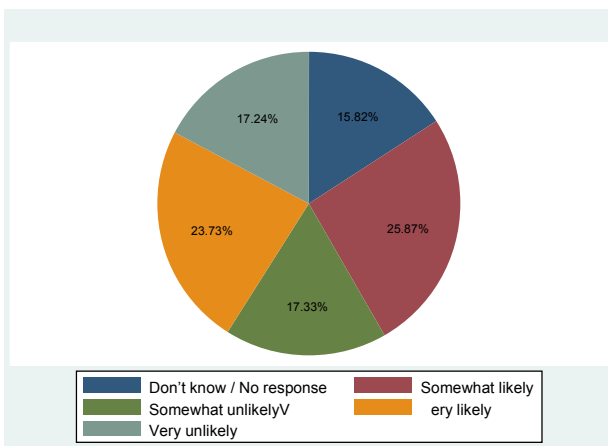




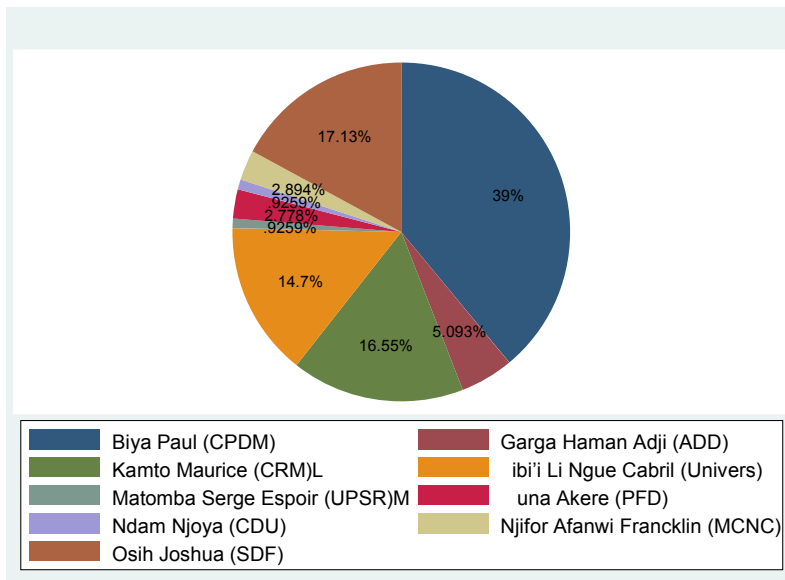
Who do you think is most likely to win the upcoming presidential elections?



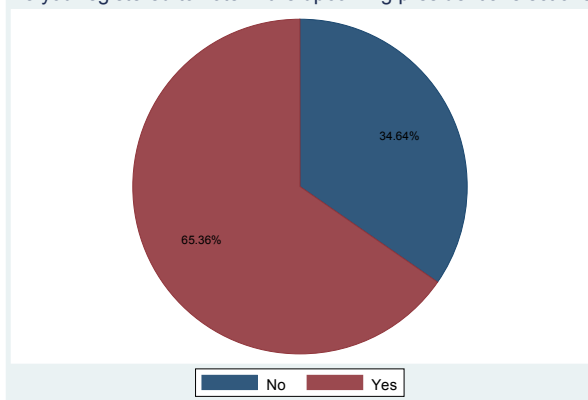
How likely do you think the upcoming presidential elections can result in post-electoral violence?



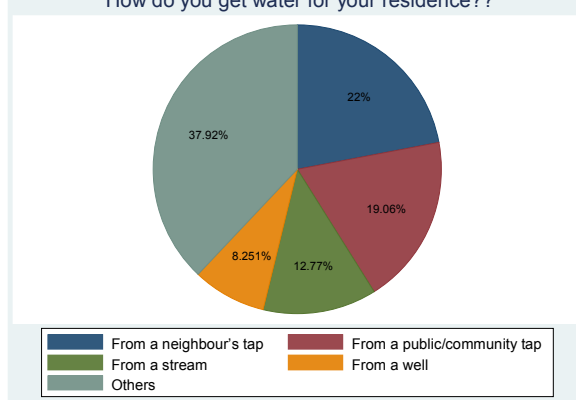
Suppose the presidential elections were to take place today, which of the approved candidates below will you vote for?



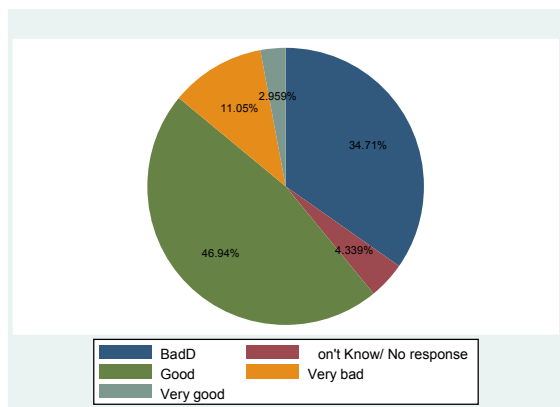
Are you registered to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?



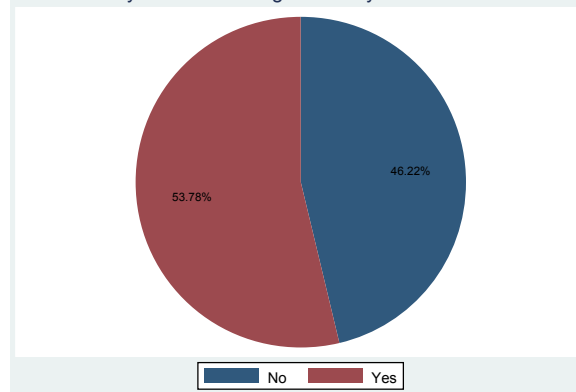
How do you get water for your residence??



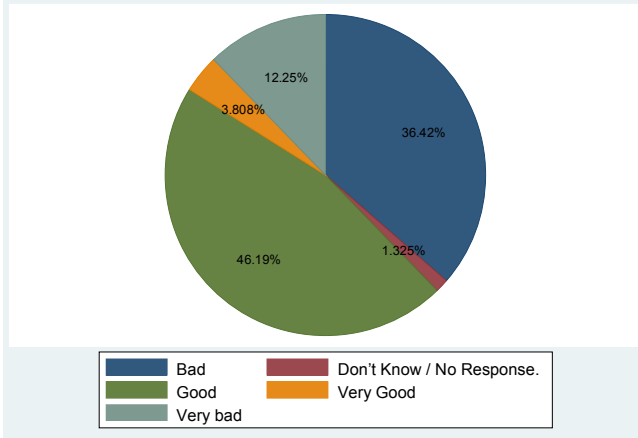
How will you describe the quality of water you get from the source above?



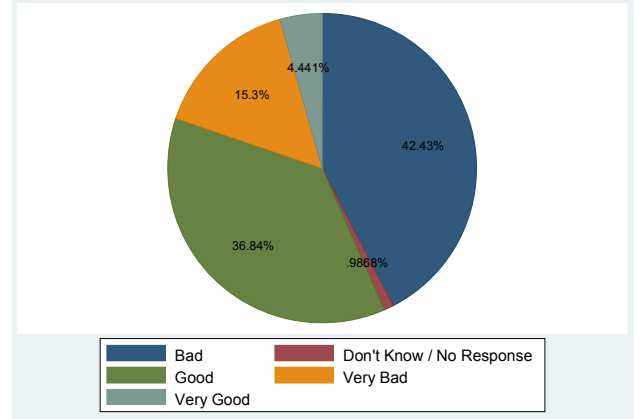
Do you have running water in your residence?



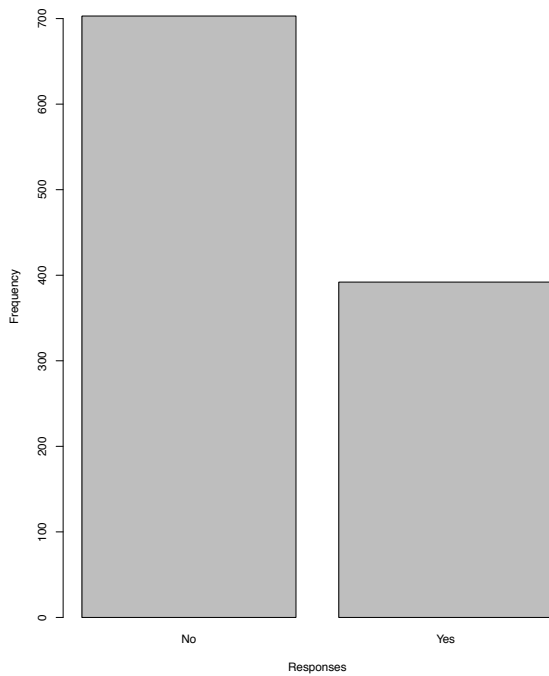
How would you describe the quality of running water in your residence?



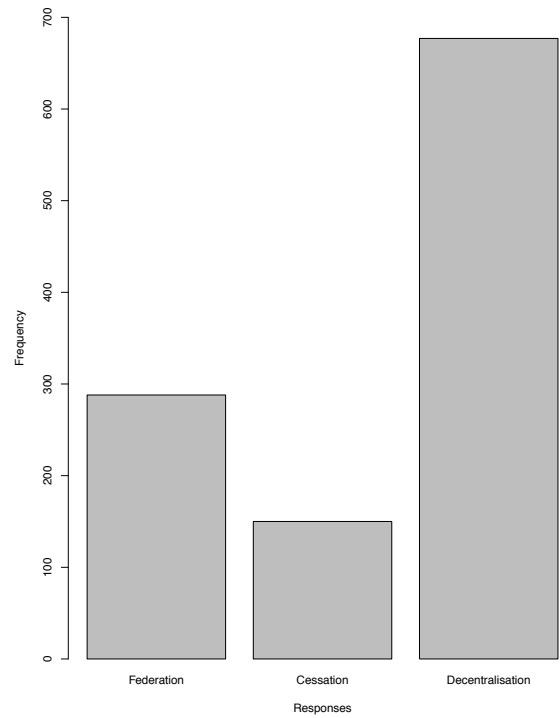
How will you describe the stability of water supply at your residence?



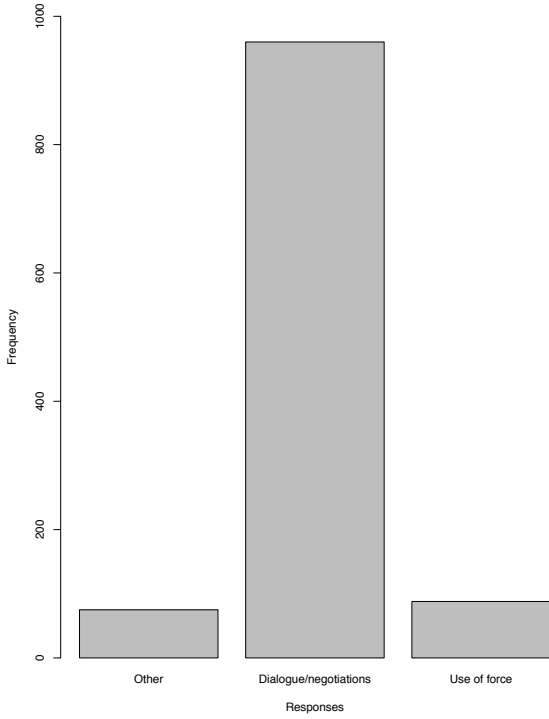
Do you think the president should present his candidacy for the next presidential elections?



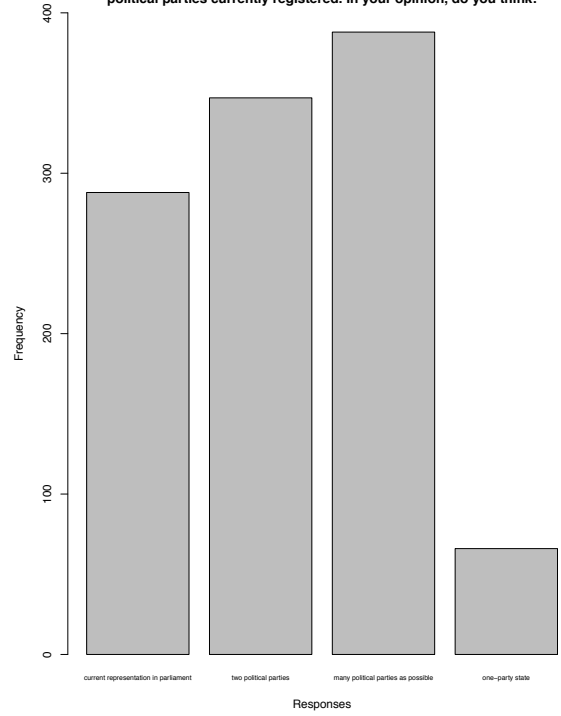
What do you think is the best solution to the Anglophone crisis?



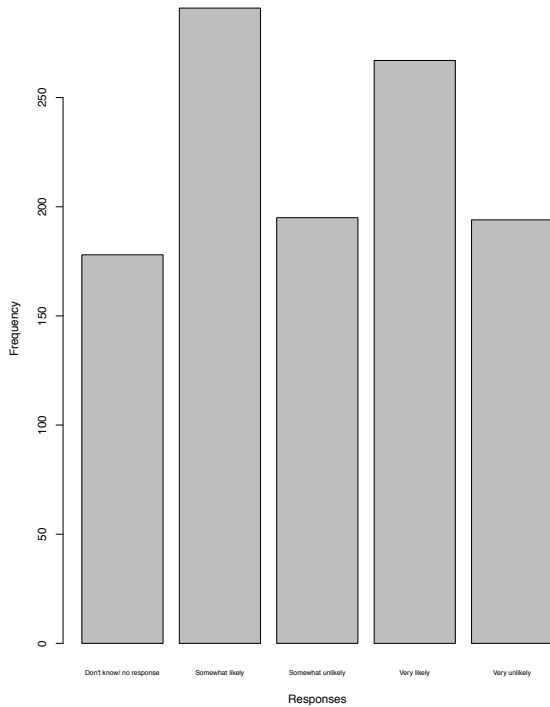
How do you think the Anglophone problem can be settled?



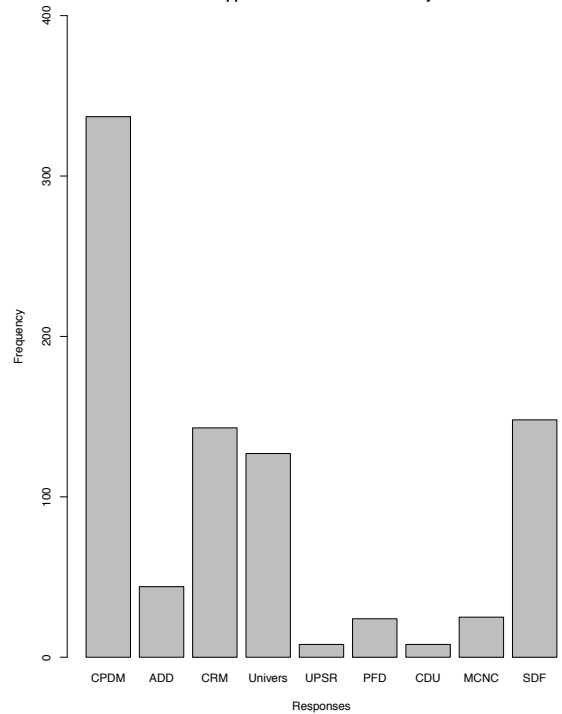
Since the birth of multiparty politics in Cameroon, there has been a proliferation of political parties in the country, with more than 200 political parties currently registered. In your opinion, do you think:

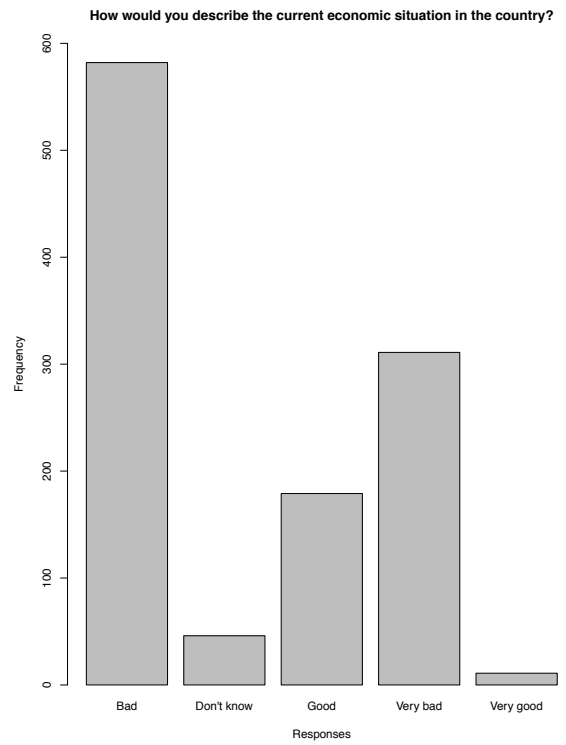
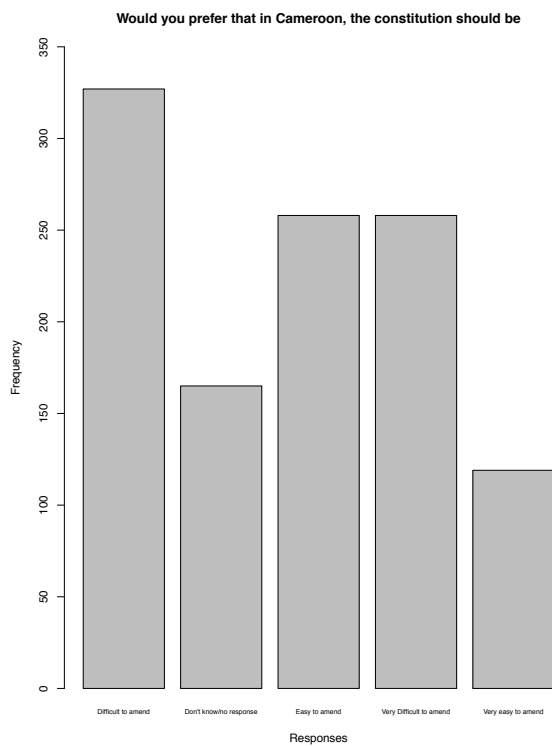
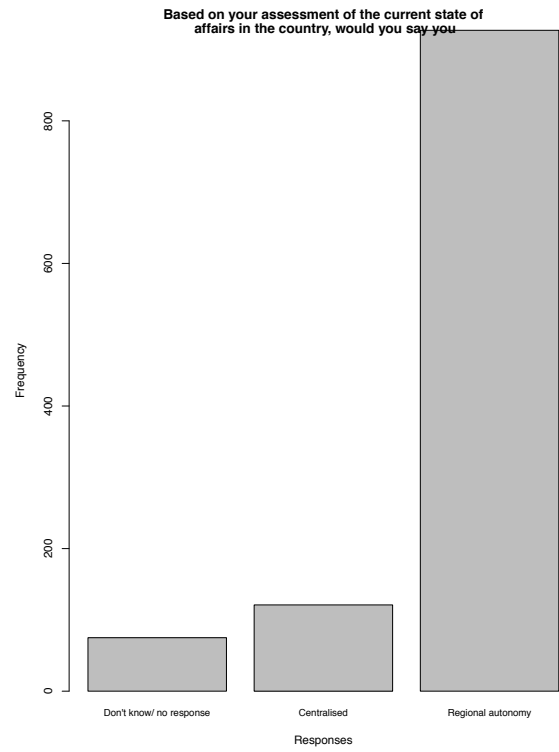
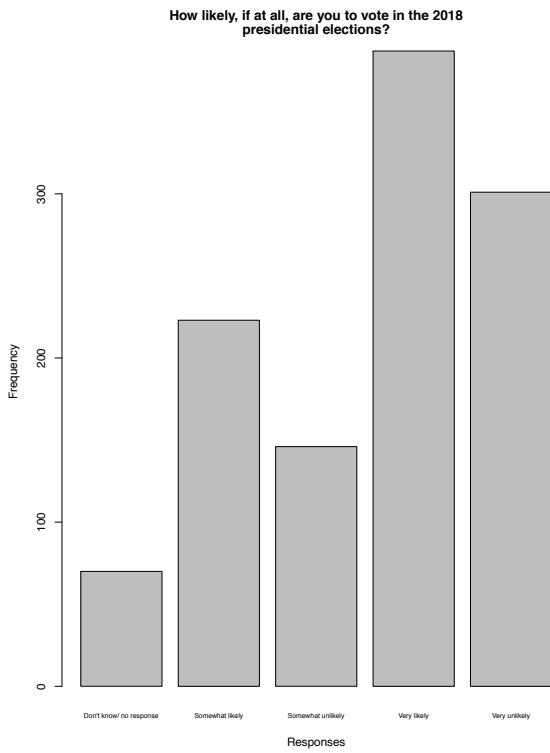


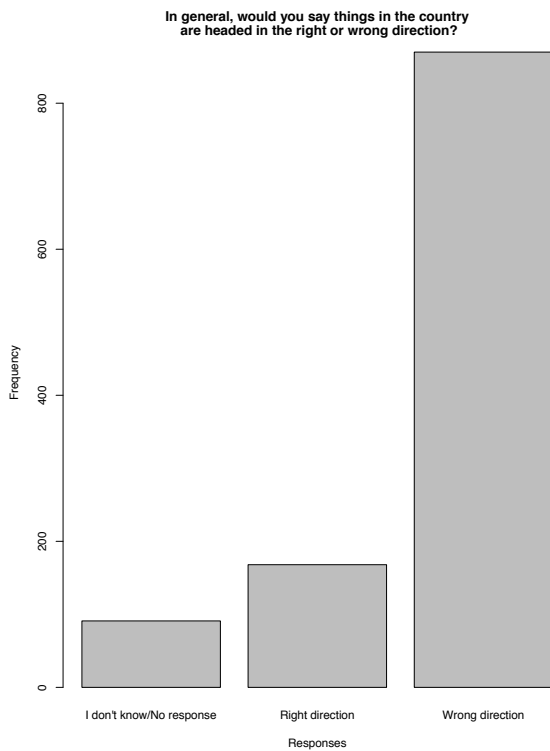
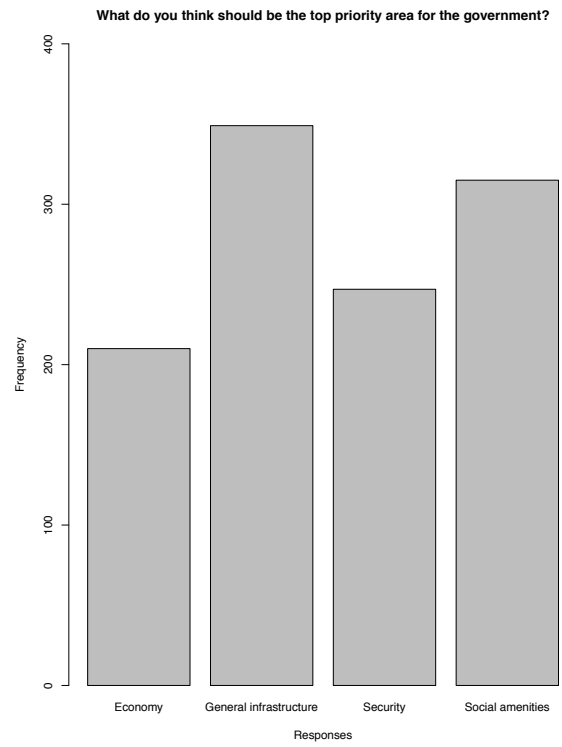
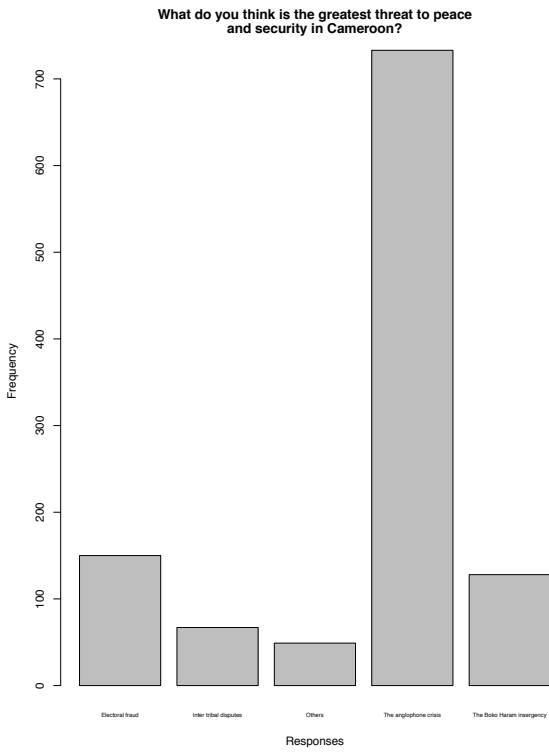
How likely do you think the upcoming presidential elections can result in post-electoral violence?



Suppose the presidential elections were to take place today, which of the approved candidates below will you vote for?







ANNEX C:
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SURVEY

1. Gender:

- Male
- Female

2. Age

- 18-20
- 20-35
- 35-60
- above 60

3. Region of Origin:

- Adamawa
- Center
- East
- Far North
- Litoral
- North
- Northwest
- South
- Southwest
- West

4. Region of Current Residence:

- Adamawa
- Center
- East
- Far North
- Litoral
- North
- Northwest
- South
- Southwest
- West

5. Religious affiliation

- Christian (Protestant)
- Christian (Catholic)
- Muslim
- Traditional / native religion
- Other

6. Level of Education

- No formal education
- Primary education
- High school (GCE A levels/Bac)
- Religious / Islamic education
- Bachelors degree / post high school diploma
- Masters degree / Post graduate diploma
- Doctorate

7. Employment status

- Unemployed
- Self employed
- Employed (public service)
- Employed (private sector)

8. Income level (monthly)

- <25,000
- 25,000-75,000
- 75,000-200,000
- 200,000-500,000
- >500,000

9. In general, would you say things in the country are headed in the right or wrong direction?

- A) Right direction
- B) Wrong direction
- C) I don't know/No response

10. What do you think should be the top priority area for the government?

- General infrastructure: roads, electricity, bridges, telecommunications, water, railways, ports, ETC
- Social amenities: healthcare, Education, housing, child and family support ETC
- Economy: employment, prices, income, etc
- Security: conflict, crime, violence, etc

11. How would you describe the state of road infrastructure in the country?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

12. Do you have access to electricity in your residence?

- I. Yes
- II. No

I(i) How would you describe the stability of electricity supply in your residence?

- A) Very Good
- B) Good
- C) Bad
- D) Very Bad
- E) Don't Know / No Response.

13. Do you have running water in your residence?

- I. Yes.
- II. No.

I(i) How would you describe the quality of running water in your residence?

- A) Very Good
- B) Good
- C) Bad
- D) Very Bad
- E) Don't Know / No Response.

(ii) How will you describe the stability of water supply at your residence?

- A) Very Good
- B) Good
- C) Bad
- D) Very Bad
- E) Don't Know / No Response.

II(i) How do you get water for your residence?

- A) From a neighbour's tap.
- B) From a well.
- C) From a public/community tap.
- D) From a stream.
- E) Others.

II(ii) How will you describe the quality of water you get from the source above?

- A) Very Good
- B) Good
- C) Bad
- D) Very Bad
- E) Don't Know / No Response.

14. Do you have access to the cellular telephone network in your area?

- I. Yes.
- II. No.

I(i) How will you describe the cellular connectivity in your area?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

15. How would you describe the state of health services in Cameroon?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

16. How would you describe the state of the education sector in Cameroon?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

17. What proportion of your family income is spent on social amenities (education, healthcare)?

- 0-10%
- 10-40%
- 40-70%
- Above 70%

18. How would you describe the security situation of the country?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good

- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

19. What do you think is the greatest threat to peace and security in Cameroon?

- The Anglophone Crisis.
- The Boko Haram Insurgency.
- Electoral fraud.
- Inter tribal disputes.
- Others.

20. How would you describe the current economic situation in the country?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

21. Thinking back to your economic situation a year ago, would you say that at the moment, your situation has:

- Improved
- Stayed the same
- Gotten worse
- Don't know/no response

22. How do you describe your household's current standard of living?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

23. What proportion of your household income would you say is spent on basic necessities like food, clothing and housing?

- 0-10%
- 10-40%
- 40-70%
- Above 70%

24. Would you prefer that in Cameroon, the constitution should be

- Very easy to amend

- Easy to amend
- Difficult to amend
- Very difficult to amend
- Don't know / no response

25. If you could only have one, would you prefer

- Democracy
- Prosperity

26. When it comes to the democratic process in Cameroon over the last two years, would you say things have

- Improved
- Stayed the same
- Gotten worse
- Don't know / no response

27. How would you rate the performance of the central government?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

28. How would you rate the performance of the national assembly?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

29. How would you rate the performance of the Senate?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

30. How would you rate the performance of the constitutional council?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad

- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

31. How would you rate the performance of the Supreme Court of Cameroon?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

32. How would you rate the performance of your regional administration headed by the governor?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

33. How would you rate the performance of your local council headed by the Mayor/ Government deligate?

- a) Very Good
- b) Good
- c) Bad
- d) Very Bad
- e) Don't Know / No Response.

34. Based on your assessment of the current state of affairs in the country, would you say you

- Support more autonomy and power for the Regions
- Support centralized power and decision making from the central government in Yaoundé

35. Based on your assessment of the current state of affairs in the country, would you prefer that:

- Regional and local administrators, such as Governors should be elected by the citizens
- Regional and local administrators, such as governors should be appointed by the President
- Don't know / No response

36. Are you registered to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?

- Yes
- No

37. Did you vote during the last presidential elections?

- Yes
- No

38. How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the 2018 presidential elections?

- a) Very likely
- b) Somewhat likely
- c) Somewhat unlikely
- d) Very unlikely
- e) Don't know / No response

39. Suppose the presidential elections were to take place today, which of the approved candidates below will you vote for?

- Biya Paul (CPDM)
- Garga Haman Adji (ADD)
- Kamto Maurice (CRM)
- Libi'i Li Ngue Cabril (Univers)
- Matomba Serge Espoir (UPSR)
- Muna Akere (PFD)
- Ndam Njoya (CDU)
- Njifor Afanwi Francklin (MCNC)
- Osih Joshua(SDF)

40. Who do you think is most likely to win the upcoming presidential elections?

- Biya Paul (CPDM)
- Garga Haman Adji (ADD)
- Kamto Maurice (CRM)
- Libi'i Li Ngue Cabril (Univers)
- Matomba Serge Espoir (UPSR)
- Muna Akere (PFD)
- Ndam Njoya (CDU)
- Njifor Afanwi Francklin (MCNC)
- Osih Joshua(SDF)

41. How likely do you think the upcoming presidential elections can result in post-electoral violence?

- a) Very likely

- b) Somewhat likely
- c) Somewhat unlikely
- d) Very unlikely
- e) Don't know / No response

42. Are you a member of a political party?

- Yes
- No

43. What is the most important reason for you choosing a political party?

- a) Party platform
- b) Party leader
- c) Quality of candidates
- d) Regional origin
- e) Family ties
- f) Others
- g) Don't know / No response

44. Since the birth of multiparty politics in Cameroon, there has been a proliferation of political parties in the country, with more than 200 political parties currently registered. In your opinion, do you think:

- The country should have as many political parties as possible
- Political parties should be restricted to those with current representation in parliament
- The country should be restricted to only two political parties
- The country should return to a one-party state

45. Have you in the past year had any interaction with the parliamentarian representing your constituency?

- a) Yes
- b) No

46. Going forward, would you welcome any interactions with a parliamentarian or political party?

- a) Yes
- b) No

A) What form of interaction would you love to have with your parliamentarian or any politician?

- Visit my home
- Organize a neighbourhood or local town hall meeting
- Organise a political rally
- Call me on phone

- Send me a text message
- Send me an email

47. Would you agree that Cameroonian politicians listen to the needs and ideas of the people?

- i. Strongly agree
- ii. Somewhat agree
- iii. Somewhat disagree
- iv. Strongly disagree
- v. Don't know / No response

48. In terms of preserving a unified Cameroon, which form of state would you prefer?

- Centralised government
- Decentralisation
- Federation

49. Suppose a federation is to be chosen as form of state, how many federal states would you prefer the country to have?

- 2 (based on the 1961 constitution)
- 4 (based on ethnic lines)
- 10 (based on the current regional configuration)

50. How do you think the Anglophone problem can be settled?

- a. Through dialogue / negotiations
- b. Through the military / use of force
- c. Others

51. What do you think is the best solution to the Anglophone crisis

- A. Implementation of effective decentralization
- B. A federation
- C. Cessation / separation

52. Do you think the president should present his candidacy for the next presidential elections?

- Yes
- No

53. What is your main source of information about happenings in the country?

- Social media
- Radio

- Television
- Newspapers
- Others

54. Do you use any form of social media (Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, etc)?

- I. Yes
- II. No

I.(i) How often do you use social media?

- Every day
- Once a week
- Once a month
- Even less often
- Don't know / No response

I(ii) What would you say you do most on social media?

- Look for news
- Discuss politics
- Perform business
- Stay in touch with family and friends
- Get entertainment
- Others
- Don't know / No response

I(iii) To what extent do you trust the information you get from social media?

- Very high extent
- High extent
- Low extent
- Very low extent
- Don't know / No response

55. How often do you read news magazines, journals or newspapers?

- a. Everyday
- b. Every week
- c. Every month
- d. Even more rarely
- e. Never
- f. Don't know / No response

56. Which National TV stations do you watch regularly?

- a. CRTV
- b. Canal 2
- c. STV
- d. Equinox

- e. Vision 4
- f. Other

57. Which national TV station in your opinion best reports news as it is on the ground?

- a. CRTV
- b. Canal 2
- c. STV
- d. Equinox
- e. Vision 4
- f. Other

58. In the last three months, did you give money, goods or provide service to a police or gendarme officer in exchange for a service you believe should be provided free of charge?

- Yes
- No

59. In the last three months, did you give any money, good or provide a service to a judicial officer (judge, public prosecutor or any court official) in exchange for a service you believe should be provided free of charge?

- Yes
- No

ANNEX D: TOWNS & CITIES OF INTERVIEWS

1. CENTER REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Ngoumou	Rural area
2	Obala	Rural area
3	Okola	Rural area
4	Yaounde	Urban area
5	Yaounde	Urban area
6	Yaounde V and VI	Urban area
7	Yaounde	Urban area
8	Yaounde	Urban area
9	Yaounde	Urban area

2. EAST REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Administrative street	Urban area
2	Fowl market Mokolo	Urban area
3	University campus	Urban area
4	Moto Park Around the Regional Hospital	Urban area
5	Abong-Mbang	Rural area
6	Messamina	Rural area
7	Pokolota	Urban area

3. SOUTH REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Anganle	Urban area
2	Mekalat	Urban area
3	Six a six	Urban area
4	Bamilike niegborhood	Urban area
5	Kye-Ossi	Rural area
6	Kye-Ossi	Rural area
7	Marche du lac/Montée Gemi	Urban area

4. ADAMAWA REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	University Area	Urban area
2	Central market	Urban area
3	Around town	Urban area
4	Anglophone Community Zone	Urban area
5	Touristique and Naral Voyage	Urban area
6	Camrail	Urban area
7	Ngaoundal	Rural area
8	Ngaoundal	Rural area

5. LITTORAL REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Bessengue/Bonatone	Urban area
2	Deido	Urban area
3	Bonanjo/Akwa	Urban area
4	Ange Raphael	Urban area
5	Nkouloulun	Urban area
6	Bonamoussadi	Urban area
7	Kotto/ Bonamoussadi	Urban area
8	Upper Melong around Gendamerie/Police station and Market areas	Rural area
9	Lower Melong	Rural area
10	Worked around park area at roundabout	Rural area

6. SOUTH WEST REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Buea town	Urban area
2	Buea town and mile 14	Urban area
3	Limbe half mile and mile 4	Urban area
4	Mukundange and Batoke	Rural area
5	Limbe, Limbola and idenau	Rural area
6	Buea federal quarters, CRTV and Governor's office	Urban area
7	Bokwango and clerk's quarters, Buea	Urban area
8	Tole road	Urban area
9	Linguistic center and environs Buea	Urban area
10	Mile 17 & 16 buea	Urban area

7. NORTH WEST REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Ghana street and cow street, Bamenda	Urban area
2	Mile 2 and New Road	Urban area
3	Mile 3, Nkwen- Bamenda	Urban area
4	Free Home	Urban area
5	City Chemist and Commercial Avenue	Urban area
6	Ntamulung	Urban area
7	Mbengwi Road	Urban area
8	Balikumbat and its environs	Rural area
9	Sepua, Balikmbat	Rural area
10	Banekap, Balikumbat	Rural area
11	Barack and Bonajo neighborhood, Balikumbat	Rural area

8. FAR NORTH REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Maroua Centre	Urban area
2	Maroua University	Urban area
3	Maroua Domayo	Urban area
4	Maroua Pont Vert	Urban area
5 - 7	Kaelé	Rural area
6	Guider	Rural area

9. NORTH REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Garoua centre	Urban area
2	Garoua Roundé Adja	Urban area
3	Garoua Pont de la Bénoué	Urban area
4	Garoua Marché	Urban area
5	Garoua Mosquée centrale	Urban area
6 - 8	Pitoea	Rural area

10. WEST REGION

Day	Places visited	Observations
1	Tonga	Rural area
2	Bagangte	Rural area
3	Baham and Bandjoun	Rural area
4 - 6	Bafoussam	Urban area
7 - 8	Dschang	Rural area

