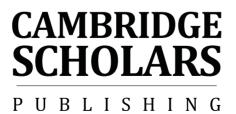# Children, Their Schools and What They Learn on Beginning Primary School

Children, Their Schools and What They Learn on Beginning Primary School: English and French Educational Legacies in Cameroon Schools

By

Genevoix Nana

CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

To my late parents

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PREFACE

This book draws on data from a comparative study of socialising early years primary school pupils to the learning of English and French, and how this language socialisation shapes their perception of themselves as Anglophones and Francophones and foregrounds identity issues in the multilingual language socialisation context of Cameroon where English and French are official languages. The study explores the education system in Cameroon from a classroom and school perspective and seeks to understand how classroom and school processes and practices in English and French, school organisation, rituals and norms and values instantiate Anglophone and Francophone education traditions and translate language policy application at the national level, especially with reference to the implementation of official bilingualism policy. Multimodal empirical data collected through an ethnography of four selected Anglophone and Francophone schools show how sociological patterns are embedded in educational practices and expose an inadequacy between official bilingualism discourse and its implementation in schools, while problematising the construct of a Cameroonian identity as constitutive of Anglophone, Francophone and local cultures. The book also seeks to establish, from classroom and school processes and practices of language socialisation, parallels between Cameroon Anglophone and Francophone subsystems of education, drawing on their similarities and differences and how such similarities and differences may reflect the education history of both subsystems or foreground the dynamics of their coexistence. While the four schools studied in this book may not be representative of Anglophone and Francophone schools in Cameroon in terms of the total number of schools in both subsystems of education, the schools and their intakes are, however, a microcosm of Anglophone and Francophone schools in Cameroon and may potentially reflect Anglophone and Francophone cultures writ large. The narrative, analysis and findings of this study are, therefore, of relevance to educational communities in other countries, as issues of language ideology, identity, bilingualism/multilingualism and comparative education are raised from a language and culture learning perspective, while the documentation of practice at each study site highlights the perspective of the local, national and the global. This work thus stands as a pioneering study in the context of Cameroon and Africa.

G. N.Milton Keynes, January 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BERA	British Educational Research Association
BICEC	Banque International du Cameroun pour l'Épargne et le Crédit
CABTAL	Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy
CRB	Criminal Records Bureau
GCE	General Certificate of Education
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MINEDUC	Ministry of National Education
NACALCO	National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees
PROPELCA	Programme Opérationnel Pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun
SIL	Société Internationale de Linguistique
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNO	United Nations Organisation

INTRODUCTION

1. Thesis

It appears to be a truism that people learn a way of life as they learn a language. It is assumed that children learn a society's norms and values as embedded in its language when they acquire the latter. Learning cultural patterns through the use of language then shapes them to view themselves as speakers of a particular language. While it seems natural to empathise with someone with whom one shares the same language, by the same token, language is a ferment of divisiveness, discrimination and exclusion. In supposedly monolingual countries, language has been construed as a defining feature of nationalism and has fuelled ideological debates in public discourse and in education. This thesis focuses on the multilingual contexts of Cameroon where the ideology of "one language, one nation" has been imported through colonisation. The option for English and French as official languages after independence was on the grounds of the country's unity and utilitarianism. The thesis rests on the assumption that the way children are socialised to the use of English and French in primary schools in Cameroon mostly shapes them to view themselves as Anglophones or Francophones rather than united by shared bilingualism. It comparatively researches language socialisation of 4-7-year-old Anglophone and Francophone pupils in two Anglophone and two Francophone schools through participant observation and focus group and individual interviews.

The observation of teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions in and out of Anglophone and Francophone classrooms broadened my understanding of teachers' and pupils' perspectives on the teaching and learning process. The study focuses on documenting the normative practices and learning processes through which pupils in primary schools in Cameroon learn, via the use of the school languages, of their new identities as pupils and the impact this has on their perception of themselves as English and French language learners and speakers of other local languages. This highlights, in the language socialisation process, language ideology and identity issues in a multilingual language learning context that the study explores through the elicitation of children's experience and teachers' and education

officials' understanding of the implementation of official bilingualism policy, and of the introduction of national languages in school.

2. Main research aim and questions

This research has as its main aim the study of the impact of the English and French educational legacies in an Anglophone, a Francophone and a bilingual school in Cameroon; focusing on the experience of 4-7-year-old children beginning school for the first time and on their perception of themselves as language speakers and learners.
More precisely, the research addresses the following four research questions:

Question 1. What perceptions do 4-7- year-old multilingual pupils have of themselves as learners of English/French in their first year of schooling in the multilingual language socialisation/learning context of Cameroon?

Question 2. How do pupils experience schooling for the first time and what perception do they have of their learning?

Question 3. What instances of teaching, learning and speaking in the school environment are likely to instantiate Anglophone, Francophone or bilingual education orientations?

Question 4. What learning situations outside the classroom are pupils exposed to and how do these foster their developing sense of identity, especially in relation to language?

3. Summary of chapters

This book is divided into six chapters. Chapter One is divided into two main parts. The first part establishes a link between school and the community through the interactional order of a school's social life mediated by language that foregrounds a school culture as well as mirrors society norms and values. It then sets the conceptual background with regard to the relationship between language and culture especially in the context of Cameroon where language ideology has tended to polarise Anglophone and Francophone identities (Nkwi 2007). The first part of Chapter One finally gives a presentation of the education system in Cameroon. The second part of the chapter takes a historical look at the language situation and education in Cameroon from the pre-colonial period

to the present day. It highlights the various colonial administrations' language policies in education and underscores the interplay between each colonial administration's approach to the language issue and its underlying vision of the colonisation mission (Vernon-Jackson 1967; Stumpf 1979; Fonlon 1969; Robinson 1996; White 1996). The second part of Chapter One ends with an overview of the present day language and education situation in Cameroon.

Chapter Two reviews the literature in five domains of language and comparative education of interest to the study. The first domain of literature review considers language socialisation in relation to group membership and problematises the traditional conception of language socialisation in an increasingly multilingual society (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002). In education, and in monolingual contexts, language socialisation has been taken to mean the learning of a standard variety of a language and the mastery of the mainstream culture embedded in that language. In multilingual contexts like Cameroon, this has resulted in the dominance of official languages over local ones. The review of language ideology looks at linguistic ideology as foregrounded in the concept of "one language, one nation" which has also fuelled linguistic imperialism (see Makoni and Pennycook 2007). This concept is however ideological and has been perceived, in education, as contributing to the reproduction of an elite's culture (Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

In the context of Cameroon, linguistic ideology is construed as divisive and representative of both inherited cultural legacies of the country while local languages and cultures are made peripheral. The review of language identity examines the perception of identity as predicated on language, and questions such assumptions in a world of globalisation and mobility (Block 2007b; Rampton and Harris 2003). In education, linguistic diversity is viewed as a problem and in multilingual contexts such as Cameroon; the monolingual ideology has highlighted English and French as official languages and languages of instruction in schools. The review of bilingualism and bilingual education looks at official bilingualism in the context of Cameroon and Canada and the policy of bilingual education in both contexts (Baker and Prys Jones 1998; Makarenko 2007; Nama 2006; García 2009). It finally examines the politics of official bilingualism in a multilingual context like Cameroon where other language models have been suggested for education but not adopted (Bot Ba Njock 1966, Tadadjeu 1975). The review of comparative education highlighted three tenets which showed how systems of education may reflect societal values (Noah 1985). Studies also sought to relate local practice to a global

process of knowing and underscored the relevance of multilevel and vertical case study approaches to comparative research in education (Bray and Thomas 1995; Vavrus and Bartlett 2006). In the context of Cameroon, the local practices of Francophone and Anglophone subsystems of education may appear to be the reflection of the English and French systems, at least insofar as these subsystems use French and English as media of instruction.

Chapter Three describes the research design and methodology. It defines the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms and sets the study's methodological stance which uses ethnography as a strategy and case study as an approach to researching the studied phenomenon (Hammersley 1992; Burns 2000). It delineates case study as an approach to studying natural phenomenon and particularly details vertical case study as a specific approach to comparatively research layers of meaning at various levels and as a way of contrasting local and global perspectives on studied cases (Vavrus and Bartlett 2006). Drawing on the results of a pilot study, it outlines the research design and sampling and describes the methods and procedures of data collection and analysis as well as examines their validity and reliability (Webb et al. 1966; Mitchell 1984; Schofield 2000; Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2003) It critically reflects on issues arising from data collection related to research ethics and to researcher objectivity. Chapter Three finally clarifies the transcription standard used in transcribing recorded data and describes and exemplifies the thematic data analysis approach used for analysing data (Aronson 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Rubin and Rubin 2005).

Chapter Four analyses data from the Anglophone and Francophone primary schools, Madubon 2 and Massanabo 1, in terms of the themes relating to the five domains identified in the literature review. Looking at the schools as social sites for interactions, it examines the processes and practices as foregrounding these schools' culture and discipline (Bernstein et al. 1966; King 1973). It examines the use of language by pupils in and out of schools and highlights issues of language ideology in the analysis of pupils' views relating to the sidelining of their mother tongue in Massanabo 1 and of Pidgin English in Madubon 2. It exposes pupils' views about their schooling and underscores issues of language learning, discipline and likes and dislikes of schooling. The analysis of data from Madubon 2 and Massanabo 1 in Chapter Four also looks at pupils' and teachers' views about the learning of the second official language in their schools and the instantiation of Anglophone, Francophone or bilingual education traditions. Data from the two schools indicates that pupils' views differed significantly about the teaching of the second official

language depending on whether they were actually taught English and French in their school. Chapter Four also looks at pupils' views about other learning experiences constitutive of their identity in relation to language. Views from pupils in both schools about language use and identity shaping pointed to a complex linguistic identity consciousness that reflects the multilingual context of the study. The chapter finally discusses views from the Madubon 2 Year 1 teacher and headteacher as well as those of the Year 1 teacher of Massanabo 1 about official bilingualism and language in education policy.

Chapter Five analyses data from the Anglophone and the Francophone Sections of the Bilingual School of Ribenabo. These two schools share the same campus. The chapter shows how school processes and practices at the site point to emergent patterns of commonality but at the same time highlight instances of interactions relating to discipline or school culture that foreground Anglophone and Francophone education traditions. As with Chapter Four, Chapter Five analyses data under the themes relating to the five domains identified in the literature review. It discusses views from pupils about language socialisation and multilingualism that show a consciousness of language use in relation to the context, especially with Ribenabo 1 (Anglophone) pupils. The chapter also explores views from pupils in Year 1 of both sections of the school about their perceptions in relation to language learning and discipline and their likes and dislikes of schooling. The chapter also shows pupils' views regarding the teaching of the second official language in their schools that point to a language ideological divide grounded in institutional belonging. However, informal language use in the playground by pupils shows a significant use of English and French which foregrounds this interactional language practice as fostering bilingualism among Anglophone and Francophone pupils in the school. Chapter Five equally analyses pupils' views about other learning experiences in relation to language which indicate that pupils are aware of their multilingual identity and that their language preferences are heavily influenced by parental choice. The chapter finally examines views from teachers and headteachers from both sections of the school and from educational officials about official bilingualism, education traditions and language in education policy that highlight the ineffectiveness of official bilingualism policy.

Chapter Six draws the work together, critically examining the data under the four research questions designed for the study and according to the analytical themes derived from the literature review and from the data. It identifies similarities of patterns across schools, as well as for specificities at individual schools, as these relate to the micro- and the

macro-levels of meaning and tries to link analysis to theory. It reflects on the process of data collection and analysis and how this impacts on the study's findings. It draws educational implications from findings and makes recommendations to policy-makers as well as suggesting areas for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

RATIONALE AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND, PRESENTATION OF CAMEROON'S EDUCATION SYSTEM AND A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part of the chapter envisages school as a social community where participants' interactions, via the medium of the school language as language of instruction, foreground a school culture as well as mirror society norms and values. Taken as a site where such norms and values are fostered, participants' interactions at a given school are, however, dynamic. Though a school's practices and learning processes may be a reflection of a particular education tradition, such practices and processes are far from static.

In the specific context of Cameroon, language ideology has been made relevant in schooling as a result of the country's inheritance of English and French as colonial languages and of her choice of the latter as official languages, in spite of the existence of the many national languages of Cameroon. Such a choice has tended to project Anglophone and Francophone identity perception along the lines of linguistic and cultural affiliation made significant in Anglophone and Francophone schools by the use of English or French as the main language of instruction. Cameroonian identity representation is not, however, limited to the one fostered by each of the education traditions through the use of the school language nor reduced to the state's construct of an official bilingualism. The first part of this chapter ends with the presentation of Anglophone and Francophone subsystems of education in Cameroon.

The second part of the chapter takes a historical look at the language situation and education in Cameroon from the pre-colonial period to the present day. It puts into perspective the various colonial administrations'

language policies in education and underscores the interplay between each colonial administration's approach to the language issue and its underlying vision of the colonisation mission. From this viewpoint, the German, British[1] and French administrations' stances on the language to be taught in school were divergent although in the end they all laid emphasis on the use of German, English and French respectively as languages of instruction in school. Such emphasis sought to promote these languages through subsidies to mission schools and, eventually, in the cases of the German and the French administrations, laws banning the teaching of local languages in school were introduced.

The politics of language of instruction in Cameroon schools today appear to be reminiscent of what prevailed during the colonial era. While the choice of English and French as official languages of the country appears to have mainly been determined by arguments about the country's unity, such unity may be undermined by the way pupils are socialised to the use of English and French in Anglophone and Francophone schools and to the learning of the cultural patterns embedded in these languages. While the state's projection of a bilingual Cameroon through the learning of English and French in school is still a long-standing project in the making, the recent introduction of laws promoting the teaching of national languages in school problematises the construct of a Cameroonian identity as foregrounded by the learning of English and French in school and their use in the public sphere.

Part One: Background and rationale

1.1 Overview of the relationship between language, education and society

When we reminisce about our school days, we often have memories of our interaction with peers and teachers in the classroom, in assemblies and in the playground. In this recall, the boundary between our understanding of what school really was and the projection or representation of school is sometimes blurred. School days' memories thus seem to give prominence to some events rather than to others. This, Bernstein argues, is due to the fact that school shapes pupils' consciousness towards a particular reification:

> The pedagogic device acts as a symbolic regulator of consciousness; the question is, whose regulator, what consciousness and for whom? It is a condition for the production, reproduction and transformation of culture.

However, the device is not deterministic in its consequences (Bernstein 1996, 52).

While Bernstein questions the purpose for regulating pupils' consciousness and the agency behind this regulation, Durkheim has no such preoccupation, as he views education as:

The influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined (Durkheim 1956, 71).

For Durkheim, there appears to be a symbiosis between societal values and those instilled into children through education as he upholds that: "education is, then, only the means by which society prepares, within the children, the essential conditions of its very existence" (Durkheim ibid, 71). Bernstein, on the other hand, underscores the role of language as an:

Important means of initiating, synthesising and reinforcing ways of thinking, feeling and behaviour which are functionally related to the social group. It does not, of itself, prevent the expression of specific ideas or confine the individual to a given level of conceptualisation, but certain ideas and generalisations are facilitated rather than others (Bernstein 1959, 43).

Bernstein thus believes that it is through the use of language that children and members of a given community learn of their societal roles and functions (Bernstein 1975, 263). This view has earlier been propounded by advocates of the sociocultural theory of mind development who uphold that:

The speech structures mastered by the child become the basic structures of his thinking […] thought development is determined by language, i.e. by the linguistic tools of thought and by the sociocultural experience of the child. Essentially, the development of inner speech depends on outside factors […] the child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is language (Vygotsky 1986, 94).

Language appears thus to be a mediation tool for the learning of culturally meaningful patterns of everyday life. Robin Alexander (2000, 5) points out that language and culture "must be handled as central and pervasive" in a comparative study of educational processes, mainly because "the power of language in shaping what is distinctive about teaching and

learning in a particular country is readily evident" and also because "the first stage of compulsory schooling is a particularly potent arena for cultural transmission and socialisation." Bernstein holds it as evidence that school socialising transforms pupils' lives:

> It is well known that school transforms the identities of many of the children: transforms the nature of their allegiances to their family and community, and gives them access to other styles of life and modes of social relationships (Bernstein 2003, 37).

In the educational mission of "moulding and fashioning souls" (Entwhistle 1979, 82-3), Planel (1997, 349) thinks that underlying educational values give meaning to styles of pedagogy and Bernstein (2003, 85) echoes Planel in arguing that pedagogy determines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge. It may then be assumed that the curriculum (what counts as valid knowledge) and pedagogy (what counts as valid transmission of knowledge) together with other rituals practised in educational milieus in a particular context is what makes one system of education different from another and shapes what Sadler calls the "national character":

> A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and "of battles long ago". It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while it seeks to remedy, the failings of the national character. By instinct, it often lays special emphasis on those parts of training which the national character particularly needs. Not less by instinct it often shrinks from laying stress on points concerning which bitter dissensions have arisen in former periods of national history (Sadler 1979, 49–50).

The present study reports on fieldwork conducted in Anglophone and Francophone primary schools in Cameroon. While it shares the view by Durkheim that schools are sites where societal norms and values are made relevant through language socialisation, this study, however, distances itself from Durkheim's somewhat deterministic and binding perception of the link between society and education:

> There is no man who can make a society have, at a given moment, a system of education other than that which is implied in its structure, just as it is impossible for a living organism to have other organs and other functions than those which are implied in its constitution (Durkheim op. cit., 94).

This research rather views schools as interactional sites where participants involved in the teaching and learning process, and in other practices within

school premises, construct a dynamic discourse which may eventually impact on pupils' perception of themselves as learners. From this vantage point, the present study agrees with Bernstein that the structural organisation of school, its power relations, its rituals and symbolic representation may transform pupils' identities to the extent that children schooled in different educational systems pledge allegiance to their schooling traditions and may consequently view themselves as English rather than French, Anglophones rather than Francophones.

While acknowledging with Bernstein the school's role as an agency in the shaping of pupils' minds towards a given character, this study focuses mainly on the interactional dynamics of school life and argues that in the interweaving discursive environment of a school, character framing is not static. It examines the normative practices and learning processes through which education traditions are instantiated in school via the use of language. It agrees with Foucault (1981) that schools, like other institutions, use "grids of specification" for categorising, classifying and diagramming the subject through various forms of techniques and strategies called "technologies" to the extent of generating self-surveillance or self-colonisation where subjects take it upon themselves to monitor their morality, language and body. Foucault thus defines the technologies of the self as the forms of knowledge and strategies that:

> Permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault 1988, 18).

1.2 Conceptual background

In the contexts of England and France, English and French are the languages of instruction in schools. Given that the fundamental predicate of these nations is based on the use of a common language, children in these countries have English and French as their mother tongue[2]. Increasingly, however, England has become multicultural and multi-linguistic and for many children the language of the home[3] may not be that of instruction in school. In Cameroon, likewise, the language used at home may not necessarily be the one used in school. The country's education systems are inherited from its colonial past, with English and French as official languages and media of instruction in schools, while a wealth of national languages are made peripheral in school and in the public sphere. Over time, the idealised pre-independence education systems have

certainly been reviewed and the post-independence systems broadened to
include elements of local realities and cultures (Tchombe 2001). Despite
education laws promoting the teaching of Cameroon languages in schools
(Law no 98/004 of 14th April 1998 laying down guidelines for education in
Cameroon) and the vision upheld by the present Cameroon president Paul
Biya in a shared national culture enriched by the different cultures making
up Cameroon human entities (Biya 1986), the two education systems in
Cameroon are still easily demarcated by their use of English and French as
media of instruction and their claims in the sharing of the cultures
permeated by these languages. These claims have been made relevant in
the above-mentioned education law which stipulates in its section 15,
paragraphs 1 and 2 that:

> (1). The educational system shall be organised into two subsystems: the
> English- speaking sub-system and the French-speaking subsystem, thereby
> reaffirming our   national option for bi-culturalism.
> (2). The above mentioned educational subsystems shall co-exist, each
> preserving its specific methods of evaluation and award of certificates.

Such claims prompted this research. Invited to a reception of the
fellows of the Cambridge Commonwealth Society in 2005, I was
introduced by a fellow Cameroonian to a third-party as a "Francophone"
Cameroonian. Intrigued by this specification from a fellow national, I
started trying to understand the reasons behind his identifying me as
"Francophone" Cameroonian rather than simply a Cameroonian. My
conjecture led me to believe that perhaps I was labelled as "Francophone"
Cameroonian because of the place I hailed from in Cameroon. This idea
was quickly abandoned as I figured out that one could be born in the
Francophone part of Cameroon but brought up and schooled in an
Anglophone way of life. I thus imagined that I was branded as
"Francophone" Cameroonian because of my education. Taking in the latter
point, I felt perplexed about my categorisation as "Francophone"
Cameroonian, given that my education is a blend of the Anglophone and
Francophone schooling traditions and that being schooled in both
education traditions makes me rather a model of a Cameroonian citizen as
projected by the country's option for official bilingualism. Besides, I
wondered why my fellow countryman opted to reduce my being
Cameroonian (which obviously could be determined by some other
criteria) to an ascribed borrowed linguistic identity, albeit Cameroonian[4].
The perception of my fellow countryman may not be different from that of
those who wage language ideological battles in Cameroon with reference
to English and French. Such battles have sought to reify or idealise the

Anglophone in opposition to the Francophone, and vice versa, to the extent that the words "Anglophone" and "Francophone" are no longer mere linguistic terms referring to the speakers of the English and French languages. In a redefinition of a definition (Nkwi 2004, 186)[5] he earlier gave of an Anglophone, Nkwi upholds that:

> The word Anglophone is not only linguistic. She is not any Cameroonian who speaks English but that Cameroonian whose roots are planted in, or are traceable to that part of Cameroon, which has been known since 1972 as the North West and the South West Provinces. Better still, the geographical location which during the British administration was known as British Southern Cameroon or West Cameroon during the Federal period. Besides just locating the Anglophone within latitudes and longitudes, he originated here and was culturally nurtured in the Anglo-Saxon model (Nkwi 2007, 156).

Nkwi goes on to give the characteristics of the "Anglophoness" and of what he thinks is the "typical" Anglophone Cameroonian. Differentiating between the "indigenous" and the "linguistic" Anglophone, he argues:

> The specificities of Anglophone are clear and are imperative worth examining here. First, the Anglophone has a geographical boundary. […] For instance, there is an indigenous Anglophone whose ancestry can and is rooted in the North West and South West provinces. By the same token there is a linguistic and/or political Anglophone who can speak English but whose ancestry is traceable to French Cameroon. These species of Anglophones are therefore linguistic Anglophones and not typical or cultural Anglophones (Nkwi ibid, 156).

Vested with the mission of a full demarcation between "indigenous" and "linguistic" Anglophone and a complete definition of what he thinks Cameroon Anglophones and Francophones are, Nkwi carries on with his categorisation:

> Another distinguishing feature of the 'Anglophoness' of the Anglophone is that these are people who were brought up in the British colonial way of doing things. The police force according to them is that modelled in the likes of Scotland Yard and Robert Peel. They remember the empire day and the great songs like "The Sun of the Empire Shall Never Set". They see the Barclays bank and not BICEC. They quickly remember how they were schooled in Shakespearean drama/sonnets and the London General Certificate of Education. All these and several others make up the anglophonity of an Anglophone (Nkwi ibid, 156).

Nkwi finally attempts a definition of a Francophone. In his own understanding, he states that:

> What is embarrassing enough is that the cultural denominator and/or matrix of the Anglophone do not receive the equivalent gravity as far as a Francophone is concerned. It is dominant and a truism that a Francophone is the only Cameroonian whose roots are to be found in the territory formerly under the French Mandate and Trusteeship. When a Francophone hears French it is his/her language. Paris is home; bureaucratisation is the order of the day. The capital of his country has always been Yaoundé[6]. The gendarmerie force is not new to him. The problem then arises in this dichotomy. An indigenous Anglophone finds himself/herself at odds. She has been subjected to changes; at least his Francophone counterpart has never undergone any cultural ruptures after the days of the Germans (Nkwi ibid, 157).

It is of interest to note the dogmatic assertion and ascription of "a" Francophone as the "only" Cameroonian whose roots are to be found in the territory formerly under the French Mandate and Trusteeship. Nkwi's geographical and cultural determinants of Anglophones and Francophones appear to be binding and as such seem to be in defiance of interculturalism, bilingualism, multilingualism and mobility (see Rampton 2003). Also, Nkwi problematises and even politicises the definitions of "Anglophone" and "Francophone" from the onset with the subtitles he uses in the sections where the terms are defined. Thus, the subtitle of the section where he defines the term "Anglophone" is phrased "An Anglophone in a *Bi-cultural* Cameroon" whereas the section where the word "Francophone" is defined is subtitled "The Francophone in a *Bilingual* Cameroon."

The last two sentences of Nkwi's last quotation echo a strong political overtone that I prefer not to examine here as it is of lesser interest to this study. However, Nkwi's definitions of an "Anglophone" and of a "Francophone" raise issues which are of importance to my work. Going by Sadler's definition of the framing of a "national character" via an education system, Nkwi's idealised Anglophone and Francophone systems of education patterned on the pre-independence English and French education systems are at odds with schooling realities in both subsystems of education in present-day Cameroon, though some prominent features like the English and French languages still hold sway in Cameroon classrooms. Equally, as mentioned earlier, the English and French education systems have undergone a series of reforms over the years with no concomitant effect on both Cameroon subsystems of education[7]. Their moulding of modern Frenchmen and Englishmen may not reflect the