

TRANSFORMATIONS IN ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR IN CAMEROON FROM 2002 TO THE PRESENT

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ABSTRACT

In Cameroon like in many other African countries has experienced a significant political change since the adoption of multiparty system in the 1990's. The present research study lays emphasis on the analysis of the sociopolitical reform and its consequences on the electoral behaviour. These ways and processes of what happens in the electoral political field led to a new form of redefinition of the instruments of the electoral process. The problematic of the determination of the underlying factors of electoral behaviour revolves round a certain number of essential elements such as electoral strengthening of ethnical skew and the rationalization of the electoral choice in the sense that the restructuring of electoral stake and play rules, each political party during the electoral consultation gather resources in a bit to convince the electorate. The voters, on their side develop or acting by strategy are in quest of the politicians who can allow them more profit.

INTRODUCTION

The institutionalization of electionsⁱ, the electoral practices and the representative organs are not put aside. They work in a bit to bring in change or merely in line with the historic trend. Thus, thinking about the way of structuringⁱⁱ or about the electoral behaviourⁱⁱⁱ in the fight in democratization context permits as oppose to the African conformism ideologies.

The analysis of the electoral behaviour in Cameroon allows us to think about the possible ways of reconciling loyalty and to electoral institution a contextual practice, in a society where the electoral processes and the underpinning rules are altered by social and political change which permanently modify the right way.

The electoral behaviour should be considered as an undergoing process in Cameroon since many years now which is seen through variable changing structuring according to political contexts. Furthermore, it is all about the organization, the institutional stages likely to be adopted in a challengeable multiparty system. It is because of that reason that in the history of Cameroon a progressive electoral structure has been put in place since the years 1940 an 1950's till now without forgetting the year 1990. Those historical moments during which the process has taken up many forms, and evolving structuring. The years 1940 and 1950 are the first years of multiparty system in Cameroon.

From 1966 to 1991, elections were organised under a monolithic regime chaired by the Cameroonian National Union (CNU), which turned out to be Democratic Rally of the Cameroonian people (RDPC) in 1985. It was in 1992 that the first multipartite elections were organised, an era of political pluralism brought by the Cold War^{iv}. During those elections, It has been noticed that there is a change of the popular electoral civility^v, that is this electoral civility of people mobilization underpinning electoral violence will be gradually replaced by a professionalized and ethnic-based electoral civility less and less tumultuous given that the electoral battle is geared towards the transformation of the voting act^{vi}.

The beginning of the 1990's decade in Cameroon was marked by the passage from monopolist regime to a multiparty regime and challenge in devoting multiparty system which allowed many other parties to actively taking part in the political game. Thanking about the electoral behaviour of Cameroonian populations in general was first of all structured by a political identity said to be the one of first generation of 1992 and 1997. After the construction of this political identity coupled with the resurfacing of the democratization process, there has been a

change of an electoral behaviour. In effect, the population, facing those various categories of political identity and their interests, a change has come which has been named reconstruction process and consolidation of political identity since 2002 up to date. In Cameroon, the electoral behaviour, since the advent of the pluralist elections is permanently considered as construction, deconstruction and reconstruction product of voters' choice according to the electoral challenge.

Questioning the transformation of the electoral behaviour presuppose the existence of an electoral civility. The old electoral civility is therefore this electoral process which was done through and suffered by high collective mobilization of people and their wishes before, during and after the proclamation of the results. The change of behaviour at least in the continuation of the processes or procedures, noticeable through historical indexes and through institution and envisageable practices. Considering this, what account for the transformation in electoral behaviour in Cameroon from 2002 up to date? Otherwise what is the origin of transformation of voters behaviour in Cameroon from 2002 up to date.

The aim of this research study is included in the electoral sociology field. This research study is guided by the hypothesis according to which the political emancipation of electoral behaviour as a source of electorate liberation and the weakening of the power of ethnic belonging as a source of change in electoral behaviour. This hypothesis lays emphasis on the logics and various modalities. The resort to a modality varies according to the causes, the trend and practical reality, the meaning of the calculation of the actors or the configuration joint forces in the field between the ruling party and the opposition parties. The similarity between the tensions related to each political configuration permits to define the guidelines of the exercise of "freedom" in terms of emancipation of sympathizers. Norbert Elias recommended the resort to the history that is the use of history techniques in order to understand the configuration current mechanism, especially those are naturally chained and moving.

This resort to history permits to understand the behaviour, the position and even the power of each part of the policy of the game. Considering the configuration "Electoral campaign", the historicity permits among other to understand the impact of the power of "election", to know to what extent the population is conscious of this phenomenon; it permits us therefore to scrutinize a certain type of questioning to better understand the analyzed phenomenon. For example, is the population an occasional or wanted, occasional or permanent, conscious or

unconscious of the electoral process? To what extent the voters are investing into the elections. Do the population really play their role? What is their motivation? According to Norbert Elias, an individual is not an external entity to the election, nor the election, an external entity to the individuals^{vii}: both of them are interdependent. The election should be envisaged as moving whole and changing of multiple reciprocal dependences which link the individuals to one another; and the whole electoral process is crossed by several forms of interrelations which intertwine which does not take into consideration its appreciation, of this interdependence between "above/below". In the combination "elected /voter", the elected sometimes depends on the electorate and the voter has power on him, that is why "the guidelines of the system" is a characteristic data of the configuration. Once constituted, a configuration is a function of a potential material and real of its proponents. This guideline of system is essentially changing according to circumstantial, political games and, given that each part of the game is free from using this of that potentiality proper according to his or her convenience and the fixed objective. The convening of configurational constructivism permits to get out of the vision or the unilinear and unidirectional orientation of electoral process, in which one of the parts imposes its rule and principles and expects an execution from its counterpart. This is the case of election where the candidate decrees and the electorate executes according to its convenience. Despite its pertinence, this variable of constructivism is not limited. The suggestion of Norbert Elias to substitute the notions of interdependence and of configuration to the one of interaction and the system for example seems difficult. If the interdependence put to light chains of interaction much more the wide, the direct interactions between individuals, face to face and telephonic for example, it is less sensitive to the fluidity of certain situation of daily life, namely the existing rapports between them. In other words a fine examination of interdependence as seen by Elias let appear the tendency to give priority to "all" relating to "parties", to "macro" face to "micro" «in the analysis of social configurations^{viii}. This drawback will not allow the interdependence despite its importance, to face this constructivist challenge: going beyond antinomian analysis.

Methodologically, the behaviorist approach constitutes the basis which guides the scientific spirit of this work. In effect, Behaviourism is a branch of psychology which studies the observable behaviour and the analysis as a process in the environment and as history of interactions of the individual with his milieu. It all about a behaviour and science which bring

the conducts to a chain of stimuli and responses. It came as reaction against conventional politics and constitutional approach and demands political problems should be posed in terms of observed and observable behaviour.

The Behaviourism take its roots in the 1920 and 1930's in political sciences universe under the impulsion of the American researcher Charles Merriane and need to be a systemic observation of behaviour^{ix}. From the observable behaviour, it is therefore all about discovering uniformities, elaborating behaviour models and to lime line of generalization in order to render the political sciences more scientific and more rigorous.

This research work lays emphasis on the analysis of possible mutation of electoral civility configuration, the institutional and historical episodes of dynamics of the electoral system permitting to say that a new stage of electoral process which is neither an irreversible moment nor an accomplished change void of any discontinuity possibility. It is just a tension towards something new, but which provisory configuration should be understood.

Then we are going to present in the first-place sociopolitical configuration and its consequences on the electoral behaviour and in the second place the electoral consolidation ethnic skew and accomplishment of electoral choices rationalization.

THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONFIGURATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

The model of electoral game brought about by concurrence between several political enterprises modifies “all the tensions” made by the society. In effect, the competitive construction of the electoral policy that is the form and practice of the concurrence as legitimacy principle of elections unfolding, marks a paradigmatic change. The putting in place of electoral policy “normal “or monopolist affect beliefs of people and old practices. It brings in a change of state, a new definition of the sociopolitical reality and the electoral behaviour inherent to socio-political transformation.

The structural and cognitive transformations of political field

The electoral competition has been erected into a state procedure to designate the head of the representative functions the principle of the political vision on the one hand, the structural

transformations through the redefinition of instruments and electoral process on the other hand, the cognitive transformations in structuring of the electorate.

The structural transformations through the redefinition of the instruments of electoral process

In general, the electoral process actors in Cameroon can be classified into two categories: institutional actors recognized by the law which assigns them precise roles; and the others which come in and considerably influence the electoral process without much formally recognized by the law a role or a mission^x. For the institutional actors, it is mainly all about political parties, the state administrations, the mix commissions and since 2000, the National Elections Observatory (NEO)^{xi}. In the same position as institutional actors features Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) henceforward put in place.

Thus, the law n° 2006/011 of 29 December 2006 to create the Elections Cameroon was adopted and promulgated. ELECAM is therefore an independent organ in charge of the organization, the management and the supervision of the whole electoral and referendary process in Cameroon. More than a reform, the electoral law in Cameroon is a revolution.

Considering the provisions stated by the law n° 2010 /005 of 13 April 2010 to modify and complete some provisions of the law n° 2006/011 of 29 December 2006 to create the Elections Cameroon, the new Cameroonian electoral system shall be organized around two major actors: ELECAM and the jurisdictional instances. ELECAM is in charge of the material organization of the election, the supervision and the control of the whole electoral process in the place of the NEO administration, and the jurisdictional instances shall be in charge of electoral prejudgment as well as the proclamation of the results^{xii}.

In effect, since the monoparty system till the multiparty system the MINATD (Ministry of territorial administration and ONEL) AND NEO have been involved in the organization and the control of the elections in Cameroon. ELECAM in instating the biometrics had the objective of avoiding the frauds and the electoral manipulation by some elites. The computerization of the electoral operations has the aim of modernizing the electoral system, consolidating and credibilizing more the democracy. It is all about putting in contribution the information and communication technologies in all the electoral process that is the electoral inscriptions in the proclamation of the results.

In effect, the information of the electoral operations has been one of the main innovations of joined elections of 22 July 2007. It has so been the end of a process started after presidential elections of the 11 October 1992 the head of state, Paul Biya and the Prime Minister SIMON ACHIDI ACHU created the information coordination committee of the electoral operations.

The computerization of the electoral operations permits in the pre-electoral period the constitution and easy management of the electoral file through a model permitting the annual revisions , the reviewing of the electoral ,lists by radiating the persons who have lost the voting rights , the inscription of the citizen having reached the electoral majority, the supersession^{xiii} of the multiple inscriptions and above all the automatic election of the electoral lists in the various electoral circumscriptions in all the polling stations^{xiv}.

Besides, the legislative texts or statutory can be integrated that database for the actors of the electoral process can easily consult.

During the electoral period, the automating permits a good management of candidates' files, a good management of the electoral logistics, an easy management of the various electoral commissions, the computerized production of electoral documents (voter's cards, candidates' lists , the filling of the polling stations, lists of voting commissions, the discharge lists, the counting sheets , the vote counting reports etc.) and the management of the results.

This Cameroonian computerization model is created in each divisional office, a departmental unit of typing. This unit is in charge of typing the information different from electoral process way out of the all the subdivision. However , with the new information organ in the electoral process ,some departments in Cameroon face difficulties with persons lacking birth certificates, but claiming the Cameroonian nationality to have an interview certificate is all about questioning a family member ,the head of village or the chief of canton about the belonging of the applicant to background Cameroonian family.

After the interview, an interview certificate is given is signed by the administrative authority and replaces the birth certificate and the national identity card. Beyond the risk of false testimonials and bribery which favour the non-consideration of Cameroonian nationalities in profit of expatriates, this drawback of Cameroonian Nationality securing system (CNSS) is more delicate border zones. In effect, the existence of the Cameroonian borders or trans-border

people related render difficult the control, the nationality condition during the subscriptions on the electoral lists.

The cognitive transformation of the structure of the electorate

It is all about the evolution in the choice of the candidate, the voter freed from the ethnic; the election without political influence, the self-consciousness about the electoral reality. In effect it is a change by interest or a change in paradigms. Talking about a change in the structure of the electorate, comes down to making a determinant of social change^{xv}. This factor is in effect an element of a given situation which, only because of its existence by action that exercise induce or produce a change^{xvi}. The advent of democratic renouveau based on the multiparty system with one of the objectives is the universal poll with the majority of rules has organised the demographical within the ethnic entity consciousness. Some political parties are born under the basis of biological parent, of blood solidarity, of the language or religious convictions, even professional. The constituted coalitions on the natural proximity of electoral interests more than share of philosophical or a coherent programme answering the aspirations of whole population have succeeded in the creation of alliances and determined the game of the race to power or of its conversation^{xvii}.

In a study dedicated to Cameroonian National Unity, the historian and the French politician, Jean Francois Bayart affirm *“that in 1958, the tribal consciousness is an essential element of the Cameroonian society. This can be brought down to an opposition between three ethnical complex :the one of Nord (Fulani ,feudal Muslim), the one South(Bantou , clanic, chritian)and the one of West (semi-Bantou, divided into chiefdom ,essentially Christian. It finds a political expression induced by political expression of the progress of the town. The ethnic antagonisms take another dimension which irritated them^{xviii}.”* The Cameroonian political chequier is therefore one of the most complicated in Africa: to the ethno-political antagonisms (opposition between tribes, correlative opposition between political parties ethnical –based answering *the geo-political antagonisms*, linguistic and religious (opposition between western Cameroonians Anglophone and Eastern Cameroon francophone ,opposition between the North in majority Muslims and the south animist and in majority Christian) . The tribal antagonisms have taken up a new vitality since the year 1990. The multiparty system which is the political expression of this as well according to Karl Marx the political fight is the is only but the image

of the fight between classes of clans, exacerbating tribal by given them a supplementary dimension^{xix}.

According to the social formation in Cameroon, new system of inequality and dominance is so then in reconstruction mixed by those micro-conflicts which regime would be for some people the matrix, in the sense that it contribute to the creation of forces rapports between positions powers^{xx}. Position of enrichments and linguistic position even regional and ethnic. The role of the elections, considering this trend has been and remains very important. Although some multiparty elements have resuscitate the favor of the ethno-regionalist sentiments, the electoral consultations have constituted, forces tests more or less freer after which trans appeared the coalition conditions to power: Be it that the link between the recalcitrant elite to the orientation of the regime has found a possibility to show their particularity and bribe the support; be it in contrast.

In Cameroon, the cognitive transformation of the structure of the electorate is characterized by the fabrication of partial willingness even political and the identity strategy.

The electoral behaviour inherent to sociopolitical transformation

It is all about looking at political action of individuals and the behaviour of the voters vis-à-vis of the political parties.

The political action of individuals in electoral trend

It normal to be interested in actors of political game and to its individual actors. the question about the role of those is raised in the political systems. The democratic regimes are the only which give to individuals whosoever a real chance to act politically from the moment where the individual is a political actor^{xxi}. Many individuals refuse the idea to be political actors that is not only to political engage, but participate in any way in the political universe. This is not surprising to the extent that it has been seen that the political activity can be considered as negative activity. Those individuals are therefore not subjectively political actors. In other hand, if an individual whosoever, who does not occupy any stake position who does not possess connection in the political milieu, who does not politically engage is not objectively excluded from the category of political party.

It seems in effect that, the subjective sentiment of the actors: who refuse to ensure the political dimension of their acts is interested there must kind attention to it but , is without consequences if the one effectively exists .The subjective problem comes down to the objective problem, or the solution of the one if obvious. The whosoever individual does not play, due to particular trends a visible role. And however, individuals whosoever play a role will not only but be the of constituting the public opinion. Considering this, the inequity manifests itself for some individuals have key role in the formation of the opinion, so the all the others receive the reformed opinion although they are not conscious. However, besides the fact that the population is not totally passive and only accept to certain point the suggestion of their opinion leaders this not withstand those are in need for them to give to their choice a resonance which with, subjective stand points will remain. The population plays a political role anyhow. Talking about this population, one can conclude each individual which constitutes it plays a very little role but counting without which the sum will be itself not counting.

Seen what was discussed above, This observation done in this country that is Worthy for all the members of a society is directly applicable to all those, although they play a visible role have however not an influence only by segregation .Otherwise the voters are considered in the place in the political action ;and the militants who are already engaged in the political life occupy the strategic positions in the local ,regional even national chequier.

The behaviours of voters vis-à-vis of political parties

The formations of electoral attitudes take into consideration the strengths and the weaknesses of the party. The relationship with the voters is nowadays less and less proximity relationships. They are above all mediatic relationships. The change in the personalization mode has itself an increasing role for the professionals of political communication recruited in the rural radio stations. The local medias have become par excellence the preferred means of the political communication in Cameroon. This has direct consequences .It must be noted that the absence of a dynamic youth in 5 the formations , the regression or the slow regression of the numbers are the inertia of the sympathizers of opposition parties their limited implication o the political parties in the electoral process^{xxii} ; the distance that exists between certain political parties in the electoral process ; The opposition and the population ; the small power of the actions carried out by the opposition parties.

Hence, the voter makes his vote according to the content of the electoral donations vote^{xxiii}. The taking into consideration of the content allows to appreciate the donation n before determining his vote. The citizen here is no longer determined by his ethnic belonging but rather his own rationality and decides to take part in the vote only if his advantages are taken into consideration during the electoral donations that are promised by the political parties. These voters are here “strategists” or rational persons who are led to examine whole of the electoral donation before making their choices. are sometimes determined by , and contrary to this analysis ,by the universal suffrage as supports responses or sanctions formulated by the citizen according to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction that the experience towards the leaders^{xxiv}. The voter is seen as conditioned by his objective situation , his vote according to his a analysis of the political new deal .The relationships existing between political parties and voters, is affected by and a kind of an incertitude strongly subjected to the political new deal ,at the same time instable and changing according to the electoral consultations (nationally ,locally)^{xxv}.The legitimacy of political in front of the voter varies according to the intensity and the nature according to type of the relationship established.

It is this type of relation which is without doubt the easiest during the political investigation. The category of the belonging in contrast defines an attitude of the voter marked by a strong determination in favour of a party, a little independence vis-à-vis of the new deal, a continuity in time and an absence of specificity according to various modes of consultations. It can lead to militantism and guarantees the absence of any instability of the electoral choices. For the type of the exchange of the reception of the voters who vote is made on the parties or the people who offer or pretend offering advantages in customer-like. The relationship party-voter is therefore marked by the dependent discontinuity of the nature of the exchange and of strong variations of the behaviours which come up from one election to another.

Considering what was discussed above , the legitimacy of the parties in front of the voters varies according to the intensity and they nature according to the type of the relationship established .Slid in case of belonging vote , the legitimacy of the party is more fragile ,but fundamentally questioned in case of referendum .In contrast the exchangeable and, the legitimacy and the acceptance of the parties seems precarious, for it is depends on the advantages expected by the voter and founded on a relation based on clientele than specially

political. In the Cameroonian society, the donations of political parties during the electoral period play a capital role in the formation of the electoral behaviours. Face to the donation the voter is free to commence or not. Each political party use a means or strategy as client. The importance the populations attach to the "governality of the belly^{xxvi}" exposes them to a short Infidelity. The infidelity here should not be directly perceived as the fact of changing. A voter, faithful to his party is the one whose militantism for the party is constant and does let himself influenced by the actions that the party poses.

The unfaithfulness of the voters in Cameroon, nowadays is denser at the level of political formations of oppositions parties. If one refers to the actions that pose the various competitors in the local political scene, one realizes that the CPDM is the party that offers more gifts to the populations and often without political class. In this context the voter the claims the opposition doesn't generally endure the fact that the gifts of that party is refused which he would not necessarily have in the part he supports. The importance the populations attach to the donations takes its origin since the year 2002 up to date, a period during which in the bit to prepare the electorate , the political elites of CPDM often helps in case there is situation in some areas for example the donations to distressed populations and refugees .Before that time ,the populations of the area were careful vis-à-vis of the donations and only accepted the donation of the elite of the party they supports . They generally refused without recommendations from the opposition parties for fear of losing the sympathizers because of the donations they may equivalently receive from The CPDM the political parties will allow the populations to receive the gifts but not voting the however for the ruling party. This joins the thought of SOCPA Antoine saying " tke and eat ,for these donations , are the money of your taxations ,the kerosene they have embezzled .But do not vote for them. Alone in the polling booth, think about your choice and vote for change^{xxvii}". These attitudes have however very rapidly made progress and the leaders of the opposition parties asked the populations to take the donations and use them. In view of this analysis, one realizes that in encouraging their sympathizers to receive the donation of the ruling party and even use them. This has led to resigning and joining the ruling party.

Generally, one can by the time say that the crisis of the supporting organizations has resulted into a change in the type of relationship established by the citizens towards the political parties.

All this will lead us to equally see the electoral consolidation of ethnic skews and the rationalization.

THE ELECTORAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE ETHNIC SKEWS AND THEY THE RATIONALISATION OF THE ELECTORAL CHOICES

In this perspective, it is all about studying the electoral consolidation of the ethnic skews in the side of pluralist elections and the rationalization of the electoral choice based on the ethnic belonging.

The consolidation of the ethnic skews in context of the electoral game

It seems necessary to talk about the context of the ethnic skew and the ethnic based politics.

The context of the emergence of the ethnic skew.

The socio-political skews are generally defined as the principles of sustainable division structuring the political behaviours and the electoral conception which nature depends on the social structure and the rules of the politician in a political system in a given time. This notion is consequently based on the idea that everything is crossed by the fracture lines which will determine the positioning of the individuals and the political forces through the transposition more or less faithful of social conflicts in the political arena^{xxviii}. The skews are original, and of extreme magnitude and diverse nature. They can be initially economic, cultural or political actors, and are going to have an impact on the functioning of the political competition and on the behaviours of the individuals, and territorial, be the subject of inquiries more or less important.

In the same vein, the collective study hence classical conducted under the supervision of SEYMOUR LIPSET AND STEIN ROKKAN in the 1960's and other analyses pledged to show how much the structure of the socio-political skews in the main western regimes seed stable. ("according to the expression used). LIPSET and ROKAN showed notably that most of the sociopolitical polarisation lines, pertinent in the main western democracies were much the consequences of more or less of "revolution" which came up in the XIX century. According to them, the political opposition lines could not only but in effect the product of deep transformations of the concerned societies, rather deep all the same for having nurtured

political conflicts violent and lasting which the contemporary societies had to keep its mark. The skews are more or less vivid according to the countries that already exists between urban and rural areas .According to LIPSET and ROKKAN ,those lines of faction related to great transformations which become hard then in each political space with more or less intensity according to the exact nature of the conflicts in a given community, but also according to institutional trend specific to each regime^{xxxix}.By the way ,the jurisdictional rules that laid down the electoral competition and the activity of political parties in USA are sometimes seen as the factors which have worked in the sense of reduction of the number of the political formation, limiting through the same possibility of seeing some socio-politicians transferred to the electoral arena.^{xxx}

In effect ,another important question concerns the capacity of the political system to overcome the skews through the institutional concatenation .The liberal democracies By themselves ,are already an answer to that problem: the recognition of the groups and the pluralism ,the legitimacy of the opposition and the limitation of term of leading party are as many elements of the transmissions of political conflicts peacefully resolved .In fact ,independently of the intensity and the structure of the skews is therefore the capacity of the political systems to integrate them which seems determinant .In Cameroon , the political integration consist in constructing a community political and peaceful ,an indivisible part from the inter-connection of multiple ethnics ,veritable micro-societies which accept themselves mutually in their diversities and their differences without making of conflicts in which a systematic resort to dialogue ,to discussion ,negotiation will permit political parties to start the conflicts to reach an advantageous cooperation for all the participants. It remains that the peaceful coexistence of differences but the tough management of needs and conflictual gains^{xxxii}.

The relationship between the electoral competition and artificial rigidity, but efficient of identities, is not automatic. The partial skews are in interaction with the ethnic skews partly following the work of political entrepreneurs^{xxxiii} . The policing of the ethnicity electorally oriented complicate the cohabitation in a plural society, the post electoral situation in the cities of Ebolawa and Sangmélima (located in the native region of President Paul Biya) was marked by the escalation of violence orchestrated by some ethnic (indigenous) groups against other so-called "alien" groups. These are the people from the Grassfields (Bamiléké, Bamouns and anglophones), accused of having expressed their votes in favor of the political opposition

candidate, notably John Fru Ndi. This charge is based on the results of the 1992 presidential election and the 1996 municipal election.

In Cameroon, the fact only will be enough to discredit one point of view as narrow that treats as a postulate of general importance, a proposal which must rather be considered as local punctual remark.

The model of the skews questions the socio-cultural founding and the ideological origins of the opposition between the various parties in competition for to access the power^{xxxiii}. Thus, it is worth presenting the ethnical policing of the political field.

THE ETHNICAL POLITISING OF THE ELECTORAL FIELD

The positioning is used in two different contexts. Policing derives from politics (somebody) which means giving to someone a training, engaging him in an action of political kind; it is also giving to somebody a political science. The policing of a problem of 'society' refers back to the process of (political passage), that is enhancing of the actors sufficiently influent to constitute a subject of debate in the intuitional politics or mediatic. No problem in fact, is not itself political, it becomes hence it formed in play, structuring the skews between the political formations and various category of the representative.

It should be however point out that the policing of the individuals is not only but a dimension of political socialization. It expresses the reality of an investment of intention and. It expresses the reality of an investment of attention even active participation to political life. Permanent some persons, it is reactivated and diffused more largely within the population in determined new deal. The policing can be defined as gain and « attention given to the functioning of political field » that is the intention the intensity which the social workers follow the political competition and the work of the political actors^{xxxiv}. It is for Jacques Lagroye a requalification of social activities the most diverse that originate from an agreement between the social workers awaken for multiple reasons, to transgress or to put to question the differentiation of spaces of activities^{xxxv}. The term policing can however take a pejorative connotation to point out the attribution of a political characteristic than it was before or the "recuperation" of an

event for a political purposes .The policing of a society or an ethnic group is the socio-historical movement through which the questions reach them as well as the quotient of their members .The policing of the populations has been one of the major preoccupation of political parties within the framework of the representativeness of the ethnicity in the electoral process ,since the coming back of the multiparty system .In Cameroon ,the constitution and the policing of the ethnicity does not come down to an ethnic , but for several cases for example the Kirdi group in the North of Cameroon is not only but a political constitution^{xxxvi}.

The rationalization of the ethnic-based electoral choices

It appears that in the part of the work the presentation of the choice between ethnic party and affection party to the candidates and the sanction-vote as a form of political participation.

The voter and the choice between ethnic party and affection party vis-à-vis of the candidates

The political pluralism is accepted and known, it indispensably implies organization of a competition and the acceptance of its political and institutional consequences. The organization of the electoral competition respects some rules which are sufficiently strict and neuter for fear show support for this or that group^{xxxvii} .The evolution of the democracy is everywhere characterized by since the beginning by long and slow to walk towards processes of expression ,of , 'democratic 'as well .

It was practically inevitable that the first electoral consultations resulted in the formations of political parties created in determining itself as proper to ethnics and to regions .1992 ,the results of CPDM ,DRM ,NUDP,CUD each in its area ,established between regions ,the and the ethnic a close identity relationship^{xxxviii} which had to nevertheless become stronger for the opposition party .To this effect ,a way of policing the citizens ,to arose their interest for the politics in a context where the unemployment rate is high where the populations still have difficulties to have solutions to their basic needs ,the donations of the parties constitute the in one way or the other a strategy of making faithful the ethnic supporters .that the, attention of the populations or to make themselves understood .The remark is clear to the extent that least those which are capable to attract the attention of the populations or to make themselves understood show up with donations.

The ethnic belonging or filial has constituted the individual identification criteria and collective the most pertinent to the detriment of the individual citizenship .Since the 1990's the Cameroonian political formations were illustrated through attitudes in the political integration process ,and have made proof of incoherent division and the duplicity of the rationality of the electoral choices .So then, the power has always manipulated the ethnics to remain in power ,while the opposition parties have done the same thing .In a country like Cameroon ,a developing country where the choice of the political party is heterogenous through an ethnic dimension ,linguistic and sometimes through antic characteristic of the organization, the democratization process and the integration has less chance to succeed if the ethnic dimension is not sufficiently taken into consideration in this great political enterprise. Else, it is worth noting that each person points out the tribalism from his own terminology or conception. Sometimes sit even possible to criminalize the other not from what he does but from what he is .The General Benoit Ass'o Emane^{xxxix} presents the tribalism as “debauch and loss of energy for the whole nation and who invites the entire nation to join hands with the head of state to “build a veritable Cameroonian ethnic ” necessary for the development of the country into country ,does not understand that “the tribes conserve their energy and their dynamism to put out when one of them climbs to power” .Else , the elites in power and the opposition prefer the destruction of the their country for selfish reasons and personal ambitions to the search of the dialogue . Most often, the elites of opposition reproduce and nurture a speech which incite the voters in order to serve their personal gain.

Become responsible, the elites do not play their role to the detriment of the national identity conflict only in a bit to stay to power or enjoy themselves with the state resources. They so then contribute to the transformation of the identity national consciousness given thus room to negative consequences on the state power institutionalization and the democratic governance. The satisfaction of personal needs of those leaders and the affirmation of their socio-cultural identity become the main aims of the power.

Concerning the choice of the ethnic party the so called « first generation elections “were characterized by social determinism, which is no longer the case with the elections so-called of “second generation”. With the plurality of political parties are sometimes brothers where the electoral choice becomes rational by affection for the candidates. The political parties reproduce the major part of the ethnic skews through a real work of a construction of identity

and representation, even if the number of parties does not correspond to those of ethnics^{xl}. It should be noted that the relation between the parties is far from being a spontaneous systematic relation to the extent where it originates from a great triple construction work of identification and the representation, in accordance with the remark of Michel OFEERLE according to which the relations between a party and a social group are generally “the multiple hazardous trials through which the political entrepreneurs find themselves there for various reasons, they reproduce themselves as politicians, in producing the group that gathers^{xli}”. This work of construction, of representation and above all of identification will not be taken as a unique explanatory factor of electoral behaviours of the populations. Thus, the sanction vote as a form of political participation.

The sanction vote as a form of political participation

Thanks to “**political liberation**” the vote is again up to date in Cameroon as it **was the** case the 1950’s. Profiting **from the** system of legitimacy of democratic regimes^{xlii}. It described by the leaders as an important ritual of political life, a period of accompaniment of citizenship identity in the sense that it offers the members of a collectivity the right to designate the chair persons of political roles and to **choose** the representatives. On the one hand, the debate on the nature of the political liberalization in Cameroon whose authoritarian dimension is the vote constitute a political more and more evident and on the other hand, the permanent contestation of the electoral regulation from 1992 to 1997 as well as the vote constitutes the political change. les représentants. The trend observed in the political **choice originate** from the new power of the **voter in a competition** context of freedom **walk that** the one **possesses** according to advantages considerations among a plethora of more or less large of possible conducts^{xliii}. This point of view is shared by Christophe Mien Zok to whom with democracy the voter is henceforward king as a customer to a seller. He is at the same time judge and the prosecutor who decides the action of political sanction of the political action. In effect, contrary to ordinary **practice in the common trade, in politics** “the goods can be **taken back and** changed^{xliv}”. The politicians become **thus the people servants**. **If** the servant has done a good **job**, the people will send him off.

The opposition political parties which generally criticize the oligarchy which may exist within the government are for much the models in their very political organization. In effect at the level of ruling instances of the party, one realizes that a minority tend to develop all the strategies to maintain themselves to power. This attitude gives rise to loss of credibility of the party in front of the populations which adopt reluctant behaviours vis-à-vis of those political formations considered as the local parties which deserve to be blamed by a next polling. It seems therefore that the reason behind political change are multidimensional. For the case of Cameroon, one can state among other the questions of leadership and the positioning during the elections, the alliance with another party the case of RDM with CPDM, The failure after the poll, the loss of polarity of the party, the love for another party.

The supporting instability become the then the most used means to make oneself known and consolidate the political authority, its capacity to decide and to promote itself in the political landscape. Within the framework of the electoral volatility, that is the vote of the voter of a party or another imposed by the election. Vladimir Orlando Key in this expression of sanction become emblematic, said “the voters are not foolish^{xlv}”. It is in the same context that the voters in some areas, namely the far-North, have taken as measures the sanction vote against

It is also worth noting that the game of their alliance, the political parties took advantage of reinforced legitimacy during the pluralist elections, post unique party thanks to their activities^{xlvi}. Henceforward it seems that the legitimacy experiences since then a certain weakness; even the main regulator of power has consisted in the adaptation of a mode that fragilise the opposition^{xlvii}. The political entrepreneurs of the opposition have not equally demonstrated the through their stands and reactions, a clear will to outstand. Those actors never explicitly the economic reasons in diverse declarations that follow their alignment. However, this current trend of generalization of the phenomenon of “belematics^{xlviii}” in Africa in general and in Cameroon in Particular give to think that their decisions have been to a larger extent motivated by the material considerations. As Daniel Gaxie remarks, “Nowadays, it salaries, treatment, allowances and advantages related posts in the parties, representative assemblies or consultative, the administrations ...which permit to consecrate themselves to political activities (..)The adherence and the activism in the parties are free and willful, but the observation shows that they are also incited by the profit of all sort which are ipso facto linked^{xlix}”. Thus, the political parties present themselves therefore as following this logic as

veritable “ secondary organization¹” for the royalty of rulers towards them is generally “according to degree to which the supporting organization satisfy their interests as politicians , career interest , social prestige , self-esteem...”. IT thus then the numbers of supporters of opposition have voted for sanction against the leaders after those have made, they sanction vote that those be allied to CPDM for career interest and of personal social prestige. Which will be one of the reasons for which those parties are allied lose the fortress after their alliance. This situation has contributed to instilling in most social workers the change electoral behaviour.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, this work was about the transformations of the electoral behaviour in Cameroon. Thus, it comes out from the analysis that several parameters uphold this electoral trend. Those paradigms are shown through the definition of the electoral process, the cognitive transformation in the structure of the electorate but also in the individual reaction or the voters vis-à-vis of political parties in the electoral trend or game. In effect ,the ethnical skews and rationality in electoral choices , are socio-cultural-based and have ideological origin between various parties in competition for access to power .Beside this variables, one will note that the partial identification which is illustrated as perceptible screen penetrating the global vision of the voters changing their consideration of the candidate and trend .For the more they identify themselves to a party the more favorable they appear to the candidate they support , to his political choice or society program; and the more their political opinions are coherent .Those various parameters determine , influence or act under the power of the political game bringing about new change through the adherence to this or that political party by vocation by exposing the ethnical paradigm as instrument of political game .Hence ,the electoral behaviour is analyzed as the result of field of force psycho-sociological the can be closely measured or quantified through considered electoral consultations. Those decisions determine in their turn the electoral decision and reinforce the partial relation. However, this electoral constitution of the electoral game is systematic as sometimes the old habit will resurface and shake the electoral game.

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