



*Arbre à palabre, Palaver tree*

# **CONSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS**

**PROJECT**

## **CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE CRISIS PEACE POLICY PAPER**

### **MANAGING DUAL EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEMS**

© June 2022

[www.constitutionaloptionsproject.org](http://www.constitutionaloptionsproject.org)

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS



**Barrister Paul Simo** is Principal Researcher and Coordinator of the Constitutional Options Project since 2018. A specialist in public, constitutional, and international law, he has worked for over 20 years on countries undergoing peace processes and the resolution of political conflicts in East, Central, and West Africa. Between 2007 and 2018, he served as staff and consultant to the United Nations, including at Headquarters, and in multi-dimensional peace operations in Africa. He has worked on respective peace and reconstruction processes in Uganda (LRA conflict), Democratic Republic of Congo (regional conflagration in the 2000s), Burundi (2000s peace process), Sierra Leone and Liberia (Mano River region conflicts in the early 2000s), the Central African Republic (escalation of politico-religious violence since 2013), and on Nigeria's electoral process (2006-2007). He was Law valedictorian of the second graduating batch of the University of Buea, Cameroon (LL.B. 1996) and holds a graduate law degree, summa cum laude, from the Catholic University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA (1999). He is an Attorney at the Bar of New York (2001) and a Barrister in Cameroon (2010).



**Dr Eric-Adol Gatsi Tazo** is Research Associate with the Constitutional Options Project since 2019. He holds Bachelors (2005), Masters (2009), and Doctoral (2016) degrees in Law from the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Dschang, Cameroon. He specialises in the areas of Public Law (Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, Human Rights), and CEMAC Community Regional law. He has consulted for national and regional organisations on Cameroon's electoral legal framework, on the crisis in the Anglophone regions, and on Human Rights. His academic works on election management, electoral litigation, political campaign finance in Cameroon, the role of the Senate, administrative law, and CEMAC community law have been published, among others, in the *Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger*, the *Revue General de Droit (University of Ottawa, Canada)*, *Uniform Law Review (International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, Rome, Italy)*, and the *Revue International de Droit Comparé (Paris, France)*.



**Ms. Danielle Faith Ndouop Njoya** is the Bibliography Research Assistant with the Constitutional Options Project. She holds a Bachelor of Laws, LL.B. (2016) from the University of Buea, and a Masters, LL.M. (2019) in International Criminal and Human Rights Law from the University of Bangor, Wales, United Kingdom.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### SECTION I. PRESERVING EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEM SPECIFICITIES: LEGAL AUTHORITY AND REVIEW OF COMPLIANCE

- I.1 Defining Preservation of Specificities
- I.2 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Teacher Training
- I.3 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Technical and Vocational Education
- I.4 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Practice Teaching Assignments

### SECTION II. EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEMS: DIFFERENT HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES AND SIGNALS OF DIFFERENTIATED PERFORMANCE

- II.1 Different Historical Trajectories
- II.2 Differences in Performance
  - A. School Retention rates versus drop-outs (within a given cycle) as a measure of internal efficiency
  - B. Class Repetition Rates as a measure of internal efficiency of the education subsystem
  - C. Average Rates of Promotion to the Next Class

### SECTION III. WHAT ARE GLOBALLY THE KEY DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON/ENGLISH EDUCATION MODEL, AND HOW DOES IT DIFFER FROM THE FRENCH-CONTINENTAL EDUCATION MODEL?

- III.1 General Considerations
- III.2 Detailed comparison of the defining traits of Anglo-Saxon (English) and French Systems: Core societal values and approaches to Education
  - i) Values on the position of Individuals relative to community, society, and the State
  - ii) Values on the Economy and organization of economically productive enterprise
  - iii) Education: origins, ethos, locus of authority and responsibility for provision and control
  - iv) The School as an Establishment: identity, ethos, purpose, organisation, culture, and scope of its functions
  - v) The Teacher: their function, role, and place in the Education process
  - vi) Pedagogy: the method, approach, and practice of classroom teaching
  - vii) The Pupil: role and expectations from the school environment
  - viii) School and Diversity: ethnic, racial, or other traits
  - ix) Handling students from challenging socio-economic backgrounds or similar difficulties

x) Transition from Studies and Education to the workplace

III.3 Table: Comparing Anglo-Saxon and French education systems

SECTION IV. LANGUAGE-OF-INSTRUCTION, EDUCATION SYSTEMS AND CONFLICT VULNERABILITY IN MULTI-LINGUAL STATES: EDUCATION AS A CONFLICT DRIVER, CENTRAL TO ITS RESOLUTION.

IV.1 Cyclical, historical episodes of education policy contestation in Cameroon: 1960s – date

IV.2 Conflict over education as a crisis trigger, central to its resolution

SECTION V. EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEMS AND TERRITORIALITY: DEVOLUTION, NW & SW REGIONAL INTERESTS, AND NATIONAL DIMENSION OF THE ENGLISH EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEM

SECTION VI. LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE MEDIUM-OF-INSTRUCTION PLANNING AND FORECASTING TO MITIGATE CONFLICTS: ADDRESSING SHIFTING EDUCATION DEMAND TRENDS

VI.1 Education demand shifts: French to English school sub-system switching

VI.2 Long range demographic trends in English/ French sub-system enrolment: Nursery Education

VI.3 Long range demographic trends in English/ French sub-system enrolment: Primary Education

VI.4 Long range demographic trends in English/French sub-system enrolment: Secondary (General-Grammar) Education

VI.5 Education sector demand forecasting to ascertain demand and adjust supply for education in the respective language systems of instruction

VI.6 Education language medium of instruction, identity formation, and repercussions for bi/multiculturalism

VI.7 Forecasting future demand for higher (University) education in the respective languages, and review of language of instruction practices in bilingual Universities.

This Policy Paper looks at the Education sector in Cameroon, specifically its harbouring two education sub-systems in English and French, as part of the factors that contributed to the escalation of its ongoing Anglophone crisis affecting primarily the North-West and South-West regions, and as a policy area important to its de-escalation, and for peaceful cohabitation between linguistic and cultural communities in the country.

Starting from the premise that policies affecting the specificities of these education systems (notably the smaller English sub-system) were among the immediate trigger factors of the crisis, the Paper starts by (I) reviewing the existing legal and education policy framework for preserving their specificities, and the extent of compliance before the crisis. Next, (II) it briefly examines the different historical trajectories, and evidence of differences in performance between the two-sub-systems in Cameroon. It then (III) undertakes an in-depth study into what constitute the specificities and distinguishing characteristics of Anglo-Saxon (English) versus French education systems, including at the global level. It examines (IV) the conflict potential of education in multilingual, plural and diverse countries, (V) the challenging interplay of regional devolution on Cameroon's dual education sub-systems, given in particular increasing nationwide demand for education in English, and (VI) the importance of forecasting language-in-education and language medium-of-instruction systems' demand and adjusting supply to respond to noticeable shifts in enrolment by the population.

## SECTION I. PRESERVING EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEM SPECIFICITIES: LEGAL AUTHORITY AND REVIEW OF COMPLIANCE

As a legacy of its past, Cameroon has in fact two educational “systems” operating side by side within the country – they are referred to as “sub-systems” within a national educational system, but it must be borne in mind that for *most* of the six decades since reunification (in 1961) of its formerly French and British administered parts, the French and English sub-systems have retained distinct (i) curricula (detailed content of syllabuses) *while adhering to national guidelines on the subject*, (ii) language of instruction, (iii) system-specific pedagogic approaches (methods of teaching and learning), (iv) teaching personnel corps, (v) methods of evaluation and assessment notably end-of-course certificate examinations, and (vi) distinct schools (even where they share a campus in a “bilingual” school, the French and English streams function separately from each other). As a national education policy choice grounded in legislation currently in force, the two systems therefore “co-exist” permanently; they are not in a state of transience or transition towards perfection in a future *fused* system.<sup>i</sup>

### I.1 Defining Preservation of Specificities

With two educational sub-systems running side-by-side, the two forming the educational process for the same country, some organizing ideas become critical to their cohabitation and mutual accommodation within a national whole: first, is the concept of **specificity preservation** which is expressly guaranteed by law, and second, is the concept of

**perennial viability**, which is heavily implied in the notion of *co-existence*, which underpins the two education systems. The over-arching legal text on Education in Cameroon, Law No. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 to Lay Down Guidelines for Education, states as follows:

Section 15:

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

In its simplest expression, **specificity preservation** means that each education sub-system will be recognized to have its own methods, approaches, and tools, which derive from its own system-specific tradition in the delivery of education. Preserving specificities also necessarily means that one system shall not become *dependent* upon the other or undergo *unplanned influences or modifications* from the other. It is important to underscore that specificity preservation is not a shield for either system from being *permeated and influenced by genuinely vetted, and nationally accepted Cameroonian-unique values and perspectives on education*.

Rather, it is a shield against *either of the two “received” or foreign educational traditions* (English or French) beginning to permeate the other, without the receiving system’s custodians, education community, and users acquiescing to the said reception, through an inclusive national process. (Further in this paper, we undertake an inquiry into what some “specificities” are of English/Anglo-Saxon educational models and French educational models – which validates the Cameroonian legislator’s policy choice to *preserve*, and not to water-down the said specificities).

When the Cameroonian legislator through the Law to lay down Guidelines for Education of 1998 (37 years after reunification of the predominantly French and English-speaking parts, 70 years after the educational systems’ introduction into the country in the 1920s) wrote into law the “co-existence” of the two sub-systems, grounding same in “the national option for biculturalism” (an unmistakably implied reference to sensitivity to French and English heritages), the law necessarily intended **perennial viability** for both sub-systems. For systems to “co-exist” (meaning to function side-by-side), they must first “exist”, meaning *they must remain as viable, self-reproducing “systems” over the long-term*.

The legislator was saying in 1998 that the country wants to keep both systems, each with its unique features. The legislator neither said they could be fused, nor that the “better” one should thrive. The legislator does not address whether they could emulate, borrow, or cross-fertilize core features between systems. However, s/he does express the idea that

*there is something unique in each, which they should not lose* – at the risk of a loss of national heritage to Cameroon. For the specificities to thrive, the host body (respective systems) has to be *long-lasting and reproducing* over time.

In practice, there have been several *manifestations of specificity preservation* between the education sub-systems: different schools of learning, language of teaching, different structure of class years per study cycle (although increasingly being adjusted to be similar to each other), different end-of-cycle examinations structure for instance between English and French secondary schools, different number of subjects studied (English and French pre-University high school differ significantly with a small/focussed, versus a large/diverse number of subjects studied), different syllabuses (course content dispensed) *although under national guidance*, different student bodies (no systematic in-cycle mobility between classes from one sub-system to another), and a distinct teaching personnel corps for each.

However, being educational sub-systems within the same country, a **domain of convergence** must exist between them. In this vein, the laudable recent approach has been to position that zone of convergence at the highest articulable level of purposes and objectives of the educational system. Hence, in a wide-ranging curriculum reform that resulted in the recent roll-out of the new Basic Education (Nursery and Primary) Curriculum in 2018-2019, the process entailed: (i) identification of skills for national development required in the country's then 10-year development plan (Growth & Employment Strategy Paper 2009-2019) and long-range vision (Emergence in 2035), (ii) development of a National Core Skills Framework, with eleven (11) targets, including both Core Skills and Broad-based Competencies, (iii) a National Curriculum Framework to deliver the core skills and competencies (with shared learning domains, weighting, core skills, and broad competencies targets for the two sub-systems). At this point, the two systems diverge, with each having a (iv) system-specific pedagogy with its own learning strategies/methods, assessment strategies/tools, and its learning/teaching materials.<sup>ii</sup>

If we have established that Cameroon's legislator set out a *clear blueprint* for how the two educational sub-systems should function side by side in the country (*co-existence, specificity preservation, perennial viability*), was this framework complied with in effect, and in practice? How is it that in the last decade (2010 to 2016) memoranda of discontent, complaints, protests, and eventually strikes would come to characterize the relations between virtually all Education (Teacher) Unions of the English/Anglo-Saxon Education systems (primary, secondary, higher education) and the national Education authorities over precisely this question of respecting specificities and viability of the two sub-systems? Which would in turn escalate, move onto political contestation, and then slide into (armed) conflict? Was there *effective compliance* with the above blueprint's core precepts? In this regard, we review the practice in three specific flashpoint areas – *teacher training, technical education, and practice teaching assignments*.

A first observation on their scope is that the principles of *co-existence and preservation of specificities* (Section 15) apply to the following domains of education: “*nursery, primary,*

*secondary grammar (general) and secondary technical education, as well as to teacher training*” (Section 1.2, Education Guidelines Law). A further nuance is that while Law No. 2001/005 of 16 April 2001 to lay down guidelines for Higher (University) Education in Cameroon does not enunciate the same principle, in practice, Decree No. 93/034 of 19 January 1993 to organize the University of Buea, and Decree No. 2011/45 of 8 March 2011 to organize the University of Bamenda, provide that the said Universities shall be conceived “in the Anglo-Saxon tradition”. This has *de jure* and *de facto* extended a differentiation between sub-systems at university level, notably for the above universities as to language medium-of-instruction and use. Of note, in the past decade, secondary school “*teacher training*” (a cycle regulated under the 1998 Law which requires *specificities preservation*), has become attached to these two Universities through their Education Faculties and Higher Teacher Training Colleges.

## **I.2 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Teacher Training**

The first specificity preservation compliance flashpoint lies in **Teacher Training**. Cameroon trains its schoolteacher workforce in 3 mains streams for the two sub-systems: Teacher Training Colleges (*Ecole Normale d’Instituteurs de l’Enseignement General/ ENIEG*) for primary school teachers, Higher Teacher Training Colleges/HTTC (*Ecole Normale Supérieur/ENS*) for general secondary education teachers, and Higher Technical Teacher Training Colleges/HTTTC (*Ecole Normale Supérieur de l’Enseignement Technique/ENSET*) for secondary technical and vocational education teachers. Following Government actions in the 2010s-decade, secondary general education teacher training institutes are presently attached to Universities of Yaoundé, Maroua, and *Bamenda*. Secondary technical education teacher training institutes are attached to the Universities of Douala, *Bamenda*, and *Buea*.

The first contentious issue that arose at the start of the last decade pertained to **teacher training for technical and vocational education secondary and high schools**, notably at the *Higher Technical Teacher Training Colleges/HTTTCs* created at Bambili (North-West Region, attached to the University of Bamenda) and Kumba (South-West region, attached to the University of Buea). In effect, the (a) *student admissions*, (b) *composition of academic staff*, and (c) *selection, and appointment of school Management*, and (d) *actual pedagogic content, methods, and materials* for both institutions were conducted with no differentiation between English and French sub-systems (recall that technical and vocational education is by law, subject to the principle of specificity preservation). Some insights into the multiple complaints that resulted from this are provided in the endnotes.<sup>iii</sup>

In effect, in response to a dearth of *technical and vocational education* (TVE) teachers nationwide, Government tripled the supply of technical and vocational secondary teacher training institutions, by creating two new schools, respectively in 2010 (Bambili, NW region) and in 2014 (Kumba, SW region). Prior to this, the lone institution training secondary teachers in the technical and professional stream was in Douala. The two new schools were created in the NW and SW regions and formally attached (i.e., made schools administered by) to Universities in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, namely the Universities of



Bamenda and Buea. Whereas the pressure for technical teachers was faced nationwide, exposing them to strong student admission pressure from applicants trained primarily in the French education sub-system.

One of the corollaries of the above increase in supply of technical and vocational education teacher training spaces in State-created schools, is that it established an unprecedented situation in which a “combined” training cycle fused together teaching trainees for technical and vocational education in the English sub-system, and their counterparts for *enseignement technique et professionnel* in the French sub-system. They would sit the same entrance examination, attend the same classes, under the same curriculum and syllabus, with the same academic staff, and write the same end-of-course certification examinations. In effect, these institutions would become simultaneously a *Higher Technical Teacher Training College (HTTC)* and an *Ecole Normale Supérieure de l'Enseignement Technique (ENSET)* – one appellation being a translation of the other.

Research on comparative education (developed in Section III below of this Paper) and Government of Cameroon’s own recent harmonised curriculum approaches, re-affirm that *pedagogy*, meaning the art and practice of education delivery (learning methods, teaching techniques, evaluation tools, learning materials) is different between the English and French sub-systems.<sup>iv</sup> *Teacher training is at the heart of pedagogy*, the method by which “how” to teach is imparted to budding teachers. So, the fusion of this segment between the two sub-systems appears to violate the preservation of specificities.

Both *technical and vocational education* and *teacher training* are subject to the legal requirement of preserving specificities of the English and French education sub-systems. It is observable that even since the crisis, the admissions and structure of the general secondary, and technical secondary teacher training segments (HTTCs/ENS and HTTTCs/ENSET respectively) have continued in the same pattern, with no differentiation between the English and French streams.<sup>v</sup> Did the handling of technical teacher education since the creation in 2010 of new training institutions comply with Sections 1.2 and 15 of the Education Guidelines Law, as to specificity preservation? Is it possible to merge student intake, course content, academic staff profiles (sub-systems they emanate from), and school senior management from both systems and yet preserve system specificities? That remains *highly doubtful*.

In sum, it is the entire arrangement of combining HTTTCs and ENSETs, merging them into a single institution *where technical education teacher trainees destined for the English and French sub-systems* share the same classes, academic program, teaching faculty, and school management which needs to be re-worked. In a single stroke, the said arrangement casts a doubt over the preservation of specificities in both the technical and vocational education, and teacher training segments.

**General secondary education teacher training** would also provide another point of contention on specificity preservation, and a rather immediate one, as a crisis trigger, in

the period immediately preceding the crisis. The University of Bamenda (NW region, established in the Anglo-Saxon tradition) after its creation in 2011, would host the Higher Teachers Training College (trains secondary general education teachers), an offshoot from the *Ecole Normale Supérieure Annex* in Bambili that had existed for decades prior. One challenge that would arise in the HTTC/Bambili would be over issues of **catchment**, namely the admission of teacher trainees from the English or French-speaking education backgrounds. The latter in effect constituted a sizeable majority in the student intake due to their demographic weight, since the HTTC/ENS admitted students without regard to whether they conducted their prior education in the English or French educational sub-system.

These budding teachers are being groomed to teach *in secondary schools (general/grammar education) where the English and French sub-system streams are separate*, with different academic curricula, number of years per cycle of studies, examinations and certification, pedagogic approaches, and language of instruction. In this context, an HTTC (attached to a University established in the Anglo-Saxon tradition), with large admission of students previously educated in the French educational sub-system had an enormous task. This was to produce a teacher capable – after three years of post-high school, university studies – to migrate from one educational sub-system (that of his/her prior studies) to the other (that notionally predominant during their teacher training), and to master its pedagogy to the point of teaching in the second sub-system.

Being officially attached to the University of Bamenda (Anglo-Saxon in tradition) it would be assumed that the teachers were being prepared for the English education sub-system (whether in the NW-SW or nationwide), which would be consonant with increased demand for English system education nationwide, explored in Section VI of this Paper. However, the large number of previously French-education system trained applicants/admittees and French-system trained school officials/lecturers was bound to raise some questions as to whether the establishment would be able to preserve its Anglo-Saxon character. It should be noted that amidst demographic migrations in educational subsystems (mainly historical French-speakers shifting to the English educational system), the receiving schools have generally been cautious on admissions numbers and balance, mainly out of concern not to lose their character.<sup>vi</sup>

### **I.3 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Technical and Vocational Education**

The actual delivery of technical/vocational education (TVE) would also constitute *a real underlying crisis trigger* because it is admitted by all sides that historically,<sup>vii</sup> it constituted an example of a situation where specificity preservation was not respected. Historically, and for decades, the English educational sub-system's technical and vocational component was severed from the course syllabus, levels of learning structure, and methods of evaluation and certification examinations germane to English education systems, globally.

This was achieved through Government's abolition of certification examinations such as the City and Guilds<sup>viii</sup> TVE content for the Cameroon English technical education component. This has meant that for decades, students in English-speaking TVE were evaluated and wrote examinations from the French sub-system (*translated from French into English*), namely the *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnel (CAP)*, *Probatoire*, and *Baccalaureat Technique* examinations.

This is a classic case of inter-education system *dependence*, a situation which goes fully against the grain of what Cameroon's legislator meant when enunciating the *explicit principle of preservation of specificities* and the *implicit principle of perennial viability* of the two sub-systems. Yet this abnormality would be lodged for decades in technical and vocational education, a domain fully subjected under the 1998 law to the principle of retaining specificities between the two sub-systems: in evaluation methods, certifications and examinations, and pedagogic tools.

In effect English sub-system Technical and Vocational Education would become pegged and subservient to French sub-system TVE and become incapable of its own expansion and ensure its survival and system self-reproduction. It is against this backdrop of long-standing grievances and discontent over the emasculation of English subsystem TVE, that the establishment of TVE teacher training schools in the predominantly English-speaking regions (with a large Francophone student intake and teaching/management personnel) would provide the flammable spark, the tipping point before confrontation and conflict.

#### **I.4 Compliance Review of Specificity Preservation in Practice Teaching Assignments**

Another point of contention that arose was over deployments into **practice teaching**,<sup>ix</sup> namely whether teacher trainees with a previous French education sub-system bias (their primary official language and prior medium of instruction) could be assigned to conduct course-required practice teaching in the NW, SW regions, and in its English sub-system schools. This point would prove so contentious as to constitute basis for a strike action.

It has been asserted that the entrance exams, language of learning, and presentation of dissertations for the student teachers at the HTT/TCs were in English, hence validating their readiness to teach in the English subsystem.<sup>x</sup> This is an important point, but which raises questions about the implementation modalities of specificity preservation, in the "teacher training" segment. This point takes upon all its importance when we consider that both research on comparative education (developed in Section III of this Paper) and the Government of Cameroon's own recent harmonised curriculum approaches,<sup>xi</sup> re-affirm that *pedagogy*, meaning the art and practice of education delivery (learning methods, strategies, tools, evaluation) is different between the two sub-systems. *Teacher training* is at the heart of *pedagogy*, the method by which "how" to teach is imparted to budding teachers, so the fusion of this segment between the two systems would suggest a

fundamental change was occurring. Were these teachers being prepared to teach in *English sub-system* general secondary schools, *French sub-system* secondary schools, or *both*?

From late 2016 to 2017, Government would propose and implement palliative measures to the education crisis looming, including the recruitment of up to 1000 young “bilingual” Cameroonians to be deployed to schools which were facing a shortage of teachers in the *science and technical* disciplines. The candidates from this recruitment exercise would subsequently be appointed (in 2018) with an overwhelming majority to the NWSW regions. The Public Service Minister indicated that 80% of those recruited were “from” (region of origin) the NW and SW regions.<sup>xii</sup>

The recruitment exercise and emphasis on “bilingualism” suggested that the State was recruiting teachers it could deploy to *either* of the educational sub-systems. Is Cameroon now able to train and deploy teachers who can teach *indistinguishably in both of its education sub-systems*, whereas the schools, curricula, and pedagogy for the two sub-systems are different and under a legal mandate to preserve their specificities? While the sciences and technical disciplines may be considered universal (compared to the humanities), it must be remembered – as developed in Section III below – that *pedagogy*, meaning how teaching and learning occur, is different between the sub-systems. Is Cameroon imparting the ability to teach in *both* subsystems, through the current teacher training curriculum?

**After the escalation of the crisis**, and in efforts to resolve it, there has been re-affirmation of the principle of specificity preservation, which governs the coexistence of the two sub-systems. The Report of the National Dialogue of September-October 2019 reaffirmed “*the need to keep the two educational subsystems afloat ... recognizing the unique strengths and specificities of each subsystem*”. The General Code on Regional and Local Authorities (GC-RLAs), for its part in delineating asymmetric devolution to the NW and SW regions provides that the said regions’ Special Status shall “*entail respect for the peculiarity of the Anglophone education system*”, and that the *content* of the said peculiarities shall be specified in a separate (future) legal instrument. (Sections 3.3, 3.4, GC-RLAs). The overall ethos of respect for uniqueness, peculiarities, of each of the two sub-systems is maintained.

#### **Recommendation 1:**

A process entailing parity representation of the English and French educational subsystems, should develop a national regulatory instrument containing directives and guidelines to operationalize the principle of preservation of specificities of the education subsystems. It should address all areas of specificity preservation (autonomy of pedagogic methods, certification examinations, teacher training, teaching corps, school management, movements between subsystems). It should cover all tiers of education where Cameroon’s legal texts (Educational Guidelines Law, Charters of Universities) recognize Anglo-Saxon/French specificities, namely nursery, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, teacher-training, and higher education.

## SECTION II. EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEMS: DIFFERENT HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES AND SIGNALS OF DIFFERENTIATED PERFORMANCE

This section of the Paper first examines how the historical trajectory of the two educational sub-systems has differed during nearly 100 years of their existence (since introduction in the 1920s) in Cameroon. Secondly, it highlights some specific areas in which – based on statistics and analysis from Cameroon’s own Education sector authorities, the two sub-systems are exhibiting perceptible and objectively verifiable differences, notably in their internal efficiency and outcomes.

### II.1 Different Historical Trajectories

A brief snapshot of the two sub-systems’ **historical trajectory** shows that they have exhibited differences over the course of their introduction and roll out in Cameroon. During the **pre-independence period** from the 1920s to 1960/61 (under the mandates and trust territory administration), the English and French sub-systems differed notably in (i) the entities responsible for providing education, (ii) in levels of education spending, and (iii) in the supply of educational institutions in the French and British-administered territories.

It has been well documented that in *French-administered Cameroon, the State* took on greater responsibility for creating schools (primary and secondary). Furthermore, in line with post-World War II French policies towards its overseas territories (notably the FIDES program), French spending per capita on education in the territory under its administration was higher than in the British part. In Cameroon under British administration, lower spending on its overseas territories (since each territory was supposed to generate the resources for its administration and development, with less subsidies from Britain) combined with a history of involvement of the religious missions in education, resulted in the *religious denominations* (Baptist, Protestant, Catholic) being granted charters to create and run the main schools, alongside a system of meagrely funded Native Authority schools. Joint administration of the territory with the eastern region of Nigeria also meant that some educational facilities were not implanted in the territory, as students would pursue their further education in Nigeria.<sup>xiii</sup>

Hence, **upon independence** the French and English education sub-systems, implanted essentially in the corresponding (and now reunified) territories, exhibited notable differences. A UNESCO Planning Mission, from September to December 1963, tasked in part to advice on (experimental) measures towards harmonizing or bringing into unison the educational systems in East (French) and West (English) Cameroon, observed:

As things now are, the educational systems of East Cameroon and West Cameroon differ profoundly. The former applies the French system (strict centralization, with the baccalauréat as the leaving certificate, preponderance of public schools, sixty-minute classes); the latter follows the British system, with its habits of self-discipline, atmosphere of trust and conscientiousness, forty-minute classes, and an indisputable preponderance of private establishments. Each of the two parts of the Federal Republic obviously clings to the form of education to which it is accustomed. Public opinion in both wants to retain its own customs [...] There were long arguments in the mission on the comparative merits of the British and French educational systems, some considering that the French timetables are too heavily loaded and the demands too rigid, particularly in the final classes, where the pupil should have the opportunity of beginning to work on his own; while others took the view that the English system of options was liable to deprive the pupil of that “general culture” which is ideally the object of the French type of education.<sup>xiv</sup>

During the **decade that followed re-unification** (1960s – early 1970s), the English and French educational systems would continue to exhibit differences. Writing at the end of the 1970s, two researchers on the evolution of education in the previously British-administered part (today’s North-West and South-West regions) observed a number of continued differences between the two education sub-systems, noting:

[In West Cameroon], the education system put in place during the colonial era is what functioned until 1972 after some adjustments. It is of liberal inspiration. It has nothing to do with the heavy, bureaucratic, hyper-centralized educational machine set up by Jules Ferry [architect in 1882 of universal public education in France], which France bequeathed to its former colonies. The system, on this side of the Mungo, is flexible, decentralized, pragmatic. It does not pretend to lock teachers into a straitjacket of rigid [educational guidance] texts, often applied indiscriminately by a generally bureaucratic hierarchy. If the French-speaking education system, by constraining teachers, generally produces mediocre education, the English-speaking system can in earnest produce quite bad, or excellent education. It trusts the teachers and leaves the pedagogical initiative to them.<sup>xv</sup>

During the **1980s decade**, *the most significant reminder of the divergences between the English and French educational sub-systems*, was an attempted (and aborted) reform of the English-speaking secondary school certificate examinations, the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E), which mark respectively the completion of five years (Ordinary Level) and seven years (Advanced Level) of secondary education. Proposed in September 1983, the crux of the reform (and contention over it) was focused on transitioning the G.C.E into a “Group Certificate” format, whose practical implication would have been to add on three *compulsory* subjects (General English, French, and residual Mathematics – all examined at a slightly lower than end-of-secondary level) to all candidates in the English subsystem, with a pass in all compulsory subjects being required to obtain the end-of-secondary certificate necessary for admission to University.

At the time with a lone University (Yaoundé) and associated University Institutes, and prior to the creation of Universities “conceived in the Anglo-Saxon tradition” to quote the Decrees that established them (from 1993), the reform was proposed as necessary to improve English system-educated students’ chances of admission into, and performance at

University level. However, its introduction brought to the limelight the fundamentally different structure of course-load in high-school education: the English system allowed students to elect for a smaller number of subjects towards pre-University specialization, while the French system had students taking a larger number of subject disciplines – and the reform was tilting English system students towards the French system’s structure. The reform was received with hostility by parts of the Anglophone population, resulting in a strike by Anglophone students at the University of Yaoundé, which required intervention at the highest levels of the State, to quell – and the reform was shelved.<sup>xvi</sup>

## II.2 Differences in Performance

Regarding **signs of differentiated performance**, there is evidence documented by Cameroon’s Education Sector Ministries of *differences in the internal efficiency and students’ performance outcomes between the French and English education sub-systems*. Often echoing differences observed between French/English education systems elsewhere in Africa and beyond, these differences have been noted over the past two decades, notably in **(i) school retention rates**, meaning the number of students who remain in school and do not drop out within a given cycle (primary school, 1<sup>st</sup> cycle secondary, 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle secondary), **(ii) class repetition rates**, and **(iii) overall promotion rates** to the next learning level or class. To present this data as objectively as possible, it is quoted hereunder in extenso from its original source and with minimal commentary. The sources are detailed assessments performed and annual reports **produced by Cameroon’s Ministries in charge of Education**. (Any editorial comments from us are flagged in a separate colour).

### A. School Retention rates versus drop-outs (within a given cycle) as a measure of internal efficiency of the education subsystem

Source:	Cameroon Ministry of National Education, <i>Status Report on Cameroon’s National Education System</i> , 19 December 2003 (pages 209, 46).
---------	---

In 2002-03, about 94% of children at the age to start the *Section d’Initiation au Langage-SIL* (first year of primary in the Francophone subsystem) and Class 1 (first year in the Anglophone subsystem) have access to primary education, but only 57% of children at the age to be in the *Cours Moyen 2* (last class of primary in the Francophone subsystem) actually reach this class, compared to about 75% for Class 6 (last class of primary in the Anglophone subsystem). **The Cameroonian system is thus characterised by good access to school, but low completion of the primary cycle, particularly in the French-speaking sub-system.** [...] Retention in primary school is much higher in the Anglophone subsystem. Looking only at the first six years of schooling, the survival rate (the proportion of entrants in 1<sup>st</sup> year who reach at least the 6<sup>th</sup> year) is estimated at 59% in the Francophone sub-system, compared with 80% in the Anglophone sub-system, so the difference is quite striking. [...]

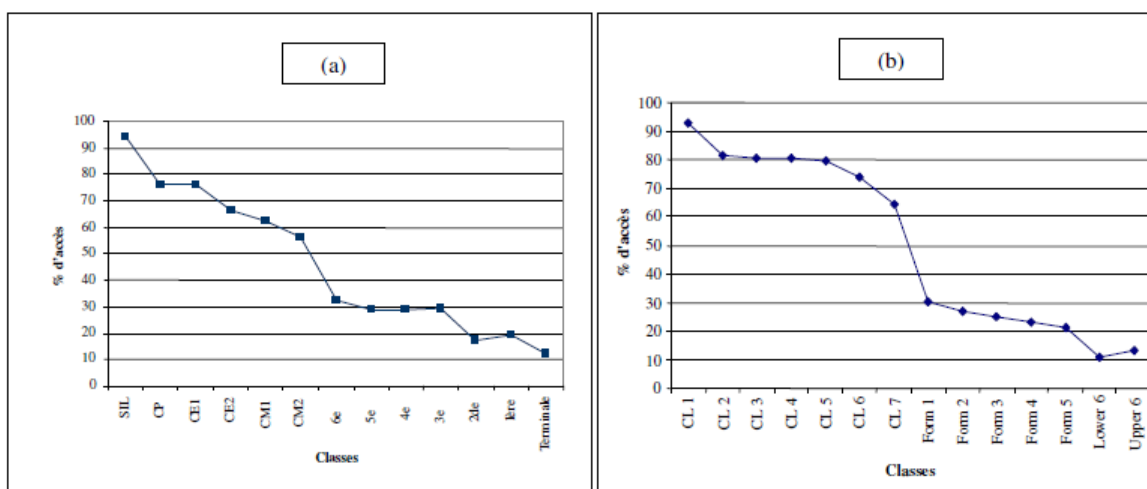
The percentage of the age group reaching the end of secondary education is approximately the same in both subsystems (12% and 13.5% in the Francophone and Anglophone subsystems, respectively), but whereas in the Francophone sub-system 57% of attrition that occurs after entering the first year of studies is due to drop-outs during a given educational cycle, i.e. drop-outs in primary, 1<sup>st</sup> cycle secondary, or 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle secondary (so, due to system malfunctions), the corresponding figure is only 43% in the Anglophone sub-system. **The structure of the regulation of educational flows, therefore, appears to be more effective overall in the Anglophone subsystem.**

Tableau 2.6 : Les profils de scolarisation dans les deux sous-systèmes, année 2002-03

Sous-système francophone					Sous-système anglophone				
Classes	Élèves	% / pop.	% survie *	Profil ZZ*	Classes	Élèves	% / pop.	% survie *	Profil ZZ *
SIL	365 186	94,6	100	94,6	CL 1	88 392	92,9	100	92,9
CP	293 130	79,6	80,5	76,2	CL 2	77 452	85,2	87,8	81,6
CE1	284 999	79,8	80,5	76,1	CL 3	74 575	84,4	86,9	80,7
CE2	236 643	68,7	70,2	66,4	CL 4	72 838	85,3	86,8	80,7
CM1	212 801	64,0	66,0	62,4	CL 5	70 460	85,5	85,7	79,6
CM2	182 968	57,3	59,3	56,1	CL 6	64 029	80,8	79,8	74,1
6 <sup>e</sup>	104 037	33,6	34,2	32,4	CL 7	52 666	69,0	69,2	64,3
5 <sup>e</sup>	82 791	27,7	30,6	28,9	Form 1	24 312	32,9	32,8	30,5
4 <sup>e</sup>	79 679	27,6	30,6	28,9	Form 2	19 916	27,7	29,0	27,0
3 <sup>e</sup>	75 312	27,1	31,0	29,3	Form 3	17 749	25,6	27,2	25,3
2 <sup>a</sup>	42 127	15,7	18,5	17,5	Form 4	14 829	22,1	25,0	23,2
1 <sup>ère</sup>	42 866	16,5	20,3	19,2	Form 5	12 858	19,8	23,2	21,5
Terminale	23 965	9,5	12,7	12,0	Lower 6	7 176	11,4	11,9	11,1
					Upper 6	7 432	12,3	14,5	13,5

\* Méthode pseudo-longitudinale.

Graphique 2.4 : Profil de scolarisation pseudo-longitudinal dans le sous-système francophone (a) et dans le sous-système anglophone (b), 2002-03





## B. Class Repetition Rates as a measure of internal efficiency of the education subsystem

Source: Cameroon Ministry of National Education, [Status Report on Cameroon's National Education System](#), 19 December 2003 (page 210).

**The rate of class repetition** (25.8% in primary school, 15.3% in the first cycle of secondary school and 26.2% in the second cycle of secondary education) is particularly marked in the Francophone subsystem (28% in francophone primary, compared to 17% in the anglophone subsystem). **This reveals as we have seen, a fundamental difference in the conception of learning and assessment of learners between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin cultures. This difference is also found when one compares French-speaking and English-speaking countries of sub-Saharan Africa.** Considering (i) that the effectiveness of class repetition on the quality of learning is not at all proven; (ii) that it has a dissuasive effect on retention (avoiding drop-outs) in the school system, particularly among population segments where demand for education is tenuous (girls, rural areas, the poor); and (iii) that it also results in a waste of resources since the same school year has to be funded several times for a child, it appears essential to put in place measures to reduce this phenomenon.

Source: Cameroon, Technical Committee for the Development [Elaboration] of the Sector Wide Approach – Education, [Education Sector Strategy Paper](#), 2005 (page 53)

**The problem of repetition in the Cameroonian education system:** The Cameroonian education system has a serious problem of class repetition, as illustrated in table 8 below.

Table 8: Proportion of repeaters (%) by level of education, 1990-2002

	1990-91	1995-96	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2002-03		
	Cameroon (entire country)						Cameroon	French Subsystem	English Subsystem
Primary	27,5	25,0	27,5	27,3	27,5	24,8	25,8	28,1	17,4
Secondary Grammar (General) 1 <sup>st</sup> Cycle	20,2					24,6	15,3	16,0	12,1
Secondary Grammar (General) 2 <sup>nd</sup> Cycle	27,0					21,8	26,2	27,5	13,0

In general, **class repetition is relatively frequent in Cameroon.**

- In primary schools, the class repetition rate has remained stable at around **25% on average, for the past two decades.**

- In secondary schools, the class repetition rate is also high, at **15.3% and 26.2%** respectively in the first and second cycles of general (grammar) education in 2002/2003.

**However, there is a clear difference between the two sub-systems: the Francophone sub-system has a significantly higher repetition rate than the Anglophone sub-system:** 11 percentage points higher in primary schools, 4 points higher for the first cycle of secondary education, and 14.5 points higher for the second cycle of secondary education, i.e. more than double the rate of class repeaters in this cycle of education between one subsystem and the other.

Source: Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education, [School Map Data Analysis Report, Academic Year 2009 - 2010](#) (Page 36)

Table 14: Percentage of Class repeaters **by Region** and by Gender

Region	Girls	Boys	Cameroon (as a whole)
Adamawa	17,02	16,18	16,48
Centre	16,23	17,11	16,67
East	18,99	18,93	18,96
Far North	21,06	18,21	18,91
Littoral	20,60	22,30	21,43
North	15,60	13,49	14,07
North-West	7,20	6,94	7,08
West	16,28	17,77	16,99
South	17,60	17,53	17,56
South-West	5,61	5,70	5,65
<b>Cameroon</b>	<b>15,10</b>	<b>16,06</b>	<b>15,61</b>

Table 15 (extract): Class repetition rates **by subsystem** (%)

Region	Subsystem Francophone	Subsystem Anglophone
Adamawa.	16,85	9,48
Centre	17,07	7,58
East	19,17	12,70
Far North	18,91	17,77
Littoral	22,25	9,26
North	14,12	11,40
North-West	12,58	6,90
West	17,70	6,73
South	17,70	12,46
South-West	11,15	5,34
<b>Cameroon</b>	<b>18,36</b>	<b>6,56</b>

**Repetition rate by gender and subsystem:** The class repetition rate by subsystem shows that repetition is more pronounced in the Francophone subsystem (18.36%) than in the Anglophone subsystem (6.56%). [...] **The indicators appear to point to the fact that students are better schooled in the anglophone regions.** *Comment: On Table 14, note that the Littoral and Centre regions, the country's best performers on all other Human Capital indices, and best served in terms of number of schools and teachers, have significantly higher class repetition rates, than the NW and SW regions. Note that while the SW is a strong performer on national human development and poverty alleviation indices (see 2001, 2007, 2014 Cameroon National Household Surveys), the NW region has been a poor performer. This strongly and reliably suggests that the common educational system and not other factors, account for the two regions' similar performance. On Table 15, note the class repetition differentials between the sub-systems in the Centre, Littoral, and West Regions, which are educationally well-served areas.*

Source:	Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education, <a href="#">Statistical Data Analysis Report, Academic Year 2014 - 2015</a> (Page 115)
---------	--

**Class Repetition rate in Anglophone secondary general (grammar) schools:** The national average repetition rate in this subsystem was 6.65%, i.e., 6.59% for girls and 6.73% for boys, which shows that boys repeat slightly more than girls in this segment. Across different classes, the repetition rates vary between 2.35% and 14.91% [...] They are very high in the classes which sit for an official examination. These are specifically Form 5 (14.91%) and Upper Sixth (7.73%).

**Class Repetition rate in Francophone secondary general (grammar) schools:** The national average repetition rate in this subsystem is 15.39%, i.e., 14.97% for girls and 15.75% for boys. Here again, boys repeat slightly more than the girls. *Comment: It should be noted from the titles of the data sources, that class repetition rates have been monitored over a 25-year period (1990-2015), and the more recent data (2015) is over 10 years after the 2003 Education System Report alerted to the crisis of class repetition in the Francophone sub-system.*

### C. Average Rates of Promotion to the Next Class as an indicator of internal efficiency

Source:	Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education, <a href="#">Statistical Data Analysis Report, Academic Year 2014 - 2015</a> (Page 112 to 113)
---------	---

**Promotion to the next class - rate in Anglophone secondary general (grammar) schools:** In 2014-2015, Anglophone secondary general (grammar) education registered, nationally, a class promotion rate of 89.19%. This average is up 8.66% from the previous year's average of 80.53%. [...] The best promotion rate (100%) is found from Form 4 to Form

5 and from Lower-Sixth Sciences to Upper-Sixth Sciences, while the lowest promotion rate is 18.97% from Form 5 to Lower-Sixth Sciences.

**Promotion to the next class - rate in Francophone secondary general (grammar) schools:** The national promotion rate in Francophone secondary general (grammar) education is 74.31% in 2014-2015. It is lower than that of the Anglophone subsystem of 14.88%. Compared to that of 2013-2014 (72.72%), it is up by 1.59%.

**Recommendation 2:**

An extensive comparative review of the specificities and peculiarities of English and French educational systems in Cameroon, should include a specific sub-inquiry into the causes of their internal performance differentials, notably (i) higher *within-cycle* student retention across the English education system (yet higher drop-out *between cycles* in that subsystem), as well as (ii) higher class repetition rates and (iii) lower rates of promotion to the next class across the French sub-system.

Schéma I : STRUCTURE DU SOUS-SYSTEME FRANCOPHONE

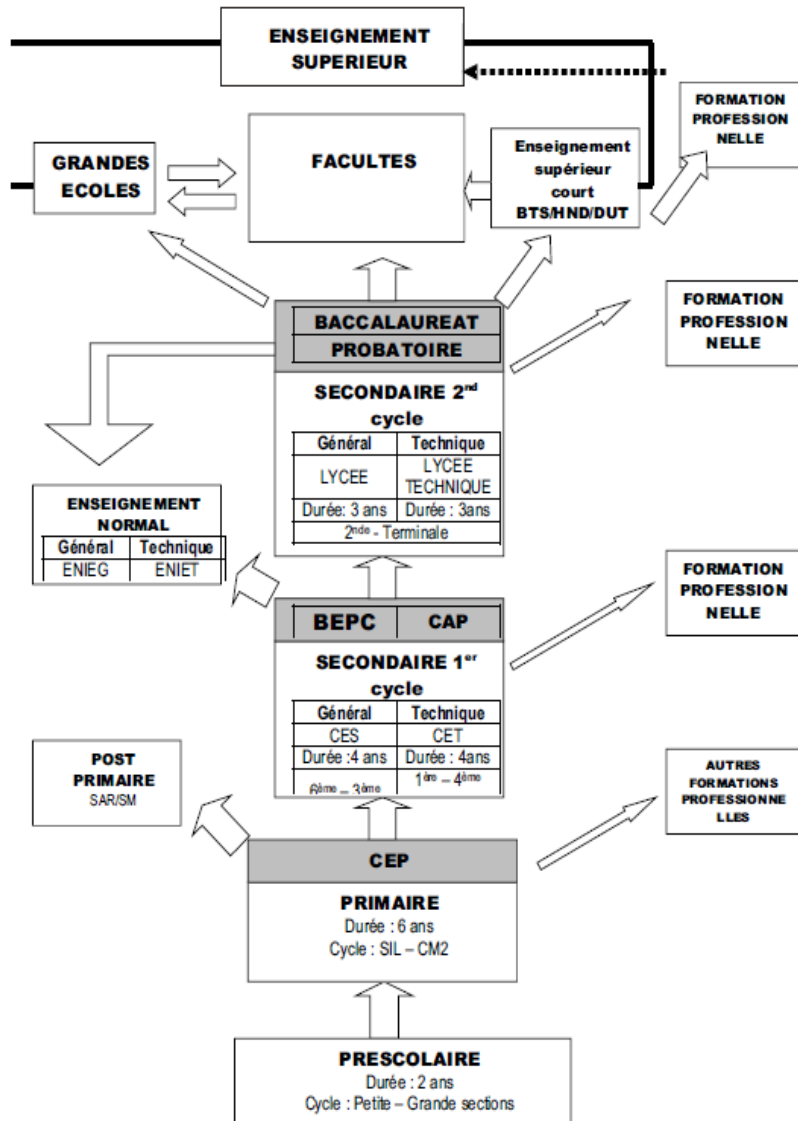
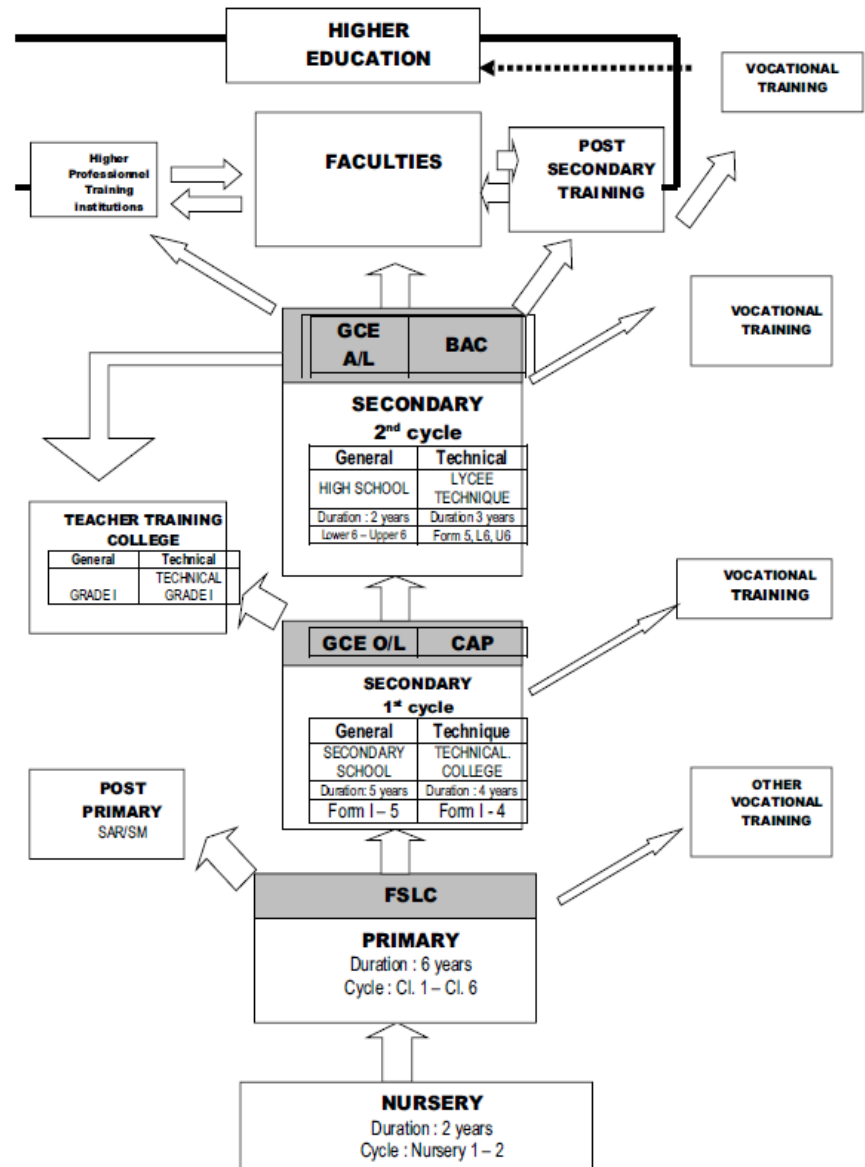


Diagram II : STRUCTURE OF THE ANGLOPHONE SUBSYSTEM



### SECTION III. WHAT ARE GLOBALLY THE KEY DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON/ENGLISH EDUCATION MODEL, AND HOW DOES IT DIFFER FROM THE FRENCH-CONTINENTAL EDUCATION MODEL?

#### III.1 General Considerations

The first section of this Paper dealt with the legal and policy framework for keeping two education (sub)systems functioning within a single State and the extent of compliance/non-compliance therewith. The second section highlighted some practical, visible differences between the subsystems in Cameroon. The present Section addresses a separate, consequential, and no less important question: *what is it by the way, that is different between English (Anglo-Saxon) and French based education systems?* For the question may well be asked – what if anything is different between the study of Home Economics/Nutrition in primary school, Geography in secondary school, or Mathematics at University between Anglo-Saxon and French systems? Is the *language* of instruction, learning or delivery the only difference? Is this issue so important and significant that teachers/stakeholders of one system will down their tools, engage in strikes, and send entire regions, and their students into educational deprivation and even worse (conflict)?

This Project proceeds on the basis that this is an important question, since in order to respect the *peculiarities* and preserve the *specificities and unique strengths* of a given educational system, it is necessary in the first place, to identify what those are. You cannot preserve qualities you have not identified, or isolated. This section therefore interrogates – with reference to global scholarly material on comparative education – what are the unique features and founding characteristics of Anglo-Saxon, in comparison to French (continental) education systems.

Getting to the root of solving conflict over education systems in Cameroon will require acquiring a much better understanding of the *nature and differences between the French and English education sub-systems in the country*. While managed by central education authorities, and with their core objectives flowing from a common national education framework, the actual delivery (teaching, assessments, certification) of the English and French education sub-systems has been in parallel to each other (i.e., co-existing and not fused). Nonetheless, central education planning has infused a Cameroon-unique content into both education sub-systems. The differentiated, asymmetric treatment proposed for the North-West and South-West Regions (*Special Status*) to address the crisis entails “respect for the peculiarity of the Anglophone education system”, which peculiarity needs to be specified in a future legal instrument (Sections 3(3) and 3(4), GC-RLAs). A study of the peculiar features of the English and French education sub-systems in Cameroon should necessarily precede the above instrument.

In the absence of access to a large body of direct comparative studies analysing the French and English sub-systems at work *within* Cameroon (or direct cross-country comparisons

between French and English education systems in Africa),<sup>xvii</sup> **this Paper draws on an extensive body of research directly comparing the educational philosophy, institutions, and pedagogy in Anglo-Saxon countries (mainly England), with that of France.** In order to identify what is unique, different, and peculiar in each of the education sub-systems, it is useful for Cameroonian stakeholders to examine already existing research evidence comparing English and French-based education systems elsewhere in the world. Since Cameroon did not invent but *received* these systems (along with certain *values, cultures, and mindsets* that influence the delivery of education, or pedagogy) *each sub-system can be expected to share some similar distinctive traits with other countries' French or English education systems, due to their common origins.*

The body of research from which the identification of specificities of Anglo-Saxon (English) and French education systems in this Paper is drawn, comes from the specialized research domain of **comparative education**. This is the field, within the overall domain of Education (Teaching and Pedagogy) studies, that examines the differences and similarities between various systems of formal learning around the world. This includes State policies on education, schools' assigned societal functions, the management of schools, as well as the actual resulting impact on the school and classroom environment, and on the philosophy, objectives, culture, and method of learning delivery (pedagogy). Being a multilingual country where two educational systems co-exist, *comparative education* studies should necessarily support **language-in-education planning and policies**, as indispensable tools for optimal education sector management.

**State, society, and school:** A prominent and crucial observation made in all the comparative research examining the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon and French education, is that there is a very strong *linkage between (a) the State and broader societal, cultural, political, and economic values that it seeks to prioritize and project, and (b) the ultimate approach to education reflected in schools.*<sup>xviii</sup> This means that when major, perceptible differences are found in approaches to education – as demonstrated below between Anglo-Saxon and French education – their origins can be traced to foundational precepts, values, cultures, and traditions that organize the State and broader society outside the school and classroom. Therefore:

- a. The approach to education and pedagogy in a given country or context is not only determined by classroom dispensation (teacher-learner interaction). Rather the school and education reflect broader cultural, societal, traditional, economic, and political values around which the State is ordered and formed.
- b. In a given country or context, education and the school are structured to socialize learners to behave in ways that are consonant with and conform to what is expected in the broader State and society for which they are being prepared *outside of school*. Hence, the school and its pedagogy reflect the ensuing society into which its products will be immersed.<sup>xix</sup> Different from the art of *teaching* which only observes classroom/school practice, the study of *pedagogy* captures these wider cultural and

societal norms and values, which shape and inform what takes place in the school and classroom.

- c. Consequently, in the narrative and table which ensue comparing Anglo-Saxon and French educational systems, we first present these societal, cultural, traditional, politico-economic values that are foundational to their host States, and then their manifestations or implications for how education is delivered, and schooling is structured.

### **Comparing Anglo-Saxon and French educational systems**

As Professor Robin Alexander, a noted comparative educationist observed upon concluding a nearly decade-long extensive study of pedagogy in major Western and Asian education systems (UK, USA, France, Russia, India):

[Of] the five countries I have studied, *the two whose approach is in most marked contrast to France are England and the United States*. [It] seems to me that the thirty-six or so kilometres of the English Channel which separate France and England are, from the point of view of education, a much more significant dividing line than the thousands of kilometres of the Atlantic Ocean which separate England and France from the United States. French education, while absolutely distinctive and unique, is at the same time part of a well-defined continental European tradition. England is not part of that tradition, and those in France who speak of '*les Anglo-Saxons*' - to mean the Anglo-American set of language, culture, attitudes and values - are far from wrong when it comes to education.<sup>xx</sup>

The body of research on differences between Anglo-Saxon and French education was conducted by researchers from Universities in both England and France. It entailed in both countries, a review of education policies, interviews with education sector and school officials, as well as hundreds of hours of direct school and classroom observation in both primary and secondary schools, to discern how the differences in pedagogy were manifested in practice.<sup>xxi</sup> Some of these comparative education researchers themselves had the benefit of prior immersion in both systems, that is, they had conducted parts of their own primary/secondary education in both England and France. The research findings in this area have been published by both British and French comparative educationists, providing some level of *insulation from Anglo-Saxon or French perspective bias*.

The **full bibliographic references** of materials published in scholarly peer-reviewed journals, from which these English/French comparative education distinctions are drawn, is available in the endnotes.<sup>xxii</sup> (*This Project is deeply grateful to some of the above Comparative Educationists – from England and France – who took time to engage directly with us and to share materials; we express profound gratitude for their interest in the situation in Cameroon.*) A final caveat is that much of this comparative research was conducted during the 1990s, just after England (in 1988) and France (in 1989) undertook significant reforms in their education systems. In England the said reforms were directed



towards much stronger central government control over education, whereas in France, they were directed at affording schools more autonomy, and permitting more learner differentiation. However, in terms of identifying the cultural and historical values that underpin and differentiate Anglo-Saxon from French education, the research material remains fully valid.

### III.2 Detailed comparison of the defining traits of Anglo-Saxon (English) and French Systems: Core societal values and approaches to Education

#### i) Values on the position of Individuals relative to community, society, and the State

**Anglo-Saxon systems** (Constitutions, laws, State ordering) tend to place most emphasis on the pursuit of individual well-being, individual freedoms and liberties, as well as the rights of individuals (often defined as areas the State cannot intrude into or must justify State intrusion). Hence, they are built on the concept of limitations to the State's powers and prerogatives. A consequence of this construct is an Anglo-Saxon preference for "small government", meaning a defined or circumscribed set of areas in which central Government can exercise powers, and a corresponding preference for lower levels of State regulation. Anglo-Saxon systems also tend to be built on the principle of autonomy of local communities (territorial), which retain substantial areas of competence, and are less reliant on central State decision-making. Somewhat centrifugal in nature, Anglo-Saxon systems tend to have a multi-cultural view of citizenship, in which racial, ethnic, and other minority group traits are recognized and accommodated in the public domain.

The Anglo-Saxon emphasis on pursuit of individual well-being and individual freedoms under-pins its educational approach *based on differentiation* (explained further below), wherein each individual student is nurtured and schooled to attain their *highest possible individual level of attainment* based on their personal abilities, and which considers each learner as different. In pedagogic activities, it also explains its emphasis on *single student work (individual learning)*, and *student work in small groups (collaborative learning)*, at the expense of *whole-of-class teaching (collective learning)*.

**French-inspired systems** (Constitutions, laws, State ordering) tend not to emphasize as much the rights of individuals, but the primacy of the State and its responsibility for ensuring collective well-being of all. Rather than individual well-being, they place emphasis on collective good and welfare (*le bien être commun*), which is ensured by the State which enjoys the plenitude of powers to achieve same. Hence the conception is of a larger or big Government, with extensive capacity to regulate society. These systems are not constructed around autonomous local communities which exercise substantial powers over local affairs, with only certain aggregative functions being vested in a central State authority.<sup>xxiii</sup> French-inspired systems are centripetal, and premised on the principle that Republican values (on which the State is founded) notably the sacrosanct value of *equality*, are guaranteed

through the “*equalizing*” mechanism of substantial central State decision-making, which constitutes the safest guarantee of equal treatment for all citizens.

A founding trait of French governance (Republic and State) is that equal administration of all citizens by a strong *central authority* was (in the French revolution and since thereafter) a cure to the pre-Revolution monarchical reign, marked by a regime of discriminatory local preferences granted by the Crown to local *authorities* or local *Churches*, whose injustices fuelled the 1789 revolution leading to the Republic. Citizenship in France is seen as unique and singular, as a guarantee of equality: racial, ethnic, and minority group trait differences are not entertained in the public domain. All these traits must be integrated into a single, uniform expression of citizenship. The French founding values’ emphasis on collective well-being and equality translate themselves in education, into a system that *shuns differentiation between learners*: the school’s purpose is to bring all students together to a pre-defined level or standard of knowledge. Hence structured, whole-class teaching (*collective learning*) predominates over *individual* or *collaborative learning*, and students must not be treated differently as individuals.

## ii) Values on the Economy and organization of economically productive enterprise

**Anglo-Saxon systems** tend to place more emphasis on the role of free markets and free enterprise as determinants and “regulators” of the economy (the concept of the “invisible hand” of Adam Smith, which denotes the unintended greater social benefits and collective good brought about by *individuals acting in their own self-interests*). They also feature lower regulation of labour markets, allowing the rules of freedom of contract (to enter into and terminate employment contracts) to prevail in the labour market. Free markets also tend to determine access to the labour market, in job profiles in demand, and providing employment. Stockholder and shareholder value (the returns to business owners and investors) are paramount economic concerns. They also tend to feature a higher emphasis on individual property rights, low barriers to trade and commerce, and lower taxation.<sup>xxiv</sup>

**French-inspired systems** tend to feature greater intervention by the State in the economy, both as a market participant and a regulator. They are marked by more regulation of labour markets, including more employee protections in the labour contract, and stronger influence of labour unions. The labour market tends to feature greater State involvement, including recruiting for a large public workforce, employed in sectors which include social service delivery. The social responsibilities of businesses are more pronounced, and they are considered as “stakeholders” in attaining collective well-being targets, not just as stockholders or shareholders expecting returns on their investments. These systems tend to feature more regulation of trade, and more substantial tax burdens to fund the correspondingly higher levels of State provisioning of goods and services.

### iii) Education: Origins, ethos, locus of authority and responsibility for provision and management of schools

In **England**, historically, the availability of education (primary, secondary) on a mass scale to the general public was developed through significant involvement of the Churches (Christian faiths) as well as local voluntary organisations. This is the origin throughout England's educational system – including its State owned and public schools – of religious and moral instruction as a compulsory subject of study. The historical emphasis of pedagogy in public schools of the Victorian era (1837 to 1901) was stronger on moulding the learner's behavioural character (often referred to as the *affective* dimension) than on formation of the intellect (often referred to as the *cognitive* dimension). Hence, in the Anglo-Saxon system, the process of formal education takes upon itself the responsibility to mould the learner towards collective standards of behaviour that would be considered moral, and to be demonstrated both in *private* (home, family, community) and in *public* life.

In **Anglo-Saxon** systems, education has historically been managed by Local Authorities (England) or by sub-national layers of government (States and counties in the USA). It should be noted however that this changed for the UK in 1988 with reforms leading to much stronger central Government control and oversight of the educational system. In England, the school curriculum was historically diversified or disparate (between regions and parts of the country), and a national standardized curriculum was only introduced in 1988. Teachers in England are generally recruited by Local Education Authorities (and not by a central Education Ministry). The historically devolved nature of control over education has also meant that generally in England, there is more variation and heterogeneity in the methods of delivery (teaching and pedagogy) *between* schools in the country.

In **France**, the mass availability of formal education to the public was introduced by the *Jules Ferry* laws of 1882, which provided for universal education of children to be a State, public responsibility (therefore *State-provided*). This placed education firmly within the *public domain* (of the State), and not a shared responsibility with religious, voluntary, or community organisations, which would have made it overlap with the *private* domain. The French school was and is, in Jules Ferry's ideal, an *École Républicaine* – a school of the Republic, and an instrument of the State. The 1882 Ferry laws also provided for education to be secular. This is the origin of the principle of *laïcité*, which remains in force in the French school until today. This principle serves as the foundation for the prohibition of religious instruction in French schools. Underlying this principle of school secularity, is a broader scepticism, inherent in French systems (and not as present in Anglo-Saxon ones) on the place of religion in education, which is firmly placed in the *public domain*. Religion (a beneficiary of private, discriminatory privileges granted under the pre-French Revolution Crown to local churches) is considered a “private domain” particularism (like class, race, or ethnicity) from which the modern French State and Republic's exigencies need to elevate itself and be dissociated from.

In **France**, the education system has historically been centrally managed by a National Ministry in charge of Education, and not by local authorities or communities. Teachers are recruited by the National Education Ministry for the entire country, and there is a long-standing tradition of a single national school curriculum delivered across all schools in France. There was therefore more homogeneity, and less variation in the delivery of education and learning across all schools in France at a given time. Historically, and different from the English/Victorian school's emphasis on *character* formation (*affective* skills), French pedagogy emphasized the acquisition of strong intellectual *cognitive* skills, including a grounding in the *disciplines* (eminent works and bodies of knowledge).

iv) **The School as an Establishment: identity, ethos, purpose, organisation, culture, and scope of its functions**

Moving from education policy to the school as an establishment, in **England and Anglo-Saxon systems**, a strong emphasis is placed on the unique identity of each individual school (as a distinct entity). This is manifested through features such as school-specific uniforms for learners, and school anthems. The result is to create a school brand and "*esprit de corps*" identifying its learners and teachers with the school, often extending well beyond the students' in-school tenure, through ex-students and alumni groupings. The typical English school is a "community" – a place where learners are expected to know and interact with each other (and with teachers and parents) inside and outside of class. This explains the prevalence of extra-curricular activities, school clubs and societies, and shared meals in school. Anglo-Saxon schools also allow a pluralist conception of citizenship, with students' multiple identities (ethnic, religious, racial community) being acceptably expressed in school.

In **England**, civic (citizenship) instruction was little developed and was only introduced and dispensed systematically more recently (in the 1980s and 1990s) in the school curriculum. Religious instruction by contrast has been mandatory in English schools from their inception, including in public (State-owned) schools. There has historically been more parental choice as to which schools their children could attend in England. Parents in the English school exert more forms of influence towards the school, interact with teachers routinely, and the school authorities feel the need to be accountable to parents of learners. In England, the mission assigned to schools by Law, encompasses an elaborate and complex set of *cognitive* (intellect) and *affective* (character) objectives namely, to develop the *spiritual, moral, social, and cultural development* of learners, as well as their *personal, social and health* education. In England, each School head has relatively extended powers pertaining to teacher assignments, timetables, teaching methods, and values promoted in the school.

In **France**, there has generally and historically been no emphasis on a unique "school identity", brand, and a *esprit de corps* pertaining to each individual school. All schools should essentially be the same, which is seen to guarantee the equality of treatment sought for all students and learners country wide. Contrary to the English emphasis on the school

and school environment as a “community” (a place with a combination of formal learning and social interactions for students, learners, and their carers), the French school is a place of learning for students, and of teaching by their staff, and not a community. It is a space in the “public domain”, a school of the Republic, and belongs to the State (not a local authority or community). This limits the number and relevance of social, extra-curricular activities warranted in schools. The French school is Republican, and hence a vehicle and nursery for national cohesion and integration into a single and unique national identity. Expression of all other intermediary identities (community, ethnic, religious, racial) is unacceptable in school as those are reserved for the *private domain*, outside school.

In **France**, civic (citizenship) education has historically been highly developed and prioritized. Religious education by contrast, is forbidden in public (State) schools, in application of the principle of *laïcité* (secularity of schools) set forth by the Jules Ferry laws. Parental choice of schools is limited, due to residential zoning of schools (the school map or *carte scolaire*). The French school is a State instrument for imparting education, which is a public good (*bien public*). Therefore, allowing parental influence in schools would bring *private domain* particularisms into the school. Hence parents’ influence over schools, and the latter’s accountability to them, are limited. The mission assigned to French schools covers a limited (and focussed) set of objectives: to develop learners’ academic knowledge, to prepare them to be good citizens in the future. Importantly, *it is parents who must cater to the moral, social, spiritual, and emotional needs of children* (private domain matters) and not the school, so these are kept outside the school’s functions. In France, individual School heads exercise relatively fewer powers since teachers report to the Central Ministry (through the Education Inspectorate).

#### v) **The Teacher: their function, role, and place in the Education process**

In **England**, the teacher is recruited by the School or Local Education Authority and therefore has a duty to account to them. The Teacher is expected to interact with the parents of students and learners. In effect, teachers are informally accountable to parents of learners and students for their wards’ performance in school. English teachers tend to take responsibility for the *social and personal development* objectives of the child (in addition to their *academic* progress), which broadens the teacher’s responsibilities. Flowing from the purposes assigned to the educational process, the teacher is concerned with the “whole child”, which entails following up the student’s moral, emotional, and behavioural development both inside and outside of class, while at school. Based on direct classroom observations, the English teacher – pupil relationship was marked by a more informal and more personal approach. The teacher tended to build a relationship (*rapport*) with each learner, engaging them as (different) persons and individuals. Between teachers in the same school establishment in England, there was observed a collaborative approach (common problem-solving), noticeable for instance through the existence and use of teacher Staff Rooms.

In **France**, the Teacher is recruited by the central Ministry of Education which supervises and evaluates his/her work through the Education Inspectorate and Academy. Teachers entertain less interaction with and maintain more distance from pupils' parents – since allowing substantial parental influence on their work would interfere with the State's prerogatives over the educational process. Teachers are accountable to the State through its processes to evaluate attainment of academic standards; accountability to parents of learners is limited. In France, the teacher is responsible for the limited and focussed objective of *attaining the academic, cognitive skills and civic knowledge* required at the student's educational level.

In **France**, the teacher's core role is to dispense knowledge to the pupil or student, and not beyond. Moral, emotional, and behavioural issues with students are referred to the Social Welfare Staff (*Assistant Social*) assigned to the school, and not handled by the Teacher. The French classroom is marked by more formal Teacher – pupil relations. Teachers maintain a more distant human relationship in the classroom, and a more formal classroom environment. They are not expected to relate to students individually – driven by the impetus not to discriminate or differentiate between students, which reflects the French core value of Republican *equality*. Within a given school, French teachers also worked individually: staff rooms and their discussions were mostly absent in schools in France.

#### vi) **Pedagogy: the method, approach, and practice of classroom teaching**

In **England and Anglo-Saxon** systems, the primary objective of the Teacher is to bring each individual student to his or her *highest attainable level of individual achievement based on the student's abilities*. Comparative education research shows that this teaching objective which pervades Anglo-Saxon pedagogy derives from and is in consonance with the core values based on the pursuit of *individual well-being*. In actual classroom teaching practice, this translates into what has been described as *differentiated pedagogy*. This means that the teacher assigns tasks differently to students and paces the learner's progress through them by considering the students' different individual learning ability and pace levels. Pedagogy in England has also been based on *developmental learning* (rolling out knowledge based on the learner's natural pace to assimilate, without trying to exceed it) as well as *learning by facilitation* (reduced teacher "leadership" and directiveness in class). Anglo-Saxon pedagogy tends to emphasize work done by learners individually (individual learning), and group work in class (collaborative learning), with less of whole-class, teacher lectures (collective learning).<sup>xxv</sup>

In **England**, the practice of differentiation pedagogy means that students are less likely to fail during class assignments. In their assessments of students' work, teachers are also less likely to rebuke students for incorrect responses. The challenges of differentiation pedagogy were however that the personalized and less strict teaching approach often results in more distraction in classrooms, and pupils failing to maintain classroom discipline. The exigencies and multiple demands of both *differentiated pedagogy* (enabling students to learn each at their pace) and the breadth of their responsibilities spanning

*cognitive and affective* targets made English teachers often frustrated and losing their calm in the classroom.

In **France**, the primary objective of the Teacher is to bring all the students in class *together to the same, common standard of achievement*, specified by the relevant national standards, for their educational level. Comparative education research shows that this objective which is inherent in French pedagogy derives from France's *founding value of equality* for all pupils, learners, and students. In this pedagogic environment, differentiation between students (the norm in English pedagogy) is considered morally wrong and against the Republican ideal of equality for all. Rather, formal education should provide an identical learning process for all students. The whole class is expected to learn and move along between tasks together, and not differentiate the pace based on individual learning abilities.

**French** pedagogy is based on a combination of transmission learning (where the Teacher imparts knowledge), induction learning (where students learn and appropriate eminent works and bodies of knowledge: *les disciplines*), and teacher-led, paced movements between tasks. Pedagogy in the French classroom emphasizes "whole class" learning, with all pupils or students performing the same tasks simultaneously. Non-differentiated pedagogy in French classrooms means that students are more likely to fail in class assignments. Teachers are also more likely to rebuke students for getting wrong answers, although they are prompt to let students know it is normal to fail, and then improve. The threat of class repetition starts early in French schools. French classrooms are characterized by more formal teacher-pupil relations; teachers exercise firmer leadership and direction, lessons are more structured, and students more applied to the work going on. The more limited set of objectives to attain and whole class teaching means teachers are more in control, and less frustrated over their classrooms.

#### vii) **The Pupil: Role and expectations from the school environment**

For pupils and students in **England**, the school is a community they belong to – where they learn, interact with others, socialize, and build long-lasting relationships. It is a "whole" environment, in which the student's background, out-of-school life, personal experiences and situation, are valorised and accommodated in the school environment.

For pupils and students in **France**, the school is where they go to learn, to develop academic knowledge and civic skills that will enable them to become successful in later life. However, a distinction is made between the *public* and *private* spheres, with the school belonging to the former. The student's family life, circumstances, and experiences outside of school are not relevant to their schooling and should not be projected into school environment.

### viii) **School and Diversity: ethnic, racial, other origins and traits**

In **England**, students' specific and diverse backgrounds are relevant to, and encouraged to be expressed in the school environment (e.g., their primary language used at home, ethnic or racial greetings and culture). Students are encouraged to see themselves as part of their community (cultural, social, geographic), a facet of multi-cultural citizenship. School aims to train the learner to be a "good" person in their home, family, community, school, and future wider society (no public versus private sphere distinction).

In **France**, it is wrong to consider student's ethnic, racial, or other group traits, and to give attention to them in the schooling environment. Republican values of equality mandate that these considerations be kept outside the school. The purpose of the Republican school and education is to distance and dissociate learners from their attachment and adherence to group, community, cultural, religious affiliations (private sphere considerations); and to embrace enlightened rationality required by the modern State (public versus private sphere distinction).

### ix) **Handling Students from challenging socio-economic backgrounds or similar difficulties**

In **England**, teachers consider it appropriate to consider specific students' challenging socio-economic backgrounds outside of school, and to provide them specific, different attention to rescue their studies.

In **France**, teachers focus on the specific learning difficulties the student may be facing in class on the tasks before them, and seek to improve them, without considering their out of school challenges or differential socio-economic background.

### x) **Transition from Studies and Education to the workplace**

In **England**, recruitment after university studies is largely determined by the job market and employer needs, with both public and private sector recruitment going through the medium of vacancies, individualized job applications and interviews. Graduates embark on applications for employment through an identity-visible applications process, where employers can access the candidates' identity and review their academics, experience, aptitudes.

In **France**, after basic University studies completion, the State takes on an important role in apportioning employment, through the medium of competitive examinations (*les concours*) for admission into the schools (*grandes écoles*) leading to the most prestigious qualifications and State employment. French university graduates express faith in the *concours* as an impartial, objective method of allowing meritocracy (through an impersonal examination with candidates' names/identities anonymous to examiners) to determine



access to the most prestigious State employment. Identity-open recruitment is seen as prone to bias.

### III.3 TABLE: COMPARING ANGLO-SAXON AND FRENCH EDUCATION SYSTEMS

No.	TYPICAL ANGLO-SAXON CHARACTERISTICS	TYPICAL FRENCH (CONTINENTAL) CHARACTERISTICS
<b>CORE SOCIETAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC VALUES</b>		
<b>I.</b>	<b>Values on Position of INDIVIDUALS relative to Community, Society, and the STATE</b>	
1	Individual freedoms and liberties are most emphasized	Primacy of the State and its responsibility for collective well-being are most emphasized
2	Emphasis on pursuit of individual well-being	Emphasis on collective good
3	Emphasis on limitations to State powers	State has plenitude of powers to regulate society
4	Autonomy of local communities, less tied to central decision-making	Republican values of equality are guaranteed through decision making by central institutions, to treat all citizens equally
5	Citizenship is multi-cultural, diverse; racial, ethnic, minority differences are recognized in public domain	Citizenship is unique, singular as a <i>guarantee of equality</i> ; race, ethnic, minority differences not recognized in the public domain. All are integrated.
6	Small government, low levels of regulation	More present Government, extensive regulatory capacity
<b>II.</b>	<b>Values on ECONOMY and organization of economically productive enterprise</b>	
7	Free markets regulate the economy (Adam Smith)	Greater State economic intervention as participant and regulator
8	Low regulation of labour markets (freedom of contract)	More regulation of labour markets – employee protections, higher influence of labour/trade unions
9	Needs of the free-market economy and private enterprise determine access to labour market	More State involvement in job market access through State employment, for service delivery
10	Stockholder and shareholder value are paramount	Businesses are stakeholders in attaining collective good, businesses' social responsibilities

11	High emphasis on individual property rights, low barriers to trade, low taxation	More regulation of trade, tax burdens to fund State provisioning
<b>RESULTING DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH TO EDUCATION</b>		
<b>III.</b>	<b>EDUCATION: Origins, Ethos, Locus of Authority and Responsibility for provision and control</b>	
12	Mass availability of education was historically developed through significant involvement of Churches, and local voluntary organisations (the origin of compulsory religious, moral instruction even in <i>public</i> schools).	Mass availability of education was introduced by the Loi Jules Ferry (1882), which provided for universal education to be <i>public</i> (State-provided), and <i>secular</i> ( <i>laïcité</i> ), as founding principles (origin of the prohibition of religious instruction in schools).
13	School education takes upon itself a responsibility to mould learners' behaviour towards collective moral standards to be demonstrated in both <i>private</i> (home, family, community) and <i>public</i> spheres of life.	School education is framed within the mould of the State to ensure good citizenship ( <i>public</i> sphere), which transcends other value systems such as morality ( <i>private</i> sphere). Education does not seek to mould students' behaviour in private life.
14	Educational process is managed by Local Authorities (UK), or by States and Counties (US) – in UK until centralisation from 1988 reforms.	Educational process is centrally managed by a National level Ministry for the entire country, and not by local authorities. <sup>xxvi</sup>
15	Curriculum is diversified regionally, with a national standardized curriculum only introduced in UK in 1988 reforms	Long-standing tradition of a unique national Curriculum applied across all schools in France
16	Teachers are recruited by Local Educational Authorities	Teachers are recruited centrally by the Education Ministry for the entire country
17	More diversity and variation in delivery of education and learning between schools in the country, at any given moment	More homogenous delivery of education and learning across all schools of the Republic simultaneously
18	Historical emphasis of pedagogy (the Victorian public school) on formation of character ( <i>affective</i> dimension) rather than formation of the intellect ( <i>cognitive</i> dimension)	Historical emphasis of pedagogy on the acquisition of high cognitive skills, including a grounding in the <i>disciplines</i> (eminent works and bodies of knowledge)

IV.	<b>The SCHOOL as an Establishment: identity, ethos, purpose, organisation, culture, and scope of its functions</b>	
19	Strong emphasis on the individual identity of each school (as a unit) – through distinctive features (school-unique uniforms, anthems), creating a school “ <i>esprit de corps</i> ”	No emphasis on a “school identity” unique to each school. All schools should essentially be the same
20	The school is a community – a place where students, staff (and parents) interact in and outside of class (extra-curricular activities, school clubs, shared meals). It belongs to the community	School is a place of learning for students, and teaching for staff, not a community. It is a space in the public domain, a school of the Republic – and belongs to the State. ( <i>L’École Républicaine</i> , as framed by Jules Ferry)
21	The school is communitarian, allows a local, pluralist conception of citizenship, where other identities (community, ethnic, racial origins) can acceptably be expressed in school as part of diversity	The school is Republican – a vehicle for integration of all and national cohesion. It prepares for citizenship based on a unique national identity. All other intermediary identities (family, community, ethnic, racial: <i>private domain</i> ) are excluded from the school which lies in the <i>public domain</i>
22	The school’s purpose is to develop the academic, <i>spiritual, moral, social, and cultural</i> development of learners, and their <i>personal and health</i> education	The school’s function is to develop learners’ academic knowledge and prepare them to be good citizens. <i>Parents</i> need to cater to the moral, spiritual, social needs of children (private domain), <i>not</i> the school. <sup>xxvii</sup>
23	Civic instruction was only introduced and developed more recently (1980s – 1990s) in school instruction	Civic instruction (citizenship education) to prepare the conduct of the future citizen is well-developed and highly prioritized
24	Religious instruction is <i>mandatory</i> even in public (State) schools	Religious education <i>is forbidden</i> in public (State) schools – principle of <i>laïcité</i> of the Jules Ferry laws
25	More room for parents to choose schools to attend	School choice more restricted. Defined by place of residence ( <i>carte scolaire</i> )
26	Parents exert more influence on the school, interact with teachers, and the school needs to be accountable to them	The school is a State instrument for imparting education, a common good ( <i>bien public</i> ). Allowing parental influence in schools would bring private domain particularisms into the school
27	Each School’s Head (Principal) makes decisions concerning class teaching assignments, timetables, discipline, teaching methods, teacher professional development, purchase of materials,	Teachers are not accountable to the School’s Head but to the Central Ministry of Education via a Schools Inspectorate. Each School Head has

	values promoted in the school, and links with parents and community	limited powers in assigning teachers to specific classes, and to determine teaching methods
<b>V.</b>	<b>The TEACHER: their function, role, and place in the Education process</b>	
28	Recruited by the School or Local Education Authority and has the duty to account to them	Recruited by the central Ministry of Education and national educational authorities, who supervise and evaluate their work
29	Teachers interact more extensively with parents of pupils and students.	Less interaction with and more distance from students and pupils' parents – would be interference with the State's educational process to allow parental influence
30	The teacher is informally accountable to the parents of learners and students for their wards' school performance	Is accountable to the State and to its academic standards evaluation process. Accountability to parents is limited
31	Teachers tend to take responsibility for the <i>social and personal</i> development objectives of the child (in addition to their academic progress), broadening their responsibilities	Teachers take responsibility primarily, if not solely for the <i>academic, cognitive skills</i> achievement of the child, providing a very focused set of educational objectives to attain
32	Is concerned with the “whole child” or student, which includes assessing their moral, emotional, behavioural aspects in and out of class, in school.	Core role is to dispense academic knowledge to the pupil/student. Moral, emotional, behavioural issues are to be handled by Social Welfare Staff ( <i>Assistant Social</i> ) assigned to the school, not the Teacher
33	More informal and personal teacher-pupil relations. Teacher builds a “relationship” (rapport) with students, engaging them as (different) persons and individuals	Strictly formal Teacher – pupil relations. More distant relationship in classroom, and more formal classroom environment. Does not build personal student relationships, to avoid discrimination / differentiation
34	Employs a collaborative approach with other teachers in the school (use of school “staff rooms”)	Each teacher works individually (“staff rooms” and their discussions mostly absent in French schools)
<b>VI.</b>	<b>PEDAGOGY: the method, approach, and practice of classroom teaching</b>	
35	Primary objective of the Teacher is to bring each individual student to his/her highest attainable level of individual achievement	Primary objective of the Teacher is to bring all students to the same, common standard of achievement, as determined by the relevant

		national standards specified for each educational level
35	Differentiated pedagogy is the norm: teacher assigns tasks differently and paces the pupils / students' learning by considering their different individual learning ability and pace levels.	Differentiation between pupils/students is considered morally wrong, and against the Republican ideals of equality of all, from which ensue the objective to provide an identical learning process for all students. The "whole class" is expected to learn and move along together.
36	Pedagogy has generally been based on <i>developmental learning</i> (moving along tasks at the students/learners' assimilation pace), and <i>learning by facilitation</i> (reduced teacher leadership and direction in class)	Pedagogy is based on a combination of <i>transmission learning</i> (Teacher-led), <i>induction learning</i> (structured presentation of <i>les disciplines</i> ) and teacher-led paced movements between tasks.
37	Emphasis on small group work in class (collaboration) and individual tasks being handled by learners, with less whole-class teacher lectures	Emphasis on "whole-class" teaching, with all pupils/ students performing the same tasks simultaneously.
38	Differentiation means students are less likely to fail in class assignments. Teachers are less likely to rebuke students for incorrect answers, or explicitly call out such responses as "wrong"	Non-differentiation means that students will more often fail in class assignments and be rebuked by Teachers for doing so, while letting them know its normal to fail, and then improve. Class repetition starts early.
39	Personalized, less strict teaching approach leads to more student distraction, pupils doing other tasks during group work, and not maintaining classroom discipline, requiring teachers to threaten / enforce discipline.	Formal, stricter teacher-pupil relations in classroom lead to firmer teacher leadership over the learning process. More disciplined, structured classroom environments, with students aware they must be deferential to the Teacher's leadership at all times.
40	Teachers feel frustrated and often lose their calm and control of the classroom due to the challenges of individualized (differentiated) learning and the wide range of their duties (cognitive and affective)	Teachers feel more in control of their classroom as the objectives to attain are more precise, less diversified, and less frustrating to achieve.
<b>VII.</b>	<b>The Pupil: Role, Expectations in the School environment</b>	
41	The school is a community they belong to - where they learn, interact with others, socialize, and build long-lasting relationships.	The school is where they go to learn, to develop academic knowledge and civic skills that will enable them to become successful in later life.

42	The school is a whole environment, in which the student's background, circumstances, origins, and out-of-school experiences, or personal circumstances are valorised and accommodated in the school environment.	A distinction is made between the public and private spheres with the school belonging to the former. The student's family life, circumstances, experiences outside of school are not relevant to their schooling and should not be projected into school environment.
<b>VIII.</b>	<b>School and Diversity (Ethnic, Racial, Other Origins and Traits)</b>	
43	Students' particular backgrounds are relevant to, and encouraged to be expressed in the school environment (e.g., their primary language used at home, ethnic/racial greetings, and culture)	It is wrong to consider student's ethnic, racial, or other origins or give attention to them in the schooling environment. Republican values of equality mandate that these considerations be kept outside the school.
44	Students are encouraged to see themselves as part of their community (cultural, social, geographic), a facet of multi-cultural citizenship. School aims to train learner to be a "good" person in their home, family, community, school, and future wider society (no public/private distinction)	The purpose of the Republican school/education is to distance and dissociate learners from their attachment/ adherence to family, community, cultural, religious affiliations; and to embrace enlightened rationality required by the modern State (public/private distinction)
<b>IX.</b>	<b>Handling Students from challenging socio-economic backgrounds or similar difficulties</b>	
45	Teachers consider it appropriate to consider students' specific challenging backgrounds and provide them specific, different attention to rescue their studies	Teachers focus on the specific learning difficulties the student may be facing in class on the tasks before them, and seek to improve them, without considering their out of school challenges or differential background.
<b>X.</b>	<b>Transition from Studies/Education to the Workplace</b>	
46	Recruitment after University studies is largely determined by job market and employer needs, with both public and private sector recruitment going through the medium of individualized job vacancies, applications, and interviews.	After basic University studies completion, the State takes on important apportioning role through the medium of competitive examinations ( <i>concours</i> ) for admission into the schools ( <i>grandes écoles</i> ) leading to the most prestigious qualifications and State employment.
47	Graduates embark on applications for employment through an identity-visible applications process, where employers can access the candidates' identity and review their academics, experience, aptitudes.	University graduates express faith in the <i>concours</i> (an impersonal competitive examination with candidates' names / identities anonymous to examiners) as an impartial, objective method of allowing meritocracy to determine access to the

		most prestigious State employment. Identity-open recruitment is seen as prone to bias.
--	--	--

The above comparative exposition of how Education and formal schooling differs between typical Anglo-Saxon environments (England as example) and typical French environments (France as example), should serve some useful purposes in Cameroon's context.

**First**, the observations and analyses made in comparing these two educational cultures have the benefit of being removed and distanced from Cameroon's current contentious and bellicose context, where disputes over education systems in effect helped boil over into a conflict. Demonstrating how approaches to education differed historically and contemporarily between England and France should help demonstrate that *it does not undermine the cohesiveness of Cameroon, to point out the differences between these systems* - for the same differences are exhibited elsewhere, including between two European countries that share much of modern Western civilisation. (Cameroon however has the peculiar challenge of needing to accommodate these two approaches to education within a single country). Rather, it is assuming that there is nothing really different between the systems (or minimizing same), instead of *identifying, recognizing, and accommodating* the said differences that is a signal of questionable and conflict-prone education policy.

**Secondly**, these studies provide starting blocks for Cameroon-specific research to interrogate certain observations which have been made on the English and French education streams in Cameroon but need to be validated by more extensive research.<sup>xxviii</sup> There is overwhelming evidence and substantial research in Cameroon (examined in the last section of this Paper) of educational migratory shifts, through cross-enrolment by children of primarily French-speaking parents into the English educational subsystem over the last two decades – and whose graduates are already on the job market. When enrolling into the said system, English language / Anglo-Saxon training was seen as essential to expand their future professional opportunities and career progress. English being a pre-requisite for working effectively in and interacting with regional, continental, and global multinational organisations, based in Cameroon or abroad. Is it possible that in addition to the *English language-of-instruction*, the said educational sub-system *as examined above*, would in its pedagogy and outlook, prepare and orient students differently towards private-sector and *entrepreneurial pursuits*, whereas the French subsystem's graduates are better groomed towards, and perform better in *public sector careers* for State service delivery through competitive examinations?

**Thirdly**, since the school is a microcosm of, and a nursery for society at large, these side-by-side comparisons of Anglo-Saxon and French approaches to education, serve a purpose beyond the strict domain of education. As the above comparative education research between England and France (and other countries) has shown, the differences found in education are often based on deeper values that underpin the ordering and functioning of society and the State, which then get projected into the school system. As such, as we

peruse the differences highlighted between English and French education systems, they *begin to elucidate some of the often intangible, subtle, or difficult-to-express differences that characterize Cameroonians who are raised and groomed (formally educated) in one sub-system or the other.* These differences have sometimes been referred to as different “mentalities”,<sup>xxix</sup> or as the challenge of building a national “synthesis culture” that blends elements of a uniquely Cameroonian culture (traditional and from its modern State), with received French and British legacies.<sup>xxx</sup>

The above exercise helps to identify some elements of these legacies (Anglo-Saxon, French) which need to be considered before embarking on that blend. This differentiation exercise also helps to demonstrate that *between Anglo-Saxon (English) and French-based systems, for instance in the domain of education, the difference is not only one of language, but of worldview, citizen-community-State relations, and socio-economic, political, and cultural values and norms that inform each mindset.* Hence, these comparisons offer important insights into the mindset differences that may be at the source of tensions the country is grappling with.

Lastly, it should be noted that while the above foundational, traditional differences between Anglo-Saxon and French education systems are important to trace their different origins and resulting divergences in educational and pedagogic choices, there are nonetheless developments (comparatively and globally) which may lead to convergence, or to cross-adoption of approaches between them. As noted earlier, even England and France undertook reforms whose *intention* was arguably to implement features from the contrasting system: more central control of education in England, and more autonomy to individual schools in France. The *Bologna* process of higher education reform (the Bachelors-Master-Doctorate uniformization of higher education) has also had the effect of aligning disparate university education cycles towards a model closely resembling Anglo-Saxon higher education. Finally, some countries (such as in Francophone North Africa) have also in recent years introduced reforms intended to bring their educational systems closer to the Anglo-Saxon model.

### **Recommendation 3:**

A group of comparative educationists, involving parity representation of Cameroonian education experts from both subsystems, with external review and moderation expertise, should conduct an extensive comparative study of the specificities, peculiarities, and commonalities of the English and French educational sub-systems at work *within Cameroon.* The analysis should follow global methodological cannons in the field of comparative education and identify areas where the subsystems are most unique/differentiated/pronounced, in order to inform the pending national instruments on specificity preservation in the education sector.



#### SECTION IV. LANGUAGE-OF-INSTRUCTION, EDUCATION SYSTEMS, AND CONFLICT VULNERABILITY IN MULTI-LINGUAL STATES: EDUCATION AS A CONFLICT DRIVER, CENTRAL TO ITS RESOLUTION.

In this brief Section, we turn to the dynamics of the conflict Cameroon is facing and situate it within the broader context of how contestation over education policies and systems can become a driver of conflict. Experience shows that in officially multi-lingual, diverse, and plural States, competing education systems at hand can become the playing field for rifts in the wider society. As seen previously from the work of specialists in the field of *comparative education*, the structuring of education is a tool through which a governing order or establishment in a given country or context projects its influence over society. In multilingual, multicultural societies, (different) education and schooling systems are key to *forming and reproducing identities which the respective communities consider important for group self-preservation, existence, and survival*. In such societies, he who controls education moulds the shape and behaviour of future citizens in the polity, economy, and society.

Comparative observation reveals that in officially multilingual States, conflicts over access to different education systems, and entitlement to, or pre-eminence of instruction/schooling in a specific language often do occur. In *officially multilingual countries* such as **South Africa** (language of instruction in Universities)<sup>xxxii</sup>, **Canada** (access to instruction in specific languages, such as English in Quebec and in French in other parts of Canada)<sup>xxxiii</sup>, and **Belgium** (rights of different linguistic communities to run and access schools in the respective languages)<sup>xxxiii</sup>, policies on education systems and language-in-education, constitute very sensitive issues, sometimes resulting in tumult and upheavals.

Furthermore, keen observers of conflicts over regional differences and autonomy, such as late eminent U.S. political scientist, Professor Alfred Stepan,<sup>xxxiv</sup> have noted that autonomy demands often seek to assert control over “*the vital culture-making and culture-preserving powers such as ... control over the content and administration of education”.<sup>xxxv</sup> Centrifugal groups seeking autonomy often see education as key to group preservation as such, since it constitutes the method of reproducing a group identity and passing down values inter-generationally. It is therefore not surprising that a quick survey of the Statutes establishing autonomous, or Special Status regions around the world reveals that *education is often a power sought and transferred to the authority of the Special Status region’s authorities*. Illustratively, this is the case in the autonomous or Special Status regions of Aceh (Indonesia), Faroe Islands and Greenland (Denmark), Åland Islands (Finland), Bangsamoro (Philippines), Azores and Madeira (Portugal), Sicily, Vallée d’Aoste (Italy), and Catalonia (Spain).<sup>xxxvi</sup>*

It is also important to note that disagreement over Cameroon’s dual education subsystems is not new, but a **long-standing historical phenomenon**, which started right after

reunification of the previously French and British administered parts of the country, in 1961. The disagreements have rather been cyclical, appearing nearly every decade in the 60 years since reunification, notably when major educational policy reforms were attempted or undertaken. The table below provides a summary of this historical antecedents, citing sources which covered the said disagreements over education along the English/French systems marker.

#### IV.1 Cyclical, historical episodes of education policy contestation in Cameroon: 1960s – date

Dates	Origin and Nature of Disagreements	Resolution
Early 1960s	<p>Cameroon’s first post-reunification, centralizing, and <u>nominally</u> federal Constitution placed Education, despite its <u>centrifugal</u> nature due to differences between the French and English systems, as a matter for <u>exclusive</u> Federal Government competence, not for jurisdiction of the Federated States. (Sections 5 and 6, 1961 Constitution).</p> <p><b>Author’s comment (in 1979):</b> “[At the conference to set out the bases for reunification of Cameroon, in 1961 at Foumban], during discussions on the future of the two cultures within the Federation, divergences emerged. Mr. Ahidjo (East Cameroon) formed early on a vision of national unity, which would constitute a leitmotif for the Anglo-Saxon culture eventually to cede and give way within the Federation. For him, to attain national unity, it was necessary to ‘move from a state of several [political] parties and entities, which were a natural phenomenon, to establish a State that transcends them’. It was therefore important to avoid by all means encouraging any forms of particularisms. One can therefore easily understand why he insisted that Education be among the <i>Federal Government’s competencies</i>. This was diametrically opposed to the position of Foncha, who advocated instead for the complete control of Education <i>by the Federated States</i>, with maybe only the exception of the future Federal university”.<sup>xxxvii</sup></p> <p><b>Author’s comment (in 1978):</b> “Another area in which federalism was important in the minds of (anglophone) West Cameroonians was the area of language, culture and education. [...] When it was learned in the summer of 1962 that the Federal government planned to take over the secondary school system, [West Cameroon PM] Foncha was displeased, and having received a letter from Ahidjo on the subject, proceeded to ask the Catholic Church to open two new [Anglophone] secondary schools in his capacity as Vice President without notifying the Federal Minister of Education. [...] Ahidjo had a different view from Foncha on bilingualism in the primary school, and on the harmonization of the educational systems.”<sup>xxxviii</sup></p>	<p>“By using his dual powers of Prime Minister (West Cameroon federated State) and Vice President (Federal Government), Foncha tried to delay federal takeover in the education area. However, although the secondary school system was federalized, pupils were still prepared for the British General Certificate of Education [examination], and no major departure from the British school system was made.”<sup>xxxix</sup></p>
1983	<p>A reform in September 1983 of the English-speaking secondary examinations, the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E), was proposed by national authorities as necessary to improve English system-educated students’ chances of admission into University and higher/tertiary training institutions, which had combined admission streams and the same curricula for students from the French/English systems. It would transform the G.C.E into a “Group Certificate” adding on obtention of a pass in three <i>compulsory</i></p>	<p>Reform was received with hostility, resulting in a strike by Anglophone students at the University of Yaoundé, which</p>

	additional subjects (residual English, French, and Mathematics) to <u>all</u> candidates in the English subsystem, as a requirement for admission to University. The reform would have made the English end-of-secondary examinations similar to their French counterpart by increasing the number of required subject passes. <sup>xi</sup>	required intervention at the highest State levels to calm down. Reform was shelved.
<b>1992-1993</b> (and later 1990s)	The principal Teacher/Educator and Student Parents' Unions in the English subsystem would engage in a prolonged series of protest actions (marches, demonstrations) notably in Yaoundé and Bamenda, expressing dissatisfaction at the management of the secondary G.C.E examinations by the central Ministry of Education in Yaoundé, and asking for a self-managing GCE Board to be created for the English subsystem. The English subsystem's certified official examination script correctors (markers) would also refuse to mark the said exams in Yaoundé, requesting their decentralisation to Buea and Bamenda. <sup>xii</sup> [Note: After these tense incidents, a 1995 National Education Forum, and a 1998 (Framework) Law on Guidelines for Education would pacify the situation by re-affirming the principle of co-existence of 2 educational sub-systems in English and French].	Government establishes separate examination boards, the GCE Board and the Office du Baccalauréat for the English and French secondary subsystems and concedes to decentralized GCE marking.
<b>2012 – 2016</b>	Following the creation of new State <i>technical</i> teacher training colleges in 2010-2014 (concentrated in the NW, SW regions), their senior management, teaching staff composition, student intake, and school curriculum are blended, with no differentiation or preservation of specificities between the English and French subsystems. <i>General</i> secondary education teacher training also faces a similar dynamic, and contention is raised over whether teacher trainees with a French sub-system background can conduct practice-training in English subsystem schools in NW-SW regions. <sup>xiii</sup>	English sub-system Teacher unions write protest petitions, threaten and effect strikes, which lead to the 2016 and post crisis.
<b>2014-2016</b>	A process is proposed to harmonize/uniformize curricula between all State Universities in Cameroon. Academic Staff Unions of 2 Universities chartered in Anglo-Saxon educational system (Buea, Bamenda) oppose the reforms as skewed towards losing them losing their Anglo-Saxon approach and content.	Reform process' objective is modified. Resolved that Anglo-Saxon Universities of Buea and Bamenda will harmonize their curricula between themselves, only. <sup>xliii</sup>

## IV.2 Conflict over education as a crisis trigger, central to its resolution

The above historical overview, and the preceding sections of this Paper that outlined the substantially different mindsets that generally underpin Anglo-Saxon and French educational systems, bear witness to the fact that **the education sector (and conflict over it) is among the triggers of the crisis**, and central to its resolution. We have also seen that when a crisis bears on the respect of institutional, cultural, and identity-forming traditions, education is often an area of contention, given that it trains, moulds, and inculcates citizens with a given outlook for their participation in larger society.

In Cameroon's context, it has proven to be a conflict-prone and centrifugal domain, and this has manifested itself in education (pursuance or denial) becoming a target or weapon as the crisis escalated – through school boycott orders, and subsequently even armed attacks against educational facilities, learners, and teachers. It is therefore important and imperative that *educational policy choices (preservation of specificities, comparative education approaches, language-in-education policies)* be given prime importance and factored into ultimate political ordering and constitutional design arrangements, to accommodate Cameroon's two educational subsystem streams.

Another reason why the education sector should be afforded particular attention in resolution of the crisis is that **education constituted one of the most important accumulated “assets”** of the Northwest and Southwest regions, prior to the onset of the crisis. On *education sector indicators*, which are an important component of the Human Capital Index (HCI) as measured by global development institutions, the Northwest and Southwest regions have historically shown very strong performance. As a recent World Bank study affirmed:

“[A]t the subnational level, NW and SW [had] the highest Human Capital Index (HCI) in the country. [...] **Interviewees said there was general admiration across the country for the NWSW education system**, as well as a high regard for its public order and “good manners,” a perception that had prompted some Francophone parents to send their children to school in NWSW [...] The NW and SW [had] the highest HCI in the country, **which [was] driven by their [good] performance in education indicators. SW [had] the highest values for average test score and number of years of schooling, while NW [was] fourth among the regions.** Consequently, SW [had] a higher HCI than the economic capital, Douala, and NW [had] an HCI above the national average.”<sup>xliv</sup>

The implication of this pre-crisis strength in education performance is that the effect of the conflict, which has been to disrupt the education system in the NW and SW regions, force learners and students out of them, and to close schools, has also been to make *education sector loss a palpable addition to the sense of grievance (loss of a prized asset)* resulting from the crisis. This must be factored into the overall costs of the crisis and the framework for its resolution, since it deepens grievances related to that sector. Underscoring the centrality of *identity-forming components such as education*, the above World Bank assessment notes

that given the relatively high Human Capital Index of the two regions before the crisis, and *contrary to the perception that socioeconomic or developmental deprivation was the principal cause of the crisis*, the findings suggest that the “NWSW crisis is foremost a political crisis—the most recent articulation of long-standing grievances over language, identity, and local autonomy”.<sup>xlv</sup>

Given the preceding material in this Paper that has shown the historical contentions over education systems, and its being an area for recurrent and substantial divergence between the Anglo-Saxon/English and French traditions in Cameroon, there is an urgent correction required in public discourse prevalent since the crisis’ onset in 2016 (with education sector strikes as a key trigger). The said discourse expresses surprise or consternation at how mere “union demands” (*les revendications corporatistes*) from Anglo-Saxon tradition educator/teacher (and lawyer) unions in the two regions, could escalate into a full-blown crisis and conflict of this magnitude. That discourse *assimilates the onset of the crisis to ordinary unionizing, similar to any other trade union strike* (such as for increased wages and benefits).

However, in light of this paper’s analysis, we submit that unlike standard unionizing over working better conditions, the issues/demands expressed were in effect unveiling systemic issues in accommodating two educational sub-systems. It is important not to underestimate the conflict-generating potential of the education sector, and to grasp that *in multi-lingual countries, control and management of the different education systems present, and language-of-school-instruction policies, are systemically contentious issues*: Cameroon’s own history confirms same, as does the experience of other multi-lingual countries (from Belgium, to Canada, to South Africa).

#### **Recommendation 4:**

All proposed frameworks/channels for peaceful resolution of the crisis in the NW-SW regions (Government peace strategy and initiatives, proposed mediation alternatives, internal peace-making efforts) should explicitly include *the education sector* among key substantive, conflict-prone areas on which to bring the contending parties’ positions closer. Pro-peace initiatives should strengthen the capacity of Cameroonian stakeholders and conflict parties to find long-term models of accommodation, specificity-preservation, and cooperation in the education sector.

## SECTION V. EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEMS AND TERRITORIALITY: DEVOLUTION, NW-SW REGIONAL INTERESTS, AND NATIONAL DIMENSION OF THE ENGLISH EDUCATION SUB-SYSTEM

Cameroon's context poses an additional challenge which may complexify the accommodation of dual educational subsystems, in the resolution of a conflict with marked territorial overtones (highest pressure and contestation on the English education subsystem coming from the primary English-speaking NW and SW regions). In a conflict driven by marked centrifugal concerns emanating from the two Regions, a classical devolution and pro-autonomy approach would grant a substantial margin of manoeuvre and transfer of responsibility for the said sub-system, *on a territorial basis*, to those Regions.

However, this approach needs to contemplate two aspects borne of 60 years of Cameroon's reunification: 1<sup>st</sup>, English/Anglo-Saxon education has penetrated outside the NW and SW into the other regions of the country, and 2<sup>nd</sup>, in the past two decades, as we highlight in the last section of this Paper, Anglo-Saxon education is now sought after by "historical" Francophones - initially by enrolling in schools in the NW-SW, and now in large urban agglomerations nationwide. The data tables below present this situation succinctly for the academic year 2013/14 – shortly before the crisis' onset: 25% of students in English (general) secondary education, and 14% of students in English technical education, were enrolled in schools outside the NW-SW regions.

The embryonic asymmetrical devolution arrangement to cater for the NW-SW in the General Code on Regional and Local Authorities of 2019, provides that these *Regions' Special Status* shall "entail respect for the peculiarity of the Anglophone education system" (Section 3.3). Reflecting a *centripetal* approach to education which began as early as the nominally federal arrangements from 1961 to 1972, the 2019 Special Status framework sets the NW-SW Regions' additional prerogatives in education as to "[participate] in the formulation of *national* public policies relating to the Anglophone education sub-system" (Section 328.1).

Under the post-2019 devolution process, Education is in effect a sector of "shared" competence between (a) the central State, and (b) the subnational Regions and Municipal Councils. The *definition of upstream education sector policies and adoption of school curricula and educational content are reserved for the central State authorities (which is expected to handle this for, and maintain the specificities of each subsystem)*, while Regions and Local Councils are responsible for the *downstream* creation and management of secondary/high schools, and nursery/primary schools, and recruiting and managing their teaching and support staff (Sections 158, and 271, GC-RLAs). The historical complaint of English-speaking educationists has been that in centralized management of both subsystems, the smaller English system has often been unequal, tied to, dependent on, and insufficiently protected from unplanned influences from the larger French system.

In this context, and given the undisputed historical origins and demographic preponderance of enrolment in the English education subsystem of the NW and SW Regions, what would be the optimal level of “voice” those two Regions, should exercise, vis-à-vis both upstream policy-making, and downstream delivery of education in English? In other words, who speaks for the English education subsystem in a national environment in which education sector policies and delivery are constantly evolving, influenced by French, Anglo-Saxon, Cameroon-specific, and other global approaches to education? What is the appropriate “weight” the two Regions should have on the said sub-system?

Driven by recent increasing nationwide demand for English language medium-of-instruction, it is often formally advanced that both of Cameroon’s education subsystems are open to all citizens: they are free to enrol in and use either. It is often argued by extension that they are not the “preserve” of a specific community. However, in the 2019 Devolution and Special Status enactment, the *Legislator has expressly recognized an umbilical connection of the NW and SW Regions to the Anglo-Saxon educational system*. Respect for its peculiarities is one of the facets “entailed” by the said Special Status (Section 3.3).

It must also be remembered that the English educational system as exists today (and sought after nationally) has been preserved over 6 decades by a numerical minority community, sometimes amidst significant adversity, often at the cost of protest actions, strikes, and even loss of life. That the winds of globalization have brought about substantial nationwide interest in English education over the past 2 decades cannot obscure the fact that historical English speakers have crafted, moulded, and defended that sub-system against the odds over the years.

This Paper recommends that an appropriate articulation of the NW-SW Regions’ prerogatives on the English educational system should be substantive. Both Regions’ institutions should be *integrally involved in developing the instrument identifying the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon education* (Section 3.4, GC-RLAs), and the said education subsystem should constitute a *matter of regional interest* (in Constitutional terms) for both Regions – which would give them standing to raise issues concerning it before the Constitutional Council, which resolves differences between Regions and Central State authorities. They should have powers to deliberate upon matters concerning the English education subsystem *of their own initiative*.

They should exercise special prerogatives on the viability of English education *within* the NW-SW Regions, and influence its evolution at national level, namely through (i) ability to *create/apportion schools* by sub-system in the two Regions (ensuring English medium instruction preponderance) as part of Regional powers to create primary/secondary schools, (ii) exercise control over *teacher education/pedagogy training* for deployment into schools in the NW-SW regions, (iii) exercise powers to provide *assent* for the adoption of the *English-speaking national curriculum*, (iv) provide assent for the adoption of *major national upstream education policies* on the English education subsystem.



### Preponderance of Education subsystems: Enrolment by Sub-system & by Region (pre-crisis)

Source: Cameroon Ministry of Secondary Education, [Annual Statistical Yearbook, 2013 - 2014](#)

English Secondary Education [General-Grammar]				
Distribution of students by Sex and Region				
Region	Girls	Boys	Total	%
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	2049	2331	4380	1.11%
Centre/Centre	16506	15043	31549	8.03%
Est/ East	1691	1647	3338	0.85%
Extrême Nord/ Far North	1105	1211	2316	0.59%
Littoral/Littoral	16532	13890	30422	7.74%
Nord/ North	1062	976	2038	0.52%
Nord Ouest/Northwest	95075	73099	168174	42.81%
Ouest/ West	9561	9148	18709	4.76%
Sud/ South	1434	1292	2726	0.69%
Sud Ouest/Southwest	68967	60209	129176	32.88%
Total	213982	178846	392828	100.00%

English Secondary Education [Technical-Vocational]				
Distribution of students by Region				
Region	Commercial	Industrial	Total	%
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	0	0	0	0.00%
Centre/Centre	191	1750	1941	2.08%
Est/ East	0	0	0	0.00%
Extrême Nord/ Far North	0	0	0	0.00%
Littoral/Littoral	6690	4639	11329	12.11%
Nord/ North	0	0	0	0.00%
Nord Ouest/Northwest	18827	30989	49816	53.26%
Ouest/ West	0	0	0	0.00%
Sud/ South	0	0	0	0.00%
Sud Ouest/Southwest	10577	19878	30455	32.56%
Total	36285	57256	93541	100.00%

French Secondary Education [General-Grammar]				
Distribution of students by Sex and Region				
Region	Girls	Boys	Total	%
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	16741	29294	46035	3.96%
Centre/Centre	151847	149433	301280	25.90%
Est/ East	20504	26681	47185	4.06%
Extrême Nord/ Far North	44938	109670	154608	13.29%
Littoral/Littoral	122720	113942	236662	20.35%
Nord/ North	25855	58490	84345	7.25%
Nord Ouest/Northwest	3393	2930	6323	0.54%
Ouest/ West	116042	102512	218554	18.79%
Sud/ South	29087	30787	59874	5.15%
Sud Ouest/Southwest	4270	3979	8249	0.71%
Total	535397	627718	1163115	100.00%

French Secondary Education [Technical-Vocational]				
Distribution of students by Region				
Region	Commercial	Industrial	Total	%
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	6327	7406	13733	3.92%
Centre/Centre	24822	55741	80563	22.98%
Est/ East	7635	12332	19967	5.70%
Extrême Nord/ Far North	6527	13854	20381	5.81%
Littoral/Littoral	30107	53161	83268	23.75%
Nord/ North	11280	14131	25411	7.25%
Nord Ouest/Northwest	0	0	0	0.00%
Ouest/ West	19410	52824	72234	20.60%
Sud/ South	11260	23775	35035	9.99%
Sud Ouest/Southwest	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	117368	233224	350592	100.00%

Distribution of Public and Private Secondary Schools [General] by Region and Sub System - <b>Country Overview</b>				
Region	French	English	'Bilingual'	Total
	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	73	3	20	96
Centre/Centre	448	22	89	559
Est/ East	97	0	13	110
Extrême Nord/ Far North	231	0	18	249
Littoral/Littoral	164	6	96	266
Nord/ North	109	2	14	125
Nord Ouest/Northwest	1	248	54	303
Ouest/ West	192	2	82	276
Sud/ South	126	0	15	141
Sud Ouest/Southwest	4	201	34	239
Total	1445	484	435	2364

2014: Number of Students Registered for the GCE Advanced Level (of the English sub-system)		
Region	Candidates	%
	Registered	
Adamaoua/ Adamawa	233	0.50%
Centre/Centre	5162	10.97%
Est/ East	156	0.33%
Extrême Nord/ Far North	104	0.22%
Littoral/Littoral	3738	7.95%
Nord/ North	189	0.40%
Nord Ouest/Northwest	19969	42.45%
Ouest/ West	1687	3.59%
Sud/ South	114	0.24%
Sud Ouest/Southwest	15689	33.35%
Total	47041	100.00%

### Recommendation 5:

To establish an early benchmark in operationalizing Special Status, the Regional Assemblies of the NW and SW Regions should be consulted for their reasoned opinion, in the development of the legal instrument that specifies the content of the peculiarities of the Anglophone education system, per Section 3.4 of the General Code on Regions & Local Authorities. The Special Status provisions should be amended to extend the NW and SW regions' education prerogatives, including the power to deliberate on the English education subsystem, create schools, manage English system teacher training for deployment to the NW-SW, and provide assent for the national English sub-system curriculum, and major national English education subsystem policies.

## SECTION VI. LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE MEDIUM-OF-INSTRUCTION PLANNING AND FORECASTING TO MITIGATE CONFLICTS: ADDRESSING SHIFTING EDUCATION DEMAND TRENDS

### VI.1 Education demand shifts: French to English school sub-system switching

In this last section of the Paper, we point to *an important educational demographic transition* that is underway in Cameroon, and which resolution of the present crisis' education sector component should pay close attention to. This is the phenomenon, extensively documented by Cameroon's competent crop of specialists on language-in-education systems, of **switching between official languages, in the choice of schools for learners in primary, secondary, and eventually university education.** This phenomenon which took root firmly since the year 2000, has produced a new generation of Cameroonian learners, students, and graduates (the Millennials) who are the educational product of deliberate parental decisions, to shift their children from the educational system and language of instruction associated with the language used at home (first official language of the parents), and to enrol them in the other

education system. Notably, and almost exclusively, this trend has consisted in parents who themselves studied in French or use French as their primary language (Francophones) *shifting their children to undertake all their studies in English system nursery, primary, and secondary schools.*<sup>xlvi</sup>

This trend has been principally driven by changing perceptions of the status of English (among primary French speakers) from being Cameroon's other (and lesser used) official language, to becoming a linguistic asset in *globalization*, enabling access to increased educational and professional opportunities, for regional and global interactions within and outside Cameroon's national space. Research conducted in Cameroon on the increasing interest in both adult English language learning (outside the formal schooling system) and English Medium of Instruction (though immersion of children from primarily French-using homes into English subsystem schools), shows a *three-tiered* typology of incentives.

Key adult self-learning incentives are to emigrate, to work successfully abroad, and to work for and with multinational entities (1). For parents making the switch decision for their children, such enrolment is intended to expand the career, job, and economic opportunities for their offspring, with English being accorded a higher status in international transactions (2). While some interest was expressed in learning English to secure an edge in professional exams for State employment (3), it was evident that it was not because Cameroon had an English-speaking population that most new English learners were doing so (which accords with the historical demographic weight of the official languages' use in Cameroon). It is therefore strong external forces (regional, continental, global) that are making English more prized and inevitable for successful people to master.<sup>xlvii</sup>

In an ironic twist, while English system educator unions were protesting about fused teacher training and teaching practice (of primary French speakers deployed to the Northwest from 2013 onwards) as compromising the English subsystem, parents who themselves had studied in, or who primarily use French were enrolling their children into the English educational system track (including in the NW and SW), thereby voting with their feet to attest to its vitality, or its importance to them as a means of ensuring fully-bilingual offspring.

This presents the policy twist that in fact, in terms of *education system demand*, there are all signals that Cameroon needs the English sub-system to be preserved and access to it expanded, since the ultimate users of the system (learners, parents) are demonstrating without reserve, their interest in enrolling in it, including among the larger primarily French-speaking population. Yet, as the data below demonstrates, the English subsystem *does not at present have the capacity to absorb further large shifts* in enrolment preference from the French-speaking population, due to their historical demographic weighting (French a bit over 80%, English a bit less than 20%). At a strategic policy level, the above means that *it serves no education policy purpose* for the English sub-system to lose its vitality nationwide. However, complexifying policy solutions in the education sector, this recent nationwide demand increases incentives for central State authorities to *seek more keenly to retain management* of the said subsystem and *emphasize its de-territorialization* from the NW-SW regions, since it is considered a "national asset". This follows the position that access to both systems is open to all Cameroonians, without distinction.

The phenomenon of system-switching has increased the stakes and prospects for friction over management of education in English – which is no longer the preserve of the (minority) historical English users. As outlined in the preceding section, especially in a conflict context, it appears difficult not to afford to historical English-using stakeholders, or to their regions of concentration (NW, SW) some unique prerogatives as concerns the English education system, notwithstanding its now nationwide appeal, and the shifts of cross-enrolment by historical Francophones into English system education. The legislator in fact already accedes to this in the Devolution Code, wherein a component of Special Status *for the NW-SW regions* consists of respecting the peculiarities of the anglophone/anglo-saxon education system. This does not negate its nationwide projection but recognizes a germane historical connection of those Regions, to the said subsystem.

Presented below is data showing **10 to 15-year** trends (for nursery and primary education), and a **25-year trend** (for secondary education) in patterns of enrolment between the English and French educational subsystems, in order to show side-by-side, how demand for the sub-systems has evolved over time. The data shows that demand for English sub-system education is increasing, at the expense of French subsystem education. All the relevant Cameroon Education Ministries School Map Data and Analytical Reports, Annual Statistical Yearbooks, and Sectoral Planning Documents from which this data is drawn are listed in the Bibliography.<sup>xlviii</sup>

## VI.2 Long range demographic trends in English/ French sub-system enrolment: **NURSERY EDUCATION**

Source: Cameroon Ministry of Basic Education, *Analytical Report on School Map Data*, Academic Year 2015-2016 (pp 7 – 8)

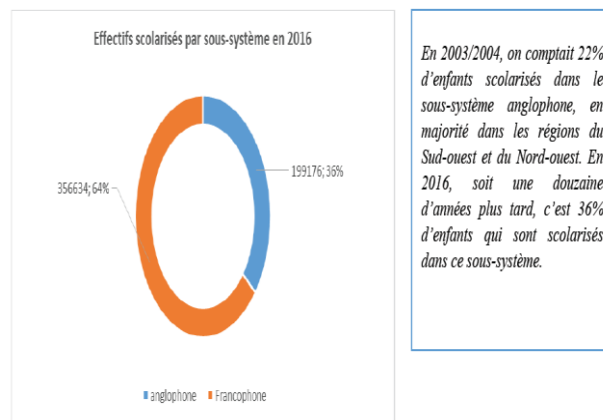
Sub-system / Academic Year	2003-2004	2013-2014	2015-2016
English Nursery	22%	34%	36%
French Nursery	78%	66%	64%

Tableau 4: Effectifs du préscolaire par sous-système et par région en 2015/2016

	sous-système francophone	sous-système anglophone	% population scolarisée dans le sous-système anglophone suivant les régions
<b>CAMEROUN</b>	<b>356.634</b>	<b>199.176</b>	<b>36%</b>
ADAMAOUA	9.636	2.250	19%
<b>CENTRE</b>	<b>122.550</b>	<b>43.661</b>	<b>26%</b>
EST	21.311	3.053	13%
EXTREME-NORD	13.148	1.623	11%
<b>LITTORAL</b>	<b>90.980</b>	<b>35.172</b>	<b>28%</b>
NORD	12.248	1.595	12%
<b>NORD-OUEST</b>	<b>634</b>	<b>56.054</b>	<b>99%</b>
OUEST	52.136	11.509	18%
SUD	31.601	4.814	13%
<b>SUD-OUEST</b>	<b>2.390</b>	<b>39.445</b>	<b>94%</b>

Source : MINEDUB/carte scolaire 2015/2016

Figure 4 : Répartition de la population préscolarisée par sous-système d'enseignement.



**Comments on Nursery Education:** Over a 12-year period (2004 – 2016) a **14 percentage points** net gain can be observed in enrolment of students in the English subsystem Nursery schools, at the expense of enrolment in French subsystem Nursery schools, which declined by a corresponding 14%. In 2015-2016 (school year before the crisis began – so unaffected by any student displacements), enrolment rates in English nursery were as high as 28% in the Littoral, and 26% in the Centre regions. NW and SW combined had 95,499, or only 48% of all students in English subsystem nursery, attesting to its rising enrolment demand outside the NW-SW.

## VI.3 Long range demographic trends in English/ French sub-system enrolment: **PRIMARY EDUCATION**

Source: *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2005*, MINEDUB Analytical Reports on School Map Data (for relevant years)

Sub-system / Academic Year	2003-2004	2013-2014	2015-2016	2017-2018
English Primary	22%	22%	22%	18%
French Primary	78%	78%	78%	82%

### Comments on Primary Education:

- For primary school enrolment, the data as reported shows a flat trend, without any demographic increase/decline in English/French primary over a 15-year period. This is contrary to what the shifts in language of instruction (French-speaking parents shifting their children to the English system) extensively documented by Cameroonian language-in-education specialists, would have suggested. It should be noted however that the data reported for Primary education enrolment is *at risk of a flaw, on how the learners' sub-system and medium of instruction (English or French) is captured*. For purposes of the School Map data, the Ministry of Basic Education counts the number of pupils enrolled in English OR French education subsystems (as binary, mutually exclusive options).
- However, as academics and educationists' research materials have shown,<sup>xlix</sup> there is widespread use of *double-diet* primary education system in primary schools (of the Private sector), wherein children during their first four (4) years of Primary education follow a *dual 50-50 language medium of instruction* system. They receive classes in both languages, have 2 teachers who conduct substantive subject teaching each in a different language, and are tested/evaluated separately (a dual report card) in both French and English streams. Only in the fifth primary school year do these students elect for either the English (First School Leaving Certificate) system track, or the French (*Certificat d'Etudes Primaires*) system track. (NB: the English subsystem drop from 2017-18 would be attributable to the NW-SW crisis).

### VI.4 Long range demographic trends in English/French sub-system enrolment: SECONDARY [General-Grammar] Education

Sources: MINEDUC/MINEDUB Analyses of School Map Data (relevant years)<sup>1</sup>

Sub-system / Academic Year	1990-1991	2009-2010	2013-2014	2014-2015
English Secondary	17%	23.28%	25.2%	25.59%
French Secondary	83%	76.72%	74.8%	74.41%

Overall Secondary Enrolment – Academic Year 2014-2015 (number of students)			
Total	French Secondary	English Secondary	8.5 % English Secondary Net Gain
1,648,060	1,226,321	421,739	140,085

### Comments on Secondary Education:

- Over the 25-year period, an **8.5 percentage points net gain** can be observed in the English secondary education sub-system over its French counterpart, which saw a

corresponding 8.5% drop in French secondary enrolment. In the 2014-2015 academic year numbers, that net gain, meaning the number of students who would otherwise have been in French system education (if the baseline year adherence between subsystems stayed constant), and who have now switched to English education amounts to **140,085** students. That constitutes **one-thirds** of all students in Anglophone secondary. That is the proportion of “new” *unplanned* English system and language-of-instruction learners in secondary.

- If **only a further 10%** of existing French sub-system students (**122,632** students) shifted language of instruction to the English sub-system, the new “net gain” amount, i.e., additional, unplanned learners seeking English secondary education would rise to **262,717** students. They would then constitute **one-half** of the entire English secondary subsystem enrolment ( $262,717/544,371 = 48.2\%$ ).
- Given *historical* demographic patterns in the wider population, reflected in school sub-system enrolment (around 20% English, 80% French), significant language of instruction systems shifts and switching from the larger/majority French subsystem to the minority English system, creates important dynamics at the margins. Hence, even apparently “marginal”, but unregulated shifts in historically Francophone enrolment should be monitored and planned for, as they can have substantial demand/supply impacts on the smaller English sub-system.
- The net gain in demand for the English sub-system (8.5% increase observed over 25 years, at the expense of the French sub-system) creates **increased pressure on supply of English subsystem and language-of-instruction schooling**, which translates into competition for limited learning resources (school enrollment spaces, teachers, boarding school dormitories) in the English sub-system. This phenomenon was already visible in the most sought-after, high-performing secondary schools in the Northwest and Southwest regions, some of which in their student enrolment, had as high as 30% or more learners from Francophone backgrounds (whose parents use French as their primary official language).

While undoubtedly producing a crop of bilingual citizens capable of using both official languages (due to their cross-enrolment from French at home to English in school), the Millennials’ school system switching has produced other effects. These movements occurred largely out of parental choice with no formal State regulation, formal assessment of its systemic outcomes or effects on the education system or accompanying measures. As noted earlier, the arrival in significant numbers of students from Francophone backgrounds into the English education system **created some competition for spaces in the best Anglophone secondary schools** in the NW and SW regions. In affluent cities where demand for Anglo-Saxon education is highest, some highly sought-after English system schools needed to resort to admission ceilings (quotas) for students from Francophone backgrounds, in order not to undergo too rapid a change in the school’s character.<sup>li</sup>

Since this education system migration was not mediated at an educational policy level, no accompanying measures were taken to reduce frictions and enhance inter-group coexistence, as the previously insular official language communities started mixing in primary and secondary education environments. These new forms of (spontaneous or unaccompanied) *language and education systems contact*, sowed the seeds for increased reflexes among historical/minority English users to protect the education system associated with them, from being “taken over” by historical French users.

A further observation that has worried Cameroonian specialists in language-in-education and language of instruction systems, are the patterns of identification and self-identification that emerge from these new blended language environments, as children from historically French-using homes pursue education in English. A frequent subject of inquiry has been whether the said children consider themselves as “Anglophone” or “Francophone” in equal measure or bilingual. Researchers have drawn worrying conclusions that – reflecting pre-existing status hierarchies between the official languages in Cameroon with French having more valuable interactions potentials, and English having less at national level – the **new, switched English educational learners are willing to identify themselves with global English (language of global prosperity and opportunity) but are reticent to self-identify with Cameroon’s historical Anglophones**, perceived as somewhat less privileged. Hence the hierarchisation between “local” English (identified with Cameroon’s local primary English users, or Anglophones), and “global” English – the more desired Anglo-Saxon identity associated with globalisation.<sup>lii</sup>

#### **Recommendation 6:**

Education sector Ministries should conduct a policy review on trends in language of instruction shifts, including learners’ inter-group interactions. Learners in locations with high concentrations of flux and switches in language of learning (variance between home/school languages or encountering new language communities through education) should be targeted with content to challenge prevalent linguistic-based prejudices and perceptions, and convey strong civic values, an understanding of common national history despite dual official languages, linguistic tolerance, benefits of multilingualism, and inter-group solidarity.

#### **VI.5 Education sector demand forecasting to ascertain demand and adjust supply for education in the respective language systems of instruction**

It is also crucial that appropriate **educational sector forecasting (a prospective, planning study)** be done to determine the medium to long-term demand for education in both subsystems (number of learners intending to enrol in either on) for the nursery/primary, secondary, and university education levels. (Such information could be elicited as to school system of choice, in the on-going 4<sup>th</sup> National Population and Housing Census exercise). While the State has opted for a *laissez-faire* approach to switches in school system choice, mass shifts in education sub-system choice present challenges such as the need for a higher supply of teacher-training, teachers, school institutions, school spaces available, and boarding school dormitory spaces, in the English sub-system (nationwide), and prospects for contention over management of



standards and quality in the said education sub-system. Especially in urban areas, primary schools (mainly private) are teeming with children studying in the 50-50 double-diet primary system (English-French) which makes them prime candidates to further bulge the English educational system at secondary level, continuing the trend documented above.

Such an exercise should also determine the **peak locations and income-segments for the demand for education in English** – as the phenomenon appears to take stronger root in urban and more affluent demographic segments. The national appeal of the English subsystem may well also impact on the (public) school creation policy and school map. Central State institutions, Regions, and Municipal Councils in their responsibilities for establishing schools may need to increase the number of English-system schools, especially outside the NW and SW to meet demand. In the short-run, the NW-SW crisis has emptied out or significantly reduced their student intake in the English educational system, while the numbers in that system continue to rise in the other 8 Regions. *It is striking to note that the best performing schools in the English education sub-system (at the certification exams after 5 and 7 years of secondary education) in terms of grade quality and student passes are now located in Yaoundé and Douala, and not in the NW and SW regions.* This may add to the overall sense of grievance and loss (of a prized educational system that has effectively “migrated” across the figurative linguistic line); hence the urgency of the crisis’ resolution, to enable normalisation/restoration of that intangible asset.

What are the implications of these educational choices and subsystem migrations on the shape of Cameroon’s future workforce, and the use of official languages within it? One of the foremost objectives of Cameroon’s formal education system should be to produce bilingual graduates, capable of using both official languages – which enables them work effectively within the country, and gives them added competitiveness in their sub-regional, continental, and global interactions. A **first** implication is that an uptake not just in English language learning, but in English school system immersion/submersion by Francophone students *will increase in aggregate terms the number of bilingual Cameroonians* in the medium to long-term. Whatever the uncertainties or inconveniences these educational migrations create in the short-term, in the long run, they produce a larger stock of bilingual Cameroonians – which should necessarily be beneficial for the country – allowing both primary English and French users to encounter a larger number of fellow citizens, by using either language.

**Secondly**, it has been observed that the trend of language-of-learning and school subsystem migration is higher among historical French users (Francophones), who are resorting more to English subsystem immersion, while the reverse is rarer. In 2005, a researcher observed that if this trend of one-way cross school enrolment (by Francophones only) continued, “Francophones would certainly have an extra linguistic edge over Anglophones, since in addition to French many of them will equally be proficient in English. *Consequently, the evolution of official language bilingualism would be tilted in favor of Francophones, a situation likely to further endanger the place of Anglophones as a linguistic minority in the country.*”<sup>liii</sup>

In the pre-Millennium decades, it took specific motivation or incentives for Francophone graduates to have acquired English (in addition to French) by the time they arrived on the job market. Some would subsequently acquire English during their work lives, as part of professional

development efforts. Since the Millennium, the large new numbers of persons from historically French-using families directly enrolled into the English subsystem will finish their education bilingually proficient. *Consequently*, it can be expected that these graduates of English system education will have joined the early career job market and will compete better for job vacancies requiring bilinguals. More refined studies and statistical data on education system switching and choices, should provide better insights into *where this new class of bilinguals is emerging and concentrated* (urban or rural, public or private schooling, affluent middle class or modest income communities, family income segment, parental level of education).

For Anglophones, in the past while they did not necessarily acquire better French proficiency during their school education, the incentives were huge to quickly acquire it *upon joining* the public or private workforce, and to use it practically thereafter. There has not been however a similar level of educational system migration or cross-immersion of Anglophone children into the French subsystem. Studies show that this appears to be grounded in the Anglophone minority's historical instincts for self-preservation and group-reproduction (fear of loss of identity by immersing in a larger, dominating French system). This is also grounded in concern to maintain the viability of a distinct Anglo-Saxon education system by enrolling its children within it, especially in the face of a different (as expounded earlier) and larger French educational subsystem.<sup>liv</sup>

Studies will be required to determine the *proportion of primary English users who presently arrive on the job market with sufficient French language skills to compete in the job segment requiring bilingual graduates*. Several factors, including living in cosmopolitan areas, quality of French 2<sup>nd</sup> official language learning, or studying in bilingual environments (double-language diet in *primary* or *University*) may influence this proportion. If the studies reveal within their respective demographic proportions, a much *lower rate of end-of-studies bilingualism proficiency* among primary English-using graduates than primary French-using graduates, mitigating measures should be envisaged to strengthen French acquisition by English first official language students.

#### **Recommendation 7:**

An education policy study and review on language medium-of-instruction shifts and demand trends by Education sector Ministries should include a comparative assessment of their impact on *bilingualism at the end of formal educational studies*, among different linguistic segments in Cameroon. If it confirms a relative and absolute preponderance of language-of-instruction immersion/submersion by historical French-speaking learners into the English sub-system *resulting in higher bilingualism* in that demographic, it should identify appropriate incentive measures to strengthen historical English-speakers' French acquisition.

### **VI.6 Educational medium of instruction, identity formation, and repercussions for bi/multiculturalism**

A further analysis to be done, of these language-of-learning and medium of instruction shifts between educational subsystems in Cameroon (largely from French towards English) is the important question of what it does to the *identity, namely the self or group perception or*

*identification* of the products of this novel educational immersion pathway. This goes to the question of *official language “identities”* in Cameroon which is a thorny one. Public authorities have for instance, since the start of the crisis in 2016, often expressed concern with the affirmation of these sub-group identities, considering them as potentially divisive; a public forum in 2019 recommended that the terms Anglophone and Francophone be “banned” from Cameroon’s public lexicon. A combination of past research studies, and the exigencies of responding to the current difficult crisis may indeed lead to the view that this educational system switching, and immersion will result in the “eradication” of the said identities, meaning that its products (graduates) *will identify as neither Anglophone nor Francophone*. This is sometimes seen as an eminently perfect posture or profile for a good national citizen. Writing in 2005, over a decade before the crisis, a well-published academic postulated thus:

If the generation of bilinguals in nursery and primary schools in urban centres (see for instance Anchimbe’s (2003) study of Yaoundé) were to be succeeded by yet two others, then the issue would be near a definitive solution. This is because these children, *born into mixed anglo-francophone families or entirely francophone families are considered neither as Francophones nor as Anglophones*. They are enrolled in an English-medium school; study exclusively in English (with French as a subject) and only speak French at home with their parents and/or neighbours. *As indicated in Anchimbe’s (2003) survey, 54.6% of the 194 parents would consider their children Anglophones given they will have studied all along in English. But in a follow up question, 75.2% objected to considering these children in the same manner as Anglophones from the English-speaking zones*. The children consider themselves as bilinguals and nothing more. *They lay no claims, either geophysical (origin) or linguistic, to the origins and linguistic (identity) belonging of their parents, either of whom may be from one of these classifications. If this annihilation of regional and strict official language division is attained, then a stable identity would be achieved [...]*<sup>lv</sup>

With some hindsight, the above prediction may need to be nuanced. The issue of identities developed around the acquisition and use of languages is a complex area which will need more study in Cameroon. The nature of identities or attitudes towards a language may result from the motives, incentives, and acquisition process for the said language (e.g., acquisition by necessity through inevitable contact, versus deliberately and instrumentally seeking out to learn a language). In other officially bilingual countries such as Canada, **immersion programs** (studying in the second official language) have generated long-lasting results, producing since the 1960s more than one generation of true bilinguals. The notion of “dual languages” at the heart of national identity is also important and embedded into Canadian citizenship.<sup>lvi</sup> There is also evidence from studies in multicultural societies that people can acquire, internalize, and live holistically with “dual identities” – meaning a sense of attachment to different spheres, to which they negotiate their belonging and loyalty at different times and spaces, as the circumstances require, without one effacing or contradicting the other.<sup>lvii</sup>

To draw from Cameroonian linguists who have used the terms “additive” and “reductive” biculturalism,<sup>lviii</sup> we postulate that where in effect persons receive total immersion/submersion, not only in learning the language, but being educated in, and through a language medium of instruction different from their primary official language, they should substantially acquire its value sets and norms. If then, what this immersion/submersion language-of-learning shift does is to provide its learners with a grounding in “both” systems (meaning immersion/submersion

which retains both language worlds) the outcome should be to produce Cameroonians who are *both Anglo-Saxon* (as in trained and versed in English systems) *and Francophone* (trained and familiar in French systems). It is an important difference, and a separate precept and training objective.

Instead of a “reductive” process aimed at distancing the learner and citizen from a given identity (by *belonging* to neither), it should be an “additive” process, giving the citizen strengths in both languages and mindsets, considering also that attaining perfect “equality” between language capacities can be elusive. The previous identity classifications, notably tied to geographic and lineage origins over the official languages’ historical spheres of use, have tended to mould Anglophone/Francophone as *polar identity constructs*, with a person capable of belonging, and being assigned to one only. If and where successful immersion occurs and the product so espouses both linguistico-cultural environments, they can in fact be both – reconciling them internally.<sup>lix</sup>

The graduates of these new educational paths have invested the extra time and effort to acquire competency in both spheres, and in fact seek to be “accepted” across those language zones globally. They may also be identified as “bilingual” Cameroonians, but their level of mastery normally exceeds that of previous occupants of the “bilingual” category. Therefore, through this unique group’s arrival in the country’s linguistic set-up, the country *does not lose its need for identification, or differentiation of Anglo-Saxon or French based approaches or norms, when those become necessary for consensual, strategic management of the State* (for instance, in dual education subsystems, respect for the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition, quality norms in the use of official languages, or in Special Status and asymmetrical devolution). Rather, they become a crop of Cameroonians with the potential to implement and respect the said norms through their mastery of both.

#### **Recommendation 8:**

Education sector Ministries should conduct a national policy review of language medium-of-instruction shifts and cross enrolments (notably of French speakers into the English education system) which are taking place in Cameroon. The review should refine their orientation and objectives (as immersion/submersion programs); assess their educational content, methods, and pathways as reinforcing both language systems and knowledge acquisition among learners; assess the sufficiency of nationwide education supply in English to accommodate present/future demand for immersion/submersion education; and seek linguistic group-adapted ways to improve incentives for learning in other languages (notably of English speakers in French immersion programs).

#### **VI.7 Forecasting future demand for higher (University) education in the respective languages and a review of language of instruction practices in bilingual Universities**

As the ultimate recipient of the learners that go through Cameroon’s educational system, a language of instruction and language of **learning forecasting study and policy review should**

**also be conducted for the higher education segment** (Universities). The bulge that has been documented above in demand for English system education will work its way steadily from the nursery to primary to secondary, and then university levels. Therefore, appropriate forecasts of this demand are needed to take early adjustive measures, to accommodate the said demand. This includes for medium term purposes, ascertaining University language of learning preferences amongst the current secondary school student body. This will help determine the optimal number of University spaces of learning in English and French. It will *help to predict and reduce tensions observed previously, when large numbers of French subsystem (end of secondary) learners apply for admission to the two (2) Universities conceived in the Anglo-Saxon tradition* which have finite admission capacity, since some students elect to switch language systems of learning, during the transition from secondary to University studies.

#### **Recommendation 9:**

Higher Education authorities should conduct a forecasting exercise on projected *language medium-of-instruction demand at university level* over a medium to long-term time horizon, given the perceptible signs of shifts in demographic adherence between the subsystems at the earlier educational tiers (nursery, primary, and secondary). This forecast, including the geographic location of the said demand, should inform national planning on Universities' language of instruction, to respond to potentially higher English language University education in the country.

A **language of learning and instruction policy review in bilingual Universities**, where instruction is carried out indiscriminately in English and French, will also be crucial. Some literature indicates that learning outcomes at these universities are compromised by dissonance between the preferred official language-of-learning of some students, and the preferred official language of instruction of academic staff. This is compounded by the absence of systematic programs to test/assess candidates' language aptitudes (a bilingualism level sufficient to pursue University studies in either official language), which become indispensable in these Universities where lectures are dispensed indiscriminately in either official language – based on the Lecturers' preference.<sup>lx</sup>

Finally, it will be crucial to review the recruitment and job posting policy for State University lecturers in order to minimize and mitigate language of learning dissonance problems in higher education. Public University Lecturers are posted to a given University by the central Ministry of Higher Education, and Universities do not directly recruit their staff. There is documented evidence of severe difficulty and discomfort, prolonged over several years, due to University academic staff recruited (in 2011) and posted to universities functioning in a language that they could not effectively teach or work in.<sup>lxi</sup> This could have been mitigated by a *mandatory, language-immersion year*, which the State would gain subsequently from by having bilingual Lecturers. This takes on even more importance given the State's active recruitment of University lecturers, with a phase of recruitment of 2000 PhD holders for State Universities on-going.

### Recommendation 10:

Higher education authorities should improve Lecturer-student language consonance in Universities by expanding language-learning resources and incentives for students admitted to study in bilingual Universities. They should extend mandatory prior language learning for Lecturers assigned to a monolingual University where substantive teaching takes place in a language other than their principal language of academic and professional use.

### ENDNOTES

<sup>i</sup> A contrast can be made between the policy approach on *dual Education sub-systems* (co-existing, not transient) and on *dual Legal traditions*, where a clear legislative blueprint (as exists in the Law on Guidelines for Education) is yet to emerge, in the range of policy choices between separate co-existence, partial harmonization/fusion, and total harmonization of Legal system norms.

<sup>ii</sup> See, Preface, Cameroon Ministry of Basic Education, *Primary School Curriculum – English Subsystem*, 2018, and generally for descriptive purposes: Fedelis Lekeaka Alemnge, *Curriculum Reform in Cameroon: An Analysis of the New Primary School Curriculum*, International Journal of Trends in Scientific Research and Development, Volume-3, Issue-6, October 2019, pp.902-913.

<sup>iii</sup> See: The Post Newspaper, *Replace all Francophone appointees in HTTTC with Anglophones - Teachers Associations*, 19 July 2014; Anglophone Members of Parliament, *A Complaint about issues plaguing the Anglophone Educational Sector, presented by the People's Representatives of English Expression (Memorandum to the Prime Minister and Education Sector Ministers)*, Yaoundé, 11 December 2013; Cameroon Post, *SDF Insists HTTTC Bambili, Kumba Not For Francophones*, 23 April 2014.

<sup>iv</sup> See new Curricula developed by Ministry of Basic Education in 2018-2019.

<sup>v</sup> [http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2020/DAUQ/ENS%20Bambili UBa 2020 1ere%20annee%20du%201er%20cycle\\_fr.pdf](http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2020/DAUQ/ENS%20Bambili%20UBa%202018-2019_1ere%20annee%20du%201er%20cycle_fr.pdf) ;[http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2020/DAUQ/ENS%20Bambili UBa 2020 1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cycle\\_en.p df](http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2020/DAUQ/ENS%20Bambili%20UBa%202020-2021_1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cycle_en.pdf) ;[http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2021/DAUQ/ENSET%20Bambili UBa 2021 1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cycle\\_fr.pdf](http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2021/DAUQ/ENSET%20Bambili%20UBa%2021-2022_1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cycle_fr.pdf) ;[http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2021/DAUQ/ENSET%20Bambili UBa 2021 1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cyc le\\_en.pdf](http://www.minesup.gov.cm/site/2021/DAUQ/ENSET%20Bambili%20UBa%2021-2022_1ere%20annee%20du%202nd%20cycle_en.pdf).

<sup>vi</sup> See: George Echu, *The Immersion Experience in Anglophone Primary Schools in Cameroon*, Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, (ed. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 643-655. Somerville, MA (2005).

<sup>vii</sup> See: Inter-Ministerial Ad hoc Committee on Concerns raised in the Education Sector, *Chairperson's Declaration at Press Conference*, Yaoundé, 13 February 2017 (Note point 2.2 on Technical and Vocational Education in the English subsystem).

<sup>viii</sup> See: <https://www.cityandguilds.com/>.

<sup>ix</sup> The Median Newspaper, *Francophone student teachers barred from practicing in Anglophone schools*, 9 January 2016.

<sup>x</sup> For an account of how French sub-system educated teacher trainees enrolled at HT/TTCs affiliated to the Universities of Buea and Bamenda experienced resistance on their ability subsequently to teach in the English subsystem, with strong undertones on the institution's catchment (seeking to heighten historical English speakers' access to the said schools), see: Gustave Adolphe Messanga, *Effet de la scolarisation des élèves issus de familles francophones dans le sous-système éducatif anglophone sur l'identité sociale anglophone au Cameroun : Une analyse dans la perspective théorique de la menace intergroupe*, in : *'L'insécurité linguistique dans les communautés anglophone et francophone du Cameroun'*, Augustin Emmanuel Ebongue & Angéline Djoum Nkwescheu (eds.), L'Harmattan, 2018, pp. 251-274.

<sup>xi</sup> See new Curricula developed by Ministry of Basic Education in 2018-2019.

<sup>xii</sup> See: <https://www.crtv.cm/2018/04/secondary-education-recruitment-of-bilingual-science-teachers/>; <https://cameroonpostline.com/865-bilingual-teachers-assigned-to-english-speaking-regions/%E2%80%8B>; <https://www.cameroon-tribune.cm/article.html/39186/fr.html/recruitment-of-1-000-bilingual-teachers-minister>; and

<http://theguardianpostcameroon.com/index.php/2021/04/08/oral-questions-in-parliament-menchum-north-mp-takes-minister-to-task-over-fate-of-1000-bilingual-teachers/>.

<sup>xiii</sup> See: Roland Ndille, *British and French Implementation of Colonial Educational policies in Cameroon 1916-1961: A Comparative Analysis*, International Journal for Research in Educational Studies, Vol. 4, Issue 5, May 2018; Yannick Dupraz, *French and British Colonial Legacies in Education: A Natural Experiment in Cameroon*, Paris School of Economics, 2015; Tabot Timothy MacOjong, *The Development of Education in the Anglophone Provinces of Cameroon during British Administration*, Master's Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada, 1980; Mathew Basung Gwanfogbe, *Changing Regimes and the Development of Education in Cameroon 1886 – 1966 (with Special Reference to the Basel Mission)*, Doctoral Thesis, University of London Institute of Education, August 1995.

<sup>xiv</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Cameroon : Second mission of the Education Planning Group (September-December 1963)*, Emergency programme for Africa, EDPLAN/CMN/2, May 1965. Pages 9 and 10.

<sup>xv</sup> Georges Courade, Christiane Courade, *L'école du Cameroun anglophone : de l'école coloniale à l'école nationale*, Revue Tiers-Monde, Tome 19, No. 76, 1978, pp. 743-769 (quoted at page 747); Georges Courade and Christiane Courade, *Education in Anglophone Cameroon: 1915 – 1975*, National Office for Scientific and Technical Research (ONAREST), Yaoundé, 1977.

<sup>xvi</sup> For a detailed exposition, see: Francis B. Njamnjoh and Richard F. Akum (Eds.), *The Cameroon GCE Crisis; A Test of Anglophone Solidarity*, Langaa RPCIG, 2008, 376 pp (“Chapter I: Anglophone Students of the University of Yaoundé petition against introduction of a New Cameroon GCE Scheme for Anglophone Schools Nationwide”).

<sup>xvii</sup> This Project was not able to access a wide range of up-to-date research materials directly comparing through observation, the specificities and peculiarities of the French and English education sub-systems in Cameroon (pedagogy, education delivery, differences in approach and outcomes). Historical research has been conducted on the comparative approaches to education *prior to independence* in the French and British administered territories (see: Yannick Dupraz, *French and British Colonial Legacies in Education: A Natural Experiment in Cameroon*, Paris School of Economics, 2015; Roland Ndille, *British and French Implementation of Colonial Educational policies in Cameroon 1916-1961: A Comparative Analysis*, International Journal for Research in Educational Studies, Vol. 4, Issue 5, May 2018), and on the evolution of both education systems in *the first two decades* after independence. (See: Georges Courade, Christiane Courade, *L'école du Cameroun anglophone : de l'école coloniale à l'école nationale*, Revue Tiers-Monde, Tome 19, No. 76, 1978, pp. 743-769; Georges Courade and Christiane Courade, *Education in Anglophone Cameroon: 1915 – 1975*, National Office for Scientific and Technical Research (ONAREST), Yaoundé, 1977). Of note however, is an interesting, contemporary comparative education study between the English and French educational sub-systems in Cameroon based on direct school observation, which delineates some differences between the sub-systems and makes useful extrapolations on how these are influenced by the English and French educational pedagogy traditions. See: Genevoix Nana, *'This Is No French School': language and education traditions in primary schooling in Cameroon – a comparative perspective*, Research in Comparative and International Education, Volume 8, No. 4 (2013).

<sup>xviii</sup> See: Robin Alexander, *Dichotomous Pedagogies and the promise of Comparative Research*, Paper presented at the 2002 AERA Annual Meeting in New Orleans, Presidential Session III, 3 April: De-familiarising our Notions of Pedagogy and Curriculum: getting beyond dichotomous notions of enquiry vs didactic instruction, 2002; Marilyn Osborn, *Note de lecture, Maroussia Raveaud, De l'enfant au citoyen : la construction de la citoyenneté à l'école en France et en Angleterre, Presses Universitaires de France, 2006, 207 p*, Revue Internationale d'Éducation de Sèvres, No. 43, décembre 2006.

<sup>xix</sup> See the findings of the 1963 UNESCO Education Mission to advise on Cameroon's dual education systems after reunification in 1961:

“ [...] The UNESCO mission is unanimous in emphasizing that the difficulty of the problem to be solved by the Federal Republic of Cameroon does not lie only in the differences between curricula or timetables, or even between the teaching methods in East and West Cameroon. The real difficulty comes at a much higher level and stems from the fact that there are two attitudes to life, two conceptions of Man; in short, two philosophies differing radically in spirit. *The educational system is merely the concrete manifestation of the two different spirits* with which the two parts of Cameroon have been imbued as a result of the chances of contemporary politics. Quite apart from the language or school system, East Cameroon bears the stamp of French Customs and West Cameroon of British. What the Federal State of Cameroon has to do is to create, on both sides of the internal frontier between the English and the French-speaking, the anglicized and the gallicized parts of the population, a Cameroonian Cameroon with a civilization whose distinctive feature will be the combination in a higher synthesis of the separate efforts of each of the two parts. Such a synthesis will unquestionably be achieved only after a long symbiosis. To expect a mere compromise in scholastic matters to bring about such a transformation on its own would be sheer

wishful thinking. The harmonization of school curricula can therefore be no more than one element, necessary but not sufficient in itself, in the building up of a Federal Cameroon.” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), [Cameroon Second Mission of the Education Planning Group \(September-December 1963\)](#), Emergency programme for Africa, EDPLAN/CMN/2, May 1965, at page 10).

<sup>xx</sup> Robin Alexander, [Comparer c'est Comprendre : visions et versions de l'école élémentaire](#), La Revue Française de Pédagogie, No. 142, janvier – février – mars 2003, pp. 5-19.

<sup>xxi</sup> See the description of comparative methodologies used in: General Teaching Council for England, [Teaching methods in England and France: a comparison \(Research for Teachers\)](#), 2006; Marilyn Osborn & Patricia Broadfoot, [A Lesson in Progress? Primary Classrooms Observed in England and France](#), Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1992, pp. 3-15.

<sup>xxii</sup> The bibliographic materials drawn from to establish these comparisons are the following, grouped by author and relevance:

1. Robin Alexander, [Dichotomous Pedagogies and the promise of Comparative Research](#), Paper presented at the 2002 AERA Annual Meeting in New Orleans, Presidential Session III, 3 April: De-familiarising our Notions of Pedagogy and Curriculum: getting beyond dichotomous notions of enquiry vs didactic instruction, 2002.
2. Robin Alexander, [Comparer c'est Comprendre : visions et versions de l'école élémentaire](#), La Revue Française de Pédagogie, No. 142, janvier – février – mars 2003, pp. 5-19.
3. Robin Alexander, [What Works and What Matters: Education in spite of Policy](#), Cambridge Primary Review Trust National Conference, 18 November 2016.
4. Marilyn Osborn & Patricia Broadfoot, [A Lesson in Progress? Primary Classrooms Observed in England and France](#), Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1992, pp. 3-15.
5. Marilyn Osborn, [Note de lecture, Maroussia Raveaud, De l'enfant au citoyen : la construction de la citoyenneté à l'école en France et en Angleterre, Presses Universitaires de France, 2006, 207 p](#), Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres, No. 43, décembre 2006.
6. Marilyn Osborn, [Être élève en Angleterre et en France](#), Revue Internationale d'Éducation de Sèvres, No. 50, 2009, pp. 87-98.
7. Marilyn Osborn, Patricia Broadfoot, Claire Planel & Andrew Pollard, [Social Class, Educational Opportunity and Equal Entitlement: Dilemmas of Schooling in England and France](#), Journal: Comparative Education, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1997, pp. 375-393.
8. Marilyn Osborn, [Promouvoir la qualité : comparaisons internationales et questions méthodologiques](#), Revue Education et Sociétés, Vol. 2, No. 18, 2006, pp. 163-180.
9. General Teaching Council for England, [Teaching methods in England and France: a comparison \(Research for Teachers\)](#), 2006.
10. Maroussia Raveaud, [Assessment in French and English infant schools: assessing the work, the child or the culture?](#) In: Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice, Taylor & Francis Online, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2004, pp. 193-211. (Available via the [Taylor & Francis Online](#) Journal).
11. Maroussia Raveaud, [Minorités, ethnicité et citoyenneté : les modèles français et anglais sur les bancs de l'école](#), Revue française de pédagogie, No. 144, 2003, pp. 19-28.
12. Maroussia Raveaud & Agnès van Zanten, [Choosing the local school: middle class parents' values and social and ethnic mix in London and Paris](#), Journal of Education Policy, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2007, pp.107-124.
13. Régis Malet, [Les mondes scolaires et enseignants et la construction culturelle et politique du sens](#), in : 'Modernisation de l'école et contextes culturels' Régis Malet & Estelle Brisard (eds.), L'Harmattan, 2005, pp. 51-90.
14. Denis Meuret & Marie Duru-Bellat, [English and French Modes of Regulation of the Education System : a comparison](#), Journal of Comparative Education, Taylor & Francis (Routledge), Vol. 39, No. 4, 2003, pp. 463-477.
15. European School Heads Association, [The Rhineland vs the Anglo-Saxon model and the influence on Educational Systems](#) [undated]
16. Brown, P., Power, S., Tholen, G. & Allouch, A. (2016). [Credentials, talent and cultural capital: a comparative study of educational elites in England and France](#). British Journal of Sociology of Education, 37(2), pp. 191-211.
17. Mireille le Breton, [Laïcité in the French Public School System : an exception française ?](#) in : 'L'exception Française : Negotiating Identity in the French National Imagery', Elizabeth Vitanza, Bob Hudson (eds.) UCLA Paroles Gelées journal, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2007, pp. 93-112.
18. Alison Wolf, [A Comparative Perspective on Educational Standards](#), Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 102, 2000, pp. 9-37.



19. Michaela Benson, Gary Bridge & Deborah Wilson, [School Choice in London and Paris - A Comparison of Middle-class Strategies](#), Journal: Social, Policy & Administration, Vol. 49, No. 1, 2015, pp. 24-43.
20. Linda Clarke & Christopher Winch, [Have Anglo-Saxon concepts really influenced the development of European qualifications policy?](#) Journal: Research in Comparative & International Education, Vol 10, No. 4, 2015, pp. 593-606.
21. Nathalie Bulle, [Comparing OECD Educational Models through the prism of PISA](#), Journal: Comparative Education, Taylor & Francis (Routledge), Vol. 47, No. 4, 2011, pp.503-521.

<sup>xxiii</sup> It was only in 1982, through the *Loi Deferre* reforms of Socialist President Francois Mitterrand, that France saw an extensive overhaul of its Centre – periphery distribution of functions, clawing back the powers of a sprawling central government bureaucracy, and shifting more decision-making powers to its Local Municipalities. This was after approximately two centuries of centralization, since the French Revolution in 1789.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Since this Paper is concerned with Anglo-Saxon and French values as they bear on the *historical traditions, cultures, and societal values that inform education*, we do not dwell on a contemporary economic definition of the “Anglo-Saxon model” which refers to the ultra-liberal, capital-driven conception of free markets from the 1980s under Thatcher/UK and Reagan/US, the precursor of capital-driven globalization, which is often contrasted in contemporary literature with the Nordic, and European definitions of more measured capitalism and regulated markets. See: Jeremy Jennings, [Peut-on parler d'un Modèle Anglo-Saxon ?](#) (Contribution à une Histoire de nos Préjugés), Notes de Recherche, 20 Janvier 2007, Centre de Recherches Politiques de Sciences Po, Paris; Jean Gadrey, [Modèle Nordique vs. Modèle Anglo-saxon](#), Alternatives Economiques, 2003/3, No. 19, pages 72 à 89.

<sup>xxv</sup> See : (Isabelle Maradan) Le Monde, [Education : et si on arrêta la compétition ?](#) 15 novembre 2017.

<sup>xxvi</sup> In Cameroon, education has historically been centrally managed. Even under federal arrangements (1961-1972) the Constitution formally assigned education as a matter for “Federal” jurisdiction, not for the respective federated States, although the reality was the reverse. Unitary Cameroon has assigned education to central Ministries, although the plans for decentralization (not yet implemented) have provided, since Laws laying down Guidelines for Decentralization adopted in 2004, that management of secondary schools shall be devolved to Regions, and management of primary schools devolved to Municipal Councils. The 1998 Law on the Guidelines for Education officializes the concept of an “education community” which gives local/regional authorities and other proximate interests a role on consultative/management bodies responsible for schools (Sections 32 and 33).

<sup>xxvii</sup> Cameroon’s Law on the Guidelines for Education of 1998 strikes a balance between these two poles of emphasis by providing that the “general purpose of education shall be train children for their intellectual, physical, civic, and moral development”. Its objectives also include training in major universal ethical values. (Sections 4, 5).

<sup>xxviii</sup> See : World Bank, [The Socio-Political Crisis in the Northwest and Southwest Regions of Cameroon: Assessing the Economic and Social Impacts](#), January 2021 (at page 14) “Interviewees said there was general admiration across the country for the NWSW education system, as well as a high regard for its public order and “good manners,” a perception that had prompted some Francophone parents to send their children to school in NWSW”;

<sup>xxix</sup> See: InvestirauCameroun.com, [Forum de Paris sur la paix : Paul Biya explique la crise anglophone en cours au Cameroun](#), 13 novembre 2019.

<sup>xxx</sup> See *Cameroon National Development Strategy 2020 – 2030*, Chapter 6 (6.6.2): “Promotion of multi-culturalism and development of a synthetic cultural identity”.

<sup>xxxi</sup> See: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47001468>; <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/racial-strife-at-tuks-pics-1988326>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soweto\\_uprising](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soweto_uprising), and <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/06/20/archives/the-rule-on-teaching-of-afrikaans-was-a-kind-of-last-straw-south.html>.

<sup>xxxii</sup> See: <https://www.clo-ocol.gc.ca/en/timeline-event/the-supreme-court-of-canada-ruling-in-the-mahe-case-recognizes-the-right-of-parents>, and <http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/en/parents-and-guardians/instruction-in-english/eligibility/>.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> See: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgian\\_Linguistic\\_Case\\_\(No.\\_2\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgian_Linguistic_Case_(No._2)); <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/151/Belgium-CONSTITUTIONAL-LEGAL-FOUNDATIONS.html>, and Elizabeth Sherman Swing, *The politico-linguistics of education in Belgium*, Journal: Word, 32:3, 213-224 (1981).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> See: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred\\_Stepan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Stepan).

<sup>xxxv</sup> Alfred Stepan, Juan Linz, Yogendra Yadav, *Federacy: A Formula for democratically managing multinational societies in Unitary States*, IN *Crafting State-Nations: India and other Multinational Democracies*, at pp 205. JHU Press, 2011.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> See: Article 16(1) - [Law of 2006 on the Governing of Aceh](#); List A No. 9 – [1948 Home Rule Act of the Faroe Islands](#); Article 62 – [2009 Law on Political and Administrative Statute of the Autonomous Region of the Azores](#); Article V, Section 1 (V) – [2018 Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region](#); Section 4 and Schedule – [1978 Greenland Home Rule Act](#) and Section 23(3) – [2009 Act on Greenland Self-Government](#); Section 18 (14) – [1991 Act on the Autonomy of Aland](#); Article 2 (R)

& Article 3 (G) – [Constitutional Law No. 4 of 1948, Special Status for the Vallée d’Aoste](#); Article 14 (R) and Article 17 (D) – [Constitutional Law No. 2 of 1948, Special Statute of the Sicilian Regional Government](#); Articles 6(1), 21, 35, 44, 131 – [Organic Act of 2006 on Reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia](#).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Lekene Donfack Etienne Charles, *L’expérience du fédéralisme camerounais : les causes et les enseignements d’un échec*, Tome 1, Thèse pour le Doctorat d’Etat en droit public, 1979, at pages 131 – 132.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Frank M. Stark, *Federalism in Cameroon: The Shadow and the Reality*, Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1976, pp. 423-442 (at page 433).

<sup>xxxix</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xl</sup> Richard F. Akum and Francis B. Nyamnjoh (Eds.), *The Cameroon GCE Crisis; A Test of Anglophone Solidarity*, Langa RPCIG, 2008, 376 pp.

<sup>xli</sup> Akum and Nyamnjoh, *ibid.*

<sup>xlii</sup> The Median Newspaper, [Francophone student teachers barred from practicing in Anglophone schools](#), 9 January 2016.

<sup>xliii</sup> National Union of Teachers of Higher Education (SYNES) - University of Buea Chapter, [Memorandum on Harmonisation of University programmes to enhance the Mobility of Students from one University to Another](#), 31 May 2015; Cameroon Tribune, [Ministry of Higher Education : Clarifications on Harmonisation of University Curricula](#), 20 June 2016.

<sup>xliv</sup> World Bank, [The Socio-Political Crisis in the Northwest and Southwest Regions of Cameroon: Assessing the Economic and Social Impacts](#), January 2021 (at pages 14 and 24).

<sup>xlv</sup> World Bank, *ibid.*, at page 14. See also data analysis by this Project which indicates that prior to the crisis, an objective situation of socio-economic deprivation was not a shared trait between the Northwest and Southwest Regions. The Southwest was consistently the country’s top performer on key socio-economic and development indicators, while the Northwest was ranked among the worst performers – for the 15 years prior to the crisis. This tends to lessen the weight of socio-economic deprivation as the primary trigger of the crisis which has engulfed both Regions. See: <https://constitutionoptionsproject.org/en/what-was-objective-socio-economic-situation-nw-and-sw-regions-onset-crisis-2016>.

<sup>xlvi</sup> See: George Echu, [The Immersion Experience in Anglophone Primary Schools in Cameroon](#), Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, (ed. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 643-655. Somerville, MA (2005); Kuchah Kuchah, [English Medium Instruction in an English-French bilingual setting: issues of quality and equity in Cameroon](#), Comparative Education [Journal], Vol. 52, 2016, pp. 311 - 327. Stephen Ambe Mforteh, [Cultural Innovations in Cameroon’s linguistic Tower of Babel](#), TRANS – Internet Journal for Cultural Studies, Austria, Vol. 16, March 2006; Eric A. Anchimbe, [Anglophonism and Francophonism : The Stakes of \(Official\) Language Identity in Cameroon](#). Alizés : Revue Angliciste de La Réunion, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines (Université de La Réunion), 2005, pp.7-26 ; Eric A. Anchimbe, *Global Identities or Local Stigma Markers: How Equal Is the ‘E’ in Englishes in Cameroon?* pp 47-62, in *Englishes in Multilingual Contexts: Language Variation and Education*, Ahmar Mahbob and Leslie Barratt, (Eds.), Springer Publications, Netherlands, 2014; Jane-Francis Afungmeyu Abongdia, [Language Ideologies and Attitudes of Francophone Learners towards English in Yaoundé](#), Cameroon (MA Thesis, University of the Western Cape), 2009, 155 pp.

<sup>xlvii</sup> See: Stephen Ambe Mforteh, [Cultural Innovations in Cameroon’s linguistic Tower of Babel](#), in: TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften, No. 16, March 2006; Kuchah Kuchah, [English Medium Instruction in an English-French bilingual setting: issues of quality and equity in Cameroon](#), Journal: Comparative Education, Vol. 52, No. 3, 2016, pp. 311-327; Jane-Francis A. Abongdia and Fiona Willans, [The position of English globally and nationally: A comparison of Cameroon and Vanuatu](#), Current Issues in Language Planning (Journal), Vol 15, 2014.

<sup>xlviii</sup> The relevant data sources are:

1. République du Cameroun, Ministère des Enseignements Secondaires, [Annuaire Statique du MINESEC – Statistical Year Book 2013/2014](#).
2. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l’Education de Base, [Annuaire Statistique du MINEDUB – Statistical Year Book 2017/2018](#).
3. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l’Enseignement Supérieur, [Annuaire statistique du Ministère de l’Enseignement Supérieur 2017](#).
4. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l’Education de Base, [Annuaire Statistique du MINEDUB – Statistical Year Book 2015/2016](#).
5. République du Cameroun, Commission technique d’élaboration de stratégie sectorielle de l’éducation, [Document de stratégie sectorielle de l’éducation](#), 2005.
6. Republic of Cameroon, Technical Committee for the Elaboration of the Sector Wide Approach / Education, [Draft Document of the Sector Wide Approach / Education](#), Doc. No. SPO/CM/2006/ED/RP/1, 2006.

7. [Rapport d'état du système éducatif national camerounais : Éléments de diagnostic pour la politique éducative dans le contexte de l'EPT et du DSRP](#), Rapport No. 59081, 19 décembre 2003.
8. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l'Education de Base, [Annuaire Statistique du MINEDUB – Statistical Year Book 2016/2017](#).
9. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l'Education de Base, [Rapport d'analyse des données du recensement scolaire 2014-2015 du ministère de l'éducation de base](#)
10. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l'Education de Base, [Rapport d'analyse des données de la carte scolaire \(Année 2015-2016\)](#), novembre 2017.
11. République du Cameroun, Ministère de l'Education de Base, [Rapport d'analyse des données de la carte scolaire 2013/2014](#).
12. Léon Bertrand Ngouo, [La recherche de l'excellence dans le système éducatif camerounais](#), Revue des sciences de l'éducation, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1995, pp. 353-370.
13. République du Cameroun, Ministère des Enseignements Secondaires, [Rapport d'analyse des données statistiques du MINESEC/ Analysis report of statistical data of MINESEC 2014-2015](#).
14. République du Cameroun, Ministère des Enseignements Secondaires, [Rapport d'analyse des données statistiques 2010-2011](#).
15. République du Cameroun, Ministère des Enseignements Secondaires, [Rapport d'analyse des données de la carte scolaire du MINESEC : Année scolaire 2009-2010](#).
16. République du Cameroun, [3è RGPH : Scolarisation – Instruction – Alphabétisation](#), Volume II, Tome 2, Bureau Central des Recensements et des Etudes de Population (BUCREP) & Fonds des Nations Unies pour la Population (UNFPA).
17. [Rapport d'Etat du Système éducatif Camerounais : Synthèse des principaux résultats pour une politique éducative nouvelle](#), 2003.

<sup>xlix</sup> See Kuchah Kuchah, *English Medium Instruction*, op cit.

<sup>i</sup> Data for secondary education enrolment between subsystems in the 1990s was taken from : Léon Bertrand Ngouo, [La recherche de l'excellence dans le système éducatif camerounais](#), Revue des sciences de l'éducation, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1995, pp. 353-370.

<sup>ii</sup> See: George Echu, [The Immersion Experience in Anglophone Primary Schools in Cameroon](#), Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, (ed. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 643-655. Somerville, MA (2005).

<sup>iii</sup> See : Eric A. Anchimbe, [Anglophonism and Francophonism : The Stakes of \(Official\) Language Identity in Cameroon](#). Alizés : Revue Angliciste de La Réunion, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines (Université de La Réunion), 2005, pp.7-26 ; Jane-Francis Afungmeyu Abongdia, [Language Ideologies and Attitudes of Francophone Learners towards English in Yaoundé](#), Cameroon (MA Thesis, University of the Western Cape), 2009, 155 pp; and Eric A. Anchimbe, *Global Identities or Local Stigma Markers: How Equal Is the 'E' in Englishes in Cameroon?* pp 47-62, in *Englishes in Multilingual Contexts: Language Variation and Education*, Ahmar Mahbob and Leslie Barratt, (Eds.), Springer Publications, Netherlands, 2014.

<sup>iiii</sup> George Echu, [The Immersion Experience in Anglophone Primary Schools in Cameroon](#), in: 'ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism', James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan (eds.), Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 2005, pp. 643-655.

<sup>lv</sup> See George Echu, *op cit*.

<sup>lv</sup> Eric A. Anchimbe, [Multilingual backgrounds and the identity issue in Cameroon](#), in Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo, International journal of basque linguistics and philology, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2005, pp. 33-48.

<sup>lvi</sup> See: Hélène Poissant, [Bilingualism, Bilingual Education, and Sociocultural Identity: The Experience of Quebec](#), Journal of Cognitive Education and Psychology, January 2005 (article contains a very useful exposition of the different types of bilingual education programs in Canada's context, and highlights those that are considered "strong" because they "actually assure maintenance of the native language and at the same time acquisition of a second language", and thus are "truly effective in achieving bilingualism as well as promotion of cultural enrichment and pluralism", at pp. 321); Stacy Churchill, [Language education, Canadian civic identity, and the identities of Canadians](#), Reference Study, Council of Europe, 2003; Margaret Adsett and Michael Morin, [Contact and Attitudes towards Bilingualism in Canada](#), ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, ed. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 1-17. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 2005.

<sup>lvii</sup> See generally the articles in – Journal of Social Issues, [Special Issue: To Be Both \(and More\): Immigration and Identity Multiplicity](#), Volume 75, Issue 2, June 2019.

---

<sup>lviii</sup> Echu, *The Immersion Experience in Anglophone Primary Schools*, op cit., notes thus, at page 653: “Our study reveals that there is an additive form of biculturalism given that the Francophone children are happy and proud to be part of the two cultures – Francophone and Anglophone”.

<sup>lix</sup> We note that the National Development Strategy 2020-2030, in seeking to advance a “synthetic cultural identity” aims at “discouraging and eradicating primary loyalties of various origins” such as linguistic (at page 101). We postulate that if a citizen self-identified (and wielded the educational and linguistic baggage to match) *as both Francophone and Anglophone* (and any other affinity groupings) instead of “neither”, he/she would also meet the NDS’s objective of producing a “synthetic cultural identity”.

<sup>lx</sup> See: Gratien Atindogbe, Midinette Koumassol, [\*Being multilingual in a bilingual environment: Implications for quality education\*](#), Pan Commonwealth Forum, September 2019.

<sup>lxi</sup> Michel N. Ntedondjeu et Catherine Andela Mani, *Bilinguisme officiel et (in)sécurité linguistique chez les enseignants francophones de l’Université de Buea : Le cas des nouvelles recrues de 2011-2012*, in : ‘L’insécurité linguistique dans les communautés anglophone et francophone du Cameroun’, Augustin Emmanuel Ebongue & Angéline Djoum Nkwescheu (eds.), L’Harmattan, 2018, pp. 25-41.