

**The Formal Primary Educational System and the Safeguarding of
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Africa: Case of the Far North Region of
Cameroon**

A thesis approved by the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Urban Planning
at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg in partial fulfilment
of the requirement for the award of the academic degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Heritage Studies

By

Abdel Kader BAROUNGA

European Master in Intercultural Education

MBA Non-Governmental Organisation Management

BA Psychology

(from: Maroua – Cameroon)

First Supervisor:	Prof. em. Dr. Marie-Theres Albert
Second Supervisor:	Dr. Phil. Roland Bernecker
Day of the oral examination:	15 th of November 2022

Abstract

The present research aims to analyze the possibilities of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in the Far North Region of Cameroon - irrespective of the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. This Region is purposively selected for its stronghold of multifarious and diverse ethno-cultural (id)entities and citadel of the country’s enshrined traditions. The rural area of Kolara is conveniently chosen to explore how to blend the receding ethno-cultural heritage with the formal education system in accordance with the aim of education in Cameroon and therefore could be an example of how to train citizens firmly rooted in their cultures but also opened to the world. It presupposes that the current formal primary educational system is not constructive for primary school starters. On the basis of a combination of participatory research and systematic data collection methods, three educational heritages could be outlined: the ethno-cultural traditional educations specific to the two major ethno-cultures Tupuri and Fulbé and the Islamic Arabic educational heritage peculiar to Muslims, predominantly Fulbé. In this context, it could be determined to what extent the formal education is ethno-cultural specific, environment related and learner centered.

Keywords: Formal education, Intangible Cultural Heritage, Ethno-cultural Heritage, Ethno-culture, Ethno-cultural Education, Pedagogy

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Forschung zielt darauf ab, aufzuzeigen, wie das bestehende „immaterielle Kulturerbe“ als ergänzendes Wissen in das formale Bildungssystem eingeführt werden kann. Sie beschreibt insbesondere die Situation der Grundschulbildung in der Region Hoher Norden in Kamerun - unabhängig von dem *UNESCO-Übereinkommen zur Erhaltung Immateriellen Kulturerbes* von 2003 und dem 2005 entstandenen *UNESCO-Übereinkommen über den Schutz und zur Förderung der Vielfalt kultureller Ausdrucksformen*. Diese Region wurde aufgrund der hohen Dichte fest verankerten, vielfältiger ethnokultureller Identitäten/Entitäten ausgewählt, was der Region landesweit den Ruf des Traditionshüters verleiht. Exemplarisch wurde ein Landkreis der Region Kolara, gewählt, um zu untersuchen wie das rückläufige Wissen ethnokulturellen Erbes mit dem formalen Bildungssystem so in Einklang gebracht werden kann, dass der Bildungsauftrag Kameruns weiterhin umgesetzt werden kann. In diesem Sinne könnte die Studie beispielhaft dafür stehen, wie Kinder sowohl mit einem festen Bezug zu ihren Kulturen als auch weltoffen unterrichtet werden könnten. Die Forschung wird unter der Annahme durchgeführt, dass das derzeitige formale Grundschulsystem für Einschulungskinder unter dem Aspekt der Integration kulturellen Erbes nicht konstruktiv aufgebaut ist. Auf der Grundlage einer Kombination aus partizipativer Forschung und systematischen Datenerhebungsmethoden konnten drei zentrale Bildungserben ausfindig gemacht werden: die ethnokulturellen traditionellen Bildungseinrichtungen, die für die beiden wichtigsten Ethnokulturen Tupuri und Fulbé spezifisch sind sowie das islamisch-arabische Bildungserbe, das von Muslim*innen praktiziert wird, vorwiegend Fulbé. In diesem Zusammenhang konnte festgestellt werden, inwieweit die formale Bildung ethnokulturell zentriert, umweltbezogen und Schüler*innenzentriert ist.

Schlüsselwörter: Formale Bildung, immaterielles Kulturerbe, ethnokulturelles Erbe, Ethnokultur, ethnokulturelle Bildung, Pädagogik

Table of content

1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2	THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE CURRENT CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE IN CAMEROON	6
2.1	THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION	6
2.1.1	<i>Narrowed Approach to Education.....</i>	<i>6</i>
2.1.2	<i>Broadened Approach to Education</i>	<i>7</i>
2.1.3	<i>Types of Education</i>	<i>7</i>
2.2	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CAMEROONIAN FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM	8
2.2.1	<i>The Early Missionary System of Education.....</i>	<i>8</i>
2.2.2	<i>Colonial System of Education</i>	<i>10</i>
2.2.3	<i>Post- Independence System of Education</i>	<i>17</i>
2.3	THE CURRENT CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM	25
2.3.1	<i>The National Policy on Education and Organizational Structure</i>	<i>26</i>
2.3.2	<i>The Objective and Pedagogy of the Educational System</i>	<i>41</i>
2.3.3	<i>The Curriculum and the Language(s) of Instruction</i>	<i>51</i>
3	THE CONCEPT OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE.....	74
3.1	THE DEFINITION OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE.....	74
3.1.1	<i>The Concept of Culture</i>	<i>75</i>
3.1.2	<i>Culture, Heritage, Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage.....</i>	<i>76</i>
3.1.3	<i>Cultural Heritage, Ethnicity and Ethno-culture</i>	<i>79</i>
3.2	THE EVOLUTION OF AFRICAN INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE.....	81
3.2.1	<i>Pre-Colonial African Culture</i>	<i>82</i>
3.2.2	<i>Colonial African Culture and Postcolonial Cultures.....</i>	<i>94</i>
3.2.3	<i>Contemporary African Cultures.....</i>	<i>112</i>
3.3	THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE CONVENTION: OPPORTUNITY OR THREAT	123
3.3.1	<i>The Convention as a Threat for Local People</i>	<i>123</i>
3.3.2	<i>The Convention as Opportunities for Local People.....</i>	<i>125</i>
4	METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	130
4.1	JOURNEY APPROACH AS PRELIMINARY FIELDWORK	131
4.2	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS	132
4.3	QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS.....	133
4.4	SITTING-IN-ON CLASSROOM OBSERVATION	134
4.5	LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY AND MITIGATION STRATEGIES	136
4.6	DATA ANALYSIS.....	138

5	LIVING ETHNO-CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A SUPPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE IN FORMAL	
	PRIMARY EDUCATION.....	139
5.1	EDUCATIONAL HERITAGES OF KOLARA.....	139
5.1.1	<i>Background and Ethno-Cultural Mapping.....</i>	<i>139</i>
5.1.2	<i>Traditional Educational Heritage in Kolara.....</i>	<i>144</i>
5.1.3	<i>Islamic Arabic Educational Heritage in Kolara.....</i>	<i>168</i>
5.2	THE FREIRAN PEDAGOGY.....	180
5.2.1	<i>Freiran Critic of Formal Education.....</i>	<i>180</i>
5.2.2	<i>Freiran Problem-posing Education.....</i>	<i>183</i>
5.2.3	<i>Contextualization the Freiran Pedagogy.....</i>	<i>190</i>
5.3	THE PROBLEMATIZING OF FORMAL EDUCATION.....	197
5.3.1	<i>School Related Problems.....</i>	<i>197</i>
5.3.2	<i>Family and Children Student Related Problems.....</i>	<i>199</i>
5.3.3	<i>Context Related Problems.....</i>	<i>200</i>
6	RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	203
6.1	RESULTS.....	203
6.1.1	<i>Considering the Cultural Particularity of Children.....</i>	<i>203</i>
6.1.2	<i>Including the Daily Environment of the Children.....</i>	<i>206</i>
6.1.3	<i>Fostering the Self-determination of Children.....</i>	<i>209</i>
6.2	DISCUSSION.....	213
6.2.1	<i>The Significance of the Cultural Particularities of the Children of Kolara.....</i>	<i>213</i>
6.2.2	<i>The Significance of the Environment.....</i>	<i>216</i>
6.2.3	<i>The Significance of Self-determination.....</i>	<i>218</i>
6.3	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	222
6.3.1	<i>Organization of Formal Education.....</i>	<i>222</i>
6.3.2	<i>The National Curriculum and Ethno-Cultural Curricula.....</i>	<i>224</i>
6.3.3	<i>Pedagogical Approach.....</i>	<i>225</i>
6.3.4	<i>Mother-Tongue-Based Multilingual Language(s) of Instruction.....</i>	<i>227</i>
7	CONCLUSION.....	230
8	REFERENCES.....	233
9	APPENDIX.....	241

List of Maps

Map 1: Colonial, Post-colonial and Modern Cameroon	Page 5
Map 2: Precolonial Africa (Before 1880)	Page 93
Map 3: Scramble for Africa (1880 - 1914)	Page 96
Map 4: African National Independence (1957 - 1990)	Page 111
Map 5: District of Kolara in the Mayo Kany Division	Page 141

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ALCAM:	Atlas Linguistic du Cameroon
CABTAL:	Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy
EFA:	Education For All
ENIEG:	Teacher Training Colleges
ENIET:	Technical Teacher's Training Colleges
FRELIMO:	Namibia or the Mozambique Liberation Front
FSLC:	First School Leaving Certificate examination
FLN:	Front de Liberation Nationale
GCE:	General Certificate of Education
GTZ:	German Agency for Technical Corporation
IPAR:	Institute of Applied Pedagogy for Rural Vocation
MINATD:	Ministry of Territorial Administration
MINEDUB:	Ministry of Basic Education
MINEDUC:	Ministry of National Education
NACALCO:	National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU:	Organization of African Unity
ONEPI:	National Organization of Private Islamic Education
OESPI	Organization of Private Islamic School Education
PROPELCA:	Operational Research Language Program Teaching in Cameroon
PTA:	Parent Teachers Associations
SIL:	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SWAPO:	South West Africa People's Organization
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE:	Universal Primary Education

1 Introduction

Cameroon is a country located in central Africa¹, usually invoked as “Africa in miniature” for its geographical diversity and its ethnic and culturally diverse population estimated at 24,360,803 inhabitants in a surface area of 475,442 km². The territories longest, continuous inhabitation occurred during the Neolithic Era prior to any outside intrusion and in the south ethnic included groups such as the Baka people, hunter-gatherers of the tropical rainforest of Central West Africa (DeLancey & DeLancey, 2000), followed by the Bantu migrations around 2,000 years ago. In the north, the Sao civilization was the first settlement, established around the Chari River south of Lake Chad which yielded to the Kanem and the ensuing state, the Bornu Empire. Kingdoms, Fondoms, and chiefdoms emerged in the West (Njung and al., 2003). Although Islam spread and took root in Africa earlier, it reached Cameroon in the 19th Century as the Fulani Muslim pastoral nomads, headed by Usman Dan Fodio, conquered northern areas (O’Toole, 2001: 40). Various kingdoms converted and propagated it throughout the country; the Mandara Kingdom extended their Islamic crusade as far south as central Cameroon and the western coast (Azevedo & Janet, 1989: 53), and the Nso Kingdom of the western grasslands also followed the lead of Islamization (Fanso & Bongfen, 1996: 103).

The territory of present-day Cameroon is named after a river by the Portuguese navigator Fernando Po in the 15th century (Fonkeng, 2007: 14). Navigating from the Bight of Biafra up the Wouri River in the coastal region, he was impressed by the profusion of the ghost prawns in the river, he entitled “Rio dos Camarões” (“river of prawns”). Identified with the country, “Rio dos Camarões” turned to “Kamerun” at the time that the German Empire claimed the territory as a colony during the scramble for Africa (1884). The Germano-Douala treaty in July sealed this German protectorate and effectively German unfolded it launching infrastructural projects hinged on rigorous system of coerced labor (DeLancey and DeLancey, 2000). With the German defeat in World War I, the Allied powers took control over its territories by employing the mandate system. To this effect, Kamerun was recognized as a possession of the League of Nations forming an Anglo-French condominium. The mandated Cameroon was later replaced by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization

¹ Cameroon bordering countries are Chad to the northeast; the Central African Republic to the east; Nigeria to the west; and Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and the Republic of the Congo to the south, while the Bight of Bonny, part of the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean, forms the country's coastline.

(1945). The partition of the territory gave Britain two discontinuous strips of land (90,000km²) along the Nigerian border: Northern and Southern British Cameroons administered from Lagos in Nigeria; whilst France with the acquired lion's share administered it as an independent territory (Fonkeng, 2007: 16). The Anglo-French trusteeship explains "Cameroun" and "Cameroon" appellations which came as the French and English took over from the Germans. With different cultures, divergent in structure and systems, French and English administrated the country guiding it to independence (Neba, 1987: 8, 11).

French Cameroon (The French administered United Nation's Trusteeship) accessed to independence on 1st January 1960 as "La République du Cameroun" with its capital Yaoundé. After a series of consultations on a prospective unification of French; and British Cameroon, a referendum supervised by the United Nation (UN) took place on the 11th of February 1961 in the two British parts. While the northern Muslim-majority saw a majority of 60% in favor of joining Nigeria, the southern Christian-majority voted 70.5% in favor of integration with French regions (Nohlen & al. 1999). The English south-western highland pursued a different pathway in the French Cameroon. This led to the Reunification on the 1st October 1961, The Federal Republic of Cameroon. The "United Republic of Cameroon" made up of seven provinces was declared on 20th May 1972 (Neba, 1987: 12). A presidential decree finally changed it into the Republic of Cameroon increasing the number of provinces to ten in 1984.

Today, it comprises eight Francophone Regions - Far North, North, Adamawa, Centre, Littoral, Western, Eastern and Southern - and two Anglophone Regions- Northwest and Southwest. Like all government officials at all levels, appointed governors assisted by divisional and sub-divisional officers administer these regions. Executive powers are conferred by the president elected for seven-year terms by popular vote (Neba, 1987: 12). The judiciary is incumbent upon the executive's Ministry of Justice whereby the head of state nominates judges at all levels. However, the National Assembly votes the nine-member High Court of Justice in charge of judging high-ranking members of government. The National Assembly of 180 members is elected every five years and meets three times yearly to make legislation on a majority vote. The Senate of 100-seats has been established since April 2013. Its president leads this second house of parliament as the constitutional Head of State's replacement in the event of untimely vacancy. The government recognizes the authority of ethnic group's chiefs (Fons, Lamibe, Sultan, etc.) to rule at the local level provided that it does not collide with the national legal system, an archetype of the French civil law (United States Department of State, 2016). The traditional chiefs, including the ethnic constituencies they

represent, maintain their relevance for electoral turnout. Ethnicity is foregrounded as a resort for political expediency. Cameroon - like most African countries - is comprised of various self-determined ethnicities with distinctive heritage, ancestry, history, society, culture, institutions, and polity.

This summary of Cameroon's history reveals to what extent foreign influences are engraved in Cameroonian cultural heritage in such a way that there is a coexistence of traditional, Islamic–Arabic and Western-Christian heritages. This complex heritage reflects in the trichotomy of educational heritage as the principal intergenerational transmitter of cultural heritage. The overarching starting point of Cameroonian education is that historically traditional education predated the Islamic-Arabic system, which in turn preceded the Western-Christian system. The latter is the foundation on which public education in Cameroon was built. It officiates as the current prevailing Francophone and Anglophone formal educational system, overshadowing the traditional and Islamic systems which are classified as informal.

In both colonial and post-colonial times, public education has explicitly been used to build up supra-ethnic identity or consciousness in an endeavor to change mentalities from traditional or ethnocentric frame of reference, considered as impediments to social and economic progress, to more “modern” outlooks and conceptions of the world that promote development. The government allocated corresponding resources for this purpose. In the last decades, tremendous effort has been invested in “Education for All” - entitling every child and adult to formal education in compliance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, highly underpinned by UNESCO. This vision became reality gauged by its high literacy rate², among the highest in Africa. Yet much is to be undertaken to improve on the quality of the standard of education, to synchronize the pioneer system of dual formal education system and most importantly to remedy the regional disparity, redress the gender gap as well as rural-urban discrepancy. Indeed, the national laudable ranking dissimulates wide disproportionateness within the country, a glaring contrast between regions. The northern, predominantly Muslim regions, known for their legendary resistance to “Western school”, lag behind; thence the designation of “priority education zones”.

² Referring to the fact that information on literacy might not be a perfect measure of educational results, the literacy rate is applied as a gauge for this study because of its availability and referentiality for international comparisons. Based on this common definition - literacy is considered as the ability to read and write by the age 15 and over including Census Bureau percentages for the total population, males, and females. According to 2015 estimates, the Cameroonian literacy rate is evaluated at 75% of the total population, 81.2% for male and 68.9% for female. There is a substantial development in comparison to 63.4% of the total population, 75% for male and 52.01% for female of literacy rate in 1995 (CIA World Fact Book, 2016).

The Far North Region in particular with the lowest schooling rate is replete with more variety of ethnic groups, religions, cultures, and languages – even with a lower population density. Secular education cannot be fully embraced inasmuch it has been historically intolerant to the traditions and permanently challenges some of their most intrinsic values. Those who profess Islam have been more flagrant in their rejection of this education that they consider either as sacrilege or wastage, a hardly reversible historical precedent. From this vantage point, formal education seems not to be neutral or upholding certain values that are impervious to different situations or social contexts perpetuated by parallel educations. The expected outcomes are failure, rejection or indifference. The purpose of the present thesis is to examine the harmonizing of the concurring educations, by exploring the possibilities to introduce the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as supplement of knowledge into the formal early childhood education; that is to say changing from the “one-size-fits-all” formal education system to the culture specific one, germane for every ethnic group. It presupposes that the current formal primary educational system is not constructive for the primary school starters.

Without reducing education merely to schooling - rather as the totality of cultural transmission, it is appropriate in the ensuing chapters to first (Chapter 2) introduce the concept of education highlighting the Cameroonian formal education from its historical formation to its current perspectives. Next, Chapter 3 tries to define the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage, reviewing the significance of culture in regard to the evolution of African culture, from its continental perspective to its ethnic specific considerations including its value as far as the “Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention” is concerned. The following section (Chapter 4) presents a case study’s methodology and investigation. It consists of a combination of two intertwined phases: preliminary fieldwork in the form of participatory research followed by systematic data collection methods. Exploring the outcomes of the participatory study, Chapter 5 identifies the living cultural heritage transmitted by traditional and Islamic-Arabic education as a supplement of knowledge in Kolara, a rural area of the Far North Region. It outlines contending problems of the formal education in light of the Freirian pedagogy – his critique of formal education and his problem-posing education – and how it could be converted to the context of Kolara. Chapter 6 deals with results, completes the substantive discussion and interpretation by analyzing the educational process in Kolara and Cameroon, its implications, and the related recommendations, from which final conclusions can be drawn (Chapter 7).



Map 1: Colonial, Post-colonial and Modern Cameroon

2 The Formal Education System and the Current Critical Perspective in Cameroon

2.1 The Concept of Education

Etymologically, education is derived from the Latin word “educare” meaning “to support” and “to nurture the growth of”, and/or from the Latin word “educere” which means “to draw out” or “to cause to come out”. From the etymology education thus consists of supporting and nurturing the growth of humans and/or drawing out their good qualities and their best inner potentialities. Its essence according to Plato, is to lead an individual from the darkness of ignorance into the prominence of knowledge. Some other pedagogues hold that education is a derivative of the Latin term “educatum”, which refers to the act of teaching or training. From this root education either refers to the process of acquisition of knowledge, skills, values habits and character of a child or indicates the activities that bring up, rear, guide or direct a child. It could go also beyond children to encompass all human’s abilities, attitudes, and patterns of functional behavior in a given social context. Education could not be depicted in specified terms and could have different meanings. It has been defined as a matter of fact by various authors in various contexts at different periods of time according to their main focus area. On all accounts, education represents the functioning of the society through which individuals are exposed to a specific and designated structured social setting that enable them to achieve prosocial behavior, the associated competence and favorable personal development. Two approaches emerge from the etymological meaning of education, a narrow one and a more comprehensive one.

2.1.1 Narrowed Approach to Education

Preponderantly, the narrowed approach restricts education to the acquisition of knowledge. This approach is based on propounded literary sources and the religious axioms by which “knowledge is power” and “knowledge is virtue”. Therefore, knowledge is considered to lead to wisdom. It limits education to the instruction imparted in educational institutions that assess progress in terms of degrees, certification or promotion. The educatee is deliberately instructed to think as foreordained by the educators or educational administrators. Predetermined activities are thus designed for the opportune advancement of an individual’s potential in these institutions. To this end literate or professional people are the end production.

In this perspective education is perceived as a product, an outcome of inputs which are instruction or experiences, an accumulation of what has been imparted through learning. The product is an assimilation to the culture of a given society approved as important and relevant at some point. Confining education merely to a few purposeful and programmed efforts, excludes autodidactic culture, community culture and the environment influences. Education is a lot more comprehensive than classroom or educational institution learnings.

2.1.2 Broadened Approach to Education

Here, education is viewed as a continuing lifetime process, that encloses the entire experiences, knowledge and wisdom gathered at various steps of life in diverse settings through interactions of various natures and activities. Whatever enlarges prospects, deepens acumen, refines demeanors, and stimulates thoughts and feelings is termed as education. It means that life experience has developmental or supplement effects on individuals' personality. In its broadened sense education signifies the process of development, wherein people constantly adapt in different manners to the physical, social, and spiritual environments.

The educative process invokes the development of the intellect, the ability to think critically, the understanding of both social and cultural phenomena and oneself. As an operating and progressive process that takes place repeatedly in the course of life through numerous experiences in programmed situations or incidental ones, people learn continuously. In this process, they train to resort to their previous experiences in acquiring new information and to rebuild new practices instead of old ones. Therefore, education is generally considered as the process whereby knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values are inculcated in order to integrate the individual in a given society or modify its values and norms. Considering education both as product and process three types of education could be distinguished.

2.1.3 Types of Education

Understood here as a comprehensive lifetime process education can be differentiated into formal, informal, and non-formal (Ocit by Baguma & Aheisibwe in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 23).

Formal Education refers to a clearly defined and highly stratified structure, arranged in sequence of grades "education system", operating from primary school, secondary school to college or university. Besides general academic programs, it includes a range of specific studies and institutions for full-time technical and professional teaching. Also known as schooling, it is the most prominent type of education, which is referred to

when one speaks of educated persons who are equipped with reading and writing, numeracy and other skills.

Informal education indicates the continuing process whereby people acquire attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from both their day-to-day life situations and the instructional effects, conditions and resources in their environment – including family or community settings, neighborhood, professional or business context, distractive activities, the mass media, and so on. Not imparted by a specialized agency learning can be spontaneous and takes place at any time and space.

Non-formal education points out any systematic instructional activity outside the realm of the entrenched formal education system whether running independently or as a significant feature of pertaining larger activity that is designed to serve a defined target group and specific learning objectives. It is characterized by the relevance to the needs of disadvantaged groups or a homogeneous group; the concern with peculiar group of people; a spotlight on precisely defined scheme and adaptable in organization and methods.

Be it in formal, non-formal or informal situations education is understood here as an exhaustive social “process of living and not a preparation for future living” (Dewey 1966: 48), and primarily encompasses the intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage. It is either regarded as the social process whereby a society purposely conveys its cultural heritage from one generation to another, or considered as the process of continual reorganization of experience, rather than simple conveyance of ancient values that are more relevant and adequate for tackling current issues. Both as transmission or as reconstruction individuals and society continuously adapt to the innovations and vicissitudes of a respective environment. Dealing with the cycle of cultural transmission - particularly enculturation and socialization, Gwanfogbe relatedly reestablishes main features of three coexisting substantial educational heritages in Africa, which respectively correspond to “indigenous” or traditional African, Islamic–Arabic, and Western-Christian civilizations.

2.2 Historical Background of the Cameroonian Formal Education System

2.2.1 The Early Missionary System of Education

The early missionary education was further formal than both Islamic-Arabic and traditional Cameroonian education in so far as missionary schools were essentially administered by missionary societies overseas. Mostly these schools are integral component of a mission station equipped with a house, a church, and a workshop in conjunction with the schoolhouse (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 6). Their primary objective

was to proselytize to Christianity. Educational activities and tuition were held either in foreign or local written languages but also various texts including some translated in local languages were used as medium of instruction. Curricula involved instructing the Bible and Christian creed in addition to other subjects including the teaching of local languages and the ones of the missionaries. The Bible was translated into local languages. Besides reading, writing and mathematics, construction, manual tasks like farming, carpentry and brickmaking as well as domestic skills and hygiene for girls were school subjects. Learners who completed the studies of the missionary school were ready and skilled to work in evangelical, clerical, administrative, educational (monitors in the schools) and commercial settings (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 7; Quinn, 1989: 95).

In the beginning, formal education in terms of early missionary education (1840-1884) was supplied by the English Baptists and the American Presbyterians. In 1844 a Jamaican Baptist missionary preacher, Joseph Merrick opened the first school with the permission from the local leader of the seaside city of Bimbia (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 5). A year later an English pastor Alfred Saker, took a leaf out the book of his Baptist colleague opening another school in King Akwa's city (DeLancey & DeLancey, 2000: 235). Both Baptist pioneers arose with written forms for the Isubu and the Douala vernaculars (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 6). Further schools followed in such a way that by the beginning of the colonization, the Baptists opened schools in various places such as Victoria, Bell Town and Hickory (Eyongetah, 1974: 76). At the end of the 1870s another missionary group, the American Presbyterians established in Batanga (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 6). Together with the Bulu and Bassa ethnic groups, the American Presbyterians developed a written form for the Bulu language teaching English at the same time. Sometime later (1890), they began expanding into the interior with the German government's approval (Eyongetah, 1974: 76, 77).

The last main missionary group to arrive under German colonial rule were the German Catholics. At this point, proselytizing was incontestably inherent to colonization enterprise and the pertaining schools continued to operate in the country. Transitionally, on request of the German government in 1886 following the acquisition of "Kamerun" as a protectorate (1884), the Baptists passed their work down to a Swiss-German mission, scilicet the Basel Mission. The Basel Mission became autonomously operational by opening their first mission in Bali in 1902, using the learned local language Bali both to teach and persuade Cameroonians to share their religious beliefs (Eyongetah, 1974, p. 78). Eventually, in 1889, the German Pallotin Fathers founded Marienberg nearby Edea, just at the estuary of the River Sanaga. Bishop Heinrich

Vieter commanded the expedition, which was aided by Adolf Woerman, a German merchant.

The missionaries took an active part in working with the people around the central area of the country and learned Ewondo, the Beti languages (Quinn, 1989: 94-97). Meanwhile in various parts of the country, even in the pre-colonial period, local or native languages had then benefited from a highly recognized prominence. This is the case of the Bamun, with a writing system known as the Bamun script, "Shu Mom" institutionalized by Sultan Njoya in 1896 was adopted as language of instruction prior to the arrival of the first missionaries (DeLancey and DeLancey, 2000: 46). There is a similar case in the former Northern part as far back as the early 19th century with Fulfulde, which was the essential language for the propagation of Islam by Fulani soldiers led by Modibo Adama in establishing the Adamawa Emirate. The missionary educational work in general - particularly the one of the American Presbyterians and the Basel Mission - alleviated the brutality of German colonial rule and emancipated the locals educating them (DeLancey & DeLancey, 2000: 27, 46). Similar to many other administrative facets in Cameroon the formal education system stems from colonial origins.

2.2.2 Colonial System of Education

2.2.2.1 German Colonial Education

In 1884 Cameroon became "Kamerun" as a German protectorate. The German government did not immediately set up an official educational system. Two years later they devised a systematically planned educational program in Cameroon. The general guidelines for this program were masterfully devised by the above-mentioned German trader and businessman, Woerman. He advised the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck to establish an educational program that emphasized the teaching of the colonial language and program guided by practical experience and observation rather than theory. Woerman's ideas were adapted to the needs of the German traders on site. The German colonial administration was mostly under the auspices of its traders (Rudin, 1938: 353). Theodor Christaller, the first German teacher endorsed by the Basel Mission arrived in Cameroon in 1887. Responsible for the German school and the application of Woerman's plan, he opened the first public school in 1888 after preparing "a German grammar of the Douala language". This was ensued by a second school opened in Douala (1889), in Victoria (1890) then later in 1910 another one in Garoua.

After several attempts to structure the education system, a conference was held in Douala in 1907. There, the Governor Seitz decided to design the length of the

elementary school program, the teaching and learning content and to reduce the use of Douala language in favor of German. In 1910 the German colonial authorities enacted an education law “closer regulation and supervision of the teaching of German” (Rudin, 1938: 356). The decree set a program as well for the mission schools and the basic education of five years to begin at age five or six compulsory at elementary level (Rudin, 1938: 357). Further specialized schools followed, namely two trade and agricultural schools. Two trade schools in Victoria in 1910, one in Douala (1913), one again in Victoria three years later were teaching carpentry, upholstery and cabinetmaking (Rudin, 1938: 354; Le Vine, 1964: 71-72), later new schools in Yaoundé and Dschang qualified students to deal with rubber and palm nuts. The graduates upon the two-year program are contractually employed in the local government for five years (Rudin, 1938: 359).

Though structured, the operational schools of German times were less substantial than the ones of the missionaries. The bulk of educational tasks was under the aegis of the latter. The colonial government aimed to restrictively train just a needed number of people in administration assistance, plantation work or other various commercial endeavors and bestowed the preserve of general or popular education upon the missionaries. By 1913, “throughout the colony there were only 4 government schools, with 833 pupils, but there were 631 mission schools, with 49,000 pupils” (Le Vine, 1964: 72). Graduates of those schools were engaged in clerical work, in teaching, in translating, and in the army. In an endeavor to educate its future indigenous administrators, the administration sent several outstanding and devoted Cameroonian graduates to mainland for further studies - for there is no record found at this point in time of existing higher education. Some of these German-educated Cameroonians such as Charles Atangana became fervent supporters of the Germans as expected. Incidentally, others like Rudolf Duala Manga Bell and Martin Paul Samba came home and turned out to be insurgents, bearing the flag of the opposition force against German rule on the eve of the outbreak of World War I.

Conforming to the law of 1910, those primary schools were subsidized contingent upon promoting colonial language, culture and policies of administration (Rudin, 1938: 357). Notwithstanding the status or the booming of the local languages, Article 2 of the education law stated the exclusive teaching of German or its use as a medium of instruction - knowing that Article 3 determined the restricted recourse to Duala language as a medium of instruction (Ngoh, 1988). Although opposed to the use of the Bali language in schools, an agreement was reached on the use of the Bamum language at a conference in 1912 (Rudin, 1938: 358). In other words, while the

German administration (1884-1916) promoted their language for the instruction in the Government schools, German and American Presbyterian Missionaries endorsed Basaa, Bulu, Duala, Ewondo and Mungaka both for teaching and evangelization (Mbuagbaw, 2000: 135).

Despite the impoverishment of their public-school system in the country, German attempted unremittingly to thrust their language in schools pressurizing the missionaries. Unrelentingly the missionaries' steadfast belief in their language policy had not wavered due to their stronghold on the school system. Throughout this colonial period (1884-1916), native languages benefited from this privileged position as far as linguistic communication was concerned. The educational situation in "Kamerun" remained under control of the German colonial administration until the outbreak of World War I, during which phase (1914-1916) education was suspended. All established educational institutions were not operational (Le Vine, 1967: 73). Public schools however resumed in 1917 with both colonial teachers and their local assistants to run them. The missionary schools on the contrary could not follow due to lack of funds formerly provided by the Germans. From now on education in the British and French zones of Cameroon differed.

2.2.2.2 French Colonial Education

In the French region, the colonial administration instituted an official educational system between 1921 and 1928 - by then (1918) the mission schools were also operational. Based on assimilation, the educational system aimed to replace the existing local culture with the emblematic French culture. Schools were established correspondingly and administrated from the metropole. The quintessence of the programs, the pedagogy, examination and certification were customized to French system. For instance, the baccalaureate (equivalent to Advanced Level or high school diploma) in Cameroon was marked in France. Initially in this part of Cameroon education was under the missionary societies - such as the Catholic, the French Protestant, the American Protestant, and the American Adventist Missions. In 1925 the Presbyterian American Mission opened the first teacher training college "Ecole Normale de Foullassi" in the Dja-et Lobo aiming to train teachers for the primary schools and for evangelization. In 1939 more rural and regional primary secondary and professional schools followed in Yaoundé, Douala and Ayos (Tchombe, 1998).

This colonial educational system based on language had three levels of education: the seven years elementary school, then the six to seven years of secondary with two certificates offered – the first baccalaureate after three years, the second at the end - and finally the technical school (Le Vine, 1964: 73-74). Whereas the primary school

focused on “French, arithmetic, hygiene, simple science, agricultural principles, and, for the girls, domestic skills,” the secondary one laid emphasis more on “academic or technical subjects” (Le Vine, 1964: 73). The syllabus of the technical and instructor-training courses offered exclusively at the secondary level is independent from the standard courses. The tuition at all level was held in French. Although there were no possibilities to pursue higher education within this system of education, competent graduates continued higher education in France and distinguished students were granted scholarship (Le Vine, 1964: 73-74). For that matter there was no need to set up higher education in the Cameroon. Unsurprisingly, those who furthered their education in France constituted the group of Cameroonians enjoying superior intellectual, political, social and economic status, the class of elites.

The regional school of Garoua was a center of education whose importance can hardly be fathomed today. For the whole Northern part of the country - that is to say for a large third of the population of the French trust territory - it was the only school with an average course, the last two years of primary education preparing for the certificate. It had only 150 students in 1932, while there were 2,500 in the other seven regional public schools, excluding denominational schools of the same level. There was indeed a resistance established as “sacrilegious Western education”. Public opinion was hostile to school, which besides diverting from their religion and destroying their cultures, deprived the family of a pair of arms. Parents were unwilling to enroll their children in school. When forced they usually send hated or stubborn children. School is either for the social outcast or the poor families.³ The best pupils of the ten “village” schools of this immense region were sent there at the end of the elementary course. In 1937, 37 boys and girls in the North, it was still unthinkable - were united in a single class of the two years of middle school. The only French teacher was both the director and in charge of teaching in the middle course; southern Cameroonian monitors taught in elementary classes. The “certified” students for each promotion were less than five, while there were several hundred in the Southern region. For this reason, this certificate gave Northerners direct access to the Higher School, while their Southern fellows had to write an exam. This could be justified by the harsh selection worthy of all

³The schooling selection practice was the delegated responsibility of the traditional chiefs. Assigned by the colonial administrator, the traditional chief has to appointed ten pupils at the beginning of the school year. Usually he chooses twenty from the unwanted, social outcast or the poor, then deletes from the list those that their parents have “bought”, “enfranchised” or negotiated. This was where and how the first president of the Cameroon enrolled in 1931 (Gaillard, 1994: 26).

competitions the young elected representatives of the Garoua school went through and the high-quality education they received (Gaillard, 1994: 27).

The main objective of French education was to disseminate French culture and language all over the country. It was essential to proportion the number of educated to the needs of the administration in order to avoid a class of educated unemployed. Therefore, the number of graduates was not important in the territory as the statistic from 1927 to 1937 indicated: from the 680 overall enrolled, merely 118 students surpassed the third grade (Nghoh, 1996: 136). The language policy resembled the one during the German administration, with great emphasis on learning and using the French language - instead of German. The arrival of new colonial powers in French part of the country marked an operating scheme of assimilation that aimed at molding the autochthons into French people viewing French language and culture as unique to all Cameroonians as unifying and of international utilization (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 14; DeLancey, 1989: 30). This administrative stance gave little or no room for local languages to be instructed in schools. The language situation in this sector during the colonial period was generally hallmarked by persistent language conflicts between the French colonial authority and missionaries who persevere in the teaching of native languages.

The promotion of French through a range of measure relegated simultaneously vernaculars to the background without any attempt to be taught in schools. In 1917 schools with French as the language of instruction benefited correspondingly from an appertaining subvention. Ultimately schools in the Bamun region with the native language Bamun as the language of instruction were closed under the public decisions of the 1st October 1920 and 28th December 1920. Effective immediately 47 schools established by Sultan Njoya (Bamun language) were all shut down. Further schools administered by the American Presbyterian missionaries in which the tuition was held in Bulu, starting from 1922 underwent the similar decree and doom. In 1924 French became subsequently the official language of instruction in lieu thereof German following the prohibition Duala and Muganka languages formerly admitted to secondary school. This systematic linguistic persecution (Stumpf, 1979) was conducted masterfully and vigorously to make French the only and unique language as a medium of instruction. Nonetheless, local languages persisted both for evangelization and for conversational and colloquial situations.

2.2.2.3 British Colonial Education

As for the western part of the country, the British colonial authority firstly oversaw education. This perfunctory stance was due to the lack of enthusiasm for the educative

project and scarcity resources consecutive to World War I. Gradually schools were established or reopened (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 16-17). Colonial government practiced the Indirect Rule policy, that meant British administrators governed through traditional authorities or pre-existing local power structures. Although the education system in the British Cameroon was altogether a replica of the British system (DeLancey, 1989: 30), elementary education was more decentralized, left in the hands local administration, missions, and natives. Thus, throughout the colonial era in Southern Cameroons, the British colonial policy of education was conducted by the philosophy⁴ of customizing education to the mentality, aptitude and occupations of Cameroonians in conformity with the 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. Based on this central philosophy, British Education Policy for Nigeria prescribed education in southern Cameroon, and in fact in 1926 the Nigerian education department regulations were officially implemented in the western strip of the country (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 16). It stipulated that any reforms should relate education to the general advance of the entire native people through the renovation of agriculture, the enhancement of local industries, the betterment of health along with the schooling people in dealing with their own business (Ndille, 2015: 154).

The adaptation policy differentiated between rural and urban communities and established a double-tracked schooling system along these lines. Whereas for the identified urban schools the Three Rs Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, British and European History, Literature and Geography were prescribed as curriculum (Ndille, 2015: 154), the schools categorized as rural emphasized - besides the Three Rs, the art of life which the learners were expected to lead when they leave school, with a focus on agriculture. Schools were classified in the first instance as elementary school without differentiation in higher education. The primary level was in both cases the only level of education – like early missionary education. Preparation for the First School Living Certificate started in standard one. Reduced from nine years to eight years in 1932, the educational cycle in Cameroon was gradated as follows: two years infant class (I and II), four years elementary class (I, II, III and IV) and two years middle (I and II). With this concept, the colonial government intended on the one hand to build in the urban areas' educational platforms, from primary to secondary and when indicated

⁴ The philosophy originated from the Foreign Missions Society of Europe and North America (FMS) which had been engaged in the development of education in some parts of Southern USA and Africa for many decades before the beginning of the 20th century. In response to complaints against imported education systems in Africa, the FMS had sponsored a commission to Africa (The Phelps-Stokes Commission) to investigate the state of education and make recommendations. The commission had suggested in 1922 that 'education should be accustomed to the mentality, occupations and traditions of natives with aims of making them more efficient in their conditions of life (Aka, 2002:57).

higher education, in order to train a small group of African elite as civil servants for colonial exploitation. On the other hand, it was about limited education. "An education for life" covering a maximum programme of six years was designed for the majority of the rural pupils destined to work in and for the village economy of agriculture, business plantations and security service or local crafts (Ndille, 2015: 154). This implies that those who completed their junior elementary school level the sixth year would fall back on rural activities while the urban elite could seek further education in either bordering cities in Nigeria or Britain secondary, technical and teacher training and high schools (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 15, 18). The very restricted admission was based on entrance exams for la crème de la crème.

The compliance with the adaptation policy, drastically impaired the future of the entire territory labeled as rural zone. The impairment was so drastic that as the internal self-government began in 1954, merely eight of the 358 primary schools in the whole Southern Cameroons were offering a complete eight years primary school course (Ndille, 2015: 154). The British colonial authority de facto guaranteed that solely 0.1% of school children attained the final class, Standard VI. In other words, out of the total school going population of 37,307 pupils, only 1,753 were in Standard VI in the eight complete primary schools (West Cameroon, 1962). While the missionaries considered education as an instrument of proselytism training catechism, instructors, pastors and clerks, for the natives on the contrary, education was to serve the tradition and culture of the people. It was deemed to be a medium of preserving ethnic clans and villages. This approach was progressively discarded in the 1950s as it was apprehended as a noble motive to serve the hidden exploitative colonial plan of maintaining nationals to a permanently rural existence rather than satisfying the imperative of independency.

Running funds for the institutions were acquired from various sources: purchase of products from school farms, school payment, school manual labor, subvention from the local Administrations, government expenditures and Mission Funds. According to Ngho (1988) the educational scheme in the British zone was less firmly pursued than in the French part. This could be noticed from the launching of the first secondary school in British zone in 1939 at Sasse with the support of the Catholic missionaries as well as the local authority. Nonetheless the syllabi of this Secondary schools were the facsimile of the one of the Cambridge and West Africa (Tchombe, 2001: 8). At the end of the second World War, the United Nations supported the development of the education in this zone (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 17). A decade later (1949), the Cameroon Protestant (Swiss Basel Mission) inaugurated colleges restricted to boys - so to back date the educational gender-base or gender bias to the colonial days.

In compliance with the Indirect Rule policy, the utilization of local languages was nearly an indispensable given the administration via traditional authorities. Similar also to missionary education, the languages of instructions were local languages the first two years of schooling and introducing English progressively at the later stages (DeLancey, 1989: 30; Vernon-Jackson, 1964: 15). Parallel to English, pupils were instructed in Bafut, Duala, Kenyang and Mungaka languages in schools of this zone (Bitja'a Kody, 1999: 82). Contrary the French exclusionary management, the British colonial administration allowed local, private, and religious organizations to take on responsibility in their colonies (Bokamba, 1991: 183). A year after the implementation of British Education Policy for Nigeria, the Memorandum on the place of the vernacular in native education (1927) effectively authorized at the early stage of elementary education the tuition to be held in local languages, whereas English served in intermediate, secondary and technical schools.

In general, both colonial powers ensured that mission schools, which carried on playing a tremendous achievement in education pursued government educational policies and program (DeLancey, 1989: 31). In the meantime, both systems faced resistance from the Muslims (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 15; DeLancey, 1989: 30). In fact, colonial education policies happened to overlook the uniqueness and diversity of Cameroon in terms of ethnicity, culture, history, religion, geography, language etc. Traditional cultural knowledge, pedagogical practices and endemic psychology that influenced Cameroonian education were demoted and disregarded. Since Cameroon's formal educational system stemmed from a designedly elitist colonial project, education was considered as a political factor in support of colonial rule. Respective colonial languages were supported and persisted the monopoly of authoritative communication, whilst local languages prevailed in informal communication as far as religious services, trade activities, cultural festivities, ritual practices, domestic matters, etc. are concerned. Thus, language strategies enforce by the Germans, the French and the British compromised the ascension of any national language to officiate as the preponderant one at independence.

2.2.3 Post- Independence System of Education

On 1st October 1961, the previous British Southern Cameroons joined the French Cameroun to constitute the Federal Republic of Cameroon - while the British Northern Cameroon became part of Nigeria. Two separate and independent systems of education were running in the independent Federal Republic of Cameroon: The East Cameroon's system was built on the French model and the West Cameroon's on the British one. In those independence days, integration between the two Cameroons was

the focal point of the national policy. Consistent with the territorial configuration, each federated state preserved its initial structures, culture, and constitutions. Correspondingly, the education systems stayed in place according to their respective colonial systems and structure.

The unification of the two states in 1972 posed strenuous challenges concerning national coherence and the establishment of national policies adequate to depict the enforced apportionment. Thence, redesigning the constitution was required to address the demands and aspirations of both entities, made up of various ethnic groups with separated inherited colonial experiences for decades. Challenges of the coalition were also reflected in the inherited education systems, closely shaped along colonial lines. The French colonial Ministry of National Education instituted in 1957 was appointed to reconcile the divergence in the two systems of education. It was not successful though: not only that the systems remain very much separate in present-day Cameroon, but also persisted structurally and philosophically untouched - according to Amin (1994: 248-257).

However, before independence there were attempts to rid the formal educational system of its colonial stranglehold. Namely in the years of internal self-government in Southern Cameroons (1954 to 1961) the reversion to the literary curriculum was advocated for. This Southern Cameroons impetus brought about changes thereafter at the federal level, whereby the government with the former French Administered sphere of Cameroons, pursued the training of manpower to meet the gross shortages and replace expatriate civil servants (Njong & Kamguia, 2006:172). Cameroonians came to realize that the policy, the structure, and the content of the schools was conceived more to respond to the evangelization mission and satisfy colonial needs - instead of fulfilling the socio-economic, cultural and political goals of the locals. The consideration of these facts underpinned turmoil for a re-consideration of the national educational system and an acute necessity for the amendment of the policy on education, a revision that should be based on local purposes and means to ensure growth and development. In a bid to meet those needs, reforms in formal education - including the content, the pedagogy and the management of education - have been undertaken from 1962 to 1999. These various reforms were mostly centered on the emerging issue of harmonization of the two systems, the inherent institutionalization of bilingualism and the ruralisation.

2.2.3.1 Harmonization

In the wake of independence, the educational system of the federal government maintained the centralized French and the decentralized British administrative

procedures. The vast differences between the two systems were elaborated in the previous chapter. After the unification, reforms of the education system were attempted, and the primary stage was to blend both systems. By 1976 the attempts to combine the Anglophone and Francophone education systems had not worked out. They still are not merge today. Blending of the two systems appeared to be difficult, as long as each side resists change therefore maintaining its own traditions, colonial heritage, and culture. The various factors that have been hindering the process as well as the accomplishment of harmonization include the inadequacy of the rationale for harmonization, the misconception or the ambiguity of the term, the bicultural colonial heritage nature of Cameroon, and the weak or indecisive political will. All these factors infringe on policies implementation.

The misconception of the harmonization is substantial. If the harmonization is congruently referred to as coordination of the school programs of the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels (Fonkeng; 2007: 298), there are inconsistencies related to its outcome. On the one hand the two sub-systems could be blended generating a monolithic system with common structural organization, common methods of examinations and certification. The outcome of this procedure could entail a shared educational program resulting to common course outline and patterns of work. This option has been misconstrued as assimilation (Fonkeng; 2007: 299), which is understood as the process of adapting or integrating one system to the detriment of the other consequently rendering it extinct. The shortening of one-year primary education duration for the Anglophone sub-system preceding the 2006/2007-year to fit the prevailing Francophone sub-system is indicative of this. This initiative hinders the process of harmonization. On the other hand, an upshot could be coordinated school programs, whereby specific aspects of the educational program of the two sub-systems at the preliminary levels should have the matching contents. That means the contents, considered as standard could be preserved regardless of the language of instruction, may be taught according to the organization of each sub-system.

With congruent programs, both sub-systems keep their independence in regard to the medium of instruction (Tchombe, 1999: 7). The 1998 law on the orientation of education does clearly stipulate that the sub-systems are to be independent and autonomous; both coexist and each preserve its specificity. Despite the harmonized duration of education, the sub-systems, with different curricula, parallel in essence, present structural and organizational challenges. Whereas English is obligatory as discipline up to the end of secondary level in the Francophone subsystem, French is compulsory up to the GCE Ordinary Level in the Anglophone subsystem. it signifies

that the Francophone learners are mostly better at bilingualism than their Anglophone fellows. Besides, the two subsystems have distinct methods of evaluation, a justly disconcerting situation for professional. Contrary to the Francophone subsystem where all subjects are obligatory, students in the Anglophone subsystem specializes earlier by choosing some subjects they will take for the GCE Ordinary Level examination. Moreover, the Francophone secondary school clearly provides additional foreign languages such as Spanish, German or Arabic as subjects while in Anglophone secondary schools there are not such offers. This represents another obvious source of frustration for the Anglophone students. This situation requires specific responses in finding commonalities on which varying characteristics of each sub-system are laid out. Greater harmonization of the two systems of education could be more competitive, efficient and would address equity issues as well by providing equal access, same learning convenience and development that ensures national integration. In fact, as a solution to nation building, the new federal republic of Cameroon in 1961 institutionalized and propagated Bilingualism.

2.2.3.2 Bilingualism

The country's linguistic scenario after independence is characterized by a dense multilingualism. Whereas French officiated as the official language in the Francophone regions, English served the same purpose in the Anglophone ones. Subsequent to reunification, official bilingualism was chartered as a unifying instrument of the multilingual reality. Similarly, to most Sub-Saharan African countries, Cameroon chose the "neutral" colonial language as official language for the sake of averting not only language conflicts but also undue expenditures. On account of this, the local languages were willfully ignored or downgraded. Intellectual proponents of bilingualism such as Fonlon (1963) advocated English-French bilingualism in the first years of primary education, considering psychological and physiological new languages learning aptitude of children. To this effect two bilingual high schools were opened. Such initiatives aspired to familiarize students with the foreign languages without succeeding to muster French-speaking and English-speaking students in the classroom.

With unification bilingualism was given the highest priority in compliance with the 1972 constitution. The Ministry for National Education henceforth was in charge of education later implemented the somewhat imperative bilingualism policy throughout the country. In schools, students of both sub-systems were appealed to learn and to speak English and French alike. Bilingualism led to a new kind of curriculum organization and its preservation turned out to be vital for the natural survival, unity and integration of the country as enshrined in the section 11, Law No. 98/004, 1998. However, the

government's volition was in its weakest form and the implementation was hardly accompanied by the requisite effort. The purposely bilingual English-French schools that functioned as two parallel institutions on the same campus could not bring about the expected outcomes. It is argued whether the implementation strategies of bilingualism are fruitful due to the sub-system divide related to school's management and the dominance of Francophone as larger group. For instance, English translations of Ministerial texts or school management guidelines are barely available.

The official bilingualism kindled issues pertaining to the adoption of the local languages – mostly mother tongue - as a language of instruction on the one side. On the other side bilingualism raised the transmission of cultural values and ethics, linguistic potentials that both foreign languages of instruction peremptorily do not have. The more than 270 local or national languages, mother tongues of most students were strictly forbidden and restricted to informal domains. Local language in formal education as it was the case over the colonial period, vanished completely after independence. In reaction to this inconsiderateness from the 1970s on, scholars, language experts and different organs (such as PROPELCA, SIL-Cameroon, NACALCO or CABTAL)⁵ endeavor continuously to promote national languages or mother tongue education. This various work set in motion the standardization of the writing system of some local languages in 1976, the promotion of national languages based on the revised constitution of 18 January 1996 and finally the parliament bill on the general orientation of education in Cameroon emphasizing the teaching of national languages in 1998. Despite the evolution and the deployment of the vernaculars, official usage is still reserved exclusively for erstwhile French and English. The local languages remain limited to the informal contexts and circumstances. The linguistic scenario in Cameroon is therefore marked by the uncut colonial bonds; and socio-politically intertwined language-based issues (Adegbija, 2000: 80). These peculiar linguistic as well as cultural heterogeneity and the swift development of the educational system seem to trample on the quality of the complete education (Tchombe, 1999). This applies to the divide between urban and rural education.

2.2.3.3 Ruralisation

After independence Cameroonian government opted for the reform policy of ruralisation. By 1965 the government began to broaden the ruralisation of primary

⁵ PROPELCA: Operational Research Program for Language Teaching in Cameroon; SIL-Cameroon: Summer Institute of Linguistics; Cameroon NACALCO: National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees; CABTAL: Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy.

education due to the expansion of the primary population and graduates in the country – from 460,000 to about 670,000 within five years (Njong and Kamguia, 2006:183). This dynamic was so drastic that there were more graduates than the available white-collar employments with an upshot of over 90,000 unemployed primary school leavers in the towns (Ndille, 2015: 154). Hence the government adopted the rurally oriented primary education creating the Institute of Rural Applied Pedagogy (IPAR) embodied in two projects (IPAR-Yaoundé 1967 and IPAR-Buea 1974). It was meant to study the best ways to implement this education, to design a curriculum for the rural youth.⁶ The ruralisation implied the introduction of curriculum materials and practical work related to life in the rural areas into the primary school programme. It aimed to endow the primary school leavers with skills in agriculture, animal rearing, arts and craft, which would give them the opportunity of taking up farming and other agricultural activities in their villages. It was considered as a strategy to curb the gravitation towards the cities.

The adoption of this policy prematurely encountered both hostility and skepticism that bound it to fail. Early Cameroonian elites, white collars workers or those estranged from the land before independence - such as civil servants, businessmen and teachers - vehemently dissented rurally oriented education as backward. Adamant opponents of the ruralisation were also the rural population who saw in the innovation an infringement of equal opportunity in education - in the sense of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 in the United States. This reform would likely doom rural children to a life of misery and abject poverty the school is meant to alleviate (Ndille, 2015: 154). People with bookish background or academic secondary and higher education seem to have a bright future ahead of them. The prospect or predestination of a brilliant future makes formal education appealing to most Cameroonians especially in view of the career ladder it bestows including the inherent financial standing and social position. The studies of Akoulouze (1984) and the one of the National Centre of Education (MINEDUC, 1984) ascertained the irrelevance of this policy as well. In other words, the role assigned to the school in rural areas was not relevant at that time.

The opposition and resistance to the reform expressed by the Cameroonian elites, the teachers' reservation and the reticence of the parents - including their children for whom the program was initiated, illustrated its vainness. Besides, it was an indication of the fact that it was not a locally generated solution to a local problem. At first sight,

⁶ The IPAR (Institut de Pedagogie Appliquée a Vocation Rurale) projects consisted of four sections intended to work out research strategies for the ruralisation of their curriculum contents. These sections included environmental studies respectively the agricultural section; language section; mathematics and village technology or intermediate technology.

the ruralisation was considered as a return to the colonial philosophy of Southern Cameroons (Ndille, 2015: 156). The inconsideration of needs assessments and the non-utilization of research underpinned by a local experts' opinion survey in initiating the reform cast doubt on its origins and supposedly foreign involvement. The early provision of human and financial resources confirmed the assumption of foreign neo-colonial presence (Nkrumah, 1965: ix-x).⁷ Indeed, after the adoption of the ruralisation policy (1967), the Cameroonian government could imminently find support through a number of bilateral agreements with funding agencies, notably UNDP, UNESCO, the German Agency for Technical Corporation (GTZ) and the British Council (Ndille, 2015: 157-158). Influenced and impressed by the neo-colonial omnipresence and its inherent support, biased by their own colonial education, Cameroonian policy makers thus adopted and remained consistent with their initial position on ruralisation reform proposals - without scrutinizing the rationality of ruralisation of education as a policy option for Cameroon in the 1960s. Failing to consider the view of various stakeholders, IPAR experimental phase started running behind schedule. Consequently, the implementation of the ruralisation previewed for 1976 has never taken place. IPAR was reduced to extracurricular activities (such as concepts, trainings and researches), whereas the schools continued to use the 1963 school syllabuses which were revised in 1968. Those activities progressively languished due to internal management troubles, followed by financial difficulties with the gradual retreat of foreign partners (IPAR, 1983:15). The ruralisation of education sank definitively into oblivion three decades later as the new education law was adopted in 1998. This law, barely makes reference to it in terms of tuning the educational system towards a rural existence. Although it mentions aspects of environmental education, arts and craft and national culture, their objectives are congruent with the primary intentions of the ruralisation policy (Republic of Cameroon, 1998).

2.2.3.4 The 1998 Law of Educational Orientation

Caught in a crossfire of colonial influences, the independent government was at odds with reform efforts to come up with the 1998 education law in force. Indeed, with various undermining factors - such as sub-systems that were not receiving proportionate attention, poor legislation dealing with education, excessive

⁷ Neocolonialism affects a state that is theoretically autonomous and has all the conventional symbols of international autonomy. Actually, its economic system and thus its political policy are directed from outside—not now through the presence of troops, but through economic and monetary means, as control over government policy can be guaranteed through payment of governmental costs and the placement of civil servants in positions to influence decision (Nkrumah, 1965: ix-x).

centralization, shortage of qualified teachers - the education offered was neither appropriate to the employment needs of the population nor to the challenges of the century. And worse still, there was no follow-up of policies. In 1995, these eroding circumstances instigated the convening of an education general assembly (1995) in the form of a forum to work out a new education policy blueprint. Held in Yaoundé from 22 to 27th May 1995, the forum's principal objective was to elaborate a new education policy that could satisfy political, economic and social exigencies for a constantly changing world. A working document was drafted and suggested to the deliberation at the forum. The document underlined the decentralization of the powers, the development of a strong hierarchy and a thoughtful bureaucracy, the harmonization of duration of the primary and secondary levels in the two sub-systems, defining the concept of bilingual school and introducing democracy, tolerance and peace in the school program (MINEDUC, 1994: 9-26). Subsequently, the Ministry of Education made recommendations for the reforms of nursery, primary, secondary and teacher education (National Education Forum Cameroon, 1995). The objectives were attained. The National Assembly approved the submitted report of the forum and passed it into law in 1998.

The forum represents a high point of the Cameroon education policy as it laid down a deliberate system of rules and principles that guide decisions and achievements in the field of formal education. It harmonized the primary cycle to six years in French and English sub-systems, promoted national integration, instituted bilingualism at all levels and regulated the running of nursery, primary, secondary and teacher education (Republic of Cameroon, 1998). The implementation of various resolutions took place gradually: the control, management, training of teachers, and provision of didactic materials according to the linguistic and cultural learning of the people. Some resolutions were hardly realized or require constant adjustments. This is the case of the understaffed rural schools in spite the talk on deployment of teachers or the overcrowded urban schools. Although teachers' and students' rights and obligations are well defined in the law, the new decreed statute of teachers (2000) designed to motivate them is still to be undertaken. Corporal punishment, prohibited in schools, still appears to be practiced by some teachers. The law also includes pedagogical novelties such as the automatic promotion of students within each cycle to cut down on the repetition rate that stood at 40% in 2002 (MINEDUC 2002).

Poor implementation of educational reforms remains the major challenge facing education in Cameroon. Most often, educational reforms are passed in theory regardless of adequate conditions for their implementation. Just like colonial education

policies, educational amendments appear to discount the cultural, social, linguistic, religious, geographical and historical Cameroon's heterogeneity – making the country unique not comparable in kind. Policy makers in this domain failed to consider the intricate realities of the country. Education reform in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and diverse nation like Cameroon should take into account the religious, politico-economic, metaphysical, social and cultural requirements in order to ensure human resource development.

In conclusion, the historical review showed that formal education has been patterned on its colonial experiences. The organization, planning and running of the formal education which is a combination of British and French exemplars substantiate this standpoint. In an endeavor to adapt it to the Cameroonian context, the official instructions formerly enacted to administer educational theory and practice have been subjected to administrative and pedagogical adjustments (Tchombe, 1999). The law No. 98/004 of 14th April 1998 that instituted guidelines for education does not only address curriculum issues, and clarifies ruralisation policy, but also sheds light on the harmonization of the sub-systems, reinforces the promotion of the official bilingualism, introduces the teaching of national languages. These reforms also aspire to consider and include social, political and technological transformations as a function of historical development. By adapting social services and related institutions they give people the opportunity to meet with the demands of fast-changing times. However, two educational systems prevail in Cameroon with distinct structure, program and educative operational procedures as inherited (Tchombe, 2001: 15). They remain very much separated from each other in such a way that in the Francophone part the French pattern of education prevails, whereas in the Anglophone one the English one is prevalent. The colonial history and the societal configuration make Cameroonian education exclusive in Africa. The binary educational constellation generates structural constraints making the conception or elaboration of an appropriate education convoluted, thence the convenience to closely analyze the current formal educational system.

2.3 The Current Critical Perspective of the Formal Education System

The critical perspective of the present formal education touches the analysis of national policy, the organizational structure underpinning it, its objective, its pedagogy and its language of instruction.

2.3.1 The National Policy on Education and Organizational Structure

In order to fulfill its fundamental function of nurturing the individual, education requires a system based on a particular philosophy. The philosophy of education should be attuned to the type of person that a particular society would like to have – a person who is well appointed to bear the challenges that beset such a society (Fonlon, 1965 :14). For education and its inherent philosophy to substantiate its presence and objective, it is to be adjusted to the social model. That means a meaningful system of education is underpinned by a philosophy, which is often determined by social ideology. An educational system is therefore an instrument or a set of mechanism to transmit the chosen societal ideology from generation to the other. This points out the Platonic paradigm of the inextricable link between education and politics: Education is intricately bound to politics, and politics is inexorably connected to education.⁸ The primary objective of the 1998 Law of Educational Orientation was to establish a new education policy to meet the challenges of the twenty first century. How different is this current government policy from the previous ones – the colonial and the post-colonial ones? What kind of social ideology steers this law? What could be the related national education philosophy underlying it? It is necessary to address these questions in view of the nature and the relationship among the three topics involved in the nation’s educational system, namely social ideology, educational philosophy and educational policy.

2.3.1.1 The National Policy on Education

2.3.1.1.1 National Ideology of the Policy on Education

In general, the ideology articulated by a nation is the foundation of the type of educational philosophy and the corollary educational system that emerges on the board. As a social activity, education is set up on a clear social theory with well-established tenets that transfers a social model from one generation to the other. It is expected to operate as a sort of mirror, projecting the image of the society into the future. One cannot concretely spell out the Cameroonian social ideology. Unlike other nations of the world, a precise and articulated ideology pertaining to Cameroon could not be found. All there is as of today, is the 1998 Law of Educational Orientation, which is just a volume of rules to achieve parts of national objectives through education. Though determining the mission and the inherent objectives of education, this law does

⁸ Linking politics and education Plato contends that politics starts with education, that calls for the betterment of the society through citizens « Avec l’éducation commence la politique, celle-là qui a vocation de modifier la société en modifiant les citoyens » (Droz, 1992 :30).

not squarely address the type of society Cameroonians are setting themselves to build from the wide range of available ideologies: secularism, capitalism, socialism, democracy, despotism, elitism, and so on. However, it could be derived from the general dispositions of the educational blueprint, that Cameroon aspires to build a democratic, egalitarian and secular model of society – like the section 10 of Law for example states that the “public education shall be secular”. In view of the current situation and the history, there is a discrepancy between profession of egalitarianism and practical commitments.

Many scholars like Atangana (1996) or Martin (1978) contended that the obvious objective of altering mindset of inherited colonial educational systems blinded other objectives: training Cameroonian to participate in the market economy and for compliance with the authorities of the state machinery. Indeed, right from colonial times until this very day, the implicit ideology established and ingrained in Cameroon is contradictory to the theoretical democratic and egalitarian social system. The colonial experiences have turned out to be elitist, non-egalitarian and capitalist living in many ways up to English and French colonial structures. This socioeconomic system condones the acquisition - including fraudulent acquisition - of disproportionate parts the nation’s assets by a privileged few to the detriment of the majority that reels in abject poverty and downright misery. The nation’s development has been proceeding along the same path pillowed by the same ideology. Free trade, monopoly capital and private property, civilization and development are the masks this socio-economic system has been wearing throughout Cameroonian history to disguise its real ideological face, its proper denomination: capitalism. The educational system seemed to be tailored appropriately to uphold and reinforce this ideology. The overwhelming majority of the nation’s children are thereby condemned to illiteracy thus a life of poverty through the inaccessibility of primary education. Right until today, children particularly in the rural areas are doomed to this grim destiny – no matter the democratic and egalitarian ideology implied in the 1998 law. What the Cameroonian educational policy is supposed to be departs from what it actually is. And the presently imbibed ideology diverges from the aspired ideology.

Given the present capitalist situation, the secular, democratic and egalitarian model of development is presumably an ideological alternative for the nation. It is about closing the gap between the current state and the aspired state. It is about finding effective planning and implementation strategies to herald a national ideology in Cameroon: a national ideology that could accommodate decentralized community-based and culture-related ideologies. A cultural mixture of local theories of education derived from

nationally common values and philosophical precepts on education are of overriding importance for an appropriate planification and orientation of the education. What could be the corresponding philosophy of education and the one underpinning the present policy on education?

2.3.1.1.2 Philosophy of the National Policy on Education

At first sight, it could be argued that Cameroon's educational system operates without a philosophy of education, because nowhere in official documents is it spelled out. The 1998 Law on the orientation of education that officiates as Cameroonian educational policy makes no mention in this regard. The absence of a clearly written statement on the educational philosophy has raised contentions on the existence of such a philosophy. However, the current system of education would not have come about without a specific philosophy substantiating it - though this philosophy is not neatly written-out. Considering the common correlation that is supposed to be between an educational philosophy and educational policy of a nation there is a possibility to find out the type of philosophy underpinning the policy on education.

If educational philosophy is defined as a thought-paradigm that provides foundations upon which educational policy and practice are constructed, the philosophical content of the Cameroonian policy could serve to determine the educational philosophy adopted for the system. Cognizant of the historical background, values and future aspirations of Cameroon, the philosophical content links the Cameroonian educational objectives to its educational policies, pedagogical theories and practices, including curriculum design. Indeed, examining parameters contained in document of the Law No 98/004 (1998)⁹, it could be noticed that there is no a clear-cut philosophy of education. The analysis of the document reveals an eclectic philosophical approach rather than an intelligible one, which is supposed to be strictly committed to a specific philosophical outlook.

Upon foreign fundament, the Cameroonian philosophy of education have been indeed influenced and informed by various philosophies. The resulted philosophy of education could be described as a hybrid of Western (particularly British and French) thinking about reality, knowledge and values. The policy is therefore eclectic in so far as it picks and chooses diversely from disparate schools of thought, for instance idealism, realism, existentialism or pragmatism. Gauged by the emphasis on the values and

⁹ The national goals of Cameroon; the various educational objectives; the policy makers' submissions and assumptions; the policy's basis; the policy's direction; the values expected for inculcation as stated in the policy; the purpose of education at all levels of the education system; and the various measures for policy implementation are all included in the document of law No 98/004 (1998).

knowledge that have survived through time, it is essentialism or perennialism. The reformed learner-centered approach reveals that it is more about progressivism, social reconstructionism or existentialism. Without any allegiance to a sole philosophy, it cannot be asserted that Cameroon has a philosophy of education. The combination of three or more philosophies might not be systematic and decisive. It could rather produce contradictions, delusions and resentment for both teachers and students, which might easily cause confusion, inconsistencies and incoherencies. The mismatches presently experienced in the Cameroonian educational system could be attributed to this approach based on eclecticism, without a clear-cut philosophy.

Diversely, having a policy patterned on only one philosophy as the foundation of Cameroonian education appears impractical, incomplete, if not illusive. In fact, it is difficult even unworkable to pinpoint any standard system of education in Cameroon that is in accordance with just one philosophical school. Underlying the whole educational system on just a single type of philosophy, would ostracize or undermine the several positions, perceptions and contributions parallel to the chosen school of thought – including local or African philosophies. Such an initiative besides being exclusive, would be anti-democratic thus against the above-described social ideology. In this sense, the Cameroonian system of education aspires purportedly to be eclectic combining the doctrines of two or more schools of thought in respect to complementarity; otherwise, it portends the possibility of inducing inconsistencies and incoherencies. The option of eclecticism needs to be comprehensive enough to accommodate compatibilities – peculiarly local philosophies. Certainly, the Cameroonian educational policy implicitly illustrates this philosophy of education, its implementation is however arguable. The critique presupposes that the many shortcomings such as injustice, favoritism, discrimination, low standards and inaccessibility afflicting educational system are not only precipitated by an unclearly defined eclectic philosophy of education, which has not much room for complements, but also stems from the ineffective implementation of the educational reforms.

In light of Cameroon's cultural diversity and colonial heritage, it would befit the country to found its educational system on a clearly defined eclectic philosophy which shares in a global educational philosophy. This presupposes resorting to the educational ideas from Western cultural backgrounds without being too engrossed and ignoring complementary local cultural, social, moral, political norms and pedagogical conceptions of education. The admittance of cultural or traditional education is likely to offer useful insights for enhancing our own educational practices. Devoid of the local knowledge and skills, philosophy of education could be tantamount to "intellectual

gymnastics”, in that “to be authentic, its distinctive concerns must arise out of issues thrown up by firsthand experience of life itself” (Mason, 1985: 105). In other words, the quest for and the design of a suitable Cameroonian philosophy of education should emerge within the realms of traditions, local, African and global trends in so far as all cultures have contributed and could contribute to scientific knowledge of universal value (UNESCO, 1999). In case of a perfect merge of the manifold contributions into what could make up the Cameroonian educational philosophy, fostering harmonious uniformity, integrity and reconcilability, the assumed philosophy could be a precious tool for the attainment of Cameroon’s social ideology.

2.3.1.1.3 Major Articulations of the National Policy on Education

Under the directive of the Addis-Ababa conference (1961) instituting a policy for universal primary education, the Cameroonian government opted for the “Universalization of the Primary Education”. The constitution emphasizes compulsory “primary Education” accordingly. Since then, the government strove to establish throughout the country many educational institutions addressing equity, accessibility, and affordability issues. The head of State, declaring “obligatory and free” primary education redundantly reiterated this very policy in 2000 – on the eve of the celebrations to commemorate the Youth Day on 11th of February. Moreover the “Education for All” policy intended also to satisfy the second Millennium Development Goal of securing universal primary education till 2015. At this juncture, Cameroonian reforms on education are worked out to grant an equitable learning environment, to ensure equity of access to all children regardless of competences or background and to pay particular attention to underprivileged areas and children with specific needs, singular distinctions and challenges. Thereby the government recognizes that inequality in education is generated by structural, socioeconomic, and personal differences among children.

A major policy to assure equity, accessibility and affordability in educational resources is the free primary education in government schools - knowing that government has also been offering subsidies to private primary education, which takes care of 23% of total enrollment. The implementation of this was visible essentially in terms of waiving fees that were to be paid for schooling. For that matter government has allocated teaching aids to teachers through ensuring a regular supply of teaching kits or minimum package. The “minimum package” was designed to provide the primary education free of charge. Notwithstanding the governmental efforts, the policy has not been successful in completely eradicating spending. In fact, the Parent Teachers Associations (PTA) in some schools have made decisions to take a specific amount

per student to assist government's measures in offering each of those schools basic supplies like teachers and adequate infrastructure. This situation concerned especially the rural areas, where these resources were not only insufficient but also did not reach their destination.

Decentralization is another proposed policy that is supposed to work towards providing the right level of strength to the government's initiatives to secure universal free education. Through the minimization of regional disparities in accessibility, the decentralization law recognizes equitability and equal chances. Put in place in 2004, the decentralization of education consists of handing over the administration to regional, divisional, and sub-divisional levels. The Ministry of Basic Education has to delegate powers and resulting resources to Councils to employ and control back-up staff for primary and nursery schools; develop, train, tender and manage schools and pre-school establishments; and take part in the acquisition of school material and infrastructure. The devolvement of power fosters to a certain extent could alleviate much the heavy at the central administration and fasten the decision-making and operational process at the district level.

In order to guarantee the efficiency and impartiality of the distribution of power and related resources, the Ministry of Basic Education works in synergy with the Minister of State in charge of Decentralization. The collaboration intends not only to ensure that councils offer textbooks and teaching aids on time but also to prevent arbitrary fee charges. Despite those policies, budget shortfalls mostly compel school management to institute extra funds to compensate abolished registration fees for basic education. The government has not made appreciable strides in this domain. As reported by Transparency International's Africa Education Watch, the implementation of compulsory and free basic education policy is unfortunately compromised by rampant corruptive practices. In fact, the report notified that 44% of parents are giving money as fictional enrollment fees, as school insurance charges or as levy for Parent Teachers Associations (PTA) (Transparency International, 2010: 21). In other words, PTA fees astutely supplanted the enrollment fees. Besides the disguised enrollment fees, parents also disburse supplementary payment for uniform, schoolbooks, other school supplies, private lessons, and registration fee for examinations. All those various payments make the Cameroonian free primary education policy arguable. Today quality education remains inaccessible to low-income Cameroonians in such a way that solely the opulent is disposed to it. The public primary education that is allegedly devoid of school fees, is also devoid of knowledge. Schooling become an instrument of

the social process that makes the indigent and middle-class marginal sentencing them to debased public schools of rural areas or suburbs.

Official bilingualism constitutes the essential part of the country language policy as it is clearly stipulated in the revised Constitution of 18 January 1996.¹⁰ While the State shall guarantee the pursuit of the policy of French and English as official languages on equal term in every part of the country, it shall endeavor to preserve and promote local languages. This underpins the fact that both the official and local languages are meaningful Cameroonian cultural heritage. An addition related advancement is the parliament bill - subsequently promulgated the very year into law N° 98/004 of 14 April 1998 by the president on the general orientation of education - which emphasizes the instruction of national languages in particular. The Ministry of National Education outlined the factual procedure for the enforcement of this law, the stage was set for eventual action. Despite these successive developments pertaining to language policies since independence, a well-defined language policy in terms of implementation is missing. Constitutionally the two officials are on equal footing, French however basically dominates English in administrative affairs, educational matters and media issues. The rise of the realm of French is throughout Cameroon and its ascendancy as expressed in language, culture and politics is noticeable in all spheres (Wolf, 1997: 421). Besides, the introduction of local languages both as medium of instruction and subject at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in all administrative affairs throughout the nation is till date held in abeyance. More than two decades the Ministry of Culture¹¹, through its "Service de langues nationales" is still working on practical promotion in cooperation with other institutions dealing with national languages.

2.3.1.2 Organization of the Formal Education System

Prior to the reforms from 1960 to 2000, the Education Law of April 1910 when addressing language's matters as language of instruction, the programme for primary schools, and mandatory elementary education, also set up the basis for subventions to mission schools by the government (Ngoh, 1988). Until today both public and private sectors provide formal education in Cameroon. However, the private schools consisting of secular private, Catholic, Protestant and Islamic private receive government support

¹⁰ Article 1, paragraph 3 "The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavor to protect and promote national languages." The paragraph 2 of the same article also ensures the preservation of minorities and indigenous peoples' rights, as well as the ratification of various human rights treaties. Cameroon is sometimes described as a decentralized country that values traditional traditions.

¹¹ In virtue of the fourth decree No. 98/003 stipulates that the Ministry of Culture is in charge of the registration of organizations dealing with national languages and is also in charge of "l'étude des stratégies de promotion des langues nationales en milieux scolaires et universitaire, et à travers les médias" (Article 25).

in the form of subsidies. Diverse ministries are in charge of and involve in the management of the formal education in Cameroon: The Ministry of Basic Education, the Ministry of Secondary Education, the Ministry of employment and vocational training, the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation and the Ministry of Sports, Physical Education and Ministry of Youth Affairs. The first four are tutelage ministries that directly manage educational affairs in terms of educating, training, and research. The Ministries of Basic and Secondary education have decentralized services at the regional, divisional, and even district levels. This applied also to public, lay private and denominational institutions. The first ministries mirror indeed the components of the formal education system - primary, secondary, and tertiary educations at different stages of development (Cameroon Today, 2016).

2.3.1.2.1 Anglophone and Francophone Sub-systems

Today, Cameroon operates under two major distinctive education sub-systems, both public and private: the Anglophone sub-system, a model derived from the British system run on the British colonial territory (roughly 20%) made up of the South West and North-West Regions, and additionally some schools in Douala and Yaoundé to cater for the Anglophones in the two capital-cities. The other eight regions practice the Francophone sub-system, the model inherited from the French traditional system. With slight adjustments to the respective colonial structure and version, the two sub-systems are still being practiced today and remain independent. Like other institutions in the country, the schools claim to be bilingual but they really operate independently. This non-interactive education system sets Anglophone and Francophone students simply side by side learning little to nothing from each other - though they may be found on the same campus. Efforts have been made to promote truly bilingual schools for instance in a few selected government schools offering in addition to an Anglophone section, a francophone section and a third bilingual option on their campuses. One such school is the eminently renowned Government Bilingual Grammar School in Molyko Buea.

Both sub-systems comprise various levels of education that more or less correspond to the Ministries in charge: preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary educations common to the two sub-systems. The academic year that goes from September to June are shared to both sub-systems.

2.3.1.2.1.1 The Primary Education

The Ministry of the Basic Education is in charge of state policies and programs for primary education. This phase of education encompasses two years preschool and six years primary school in both sub-systems. The optional nursery school goes on two years in public and three in private schools. The difference relates to the age of

admission, which corresponds to four years old in the public schools yet just three years old in the private ones.

The primary school on the contrary is obligatory through to age 12-14 or when six years of this cycle are completed. The current six-years-cycle is suggestive of the cutback of one year for the Anglophone sub-system in 2006. This cycle corresponds to six sequences that are clustered into three cycles: Class 1 and 2 forms cycle I; Class 3 and 4 form cycle II and Class 5 and 6 form cycle III. The six sequences are correlated with specific competences to be acquired before moving on to the next cycle. But progression is from one class to another is automatic regardless of the learner's average score under the terms of automatic promotion.¹² The official age of admission to the primary education is six years of age and serves as the only requirement for enrolling. It does not matter whether the child has attended preschool although performance in primary school is usually better when the child has attended preschool. With this in mind great emphasis has been placed on infant education in the achievement of the objectives of Universal Primary Education (UPE).

At the end of Class 6 (formerly Class 7 in the Anglophone system), the pupils take the exam for the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) in the Anglophone sub-system and Certificate de fin d' Études Primaires (CEP) in the Francophone one. Both certify pupils as having completed the primary education. Pupils are supposed to present themselves for the Government Common Entrance Exams that gives access to secondary school.

2.3.1.2.1.2 The Secondary Education

The Ministry of Secondary Education oversees determining state policies, setting programs and syllabi as well as assessing secondary education in Cameroon. This stage of education that requires tuition fees includes lower secondary (or middle school) and upper secondary (or high school). In addition to these general schools, there are a few technical or vocational training schools such as the polytechnic schools. The latter are considered as post primary and are under the responsibility of the ministry of employment and vocational training, which retrieves some of the learners who leave primary education for training. It opens them the access to technical secondary schools or to work opportunity. This type of education is also designed to reach out to jobless young people with little prospect of any formal job.

¹² Automatic, administrative or collective promotion - to be detailed in the next chapter - is the policy-based progress of learner's independent of their school performance from a grade or class to a higher one but not from cycle to another.

Two independent seven-years secondary schooling systems run according to whether the French or British model applies. Their structural organizations differ. In the francophone system two cycles are involved: the four years secondary school called College d'enseignement général secondaire (premier cycle) ends with the Brevet d'etudes du Premier cycle (BEPC) exam. The BEPC certificate gives admission to the high school (second cycle called Lycée) that lasts three years. At the second form students sit for "Probatoire", then in the third form "Terminale" for the Brevet de Technicien or Baccalauréat examination, which admits students to university education.

In the Anglophone system, there is also a lower secondary with a five-year school program ending with the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary Level and the two-year upper secondary, whose graduate sit for the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Advanced Level, main entrance qualification into higher education. To sum up: the Anglophone pre-university system is structured on 6-5-2 amounting to 13 years of schooling while the Francophone system with same total of years, is structured on 6-4-3.

Structural aspects such as the duration of the courses and distinct examination boards infringe the compatible adjustment of the two sub-systems. Although the Ministry of National Education centrally organizes the term of course and shared entrance examinations, the GCE Board is responsible for the Anglophone examinations, whereas the Baccalaureate office for the Francophone ones. The barometer of decision made by these two parallel committees, including the subsequent discrepancies in the examination and certification scheme are the subject of relentless criticism. In the English sub-system, the learners follow one-subject-certificate-system, with multifarious set of specialization (Arts, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and Science, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,) as far as the second cycle is concerned. Candidate can only sit for a maximum of five subjects in the final year examination. With regards to sciences, this account for a thorough study supported with practical courses. The francophone certification system is rather holistic with an array of subjects clustered in various Baccalaureates; according to the focus area there are Baccalaureates A and B and Baccalaureates C and D.

2.3.1.2.1.3 The Tertiary Education

The central government, represented by the pro-chancellors and rectors designated by presidential decree administers strictly the tertiary education that includes higher education and teacher's training education. The minister of higher education is the chancellor of eight state-run universities in Buea, Bamenda, Douala, Dschang, Maroua

and Ngaoundéré and Yaoundé I & II. In addition to the governmental universities there are private universities, International University Colleges, and various vocational higher education institutions. The higher education is based on the BMD (Bachelor-Master-Doctorate) scheme also known as LMD system (License-Master-Doctorate) that consists in a study framework based on three cycles of qualification leading to a three years Bachelor's degree or Licence, a two years Master's degree or Maîtrise and a three years Doctoral degree.

2.3.1.2.2 Islamic Arabic Sub-system

Some researchers like Tchombe consider a third sub-system, the Islamic one, which is not yet quite official. Islamic schooling could be regarded as formal in terms of school framework, language of instruction and structure education. This is however different from the Franco-Arabic or Anglo-Arabic schools existing mostly in Northern Cameroon that teach French or English together with Arabic following the official program of the national education. The schools that are considered as operating under the third sub-system, the Islamic-Arabic, are called "Mahad" (Hamadou, 2006).

2.3.1.2.2.1 The Onset of the Islamic Arabic System of Education

They officiate as the modernized version of the traditional Madrassa¹³, koranic schools established in northern Cameroon by the Fulbé (also known as Fulani or Peul) following their holy war at the outset of nineteenth century. They are therefore closely modeled along the lines of Islamic Arabic heritage. This type of education competed a century later with the first colonial Western one in the region, the public school (Tourneux & Iyebi-Mandjek cited in Moore, 2006: 112). From the beginning of colonial rule and along the way, Islam believers thwarted the introduction of colonial education in their regions with the apprehension that Christianity or a heathen creed would be imparted (Rudin, 1938: 355-356). Therefore, Islamic schooling was barely disrupted. Opposition to these schools by the colonial administration is discussed in terms of a colonial policy that denied support for modernizing traditional Islamic schools or Koranic education.

The Islamic schools are mostly found within Islamic communities in which the Fulbé people have been politically most influential. The principal objective of these schools, besides imparting knowledge, has been the indoctrination of the Islamic values: belief in a higher power, deference to authority as well as hierarchy, the preeminence of the spiritual above the temporal (Tourneux & Iyebi-Mandjek, 1994: 99). With this

¹³ Madrasa: a transliteration of the Arabic word that refers to a specific type of Islamic school or college.

objective, koranic school which is characterized by its intrinsic ancient and specific tradition of linguistic and pedagogical practice is opposed to the above-described public school. Muslim families were resentful to entrust their children to the new school, the school of the whites or the non-Muslim school, which impaired the primary objective of koranic school, namely instilling respect for the word of God, Islamic knowledge, traditions and values. It is for this main reason that in the predominantly Muslim areas of the country, schooling rates and yields are strikingly lower than the other areas (Moore, 2006: 114). Refusing secular education was not only a conspicuous opposition to the oppressive colonial administration but also was an act of good Islamic faith. Subject to compulsory primary education already operative during colonial times, families were forced to hand over their children to the public secular schools. To this end the post-colonial government immediately launched a compulsory school enrollment campaign, a war on children ready for school. As a result, only unwanted children of elite groups or children from underprivileged families were enrolled as punishment - against their own will. Children and relatives of traditional chiefs for example were protected from what was considered a calamity at the time, whereas girls were exempted from the scourge of the government. At the same time, non-Islamic groups had a head start in secular education: they were keen on attending missionary school and in this way getting rid of their inferior status as “unbelievers” and thus uneducated people (Van Santen, 2013: 156). Thanks to the school enrollment imposed by both colonial and post-colonial administrations, the northern (Fulbé or Muslim predominantly) attendance rose by the second half of the eighties.

2.3.1.2.2 Islamic Arabic Education in Competition with the Secular Education

In the northern part of the country, two concurrent education systems have existed. Both were considered problematic. A large number of scholars argue that Koranic scholarship encroaches upon children’s social, cognitive, and linguistic development by instructing them an uncritical submissive learning style and a bigoted and irrational *weltanschauung* (Tourneux and Iyebi-Mandjek, 1994 cited in Moore, 2006: 114). The other way around, Islam believers consider that secular scholarship perverts their offspring’s social, moral, and spiritual growth. By attending secular school, children have no chance to study the Koran and learn from their parents about duties and responsibilities. Generally, what is taught in schools - considered as “Nasaaraaji” literally “things of the whites” - are of any use to children, and most teachings are at odds with Islamic and Fulbe cultural norms (Moore, 2006: 114). Muslim parents were confronted with the dilemma of sending their children to the western schools run by the government and viewed as a passport for white-collar employments or to the private

Islamic traditional school which was often self-organized and self-sustained.¹⁴ Three options to deal with the dilemma of formal and Islamic schooling were found. The compensatory one consists in sending their children to the traditional Islamic schools on the weekends and intensify the frequentation twice a day on holidays. The concurrent option is the daily attendance of both schools. It means that children first go to Koranic school early in the morning from six to eight o'clock; afterwards, they go to modern school and come back at three o'clock in the afternoon. The third option is the exclusive or is late starter option, that is parents enroll their children exclusively after completing Islamic school when they are 8 to 12 years old contingent on their performance. The weak network of private Arabic Muslim schools that existed following independence is contrasted substantially by the improvements accomplished decades later.

2.3.1.2.2.3 The Expansion and the Assertion of the Islamic Arabic Education

The modern version of the opposition to secular or western Education is expressed in the proliferation of the Islamic private schools in the 1990s. With the movement of democratization in Africa, Islamic influence from the middle East has affected northern Cameroon (as elsewhere in Africa) in various ways through itinerant preachers and new media over the last three decades approximately. There was a rising trend of "modernization" and "formalization" of Islamic education, the establishment of private Islamic primary and secondary schools (Van Santen, 2013: 138). This included techniques similar to those used to teach French or English in secular schools were used to teach Arabic within and outside of the context of the Koran. Cameroonian scholars who have completed their Islamic studies in the Arab countries have returned and established private Islamic schools called Madrassas throughout the country. It turned to be statistically a growing phenomenon both (Hamadou, 2006) in such a way that in 2007 the Far North Region counted twenty-eight Madrassas as primary schools; seven were to be established. There were six secondary ones with a total of 1,318 pupils. In all regions, there were 16 secondary Madrassas (Van Santen, 2013: 156). Today Islamic private schools are also found both in the southern predominantly Christian part and in the North predominantly Muslim (70 %).

The upsurge of the formal Islamic schools in Cameroon dates back to the 1990s and still continues. The primary and secondary Madrassas emerged from the moves of the Islamic profession in the field of education. Based exclusively on their religious

¹⁴ The Islamic and traditional education and organization would be described in the next chapter.

principles modeled after the Islamic Arabic system, they are deprived of a central administration; parents entrust their children education to appointed individuals. Although they are not subject to the educational regulations and standards in force, the Islamic private schools are legally recognized in so far as their establishment requires legally binding government authority's approval. Today, the schools are coordinated by the Ministry of Education, rather than when they were initially established (Van Santen, 2013: 156). In theory government is officially supposed to subsidize private schools. Since the Islamic sub-subsystem has its own program, the schools fell first under the tutelage of an organization recognized as ONEPI (French acronym Organization Nationale de L'enseignement Privé Islamique). Later, this organization, which did not involve the Moslem community had to be dissolved, because it had applied dubious means and was accused of embezzlement and irregularities to manage schools and subsidies granted by the government. The Islamic educational institutions today belong under the Secretary of National Education and the Organization of Islamic Private schools, admitted as OESPI (Hamadou, 2006). OESPI is an association acting as a link between the Islamic community and the state. Unlike the public state-subsidized and other private schools, Islamic private schools are mostly subsidized from abroad, namely by Saudi funds through Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs).

As the formal version of the traditional Islamic or Koranic schools, the "Mahad" are considered to be modernized, more structured and better organized. The "Mahad" offer also the official standard including classrooms, bench and board. Highly valued and in great demand within the Muslim community, these schools provide higher quality of theological teaching based on the Koran combined with a varying degree of secular subjects such as mathematics, natural science, geography, history and so on.¹⁵ The tuition is held exclusively in Arabic. The various levels of education are however common to schooling traditions of the French and English sub-systems. The Islamic Arabic sub-system comprises principally elementary and secondary or complementary cycles. Respective studies are also honored by high school diploma equivalent to Baccalaureat or GCE. Internationally recognized, these certificates give their holders the opportunity to be admitted at Arab universities - in the manner of Al-Aqzar in Egypt or Djaamiatoul in Medina, Saudi Arabia. Regularly university scholarships are awarded to the best students (laureates) and/or those who are academically qualified for it – that

¹⁵ "Ils dispensent un enseignement théologique de bon niveau et des matières de l'enseignement général (mathématiques, sciences de la vie et de la terre, histoire, géographie, etc.)", explique le Dr Doubla Avaly, Secrétaire national à l'éducation et à l'organisation de l'enseignement scolaire privé islamique (Oespi).

is around third of the 150 to 200 graduates of the Mahad yearly according to the OESPI Secretary, Doubla Avely. The graduates also have job prospects as preacher or as teacher in the very type of school (Hamadou, 2006).

The Muslim community is ambivalent about these innovations; some are even hostile. While they value general competence in Arabic, they express concern that treating Arabic “just like any other language” and teaching it to young children who had not yet memorized the Koran, effectively desacralizes it jointly with the holy book. Such a school would undermine the cardinal objective of Koranic school: Respecting God’s word, traditions, values, and social order. Most Muslims put their children in traditional Koranic schools instead of enrolling them in “reformed” ones, and a majority of primary school students goes to the traditional ones as well (Moore, 2006: 115). Other Muslims parents, religious leaders and children are in favor of innovations not only because of the disentanglement from the “white colonials and Western agencies” in other schools (Van Santen, 2013: 155), but also because Islamic private schools reconcile Western or modern values with Islam in providing secular education alongside Islamic studies. For instance, the wearing of headgear including headscarves in the classroom is forbidden in state public school. The Islamic private schools however allow Muslim girls to keep their headscarves. - against the official policy in the whole country. This compatibility solves the dilemma Muslims were confronted with in colonial and post-colonial times. Muslims need to study science and information technology as well to make a positive impact on the country’s progress.

The existence of this third sub-system evinces the way the Islamic community reacted through new offers of education to the debates stirred by the issues of quality and adaptation of education with the democratization movements in the 90s. The Islamic confession, as an inner part of the educational system, avails of the freedom of education and develops the process of education to establish oneself within and against an educational system that is incongruent with its social ideology, its educational philosophy, policy, curriculum and pedagogy. The official separation between state and religion prescribed by the Cameroonian constitution or the ban of religious symbols in public spaces like secular schools, imported from its former colonizer France, (Scoot, 2017: 134, 145) are neither consistent with the values and practices of the Muslim people nor the country as a whole.

The education policy and the pertaining philosophy that are incompatible with the local values and practices could be problematic, since it is essential to establish an education system around culture (Nyerere, 1968: 50-53). In his book entitled *Consciencism*, Nkrumah emphasizes context-based teaching of philosophy. Thus, the

values and the practices of learners need to be taken into account deciding on an educational intervention (1964: 55). According to the positioning of these two former African presidents, designing a common educational system, underpinned by the same and single educational philosophy and same and single social ideology for Cameroon is as difficult as to design a single educational system for continental Europe - that encompasses various cultures, languages, histories, philosophies, ideologies.

A suggestion could be to decentralize the education system with a determined basic skills-oriented program such as “reading, writing and arithmetic” and the adapted variations, which are environmentally related, situation oriented and culture-specific. Such alternative has the possibility to create opportunities for all, to improve quality, to guarantee equality and community cohesion. It presupposes a holistic and diversified education and training approach that goes beyond formal learning system; an approach which is not confined to only providing specific skills, but rather addressing a wide range of objectives emphasizing the significance of personal identity formation and interactions with other identities. There is growing trend towards a related pedagogy.

2.3.2 The Objective and Pedagogy of the Educational System

The established British and French educational structures were designed to achieve specific objectives for the respective colonizing powers. The educational objectives were purportedly considered after independence as a noble motive to dissimulate the foreign exploitative agenda. On any account, the reshaped education systems despite various administrative and pedagogical adjustments were ill-tailored to match the needs of the post-independence Cameroonian society. Persevering in the same educational stance would have not only impaired Cameroon's development, but also it would have furthermore contributed to the drift of the nation.

2.3.2.1 The Objective(s) of the Cameroonian Formal Education System

Actually, the increasing consciousness of Africanization, supported by the government's determination brought about radical educational reforms in the system. The new educational orientation dragged the formal Cameroonian education to the top priority of the nation - knowing that education is eminently social (Durkeim, 1989:12). Cameroon has therefore begun to invest heavily in education and allocate it to many professions. Given the fact that national progress and development is often measured by the number of people who can read and write and attend school (Azevedo & Janet, 1989: 137), the government stated new mission respectively vision for Cameroonian schools both public and private: train children to develop intellectually, physically, civically, ethically and properly integrate into society considering the prevalent

economic, socio-cultural, political and ethical factors whereupon Bilingualism officiates as essential factor of national unification and integration (Cameroon, 1998).

The objective of Cameroonian education therefore, is to train citizens with strong roots in their cultures but open to the world, to instill universal moral values, uphold the family lifestyle, and the national languages, to impart democratic culture, to cultivate the love of effort and work and to develop creativity, sports and health education. To achieve this, education shall be apolitical and secular, and primary education specially shall be compulsive. The Cameroonian government shall uphold the child's right to education and equality of opportunities (Law No 98/004, 1998). In further development, Law No. 2010/007 emphasizes also the protection and welfare of persons with disabilities (2010) by the state guaranteeing their access to education and vocational training by supplying material, financial needs and pedagogic support (Sections 28 & 29).

Specifically, the purpose of nursery education is to awaken the physical, socio-affective and intellectual potentialities of the children as well as preparing them for primary school. Although there is no certificate at this level, a report remains a determining indicator for the admission either to section of language initiation or special preparatory classes for the brilliant or talented children. The primary school learners are expected to read, write, calculate, and explore their environment. Striving for the fulfillment of the individual, this basic education ultimately prepares learners either for professional training or for secondary school.

The principal aim of the ongoing plan, "Document de Stratégie du Secteur de l'Éducation et de la Formation 2013-2020" is the accomplishment of quality universal primary education. In combination with "Education For All" (EFA) grants, measures and procedures are dedicated to improve the equity and quality of education with a focus on underprivileged zones or education priority zones. The coordination of the curriculum of the two sub-systems remains also a matter of importance, since this goal has not been wholly reached as a policy due to many issues related to its conception. Currently, the Cameroonian government in the domain of education endeavors concretely to (i) swiftly eradicate regional disparities in terms educational performance by increasing equipment, teaching material and staff; (ii) increase the enrollment of primary and secondary schools; (iii) improve the training program for the schoolteachers; (iv) intermittently reform the syllabuses; (v) incessantly upgrade the quality of education. The new education law, which lays out the goals, curriculum, contents, social standards, value systems, and methodologies, aims to reconstruct and improve the educational system; one that is tailored to the country's historical, political, ethical, social, cultural, pedagogical, and philosophical needs in order to generate

citizens who comprehend and value their historical and cultural identities. As a result, a new educational procedure called the New Pedagogic Approach was born introduced (MINEDUC, 2002: 4).

2.3.2.2 The Pedagogy in the Cameroonian Formal Education System

To understand the reformed pedagogy, it is necessary to examine the former one including cardinal methodological considerations, such as the teacher-student interactions, or their respective roles in classroom operations.

2.3.2.2.1 Authoritarian Pedagogy – Teacher-Centered Pedagogy

As remnants of its colonial past, the Cameroon educational system was characterized by a pedagogy that aims to get learners to identify with the values and interests of the teacher, the authority figure in the classroom. The teacher seeks recognition, consideration, appreciation, and adherence presenting oneself and offering the teaching material as the model to emulate and absorb, respectively. Little room is conferred for deviation or questioning of the authority figure or system – since the learner is metaphorically considered, to be a blank slate to be written on. The main idea of this pedagogy was to protect and support the authoritarian's identity by inhibiting the expression of authentic individual's identity. In theory students show loyalty to their ultimate authoritarian teacher to pass their courses by memorizing and repeating on tests what the teacher has taught, even if the student disagrees with the content. This model of learning also known as rote learning, impedes the advancement of innovative critical reasoning, abilities and competencies and negatively impacts students' identities - even represses their identity whenever they meld them to conform or identify with the authorities (Bracher, 2006: 75-84).

Corporal punishment reinforced this pedagogy as method – “spare the rod and spoil the child” pedagogy was a useful method to discipline the student. Its recourse in schools is not inadvertent but obviously entrenched in the colonial history of Cameroon. Gradually, this has been expediently adopted by simply resorting to violence for all scholastic loathsome behavior. This punishment took the form of whipping the children - often publicly, or beatings with intent to inflict pain as a disciplinary measure for inappropriate behavior. In school settings where beating is systematic and catalogued in school rules, the practice becomes obvious, trivial and widely accepted, thereby enhancing violence conjointly diminishing the cognitive development of the children. “Corporal punishment of children is predicted by higher levels of social stratification and political integration, and long-term use of an alien currency” (Ember & Ember, 2005: 609). In the main time, a couple of schools in major cities - such as Yaoundé or Douala

- have boasted about quality education pointing out the legislation outlawing corporal punishment¹⁶ although it has been eminently common practiced.

Corporal punishment including the pertaining pedagogy have been going on irrespective of pedagogic and legislative efforts. This was perpetuated as it prevailed in many Cameroonian classrooms through the inculcation of a fundamentalist approach to dilemma-resolving and investigation. With a desire for authority, students therefore resort to their authoritative texts instead of their own experience and understanding whenever they are confronted with problems or challenges. These methods and principles of teaching persisted until the 1995 National Forum on Education unveiled serious below-average performance in primary schools. In addition to structural problems (such as harmonization, bilingualism or decentralization) the national educational system continues to suffer from this type of pedagogy which is an expression of the failure of the education system to make children ready for productive lives. The related shortcomings include inefficiency observed in repeating classes, high rates of student failure in official examinations with wide disparities in achievement between urban and rural schools, teacher disaffection, inequity, inequality, lack of quality, poor access and participation. Conformable to the law on educational orientation and the related prescribed mission/vision, new pedagogic processes have been introduced in an effort to develop the child intellectually and develop his/her creativity and sense of initiative (Sections 4 & 5). It is entitled the New Pedagogic Approach (MINEDUC; 2002: 4).

2.3.2.2.2 New Pedagogic Approach

This major pedagogic reform of the new educational orientation is believed to enhance the quality of education and school output. It shuns therefore the prevailing teaching/learning strategies, which considers the teacher as the utmost authority and the learners as blank slate to be written on by teacher due to their expected passiveness. The New Pedagogic Approach calls for a change of paradigm from teacher-centric to learner-centric pedagogy by addressing learner reasoning within problem-solving situations in the classroom. The learner becomes rather a book already written in “invisible” ink that simply needs the right light shone on it.

The New Pedagogic Approach generally involves various approaches that focus on the learner, using active methods of teaching – such as integrated teaching, project

¹⁶ Corporal punishment for example is illegal in schools according to Article 35 of the Cameroon National Educational Guidelines No. 98/004 1998, which states: “The physical and moral integrity of the student is guaranteed in the educational system. Therefore, corporal punishment and all other forms of violence, discrimination of any kind, and the sale, distribution and consumption of alcoholic beverages, tobacco and drugs, are prohibited.”

pedagogy, discovery learning, cooperative learning, etc. Founded on the development of inferential reasoning, the New Pedagogic Approach resorts to teaching techniques that presuppose exercises and thus, the development of reasoning at all levels. These procedures give the learners the opportunity to progress from simple recognition activities such as memory, recall, and/or application to an advance degree of cerebral engagement. They will gain and develop the ability to criticize, make suggestions, conceive, innovate, and seek answers to difficult problems in this way. Learners will typically be expected to have recourse to their reasoning, memorization, comprehension, analysis, implementation, and evaluative capabilities to solve such tasks (MINEDUC; 2002: 11). To boost the efficiency in the educational system, this process is supposed to be associated with compensatory teaching, a competency-based approach, and automatic/administrative promotion under the scheme of the Education Project II (MINEDUC; 2001).

2.3.2.2.1 Competency-based Approach

The New Pedagogic Approach presupposes learning situations based on problem-solving activities. The integration of a competency-based approach involves obtaining a set of knowledge from these learning activities. Competencies are considered as a depiction of the fundamental skills, knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors needed for effective and efficient achievement in a complex situation. Referred to as the pedagogy of integration, the competency-based approach is teaching based on competencies determined beforehand according to extant programs and the prerequisites of an overall scheme of evaluation and certification. This approach emphasizes on the results of learning by dealing with what is expected from the students - instead of what they are expected to learn about. It endorses the definition of educational objectives in terms of accurate, measurable knowledge descriptions, skills, and behaviors that learners are supposed to acquire at the completion of study program (Richards & Rodgers, 2001: 167, 168).

The mastery of a competence presupposes the acquisition of a set of knowledge, aptitude and skill put into practice in a specified situation. The overriding concern for the introduction of this approach is partly to achieve effective and equitable schools in compliance with the goals of "Education For All". Partially it is intended to enhance the learning and apprehension ability in children fostering the acquisition of knowledge, the level of thinking and consequently their performance. This perspective involves combining all the knowledge, competence, aptitude and attitudes requisite for addressing practical problems. The competency-based approach aims to bridge the gulf between school and daily community real life, through multidisciplinary and

interdisciplinary methods in the classroom. The teaching/learning practices could be improved by taking into consideration the principles of the competency-based approach. This could enable and facilitate the provision of remedial teaching.

2.3.2.2.2 Compensatory Teaching

As specified in the New Pedagogic Approach, competency-based approach teaching is supposed to be adjusted to the needs of individual children. The compensatory or remedial education underlies this principle as well. Taking into consideration that children are different in terms of intelligence and learning aptitude, both teachers and parents resent more and more imposing rigid learning regimes on the children. Therefore, to alleviate the inadequacy of the children labeled as “underachievers”, “slow learners” or, “children at risk” (Eggen & Kauchack 1992: 178), privileged parents organize private evening lessons or coaching. Private home teachers used to be hired also to prepare learners for formal exams.

Compensatory teaching within the context of Education Project II was an institutionalization of a prevalent out-of-school phenomenon in the process of learning. It is about any supplementary extracurricular teaching beyond the formal school schedule (MINEDUC, 2001). In other words, it is a differentiated and individualized instruction to decrease performance gaps. The learners’ active participation is fundamental and of utmost importance in so far as the corrective learning procedure is to be attuned to their achievement following a brief formative assessment - following Benjamin Bloom’s Mastery model. The opportunity and the learning setting are the essential determining factors of content of the teaching. After instruction, the teacher is supposed to administer a formative assessment in light of the unit’s learning goals. The assessment reveals information, that determine the shortcomings to be addressed with remedial activities. To be successful these activities should take place not only in a different setting and circumstance but also with more time dedicated. These programs aim primarily to improve the understanding and the learning aptitude of every single learner.

2.3.2.2.3 Automatic Promotion (Administrative / Collective Promotion)

As already mentioned, the Cameroonian primary school is divided into six classes (years) clustered into three cycles, and the syllabus of every cycle is identical and related accordingly. Formerly - that means before the introduction of the New Pedagogic Approach – learners passed from an inferior class to a superior one based upon their school performance. Considered as a component of education, the learner’s progress is either more incorporated in the pedagogic process principally concerned with assessment (formative evaluation) or is concerned with comprehensive realization

of academic goals (summative evaluation). With the automatic promotion, the average score of the learner has no crucial relevance to the change from class 1 to class 2, from class 3 to class 4 and from class 5 to class 6. It is merely determining the passage from level I to level II (or class 2 to class 3), and from level II to level III (or class 4 to class 5) because automatic promotion is foreseen within a cycle. Learners devoid of the required average score are nevertheless automatically promoted. To countervail their inadequacy in preparedness for higher level (over normal examinations) to the next cycle they receive remedial teaching. Automatic promotion reduces substantially repeating in as much as it bisects the number of promotion examinations: from cycle I to cycle III and the final examination. More repetition and wastage could be curbed provided that compensatory teaching is taking place. This systematic reduction is as well confirmed by the pilot study to decrease class repetition in the country (MINEDUC/ADB; 2004).

Collective promotion appears to be a principal approach for the lowering of repetition, thence the improvement of the nature of education. This approach is deemed to be the only explanation for automatic promotion of students from a grade to another. Continuous support for learning through a system of steady observation as well as repeated assessment and back-to-back training should add value to such a promotion system. This promotion combined with compensatory and competency-based teachings as in the New Pedagogic Approach are meant to have a positive effect on the assertiveness, the autonomy and the performance of the learner due to the attributes inherent of those pedagogic processes. These include anticipative pedagogy, differential pedagogy and the pedagogy of development of inferential thought. Contingent upon its implementation, the new pedagogy as a reform plan could have positive or negative results. The success of an educational system does however not only depend on the chosen pedagogic approach. The national curriculum, of which language is a core component both as instruction instrument and as subject, is also a determining pedagogical factor.

2.3.2.2.3 The Challenges Facing the Implementation of the New Pedagogy¹⁷

In order to implement efficiently the new pedagogic reform, it is important that the above-mentioned pedagogic elements do not operate in separation or independently. The new pedagogy is designed as a package of overlapping components closely intertwined and interdependent. They are so interwoven that it is almost impossible to

¹⁷ The main pedagogical concerns are discussed further in Chapter 5 in line with Freirian Pedagogy.

untangle. Therefore, it ought to operate in cycles. In reference to OECD Assessment¹⁸, it begins by evaluating learners' needs, which determines the probable competencies, then to the target instruction, from there it passes through the estimation of the percentage of competence being reached, and then return to the evaluation of the needs. It appears at first that there are discrepancies between the conception of the new pedagogy and its implementation. Presently, its actual practice in Cameroonian primary schools is still controversial. Thus, a thorough examination of the variable implementation in different situations may give an insight into the results.

2.3.2.2.3.1 The Actual Practice of the New Pedagogic Approach

Passionately presented and rhetorically expressed, the new pedagogic approach is not a creation of the Cameroonian education. It is an echo of an array of trends within the modern theories of pedagogic approaches, increase understanding on the importance of combined and coordinated learning experiences on the one hand and on other hand raising awareness on the learner-centric specific curricular. It cannot be therefore a "one-size-fits-all" approach to be copied and transposed. Without setting the stage for the implementation of the new pedagogic approach, Cameroonian educational institutions anticipated successful outcomes. Substantial changes or adaptations were not performed both conceptually and practically to enhance the effectiveness of the new pedagogic approach. This might account for the negative perceptions and outcomes. Contextual factors should have become involved and so this requests Cameroonian culture-related archetype of new pedagogic approach, which could be implemented with success in different situations - specifically in rural areas.

Moreover, the new pedagogic approach entails teaching practices that change the focal point of instruction from the teacher to the learner, respecting their needs and interests. In practice, as the recent literature on classroom teaching holds, the value is placed more on learning, syllabus or establishment, which bring the teacher to function as knowledge and information provider. The syllabus of instruction, the related teaching and learning contents are fixed and the prescribed timetable is rigid in such a way that the teacher - even more so the learner - has no leverage for deviance, improvisation, innovation or creativity. Teachers while trained in the student-centered pedagogy

¹⁸ The OECD/CERI International Conference "Learning in the 21st Century: Research, Innovation and Policy" came up with Assessment for Learning Formative Assessment:

1. Establishment of a classroom culture that encourages interaction and the use of assessment tools.
2. Establishment of learning goals and tracking of individual student progress toward those goals.
3. Use of varied instruction methods to meet diverse student needs.
4. Use of varied approaches to assessing student understanding.
5. Feedback on student performance and adaptation of instruction to meet identified needs.
6. Active involvement of students in the learning process.

remain at the center because they are overwhelmed by the syllabus coverage and program completion. Instruction in almost all subjects is still a matter of directions by the teacher, chalkboards and textbook; most of which inappropriate in terms of the needs and interests of learners and its repetitive nature constrains and stunts creativity. The criticized transmission models and practices are still running. For the elementary cycle, the new pedagogic approach is deemed to be inadequate, in so far as at this early-stage learner could not expected to possess enough knowledge and competence to assume responsibility for classroom activities. This predisposition of the teaching staff interferes with the implementation of the constructivist new approach, whereby the teacher officiates more as a guide for the students. The learner-centered approach requires children to express their ideas, thoughts and arguments clearly and adequately. Yet, there are vibrant learning experiences and cultural knowledge, parallel to the education system, and precious out-of-school competencies, that are structurally wasted away.

2.3.2.2.3.2 The Actual Practice of the Competency-Based Approach

As a functional procedure to education underlining life skills and its acquisition, the competency-based approach could not indeed be converted into practice if out-of-school knowledge is neither recognized nor taken into consideration. Children are not given the opportunity to demonstrate mastery of intrinsic life skills fundamental for them to function proficiently in their community. The learners' multifarious competencies are simply not valued, processed, guided or built upon. This is discarding skills from the conventional education that cannot be afforded in rural areas. Official education institutions are incontrovertibly platforms and spaces of learning, but not unique. There are informal ones that cannot be circumvented. The competency-based perspective revives modes of learning and education that were previously ignored, downgraded or buried by the preponderance of the "education is tantamount to school" paradigm. In the same line, the multilinguistic competencies framed on local languages and intercultural competencies, peculiar to Cameroonian society are completely faded out or disregarded.

Competency-based approach is hardly applicable when the curriculum is designed abroad or by cultural outsiders with no relation to the life of the local students and teachers. As previously mentioned, this approach calls on gained experience necessary for real-life issues in the classroom. In bringing classroom and everyday life together, it is intended to integrate few domains of life such as History, Geography and Mathematics. Yet classroom activities are not related to the local domains of life and emphasis is placed subject matter that is not based on the students' interests. As

citizens, students are to master the past and present of the country for the sake of planning the future. On the contrary, the issue of educational estrangement occurs in the curriculum of the sub-systems. By way of example the syllabus of History specifically in the Francophone sub-system focuses on external history and little to no emphasis is placed on the local history. In this case any competency assessment based on foreign variables and prescribed curriculum is bound to be biased and leads to inaccurate evaluation, which therefore nullifies remediating assistance measures such as compensatory teaching.

2.3.2.2.3.3 The Actual Practice of Compensatory Teaching

In light of the resources and infrastructures allocated to schools and the teacher's workaday, compensatory teaching though effective, is far from being realistic and feasible in Cameroon. The school program and official timetable is so structured and tied that the teacher has no time left to select expected competencies, assess performances and provide corresponding compensatory teaching. If the regular sequential assessment (formative evaluation) is a part of the teaching-as-usual, individualized and subject related remedial classes, adds additional work and is a time-consuming activity. It incurs expenditure including human resources particularly in rural and underprivileged areas. Unfortunately, there is no regulated time slot assigned for remedial education or additional teaching besides school schedule to help struggling students in class. Learner specific instructions for those who need it, is left at discretion of the teacher for the most part. As no other alternative resources for the competency-based approach is provided, privileged families resort to private teaching or schools. Besides being costly in terms of time, teachers are already grappling with large class sizes and multi-grade teaching for what they have not been trained. The strategies of compensatory remedial such as teaching, group work, peer-group learning, re-teaching and re-education are not possible under overabundant classroom conditions and with low socio-economic status of learners. The implementation of compensatory education is also confronted with limited to nonexistent infrastructures that includes not only the modern conventional requirements (classroom, chalkboard, desk, etc.) but also material for extra and further teaching or provision for substitute material indispensable for the improvement of knowledge and advancement of each student learning aptitude - particularly those are not performing well in classes. There are no modifications in schools so far that could bring about the implementation of compensatory teaching. This breach impacts tremendously on the effectiveness of automatic promotion.

2.3.2.2.3.4 The Actual Practice of the Automatic Promotion

After two decades of reform, the automatic promotion is the only component of the new approach that is fully implemented. Automatic promotion implies student-centered teaching, competency-based approach and individualized remedial teaching that are practically not taking hold. Since they are all interconnected, the actual automatic promotion fuels the cult of mediocrity. Without an effective realization of the interrelated components, it is likely to lead to a decrease in quality. In this case, automatic promotion indubitably has had repercussions on the feature of education. This means students have been deprived of literacy, numeracy and other essential life skills - therefore they have neither been able to integrate in their community nor in Cameroonian society.

Additionally, children with slow pace learning skills should not be administratively level up. They need to be allocated possibilities to learn what they need to know, otherwise it weakens or eradicates the most precious student incentive for learning assiduously - namely reward. This goes from a simple praise or recognition to an eventual reward such as passing to the next grade. Pupils end up unmotivated to learn assiduously whereas teachers could be induced to overlook to low-performing learners considering their automatic upgrade. In long-term, automatic promotion is meant to reduce wastage, repetition and dropout, yet under the current circumstances it does not. From the actual practices of the components of the pedagogical reform, successful outcomes could be barely expected. The pedagogical reform requires a situational and an environmental related implementation to be efficient.

2.3.3 The Curriculum and the Language(s) of Instruction

2.3.3.1 The National Curriculum of Primary Education

The pedagogical reform called for the adjustment of the curriculum. The new official curriculum is learner-oriented designed to prepare Cameroonian children to address contemporary local, national, and global challenges. Specifically, the national curriculum for both nursery and primary cycles aims to develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of Cameroonian learners. With the completion of the primary school cycle, they are expected to have acquired national core skills conjointly with key values in five domains ready to step into secondary school and attendant learning contexts or activities. The Ministry of Basic Education outlines seven national core skills to be acquired by the end of both nursery and primary cycles. They include:(I) Communication in the two official languages (English and French) and the use of at least one national language; (II) Use of basic notions in Mathematics, Science and Technology; (III) Practice of Social and Citizenship Values (morality, good governance and budgetary transparency); (IV) Demonstration of the Spirit of Autonomy, a Sense of

Initiative, Creativity, and Entrepreneurship; (V) Use of Basic Information and Communication Technology Concepts and Tools; (VI) Practice of Lifelong Learning and (VII) Practice of Physical, Sports and Artistic Activities. The Core Skills Framework covers four broad-based competences - intellectual, methodological, personal, reciprocally interpersonal and communication competences – activated by ten subjects. These are English/French Language and Literature, Mathematics, Science and Technology, French/English, Social Studies, Vocational Studies, Arts, Physical Education and Sports, National Languages and Cultures, and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) (MINEDUB, 2018: 13-14).

The ten subjects are clustered in five domains. Domain 1, designated as Basic Knowledge, provides basic literacy and numeracy skills required as a strong educative foundation. The learners are supposed to properly read and write, confidently manipulate numbers and figures. The highest quota 60% of learning-teaching time has been assigned to the subjects of this domain. These are English or French Language(s) and Literature, according to the Subsystem, both languages are subject and the language of instruction. The second subject is Mathematics with its five components: Sets and Logic, Numbers and Operations, Measurement and Size, Geometry and Space, and Statistics and Graphs. The third subject is Science and Technology broken down in Health Education, Environmental Science as well as in Technology and Engineering (MINEDUB, 2018: 25-30).

Domain 2, Communal life and national integration, absorbs 5% of learning-teaching time and refers to the notion of national unity, national integration and cohabitation whereby all other various geographical, historical, linguistic, cultural, religious and political idiosyncrasies are transcended. It is meant in essence, to engender self-love, love for others and respect for the common good through social studies namely history, geography and citizenship. Concretely it is about the study of political, economic, cultural, and environmental aspects of society past, present and future for a balanced and active integration into it (MINEDUB, 2018: 30-31).

For an active participation in the society Vocational and Life Skills (Domain 3) are required. Domain 3 takes up 20% of the learning-teaching time endowing students with abilities to adapt to and transform their environments by providing relevant and contextual technical and vocational training starters and self-employment. Vocational studies and life skills is geared towards opening up learners' minds, a ready option for taking up technical education studies in secondary school. The domain will be developed through Vocational Studies, a practical subject to develop talents, initiative and creativity thereby enhancing holistic development. Its teaching includes Arts and

Crafts, Agro-Pastoral Farming - taught in level one - and Home Economics. Whereas with Arts and Crafts learners acquire techniques to fabricate objects using natural and recycled materials from their environment, Agro-Pastoral Farming introduces them to agricultural techniques and animal farming. Home Economics are related to house management such as laundry, house craft, food and nutrition, needle work and mother craft. The third subject in domain 3 is Physical Education and Sports, a set of physical activities that provides the physical and psychological health, and social development of the learner performing individual and collective tasks. It is contemplated as an effective educational tool to develop learners' mental capacities through body fitness activities (MINEDUB, 2018: 32-35).

The fourth Domain concerns Cultural identity with 5% of time allocated. The Ministry of Education defines Cultural identity as a set of traits (language, tradition and religion) that characterize a people (group or a nation) and differentiate them from other people. Considering on the one hand the uniqueness of the country's multicultural nature, and on the other hand the acknowledged importance of mother tongue early education, cultural identity is built by means of a subject called "National Languages and Cultures". It refers to all languages and cultures in the four major linguistic and cultural zones of Cameroon. This includes social practices, modes of life, arts, and crafts as well as architectural designs and literary expressions that highlight people's identity (MINEDUB, 2018: 36-37).

Cultural or national identity is far from meaning retreat into cultural or nationalist ideas of identity. The doorway to the world is promoted with the fifth Domain, namely Digital Literacy weighting 10% of the learning-teaching time. Digital literacy emphasizes the cultural changes produced by the development and transmission of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). In the 21st century era of information, students are expected to use ICTs to access important and up-to-date resources so as to bridge the digital divide. Digital literacy is not limited to merely computers but encompasses telephones, iPad, the internet and all forms of social media, valuable asset for all individuals in today's society. Despite its universal nature, ICT contextualization and application is of utmost importance in relation to the immediate environment for learners apprehend and value its use. Teachers are expected to integrate it in their teaching not only as incentive but also to relate to the core subjects such as Mathematics, English, Science, Technology and even in French/English, the official language(s) of instruction (MINEDUB, 2018: 38-39).

2.3.3.2 The Language(s) of Instruction

Diversity is generally considered as an inherent problem vis à vis governance, communication and education in particular. Since colonization multilingualism in Cameroon has been viewed as a contentious matter, prone to communication barriers, latent tensions and conflicts. This perception has led to disregarding local languages in favor of an increased status and prestige for French and English as official and languages of instruction in the formal education. Both are effectively the dominant languages giving access to social mobility and formal employment. This situation is influenced more by politics, economy, and ideology than strictly educational considerations. If the option for foreign language as medium of instruction back then was colonially motivated, today one of the strongest arguments to maintain the status quo is the participation in globalization, modernization and the dissemination of knowledge – or information. With the movements of democratization in the 90s popular aspirations, cultural identities, globalization and development raised controversial issues and triggered state language policy to accommodate local or “national languages” as inscribed in the constitution of 1996.

2.3.3.2.1 Official Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

Built on the colonial heritage, diverse systems practice in Cameroon convey its twofold cultural and linguistic colonial history. This upholds the nascency of Cameroon as a bilingual nation where French and English officiate as official languages, various publications and documentations are made accordingly. The official use of two languages was proliferated as an instrumental process of building a nation, a nation member of both the Commonwealth and the Francophonie. Formal education in Cameroon operates thus under the picture of bilingualism as previously stated. From first grade throughout secondary school the legislation endorses education in either English or French - contingent upon the linguistic zone. It could purport like every other Cameroonian institution to be bilingual in the sense of presence or the use of French and English. This has however been on a theoretical level. In the true sense of mastering both languages, bilingualism is either in abeyance or hardly comes to fruition. According to the reality in the field, educational stakeholders are exclusively fluent in their respective colonial language, with little to none cross communication with the other language although both languages might be sharing the campus (Cameroon Today, 2017).

This parallelism of the official language bilingualism policy is reflected in the Anglophone-Francophone divide. The colonial metropolitan languages previously and primarily perceived as a unifying force, constitute an aspect of dissension today. This

predicament has generated a strong sense of identity amongst English speakers, which stems from their shared language English; English serving a symbolic marker of in-group unity in a culturally and socio-politically inimical cohabitation (Wolf, 1997: 421). The subsequent socio-political turmoil at the end of 2016 and early 2017 reinforced, invigorated, and exacerbated Anglophone discontent with the authoritative language policy. Following lawyers' protests in November 2016 in Bamenda (the capital of the Northwest Region) against the purported encroachment of French courts in the Anglophone region, English-speaking teachers called for a general strike to protest the hiring of French speakers without English proficiency in Anglophone schools. Citizens of Cameroon's two English-speaking regions have long complained about socioeconomic discrimination and the enforcement of French legal and educational systems on them by the largely-francophone centralized administration.

This restlessness betrays the failure of the implementation of the bilingualism policy and reveals a lack of language plan. In view of these dire straits, there is understandably a vital necessity to amend the system of bilingual education in the field of teaching methodology. It is indispensable for teaching staff to be uniformly proficient in both English and French. This initiative presumably reduces the conjecture of inequity from the students in terms of evaluation. In fact, since 1961 endeavors have been made though to push for true bilingualism and to promote bilingual educational institutions. A couple of selected government schools go beyond the independent Anglophone and francophone systems by offering a third alternative on their campuses: An Anglophone section, a Francophone section and a Bilingual section. The indeed praised Government Bilingual Grammar School in Molyko, Buea is exemplary. Popular, highly appreciated and dignified, admission involves strict selection, and its graduates are truly proficient in French and English. Bilingualism is only understood as the mastering of official languages, whereas mastering two local languages or one official language besides a local language is definitely not perceived as bilingualism.

2.3.3.2.2 National Languages in the Formal Education

With the exception of the two official languages and Cameroon Pidgin English, there is a multitude of local languages of which three of the four major language families of Africa, the Afro-Asiatic, the Nilo-Saharan and the Niger Kordofanian. Although Ethnologue (2016) estimates the number of national languages to be 275 or Breton & Fohtung around 248 indigenous languages (1991), these numbers are often questioned by linguists considering they do not accurately reflect the current state of the language, as dialects of the very language are usually treated as different. They are

to be considered as dialectal variants of the same language that could be reduced to 20 inter-comprehensible dialect clusters in so far as they can be mutually understood by each other speakers. The number of local languages thence depends and varies fundamentally on the arbitrary distinction between language and dialect.

Given this meaningful number of languages, there is no national language that covers the entire Cameroonian territory. Nevertheless, there are a variety of languages of wider communication, "language of wider distribution" or "lingua franca", understood as language spoken by people without a common mother tongue. ALCAM (Atlas Linguistic du Cameroon) identified nine national languages of wider communication in four linguistic geographical zones: Fulfulde, Shua Arabic, Hausa, Kanuri, and Wandala in the three Northern Regions (Adamawa, North and Far North), Ewondo, in the three Southern Regions (Centre, South and East); Basaa and Duala in the Littoral Region; and Cameroon Pidgin English in West Regions (Breton & Fohung, 1991: 20). Essono (2001) extended the division to 13 languages used in five different geographical areas by differentiating between West Region where Fé fé and Gomálá and Pidgin English are widely spoken, from the Northwest and Southwest Regions dominated by Duala Mungaka and Pidgin English. In this division Pidgin English is found as lingua franca in three linguistic geographical zones and Beti-Fang includes the cluster Ewondo, Eton, Bulu and Fang instead of simply Ewondo. Wolf narrowed the delimitation to three lingua franca zones: the Fulfulde lingua franca zone in the north, the Pidgin English lingua franca zone in the west and the French or a variety of French lingua franca zone in the rest of the country (2001: 155). Such divisions should be rather flexible, considering that there are overlaps between languages. In fact, the diverging opinions on clustering local languages and reducing their numbers in terms of language or dialect has a political dimension. This divergence is related to the pragmatic implementation and status preparation following the 1997 Cameroonian constitution and the ensuing decrees.

The inclusion of national languages in the 1996 constitution makes no mention of legislation concerning both status and corpus planning. The official statements and expressions of political will have not yet brought about changes in the educational system as far local languages are concerned. The official languages and the medium of instruction remain English and French. The de jure policy is pleading on behalf of local languages indeed while the de facto policy promotes linguistic estrangement with French as dominant language in particular. The use of local languages in official domains as well as their inclusion at the school level or in the classroom are hardly taking hold - despite the relentless work upon initiatives of non-governmental

organizations for thirty years. The decentralization process that shifts the responsibility for the drafting and implementation of the revised approach to local languages onto regional institutions goes simply unheeded. The text of the constitution implies but does not specify the applicability of those languages either to be taught as subjects or to be used as a language of tuition, by that endorsing the education in mother tongue. The implementation of national languages related to the spirit of the text raised various further organizational, structural pedagogical and financial and issues.

2.3.3.2.3 Instruction in Mother Language(s), Local Language(s)

Mother tongue could be considered as the language(s) of the direct environment and every day interaction in which the child grows up in the early years of life - before school (Ouane & Glanz, 2010: 14). Mother tongue in Cameroon mostly means local or national languages. In such a multilingual society like Cameroon, where several languages are spoken in the family or the immediate vicinity of the child, children are easily socialized with more than a single mother tongue. In urban areas mother tongue happens to increasingly be French or English. Contemplating mother tongue education in this context implies a trilingual or multilingual education policy. In other words, mother-tongue based-education as the instruction in a child's first language, involves mostly a specified time in primary school and a scheduled progressive transition to a second language. In the Cameroonian context, the second language could mean various languages: official foreign language(s), other foreign languages, local language(s) of wider distribution. It is about "mother tongue-based multilingual education" which is a language learning situation that involves more than a language, the first and more basic of which is the mother tongue (Chumbow, cited in McIlwraith, 2013: 63). Since independence the adoption of local languages as instruction languages in education has been confronted with social, political, pragmatic and economical contentions and restrictive factors.

2.3.3.2.3.1 Constraints to Mother Tongue or National Languages

Preservation of National Unity

Politically there is an assumption that the use of several mother tongues in education leads to fragmentation and exacerbation of inter-ethnic conflicts, therefore an obstacle to national unity. This concern leads back to the colonial historical understanding of nation-building calling for "one country, one culture, one language", and understands multilingualism as an impediment to surmount. The vast array of languages in Cameroon renders it difficult for the government to opt for a fair language policy in the formal education system. With the view to prevent inequality between ethnic groups likely to "generate political feelings of superiority that may endanger national unity"

(Tomasevski, 2006: 23), the country opted for trans-ethnic and a-tribal official bilingualism as unifying instruments.

English and French - according to the prevailing idea, are meant to strengthen political stability, regional cohesion and achieve and maintain national territorial integrity of a multiethnic and multilingual Cameroon. As official and exclusive languages of instruction at all levels of education, the two foreign languages are favored in all spheres over the national languages, although just a privileged urban few speaks them. Mother tongues are not even resorted to as a resourceful instrument in the early years of schooling like it is done in some Sub-Saharan African countries. Since the inherited education, administration, government, political systems were structured all on the vestiges of colonial bedrock, the government merely continued with the existing official languages instead of choosing local language(s) to officiate as official languages as well.

Impracticability of Mother Tongues or National Languages

In addition to the pursuit of stability and national integration or stifling ethnic conflicts, the government discarded pragmatically all national languages due to the factual impracticability of choosing randomly a national language out of 270 to be taught in the whole country. With this complex sociolinguistic setting of numerous local languages, a nationwide one-size-fits-all option was convenient for the educational policy makers. Cameroonian native language(s), which appeared to be mother tongue were pragmatically difficult to be adopted fully as national language(s); they are inadequately developed to serve as educational tools that build up a comprehensive comprehension of concepts, boost literacy, and generate broader opportunities in the country. Since most local languages appeared to have neither grammar nor alphabet and children already know it, it would have been useless to teach them. Teaching in mother tongue would have made it strenuous for a child to learn a second language later (Fasold, 1984: 293-294). Moreover, introducing different local languages for primary education could have been intrinsically arbitrary and unequal in light of the various societal, historical situations and stage of development and standardization of languages. Mother languages that are too rudimentary or impoverished for education necessarily demote children educated in them to lower status, making it hopeless for them to contest fairly for opportunities with their counterparts educated in elaborated languages.

Inadequate and non-prestigious, local languages are still reduced to oral usage at the rural level, informal activities, and domestic situations although scientists have been working diligently in favor of mother tongue education since independence. It is

believed that they can hardly be modernized or developed, and are therefore not elaborated enough either to function as the language of the tuition at all levels or to convey science and technology. They are more appropriate for home and proper for ethnic affairs, neither for official/formal context, nor administrative affairs a reserved privilege for international languages. Their sporadic existence in the formal education in the course of colonization despite the official foreign languages assimilation policy, vanished completely after independence. Teachers, as civil servants, have to communicate in the official languages with their students in the classroom, students are prescribed not to address their teachers and each other in local language in the classroom. Local languages are reduced to private situations or during the breaks.

Since then, there are mixed or ambivalent stances on local languages that degrade them as obstructing learning. It is generally expressed as a social stigma. Cameroonians who solely speak their mother tongue, “patois”, “vernacular” or “dialect” are not only socially stigmatized but also structurally ostracized, whereas those who speak French or/and English are valorized and privileged.

Irrelevance of Local Languages

By promoting French and English the government intended to force education in the mother tongue to stall (Kouega, 2003: 419). Confined in identity concealments with less and less speakers, without teaching facilities not even often the tenacious initiation, most local languages fail to be either transmitted properly or to be transmitted at all to the next generation. Their proficiency is requested neither for socio-economic development nor for individual advancement. There is hence a tacit belief that they are economically irrelevant and do neither bestow utilitarian power on their speakers nor give opportunity to employment with adequate wages. Learning in local languages might limit students' social mobility and narrow the spectrum of economic possibilities. This is quite contrary to French and English, proficiency of which is indeed a precondition for socio-economic development plus individual advancement, a passport to a better life; a passport however that is rather arduous for the most Cameroonian to master these languages considering their cultural contexts.

Considered as neutral languages in the complex sociolinguistic mosaic of mother tongues, the official colonial languages can not only confer social mobility and job available to a vast majority in the public system but also open opportunities to international spheres. The aspiration of (high) ranking employment in the civil service and eventually the expectation of a broader horizon as well as international opportunities impact heavily on the attitudes of parents and teachers towards European

languages, they would like children to be exposed to as soon as possible (Adegbija, 2000: 80).

Disapproval of Parents and Teachers

Many parents and teachers reject the introduction of local languages in early childhood formal education (or mother-tongue-based bilingual/multilingual education). The related projects failed by virtue of their resistance. The foreign-language-based mainstream education bestows better chances on the job market for their children. Any education with a Cameroonian language as the medium of instruction is considered as second-class education. Schooled by and for conventional education in an unfamiliar language, many teachers and parents are not convinced of the literacy of the children in local languages for they would be of insignificant value to the conventional education system.

This resentment has its origin in the colonial period as African representatives in the French parliament vehemently spoke against the motion advocated by some French nationals to use African languages for education in Africa. In their opinion, education in African languages could lead to two parallel uneven education - one for Africans and the other for French - likely to favor those that have acquired the foreign education (Alexandre; 1963: 54). This hostility or derogation towards mother tongue education or local languages in formal education is not the preserve of Cameroon; it is rather common to the colonized Sub-Saharan African countries. Schools in various erstwhile colonies indeed, did not allow local languages at all level of formal education due to the level of language development on the one hand; on the other hand, due to the clamor of parents for their children to be exposed to foreign prestigious languages at an early age (Adegbija; 2000: 84). This attitude perpetuated the linguistic cultural dependency literally obstructing the deployment of local languages in its seminal state.

Economic Expenditures

Another detrimental factor that augurs ill for the adoption of mother tongues in the education system is of economic nature: the extremely low educational budget. Primary education is supposed to be free; however, the government barely guarantees this rationale for education and arouse direct and indirect costs of education. Basic education already has deficiencies in teaching materials and pedagogical practices, chronic lack of schools, school's facilities and equipment as well as severe shortage of trained teachers. For example, the government resorts to the parents and to external funding agencies such as World Bank to pay primary school teachers. Decision-makers believe that the introduction of mother tongue education requires too much time and tremendous resources to develop those languages, which implies high additional

expenditures in terms of didactic material, suitable planning/program, specialized teachers, training of respective proficient teachers. All these would produce high costs the government could not afford. The economic situation is already so alarming that the mother tongue respectively multilingual education seems to be unrealistic. Despite the mentioned situations that impede the growth of mother tongue and multilingual education, it is however of paramount importance to teach national languages as the present constitution punctuates it.

2.3.3.2.3.2 Necessity of Mother Tongue and National Language(s)

Contrary to the predominant belief that pathologizes multilingualism in the African context, various institutions and researchers do not consider it as a menace to national integrity and economic growth. They plead instead for social diversity, linguistic variety and multiculturalism, the credo of “unity in diversity”. Even in the few putative monolingual countries of Europe, the Council of Europe is a proponent of multilingualism for Europe. Indeed, the European Union (2004) endorses a “two plus one” language policy, i.e., that Europeans should speak two languages besides their mother tongue. The causes of conflict in a multilingual and multicultural nation are not the existence of languages, but economic inequalities, struggles over power and the rejection of linguistic and cultural diversity (Human Development Report, 2004). If languages are often exploited in these power struggle as a means of exclusion, a policy of social diversity that recognizes the preservation and promotion of all ethno-linguistic societies within the multicultural and multilingual Cameroon, has prospects for peaceful co-existence. Mother tongue based multilingual education seems to be adequate to ensure the implementation of such ideology. As a result, the task for academics and policymakers is to guide the growth of national identity in such a way that children’s rights and the nation’s cultural, linguistic, and economic resources are enhanced (Cummins, 2003: 17).

With regard to the overall expenditure that mother tongue education might cause, it has to be noticed that English and French instruction also faces the very cost constraints, for example procurement of permanently changing textbooks or teachers with limited qualification and narrowed pedagogical repertory regardless the language of instruction. Besides, costs have to be evaluated in relation to benefits. The performance measure of the present education system is unsatisfactory with regard to efficiency and effective education such as intake, repetition rates, dropout and achievement rates. The associated expenses are clearly enormous in the long run. Indeed, some languages are not adequately developed or “may not have a written grammar, any language must have grammar otherwise it should not have been

spoken” (Fasold, 1984: 294). Furthermore, language develops through the use in all spheres of life particularly when used as languages of instruction like in Ethiopia. In this country classified as one of the poorest in the world, 23 languages have been developed for tuition in early education and advanced 13 more in about 15 years (Heugh 2010: 392). Investing in local languages has proven to be a job-creating possibility as it is the case in Nigeria, the world second largest film business, which based its strategy on multilingualism: 56% of the films produced in local languages for 44% in English (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2009).

Various statements, publications, conventions, and suggestions, including a range of conclusive studies have been addressing the introduction local languages in education and polity. Since the 1950s UNESCO have recommended the first literacy in mother tongues with gradual introduction of further languages, to African countries. These are not all implemented effectively. The assembled Committee by UNESCO to study language as instructional medium at global level came to the very conclusion that when choosing a medium of instruction, the language that children can properly and efficiently use should take precedence. If this is done, it becomes obvious that the child’s mother tongue will almost always be the preferred option (Fasold, 1984: 293). In other words, children who attend school in a second language perform worse than those who attend school in their mother tongue, since a lack of competency in the second language hinders comprehension and fosters unproductive memorization by repetition.

The following chapter strengthens the necessity to mobilize efforts and resources that foster the development of local languages in all spheres of the nation, namely in education.

Linguistic and Cultural Preservation

Within the space of three generations the linguistic assimilation took place by the way of a progressive structural procedure of language endangerment, gradual decline and language extinction. As a matter of fact, the study of Bitja’a Kody (2001) revealed that 32% of teenager in Metropolitan areas speaks neither their mother tongue nor any local language. Tendencies were not stagnating since then, due partly to the parent’s mindset on local languages and mostly as a result of new technologies that accelerate time and mask distance. After almost two decades of consistent situation, this population could be multiplied by a factor 20. This complex situation, whereby children in urban areas are constrained to learn languages that were either their first, second or

third¹⁹ language, brought about the momentum of foreign languages and development of the lingua francas such as Cameroon Pidgin English or Camfranglais.²⁰

The rapid development in recent years has structurally weakened some local languages that are now on the verge of slow and assured extinction. With such a serious threat to the anchor and vehicles of African culture, Cameroonian cultural diversity is also in jeopardy. Custodians of traditions and scholars from various fields have been sounding the alarm struggling intensely and ingeniously with cultural heritage continually under peril, attrition, and loss. In contrast to parents, teachers and some educational institutions concerned with the future of the children, proponents of linguistic diversity and language maintenance such as linguists admit the value of mother tongue education. They strive for the protection and preservation of mother languages trying to re-enforce, revitalize and impart them to younger speakers. Teaching of national language in the school does not only express a certain conception of the society but also transmit the cultural or national identity to the future generation, since language is the umbilical cord of cultural transmission. Traditionally, the verb involves creativity and maintains people in their own nature. The moment that people change their language, they subsequently change their state and sink into another mold (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 33). The linguistic assimilation in education left deep scars with those affected. Structurally uprooted from their cultural origins by formal education, they feel culturally threatened. It continues to be felt in every ethnic group: cultural alienation, spiritual estrangement, family dysfunction, near extinction of initiation, loss of rituals and indigenous knowledge. Yet any type of linguistic prejudice must be thwarted and counteracted under the terms of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities 1992 Articles 4.2.

Local Language as a Human Right

Authorities should adopt measures to establish suitable conditions for people belonging to minorities to express themselves and promote their culture, language, religion, traditions, and customs, save when specific behaviors are illegal or in violation of international agreements (United Nation, 1992). The constitution prescribes the status

¹⁹ Their first could be English in Anglophones zones or French in Francophone zones; the second ones French in Anglophones zones or English in Francophone zones; the third ones German, Spanish or Arabic in Francophone system.

²⁰ Camfranglais, Frananglais or Franglais is pidgin language of Cameroon, an urban sociolect consisting of a combination of French, English, Pidgin English, and diverse local languages of Cameroon. The language has come up in the big cities cultural melting pot of the country among young people. It has a certain significance as a peer-to-peer conversation medium, although it is not as widely acknowledged as Pidgin English. (DeLancey & DeLancey, 2000: 131).

of official languages and specifies that the state should strive to preserve and promote local languages. Although the ratification of numerous human rights Conventions is guaranteed and national languages are accounted for the protection of minorities and indigenous people's rights, the national hegemony enjoyed by French and English deprives them of those rights. In compliance with current human rights provision, all languages are entitled to be developed and used by their speaker for their self-advancement. It implies that linguistic rights and inalienable human rights are equally imperative. In Africa, this right is systematically and structurally violated because Africa remains the sole place in the world where the vast majority of children begin school in an unfamiliar language (Coleman 2010: 41). The absence of Cameroonian languages in education as well as in other formal domains, denies ethnic communities the entitlement to their mother tongues beyond the limits of their domestic spheres. The deprivation of mother tongue education could be perceived as a violation of an inalienable human right, and to a higher magnitude could be classified as linguistic or "intellectual genocide" (Kum'a, 2007: 28), thence a crime against humanity. In line with the United Nation definition of linguistic or cultural genocide that corroborates this stance²¹, it could be asserted that any subtractive formal education, that is, teaching children something of a dominant language at the expense of their first language, is genocidal. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001: 206).

The loss of language goes in fact beyond just the language lost, especially as long as children are instructed and compelled to use an unfamiliar language - whether it is an external language or a local one – within the space of two generations or three, their language(s), and often the appertaining practices are in jeopardy. The perilous progressive process of language death involves the destruction of entire cultural heritage. Cameroon and subsequently the entire world, courts the loss of significant portion of the human knowledge on any occasion a language is on the verge of extinction or no more used. There is a high exposure to the destruction of the diversity of knowledge systems comparable to the human species endangerment through the destruction of species diversity (Hinton, 2001: 5). The considerations of linguistic human rights are relevant to governance and participatory democracy.

Local Language as Factor for Democratic and Participatory Governance

The perpetuated colonial language policy fosters the official bilingualism, in which the government secures exclusively the development of French and/or English as

²¹ Article III, 1 "Prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group".

languages of education, administration and general public use in the entire country. Their strong weight in governance generates consistently various discrepancies between citizens and the authorities, and their dominance in the educational system resulted in parallel societies, serious disparities between the formal education and its social environment. The over fifty years status quo significantly widened the chasm between those who use of local languages and the official ones, between “non-educated / illiterate” and “educated / literate”. The divide is also understood in terms of modernist versus traditionalist; civilized versus uncivilized or townspeople versus villagers. The administration system that is supposed to bridge the gap is conceived for and by “privileged people” and can only be deciphered by a trained readership.²²

The stipulation of the present constitution is meant *inter alia* to protect and promote mother tongue ensuring the vigor of all languages. Yet the factual situation in education also in official daily interaction and function in Cameroon reflects the previous after-independence constitutions (1961, 1972 and 1984) and policies. With the lack of inclusive participatory in post-colonial ruling, there is no productive communication between administrators and constituents, if it happens, it is in a condescend spirit and patronizing manner. The formal education system built up on official languages, strengthens and preserves this barrier through the standardization of French and English. Actually, this standard hardly reflects neither the Cameroonian linguistic configuration nor the daily life spectrum of language used by the vast majority of the citizens. It amplifies instead the social separation, the concept of distance and a sense of deprivation and exclusion. The recognition of local mother languages and official multilingualism particularly in schools could provide for a participatory approach leading to massive participation and democratic governing institutions. A national policy based on such principles has the potential to link at the same time “all societal levels and facilitate communication, knowledge, power and wealth sharing, and democratic and participatory governance” (Ouane and Glanz 2010: 25). Subsequently, it could enhance the rights and opportunities to socioeconomic and physical development procedures.

Local Language for Social Inclusion and Economic Development

The restrictive use of French and English in the administration and education debases local languages relegating them on the periphery of the socio-economic mainstream.

²² For example, the law n° 92/010 of the September 17th, 1992 that rules elections. It stipulates that to be eligible for presidential elections the candidate should fulfill some conditions among other be able to read and write English and French. This is discriminatory because to read and write one must have been to school, the chance that is only given to a small privileged. This law forces every Cameroonian to read and write French and English.

The existing policies and structures feed discriminatory towards ethnolinguistic groups in essential domains of life specifically various public institutions. Substantial component of population is thereby maintained in total ignorance, deprived of their citizenship rights as they are ostracized from any participation in nation public affairs. This divide hampers a faster harmonious development and maintain at the same time the kind of society where a privileged few - namely the ruling class and English and/or French literates - enjoy an unfair advantage controlling not only the administrative, political, but also socio-economic and cultural power. The rest, due mostly to their linguistic deficiency lives by the fact itself in outright ignorance of the State operations, largely expelled from the determining national issues and development endeavors. They are either labelled as ignorant or inadequate, hence doomed to live in ignorance; this means also poverty, absence of education and poverty are closely linked—both in economic terms and in broader capacity deprivation (UNESCO, 2005: 30).

The linguistic breach structurally dismisses one of the most precious Cameroonian assets, essential for development in human resources sense. And no economic growth could be expected if greater numbers of people, manpower with good prospects to contribute to the development of products and services are not taken into consideration. Ethnolinguistic groups are driven to further cultural estrangement or subordination, social degradation and economic confinement, since their languages, precious assets for school performance including the ensuing social status and economic perquisites it confers, are unsubstantial or vilified. This commence with ethnolinguistic children, whose first and mother tongue is discarded from school, undergo low-quality teaching in their early infancy, and are therefore later on unlikely to contribute to the nation's economic and intellectual expansion (World Bank, 2006: 4). Apart from being discriminatory, the submersion in the foreign language(s) in Cameroon is downright wasteful resulting in a highly ineffective and inefficient use of human resources. It involves immense overall expenditures to the State and the society, given that the Cameroonian school system is expressed by low intake, elevated repetition rates, high dropout, and low completion rates. The negative consequences of the Cameroonian language and education policies goes beyond the underutilization of human resources. With the disproportional high illiteracy rate, this opposition is exacerbated and overwhelmed by different linguistic, religious, cultural or ethnic entities. This situation, added to the suicidal situation of local languages constitutes a permanent threat to peace and national integrity, the neutral foreign language was meant allegedly to preserve or guarantee.

On the contrary, the development and use of local languages by the government could reinforce feeling of affiliation with the country by ethno-linguistic communities generating greater participation in national development actions and endeavors, that means the integration of the various ethno-linguistic communities. A policy of linguistic diversity, ethno-linguistic pluralism and multiculturalism rooted in education, above democratizing right to knowledge has the potential to enhance the socioeconomic situation of the society, substantially in rural areas where native languages are preponderant. To fully tapped this withered potential, it is of a vital importance to improve communicative competence as asset to emerging knowledge-based economy through mother tongue-based multilingual formal education and effective non-formal education programs like it was the case in Burkina Faso (Ilboudo, 2009), or Ethiopia (Heugh, 2013.). Such studies ascertain that local and regional language development has strengthened and democratized local expertise, skills, and industry (translation, printing, and publishing), allowing women and other marginalized groups to participate more fully in local and regional decision-making (Heugh, 2013: 12). Provided in local languages, adult education, agricultural programs or vocational training etc. could have larger rural community attendance. Rather than a liability to national unity or an obstruction for learning and participation in knowledge creation, a generalized application of mother tongue-based multilingual education in the case of Cameroon could be turned into an asset. The rural community mobilization could represent an enormous contribution to national development and the building of modern society. In substantiating access to knowledge, this could additionally lead to poverty reduction in so far as access to literacy enhances the proficiencies of people. Knowledge leads to economic empowerment.

Positive Educational Outcome of Local Languages

Irrespective of the risk of extinction and the marginalization, the stipulation of both of the constitution and the educational law on the promotion and protection of the local languages go unheeded until today. In the meantime, with the silent approval of the authorities, private initiatives (SIL-Cameroon, CABTAL, NACALCO, etc.) have been promoting local languages through standardization, teaching and research. Schools however, are not taking the leaf out of the private initiative book, although new research findings are replete with negative consequences of the current language policies such as high school dropout, low-quality education, exclusion from knowledge creation and production or the uncritical consumption of alien information and knowledge through languages unfamiliar to the vast majority. The inappropriate medium of instruction is not the only cause of poor educational performance. Various

other causes or their interplay are considerable as well: overcrowded classes, poor infrastructure, inadequate didactic materials, inappropriate pedagogy....

The official adoption of familiar local language(s) in the school could lift the language impediment between the school and community environment or families. The socio-cultural significance of mother tongue would support community members to express their common cultural familiarity and tendency. Besides bridging the divide between two parallel spheres children are confronted with, a mother-tongue instruction could accredit local culture and knowledge - including their custodians. Recognized and respected, the community could be predisposed to be supportive for the education as they participate in sporadic persistent rituals. Community support implies as matter of course parental involvement and participation in school affairs. It could provide real opportunity both to understand the schooling process and to actively partake in the functioning and decision-making process about their children schooling. This is likely to improve access to education, for some parents are indeed reluctant to enroll their children in "foreign school" alien to the village.

The instruction in the language children understand presents also positive outcomes as far the school enrollment or the first steps at school is concerned. According to various international researches, bilingual or multilingual education enhances the enrollment and passing ratios lowering thereby dropout quotas. Children instructed in familiar language are substantially more likely to be enrolled in school as the studies of Bender and al. (2005) or Smits and al. (2008) demonstrated. As far as the World Bank (2005) is concerned, half of the world's out-of-school children are found in societies where the language of instruction is hardly, if ever, spoken outside the school. Based on these facts, in which the instruction in an unfamiliar language is a significant reason for children dropping out, there is potential of keeping children in school, by decreasing the level dropout and lowering the repetition rates. Valuing mother tongue in Cameroon means valuing multilingualism, since the population is multilingual as the social multilingual reality requires it. Qualification and promotion standards could be established along these lines.

Pedagogical Advantages of Mother Tongue Education

Landmark research on education by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (2004) revealed that language is the paramount determining factor of quality education in Africa (Ouane & Glanz, 2010: 4). Therefore, the choice of a schooling language and the related educational policy is imperative to successful learning. Knowing the relevance of language and communication in the learning process, since (1953) UNESCO emphasized the prominence of mother-tongue education "as far up

the ladder of education as possible". Various study and empirical verifications subsequently underpinned the convenience in the process of acquiring knowledge in the familiar language of the child as means of instruction. It is widely accepted now that the longer children native language is used for instruction, the better the performance of the education system, along with the positive outcomes of further languages taught in the system.

Psychologically, mother tongue is fundamental in building the child's initial perception in school since language and thought are tightly correlated. The process of thinking needs language in any form (articulate, symbolic, etc.). The early use of mother tongue in school provides tremendous long-term benefits in terms of optimizing the progression and maturation of a child's intellectual capacity (Chumbow, 1996: 5). It is a basic requirement as a familiar language for operative cognitive learning processes and teaching practices. It provides everlasting quality to children's learning process, thereby promoting their cognitive development. Chuo and Walter's evaluation (2011) of a mother tongue education program in Cameroon confirmed that children instructed in their mother language, achieved substantially better—125% roughly – in various subjects than their peers of a control group instructed solely in English.

Laid in the first years of schooling as a solid cognitive founding, the first language goes beyond simple medium of instruction and provides simultaneously a stable basis from which the complex knowledge develops including the acquisition of further languages (Heugh cited in Ouane & Glanz, 2010: 34). Cameroonian mother-tongues could be effective tools for education that increases the ability absorb knowledge and facilitates the learning of both unfamiliar languages and knowledge, because language as Chumbow found, is related to the development, access to and appropriation of knowledge plus the knowledge economy. Proficiency in mother tongue as initial language and mastering central learning concepts stimulates general cognitive development requisite for easier and prompter acquisition of another language. Often, further languages are either acquired in formal education contexts using native tongues - like in Europe, or by way of complete immersion at the point in time that the second language is exclusively the medium of instruction in early education. A mother-tongue based language policy, whereby foreign or international languages are also encouraged both in education and other spheres, will be beneficial for Cameroonians. Moreover, the abrupt language switch from the home native language to second school unfamiliar foreign language(s) has been engendering children's sense of inadequacy, low self-confidence and caused them to grow aversion to teacher and school. It results in a negative attitude towards learners' mother language, an estrangement from their

culture and most importantly a distance from their parents, their communities and their heritage. High dropout rates during primary school (grade one and two) in rural areas are attributed to be largely due to frustrating and derogatory experience resulting principally from the use of an alien language, that means learning in an unaccustomed language(s) from the first day in school. Instruction in mother tongue on the contrary could alleviate the detrimental impacts of transition from home to school, and through this mitigating process, it validates and reinforces children's home culture and traditional knowledge. Thus, it is significant for children to comprehend that their native languages are valuable, as this initiative bestows them with sense of better self-concept, self-worth with a strong sense in their own identity, and authentic cultural identity. In a different way from those who are compelled to learn in an unfamiliar language, children with such attribute are disposed to participate actively and achieve better in school and life.

Classroom participation is strongly correlated with the quality and the quantity of teacher-student interaction, the instruction in home local language could improve interaction (Hardman, F. & al. 2008: 55-69). Cameroonian students in submersion classroom are used to more or less sit passively listening or reciting. With their mother tongue as language of instruction, they might be able to express their full range of knowledge, early pre-school experiences and demonstrate their competence, which Piaget's and Vygotsky pedagogical approaches would endorse as productive for learning. With the language(s) students are attuned to, they are disposed to be active participants in the classroom and reveal higher self-esteem and greater intrinsic motivation than in the current monolingual classroom. All these hindrances to children's participation may be dispelled by use of the children first language (mother tongue), because enhanced student-teacher interaction permits students to prove their abilities, and raised parent-teacher communication improves confidence in the teacher while exposing him to more community supervision. In consideration of this analysis, it could be asserted that primary education in Cameroon, specifically early formal primary education and first literacy, is adequately initiated in a well-known language to the children - as a substantial body of academic opinion reveals.

Despite these constraints, the implementation of mother tongue/local language education, underpinned by a constructive language policy, should be an imperative preoccupation of the government. Literature is replete with various options that back up the introduction of local languages as language of instruction in Cameroon.

2.3.3.2.4 Options for Language of Instruction Policy

Out of the above discussion on the mother tongue, it is advantageous to examine what language(s) is (are) appropriate for instruction and as subject to be taught at all level of education. The chosen language(s) should ideally be reflected in the diverse administrative of local government units, division and regions, and imbedded in the country language policy. Four principal schemes to introduce local languages in the Cameroonian formal educational system could be outlined. The first option endorsed by Todd (1983) is the ratification of a single local language for education, communication and literacy that build up national cultural identity. Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) for instance has the potential to arbitrate as the national language, since it is structurally close to the vernaculars and its unique neutrality officiates as “no man’s language” without a particular reference to various dividing factors (Todd, 1983: 169). Although its neutrality is contested, Cameroon Pidgin English remains a widely spoken language both as lingua franca and as mother tongue in the country and cuts across linguistic, cultural and even national boundaries. This strong unifying factor according to Todd, added to the financial advantages related to the minimal cost of standardization qualify conveniently Cameroon Pidgin English to be used as national lingual for education (1983: 169). The adoption of Cameroon Pidgin English or any other local language as national might not be acceptable as long as it calls either for the intricate acceptance of another ethnic group language or for a simple substitution of an exogenous alienating language with another local one. This adoption seems to be more and more impracticable since local languages that are assigned to home and ethnic functions strengthen ethnic identities.

The second option promotes the division of the country into “linguistic zones” (Njock, 1966), with one or two selected dominant languages attributed for each designated zone: Basaa would be adopted by Basaaphones in the Littoral and Centre Regions; Bulu and Ewondo would be adopted in the Centre, South and East Regions; Duala would be adopted by Dualaphones and the ethnic groups that belong to the Sawa group like the Bakweri and the Bakossi in the South-West Region, as well as the Mbo in the Littoral Region; Fe’fe’ would be adopted in the West Region; Fulfulde would be adopted in the three northern Regions; Mungaka would be adopted in the North-West Region; and finally, Cameroon Pidgin English would be adopted in the South-West and North-West Regions by pidginophones (Njock, 1966: 3-13). This option has been put into practice from 1970 in the Department of African Languages and Linguistics of the Yaoundé Federal University by teaching Duala, Basa’a, Ewondo, Bulu, Fulfulde and Fe’efe’e. This initiative was paused seven years later (1977), due to escalating apprehension of insurrection from those whose languages were not taught, notably in

the areas problem where a dominant language is tricky to appoint (Chumbow 1996: 6-7). Indeed, speakers of mother languages that are not similar to the national...language have significant challenges in the schooling institutions (UNESCO, 2003). Like the first option, the second option maintains language hierarchies which impair the “incontrovertible” mother tongue education that results in the previously described marginalization major socio-economic forces of the nation. Furthermore, the ostracization of any language could be perceived as an ostracization of an ethno-linguistic community leading to polarization and social conflict, since language is often inherently tied to ethno-linguistic identity language in Africa. Ethno-linguistic members are characterized by duty of allegiance both to the language and to the ethno-linguistic group.

The “extensive trilingualism” or third language policy model (Tadadjeu, 1975) would likely alleviate the language status crisis. The presumption of unequal value, in conformity with the decision of the ceremonial induction of the National Council for Cultural Affairs in Yaoundé (1974), is to refer to all country vernaculars as national languages. The trilingual planning approach proposed by Tadadjeu or PROPELCA, is designed for average Cameroonian children to be instructed in their native language (presumably local language), the first official language (English or French) and a “language of wider distribution” (the second official language English or French or any local language). The option is reasonable since mother tongue literacy programs are promoted (Echu, 2003: 13) in accordance with the predictions and recommendations of UNESCO (1953). The predictions and recommendations advocated the stance that the prerequisites of both national and global participation and thereby the clear-cut necessities of culturally and linguistically peculiar communities can only be given attention by mother-tongue based education. Since the language(s) of Cameroonian children is not the country official language(s), adopting mother-tongue based education signifies multilingual education.

The fourth “quadrilingual” option Manga (2000) refers to includes a language of the catchment area besides mother tongues, a “language of wider distribution” and an international language (English/French). In contrast to the previous model, Manga differentiates international language (English and French) from the national “language of wider distribution” that should be given a functional status. He recognizes the six linguistic zones, that means Fulfulde, Beti-Fang, Duala, Basaa, Fe´fe´ and Mungaka. Although the trilingual and quadrilingual model seems to burden the national budget considering the necessity of providing teachers for each ethno-linguistic community, they have the inherent capacity of advancing mother tongue education while granting

simultaneously the acquisition of “language of wider distribution” in Cameroon, Africa and the world. This language strategy is far from the subtractive bilingualism, it is rather more in concordance with the bilingual and multilingual education that indicates the use of two or more languages - the mother tongue, a regional national language and an international one - as mediums of instruction (UNESCO, 2003: 17-18). All these options with different focus factors are significant strides in designing national language policy. Any language policy option should take into consideration experienced recommendations, principles and factors that have been proven to be efficient in a constructive language policy to avoid mistakes or repetitions.

The national cultural heritage, that should be articulated in official school programs as “socio-culturally relevant curricula” (Ouane and Glanz, 2011), have been more or less maintained, protected, safeguarded and transmitted to date, merely through community-based initiatives, traditional or informal education. The nature of the Cameroonian ethno-cultural heritage and its related traditional education is the main subject-matter of the following chapter.

3 The Concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage

3.1 The Definition of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

UNESCO refers to Intangible Cultural Heritage as the “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003: 2). As it is passed down through the generations, community and group members continually recreate it based on their environment, the interaction they have with nature, and their own histories. Additionally, it helps to promote cultural diversity by providing a sense of continuity and identity (UNESCO, 2003: 2). This includes as a result, also what the African Union sets forth, “the set of distinctive linguistic, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of the society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (African Union: 2006: 7).

It appears that UNESCO’s knowledge and cultural expertise are conceived solely by government agents in handling and operationalizing the Convention. Therefore, the thinking and management of the Convention is established neither on methodic study of the outcomes of inscriptions nor on independent scientific research and knowledge developed in educational and cultural institutions or foundations (Arizpe & al., 2013: 24). The Weberian²³ antonymic polarities between science and politics often resurfaces, whenever “authorized heritage discourse” (Smith 2006 cited by Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013: 4) of the Convention disengages most of social actors from their effective use of heritage whereas it favors privileged few. To what extent would this definition reconcile this antonymy and goes further just protecting state interest in furtherance also of local needs and delivering culturally appropriate understanding of culture or what is understood as “Intangible Cultural Heritage”? It New lanes for research and policy could be instrument into the work of the Convention strengthening intelligence and network in the midst of social science experts, academic, knowledge practitioners and authorities at the global, country, and local contexts. All those stakeholders could play a tremendous role not only by bringing clarity to the concepts and interpretations of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

²³ Max Weber makes a clear separation between what is scientific and what is political.

For fully understanding the concept of Intangible Culture Heritage it is necessary to bring clarity to the concepts of “culture”, “heritage” and “intangibility”, and to scrutinize the Convention definition through scientific views and various lenses of understanding and organizing the fluctuations of identities and cultural claims.

3.1.1 The Concept of Culture

Culture is a concept embedded in the politics of the discipline and variedly defined in the context of different social analysis projects. Considered by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) as an exclusive property of the field of anthropology, the concept of culture has been in recent years, incorporated in various studies and methodologies. Its definition has been reshaped and changed, including the testimony of natives. From the early Latin word *colere*, (signifies to till or cultivate the ground), three versions of the etymologically meaning culture could be traced: culture - tilling of the ground, *cultivare* - preparing the ground for crops, and *cultus* - religious worship, religious upbringing (Baldwin, 2006: 5-6). A proliferation of definitions has been derived both within anthropology and throughout the social sciences and humanistic disciplines. Thus, culture could not be defined unilaterally, there is instead a tentative definition to be revised over time. A critical review of definitions of culture underscores six various aspects (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952). Culture is a set of elements such as artifacts, ideas, symbols, behaviors, or the way these are combined (descriptive aspect) inherited and accumulated over time or passed on among groups of people (historical aspect). Existing within a connected pattern (structural aspect), these elements help address problems in groups of people and form segment of the cultural learning (psychological aspect) of behavioral prescriptions and values that guide people in their actions within various cultural contexts (normative aspect). The sixth aspect is the genetic one, the origin of culture, emphasizing the factors that have caused culture to come into existence. It appears from these aspects that “culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action” (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952: 181). The advantage of this definition is to combine various elements under one definition.

Postdating this work, Baldwin & al. (2006) identify three contemporary theoretical perspectives: the interpretive, intergroup, and cultural studies perspective. The first interpretive approach considers culture as a social phenomenon under a continuous

construction process through consistent message exchange through language and communication, rather than limiting culture to the structure of language and communication. The view of culture moved hence from a view of the items to a view of the process by which items are continuously constructed and reconstructed. The second approach switches the emphasis from invariable geographical, biological or nation-states categories to definitions based on group membership. Having its fundament on social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986) it explains discriminatory behaviors in comparison with others. How people/groups identify with or are identified by people, determine themselves and are determined by others and segregate from and/or identify themselves with others. Underlying this concept, people have both an individual and a group identity and the saliency of these identities varies according to the situations. The third perspective in the past few decades concerns the critical thought that considers the power relation present in the symbolic production of culture. It has its grounding in a new cross-discipline “cultural studies” that emphasizes notions of power and ideology - understood as a scheme for understanding and expressing the dynamics of the power of culture. Accordingly, “culture is seen as a determining and not just a determined past of social activity, and therefore, culture is a significant sphere for the reproduction of power inequalities” (Tim O’Sullivan & al. 1983: 59). By the way of an inductive meaning analysis of culture, Baldwin et al. advanced seven culture-defining themes - each with sub-themes. There are definitions that look at culture as system or framework of elements (i), culture as a tool for reaching some end (ii), as a continuing social construction (iii). Some definitions frame culture in relation of artifacts with purposely symbolic goal or not (iv) or frame in terms of individual or group cultivation to greater intellect or morality (v). Additionally, culture is defined in terms of location or social group or affiliation to a location or group (vi) and the ones that focus on group-based political and ideological dominance - including postmodern and postcolonial definitions (vii). Acknowledging the imbrication of the definitions – where some components converge other dimensions complexly - Baldwin et al. have represented culture in relation to structure, function, process, product, refinement, group, and power or ideology.

3.1.2 Culture, Heritage, Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage

The historical aspect of culture clarifies how traditions are inherited and gradually gathered, focusing not only on the set of cultural elements and patterns, but also on cultural inheritance. Culture, in this case tends to be considered as heritage, and this establishes the connection that leads to confusion between heritage and culture. However, there is a breakaway from the hardened concept of heritage. Heritage

denotes identity, a sense of both social and affective acquisition, the production inherent to the group people history; the concept of an inherited good that subsequently to be transmitted, which transforms it into an attachment and a reference strengthening the link between the past and the future. Shortly, it depicts a permanent form of consolidation and crystallization of dynamic and fluid features in culture. Besides officiating as a reference - charged with a variety of significances in somewhat considerable manner, heritage has the attribute of dissimulating the procedure that directed it to that function and height (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 61).

In the last decade, there is re-theorization of heritage that goes beyond sites, places, performances, or events to encompass social construction and cultural practice. The shift makes noticeable to the heritage-making process by applying and identifying the social meaning of objects and expressions. As a social construction, heritage becomes a result of the process of “cultural work” where the creation of heritage is dictated by the “authorized heritage discourse”. This discourse makes it possible to extend the concept of heritage to the cultural realm, and also recognizes from a predominantly object-centric form of episteme to one that focuses on living procedures and manifestations. This leads to the creation of the notion of cultural heritage. There is a similarity between the concept of cultural heritage and the notion of culture (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 61). While the latter is considered a core category that best represents in anthropology, the concept of cultural heritage is made of two main orientations: the first is related to property inheritance and financial assets imparted through the parental line; the second refers to specific products of representative and symbolic nature that a social group selectively processes and identifies itself by (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 57). Derived from the culture’s living process, cultural heritage is a product with specific historical and social modalities, a good that is primarily handed-down between people and generations rather than merely accumulated. Often it is related to the concept of historical process of forming modern nation-state and its processes of appropriating and concepts of public and social real estate (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 59). The notion of heritage is used to validate or create an abstraction of culture and human experience, where the historicity of heritage is officialized through material or physical symbolism, transforming intangible and fleeting phenomena into material or physical forms. This distinction opposes tangible to intangible heritage.

Opposed to the prevailing understanding of “heritage”, drawn substantially from the Western European practices of conserving and preserving architecture and archaeology, the Intangible Cultural Heritage’s Convention meant to be comprehensive

in upholding equality or the indifference to social stratum. In the last decade, there is a conceptual shift that validated the term “intangible” to determine cultural expression and practices to be more universally inclusive (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013: 4). This claim leads to the opposition between tangibility and intangibility. Theorizing this confusing distinction unravels essential ambivalence. As a normative concept, Intangible Cultural Heritage is understood to be ephemeral, to be undervalued compare to the tangible, in contrast with the material, the enduring or permanent (Rosaldo in Arizpe & al., 2013: 37). Although the heritage under study is claimed and recognized as tangible, the process implicated presupposes that it is immaterial and intangible, and vice versa. In fact, there is no tangible cultural heritage that separates itself consistently from another that is defined epistemologically as intangible. All heritage epistemologically is intangible due to the value attributed to it and its social impact. Culture be tangible or intangible is per se symbolic. The production of specific objects implies a symbolic value - knowledge and skills. In reverse objects play a similar role in a definite semantic field, in which they are accompanied by certain practices, so that they acquire symbolic effectivity.

The separation between tangible and intangible culture is manifested in the difference between on the one hand the outward and living manifestation of culture and on the other its massive, objective products. This difference fades away when it comes to the analysis of definitions, which encompasses both tangible and intangible (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 58). The alternative perspective is that intangible heritage gives meaning to the tangible, therefore rendering the physical secondary, intangible values are related with all tangible heritages, although not all intangible heritages have a tangible form. (Prosalendis 2003 in Smith & Akagawa, 2009: 210). In phenomenological terms, this distinction cannot exist. Heritage could not be detached from the world and people surrounding it, while putting differentiating links between the subject perceived and their distinct and owned objects perceived. This means that “the distinction between physical heritage and intangible heritage is... artificial” (UNESCO, 2000: 4).²⁴ This polarization is in essence rather organizational, institutional and political - to specify spot domains and areas of expertise - than scientific; for culture is by definition symbolic. It is the institutional refinement within heritage industries that the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage is necessary (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013: 4). Such a position renders tangibility and intangibility distinctions almost

²⁴ A comment of the former Secretary General of the International Council on Monument and Sites, Jean Louis Luxen.

redundant as the human actor and agent, as physical embodiment of culture and heritage, hold the only imperative status of tangible. The redundancy could be found as well in the Convention concept of “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as the notions of “heritage” and “intangibility” are both embedded in the concept of “culture” as defined earlier.

3.1.3 Cultural Heritage, Ethnicity and Ethno-culture

In its aspects and variations, culture is determined in relation to a social group such as family, clan, ethnicity, nation, community, company or political party. From these various features of an individual's social identity, ethnicity appears to be the most enduring one, a fundamental aspect of the self with significant real-world implications for the intergroup relations. Generally translated in and often synonymously used with the term nation, ethnicity²⁵ is a social categorization made of people established on perceptions of common social experience or one's ancestors' experiences (Peoples & Bailey, 2010: 389). Ethnicity is understood as an artificial social construction framed upon a subjective belief in a shared group. Perceived as natural, it conflates and is often confused with race, which is a social categorization based on physical appearance. Ethnicity however encompassed among others shared religious creed, cultural themes, physical attributes or any composition of these.

People considered to be of the same ethnic background or share the same ethnicity relate to each other most frequently based on averred ancestral, historical, societal, cultural, linguistic, religious similarities, or social handling within a common geographical space. Depending on the rationale these features of ethnicity, ethnic identity emerge as salient; ensuing variants could be hence distinguished: ethno-linguistic that accentuates on common language; ethno-national, when politically organized unit is the foreground; ethno-racial, when emphasis is laid upon the common physical feature on the basis of genetic origins; ethno-regional, where a specific local sense of affiliation originating from geographical detachment is weightier; ethno-religious, when the shared membership focuses on a religious, denominational or sectarian distinction. These sources of ethnic identity are often reciprocally overlapping and generally interlaced making the ethnic boundaries mercurial.

The defining feature of an ethnic group is the peculiarities of common unique cultural traditions and heritage crossing over generations. Ethnic membership bestows the cultural identity that distinguishes it from others, by often representing people of the

²⁵ Ethnicity is derived from the ancient Greek term *ethnos* which refers to situations in which people live and acted together.

world in binary opposition: “us” and “them.” Ethnicity represents “a series of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness” (Cohen, 1978: 386-7). It is an objective and subjective process performed by self and others depending on the diacritics used to determine the ethnic affiliation. The interactive situation is the primary determinant of the level of inclusiveness/exclusiveness applied in categorizing self and others. Ethnic boundaries are often fluctuating and are of a mercurial nature. Due to this malleability, ethnicity “can be narrowed or broadened in boundary terms in relation to the specific needs of political mobilization” (Cohen, 1978: 386). The boundaries of ethnic membership are often negotiated and renegotiated by means of the diacritics: which diacritic of ethnicity is preponderant depends on if ethnic boundaries are scaled up or down. Broadly, the ethnic boundaries fluctuate up or down according to the demographic, geographical, social, political, economic context.

In multi-ethnic African societies, resulting of inherited arbitrary state borders established during decolonization inconsistent with old ethnic lands, descent or kinship is a principal marker of ethnicity. Ethnic groups emerge as enlargements of lineage units, essentially derivative of kinship, clan or family links where cultural particularities are constructed to strengthen or specify this affinity. By means of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry, ethnicity appears to be the most or widest scaled identity. Concomitantly the perception by others as a different ethnic group with shared cultural, behavioral, linguistic, ritualistic, or religious attributes is a contributory agent in building this identification’s bond. Ethnicity (or ethnic identity) is usually interchanged with, held distinct from, or considered as overlapping with culture (or cultural identity) – in default of salient or superseding post-colonial national identities in gestation. Although culture in its broader sense could be released from this lineage or biological entanglement, in conglomerated multicultural African nation-states in which there is a mosaic of ethnic groups, it could barely be detached from ethnicity. Culture and ethnicity are inextricably intertwined insofar as culture is a fundamental source and determinant of ethnicity, its coherence and boundaries. In regard of ethnic identity development, socialization broadly assigns to the acquisition of culture - behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes - of an ethnic group. Ethnic groups preserve a sense of their cultural uniqueness and participate accordingly in a social framework that is characterized by some shared customs about living together. Its members work towards to a belief of having an authentic heritage, cultural, ancestral background. Ethnicity in return articulates and shapes cultural phenomena as an integral that distinguish it from another, which is rather one of the various constituents of the ethnic experience. The

intricate impact of ethnicity and culture on an individual's self-consciousness and behavior can be specified as ethno-culture.

The term ethno-culture or Ethno-cultural group refers to an ethnic identity supported by cultural practice, tradition, and society and to a group of people who believe that they are ethnically or culturally distinct from other groups or both (Hall, 2005: 65). This population entity considers itself having a shared ancestral history and identity and is perceived by others as such. In sociology, ethno-culture is ascribed to a bunch of individuals with constant culture and ethnicity. The ethno-cultural members perceive it as a fundamental inclination to maintain their ethnic central values. It is achieved through children that are reared accordingly right from birth, learning from family and community in their surroundings. They are likely to live those shared values except that they turn to another ethno-culture where they may have to receive the values of that group, thereby its culture.

Parallel to ethno-culture of which ethnicity is a nucleus part, culture goes beyond and often disregards ethnicity to relate to nationality, religion, language, social class, locality, or any kind of social group. Culture expands, flows, and develops unimpeded as individuals adjust to other cultures. In a culture, outsiders are acceptable and could be easily integrated. Ethno-cultural values on the other hand, are more preserved and less dynamic therefore unlikely to accommodate outsiders. An ethno-culture is a made of people who have been socialized by corresponding institutions and processes with similar pattern of thoughts, feelings, and actions. These similarities are a function of a group sharing one or more characteristics of ancestral, national, religious, linguistic, or geographical origin. That means an ethnic group with a distinct culture can be part of a culture within a larger culture, that may be of the same extent with a specific nation-state, or a sub-group within a nation-state or encroaching on nation-state(s). It may be contingent on a common religion, a shared language, cultural heritage, national background, or a common racial ancestry, or some mixture of these various factors. Africa, in this regard is a continent of diversity, an ethno-cultural diversity that forms the hallmark of African people. Thence importance to review the formation and development of African ethno-cultures all through generations.

3.2 The Evolution of African Intangible Cultural Heritage

Dealing with the evolution of Cameroonian culture(s) or Intangible Cultural Heritage is to address over three million years African history, which is rich and varied. Despite the multifariousness - in terms of language, religion, color, ethnic background, demography, geography, etc., there are commonalities to chronicle. Prior to "Islamic-Asian" and "Christian-European" intrusions, African people were governed by endemic

values and cultures, based on principles such as fraternity, kinship, the upholding of morals, the love and respect for culture or the consideration for the elderly. The oversimplified generalization overshadows the continent's vast diversity, so immense along these lines that it is challenging to fathom African culture as a coherent and cohesive whole. In line with its manifold nature, qualified generalization about African history and civilizations could be however made. As a matter of fact, there was a common cultural continuum over African populations more significant than the heterogeneous evolution of multitudinous ethnic groups depicted by discrepancies in linguistic and cultural features over time (Diop, 1963: 53-111). It is therefore neither a delusive nor an expedient generalization to denominate history, ideas, customs, and social behavior of pre-colonial and colonial society as "African". A sizable distinction is to be drawn between the pre-colonial culture throughout the finest period of Africa's history referring to the polity of ancient kingdoms and empires and the colonial and post-colonial African culture that emerged within the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The dynamic and remnants of the latter constitutes the contemporary African cultural heritage. Given its reconfiguration, re-adaptation and reconstruction according to inexorable historical circumstances and varied environmental conditioning, it is perhaps more appropriate at this point, to consider the Intangible Cultural heritage in Africa in terms of its multiple ethno-cultural histories rather than as a unified concept.

3.2.1 Pre-Colonial African Culture

3.2.1.1 The Early African Societies

The advanced research in genetics, archaeology and linguistics consistently instruct about early African civilizations. From North to South, East to West, passing by the center, the continent has never remained on the fringe of archeological and prehistorical research. The Horn of Africa was widely ascribed as the birthplace of modern humans. The recent archaeological and fossil evidences broaden the modern human evolution to various connecting places all over Africa rather than just on place, its East. That means long before the departure of Homo Sapiens from Africa there was a primeval dispersion within the whole African continent. The paleoanthropological UNESCO World Heritage²⁶ site Fossil Hominid Sites of South Africa, also referred to as "the Cradle of Humankind" (Fleminger, 2008: 7-10) is paradigmatic. Using the language structural similarities, linguists formulated the directional stream of pre-

²⁶ UNESCO declared in 1999 the Cradle of Humankind as World Heritage Site, the Fossil Hominid Sites of South Africa. Located about 50 km (31 mile) Northwest of Johannesburg, occupying 47,000 hectares (180 square mile) with a complex of limestone caves.

colonial migratory movements and identified four (ethno)linguistic groups: Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo. Linguistic similarities exist for instance in the last-mentioned known as Bantu from Nigeria to Mozambique. The Bantu-language speakers include Zulu, Fang, Shona, Kikuyu, Swahili, Tswana, Herero, and Congo. More than 400 Bantu languages in contemporary Africa are all linked together sharing similarities in structure, grammar, and key words. This led to establish that sub-Saharan Africans in their greatest number, descended from the same ancestors who migrated across the continent. But the continent is not only viewed as a site of potential archeological discoveries or insightful linguistic cognizance but also as a place where early great kingdoms and empires emerged. Well-developed and sophisticated civilizations, cultures, and societies expanded all over the continent from the 9th century B.C. era to the 19th century.

In ancient African societies, political organization and institutions were traditionally established on kinship and lineage - mostly matriarchal - licensed by an authorizing myth. The common ancestry constituted a strong and influential force for identity, integrity, and stability. Religion or belief including Christianity²⁷ then present in Africa, was an essential and integral part of life. It has determined moral obligations, controlled behavior, educated laws, traditions, and accepted codes of conduct. The political schemes and institutions were duly not partitioned into sacred and secular. Every society however, followed its own governing system; specific pattern of formation contingent on the conditions it faces, availability of resources, military power, management style, population, government forms, and size. Accordingly, power and authority ranged between highly centralized and highly decentralized government arrangements (Martin, 2012: 18). Societies were centralized either under single chief or federalized structure in which the population at the periphery paid tribute. The authority and level of power owned by the chief changed from one society to another, with some conferring overriding authority of making decision to the chief while other chiefs bestowed more of an honorific status upon. The establishment of political systems and institutions craved strong structures that necessitated the use of a monarch as leader. The centralized administration and hierarchical organization included the Shongai Empire, the Luba kingdom, and the kin the Igbo of modern-day Nigeria and Kikuyu of Kenya, to such an extent that they were disintegrated into age cluster structures, and power was diffused up and down the community with local elders providing leadership

²⁷ Christianity was present in in Egypt, the region around Carthage by the end of the 2nd century.

involving the population at large. Some societies also comprised little kinship entities that migrated around following animal herds or searching for sources of water. This is the case of the San of Southern Africa and the Pygmy of Central Africa, made up of little, wandering groups of hunter-gathers that once in a while ever developed bigger than a modest bunch of families. Regardless the organization system, lineage ties and responsibilities were the earliest institutions through which the African constitution functioned. As networks of kinsmen or alleged kinsmen, descending from the same ancestor or related ancestors, early Africans either lived in the very community or are regularly dispersed in sovereign communities (Chancellor, 1987: 163). The scattering and separation of societies was generated or exacerbated by the following exogenous influences.

3.2.1.2 Initial Asian Influence

Thebes, the “Eternal City of the Blacks” presents the most compelling evidence of the builders of the earliest civilization in Chem (or Chemi), as well as the great civilization in the South. The foundation of Thebes, like the Black state of which it was the center, goes back so far in prehistory that not even a general stone age period can be suggested. There was no Egypt before the Black king from whose name it was directly derived (Chancellor, 1987: 87). It was the northeastern territory of antique Ethiopia whence African culture spread over the continent. First Egyptians builders of the ancient civilization, Blacks started the whole dynastic system in Egypt about 3100 B.C., and the great civilization of world acclaim developed after these Black regimes began (Chancellor, 1987: 65). Indications leading back to Black Egypt were the terms and names used, the “Negroid features” tracing the line to 2nd, 3rd and 4th dynasties, ancient Black kings and queens that built temples and monuments, inscribed in stone, on mausoleums and stela of various kinds to perpetuate their memory with. The unearthed statues and portraits of kings and queens of Egypt also corroborated the claim of their “pure” African descent. Likewise, the race of the invading rulers “from the South” and over what kind of people did they rule below the first cataract was noticeable (Diop, 1954: 5-15).

The periods during which the Asian invasions took place was in the 3rd millennium B.C. before the unification of the “Two Lands”. They came in not only from the Delta and from Libya, but also from Asia occupying and controlling a fourth of lower Egypt. The invasion went through peaceful infiltration of waves of Arab refugees and merchants over centuries (Chancellor, 1987: 56). These were not warmongering invasions, rather invading Asian settlers who held the Lower Egypt (North) and while Africans held Upper Egypt (South). They were the precursors of the greater invading

numbers that came later both from Asia and Europe. The previously settled Asian communities functioned as allurements, but the plethora of the settlers produced the configuration of various new societies (Chancellor, 1987: 81). From this point forward they could move in authoritatively. Taking pride in their color, the great majority of ancient Blacks withstood the amalgamation for there was in Egypt a dynasty, originally as all-Black, that would continue to be unimpeded throughout generations: the Dynasties “Memphite” or “Thinite” or “Followers of Seth”, the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th - the chief pyramid builders during the reign of Khufu, 2590-67 B.C. (Chancellor, 1987: 68-69). At long last, however, the color turned into almost white instead of Black face in the royal line of descendants.

3.2.1.3 Black Egypt turning Brown and White

Before the fusion of the races that started around Egypt's northern boundary, there was a social stratification system configured for discriminatory practices to thrive and prosper. The confusion between social class and race was embryonic for the categorization. Progressively and consistently every time that Asians and mixed-race with Black descendants gained control, Blacks were relegated to the lower social, economic and political scale and status. The inceptive slavery whereby race had no bearing on the matter, began generally with subjection of the prisoners of war, debt bondage, punishment for crime, and the birth of slave children to slaves (Harris, 1999). The nascent enslavement involved all races regardless of physical feature were made slaves if captured.

Black Egypt started turning to Brown as more Asians move into Upper Egypt increased after the unification of the “two Lands”. The mingling of the two peoples besides producing a new type of Egyptian, progressively generated an Afro-Asian language and writing system below the first cataract (Chancellor, 1987: 66). It digressed noticeably from the initial one developed by Blacks, one of the oldest written languages whence “Cradle of Civilization”. The Egyptian language was an African one with an ensuing Asiatic sway, comparable to Arabic or Swahili. But it was dismantled and substituted by a non-African language as were other Africa creations. This stamped the growing schism between the Blacks and their “half-brothers” above the cataracts, begot the language nationalism, and the declination of the retreating Blacks to use the Asianized Egyptian language (Chancellor, 1987: 71). The two-way process of “intermingling” and succeeding sporadic encroachment meant victory for the white Asian at last. They were given before due consideration already as “Egyptians” before the conquering hordes from their various homelands swept in. The unequivocal repercussion was that increasingly Egyptians developed into light in color, close to

White physically, turned into more Asian in blood than Black. The higher ruling class of almost whites metamorphosed correlatively, thence the need to eradicate the African presence.

Everything indicating Black presence and eminence left by the Africans was to be destroyed. Larger part of the greatest early kings and queens of Egypt were Black Africans and an intractable fact was that the first African architects had been most irritating, and their statues were all over the place - wide noses, fat lips, and so on. (Chancellor, 1987: 76). The African names were generously spread across pages that magnified the Egyptian history - but not their African identity although they were completely Egyptians, not Cushites, Ethiopians, or Nubians. Some of the disguising masks were removed. The worship places, memorial structures, etc. that were of such magnificence and long-lasting quality made annihilation less alluring than alleging as their accomplishments. In the process, African epitaphs were consistently wiped out and supplanted with Asian engravings that credited themselves of whatever accomplishments there were. And wherever the epitaphs were so profoundly carved that deletion was unfeasible, they were concealed by building stone castings around them. The enterprise of obliterating the Black person's role in world history was so thoroughly executed throughout centuries that it reached a universal consensus (Chancellor, 1987: 69, 76). Despite the destruction the vast majority of the Egyptians remained African until the "flood" of Islam started in the middle of the 7th century A.D.

3.2.1.4 Islamization and Islamic Influence

If the Arab intrusion influence is dated back to 3rd millennium B.C. (Chancellor, 1987: 58), Islam became present in Africa in the early 7th century C.E. beginning with the 1st migration of 23 Muslims, followed later by 101 others, seeking protection across the Red Sea in the Kingdom of Aksum (present-day Eritrea and Ethiopia). Africa was thus the first place of Islam dissemination from Southwest Asia, since the Abyssinian king, Armah An-Najashi who protected the Muslim refugees, is said to have later converted to Islam himself. The dissemination of Islam around the continent was neither synchronous nor consistent, it was rather gradual and followed multiple trajectories. Those of the immigrants in Aksum who did not return to Medina in 628 CE, settled in the neighboring port city of Zeila (Somalia) establishing the "Land of the Berber(s)" (Berbera) that spread Islam in the north-east African region. Brought to North Africa initially under the Umayyad Dynasty, Islam started to peacefully expand in the full length of North and West Africa thanks to extensive trade networks established by various traders. Between the 8th and 9th centuries, Arab merchants, solitary Arabo-Berber travelers, including certain local leaders spread Islam along the East coast of

Africa and to western and central Sudan, meaning “Land of Black people” in Arabic. In the first half the 11th century, the Almoravid movement, directed by Berber nomads, gave the Islamization process another propulsion in the West African empires besetting the Aoudaghost and Ghana. This was the unique occasion some Muslim troops resorted to brutality to Islamize Africa (Diop, 1987: 162).

Another nature of Islamization was through automatic imitation of the converted Black African kings, notables and clerics, or through their violent leadership actions, sometimes going beyond their borders and becoming a veritable holy war – as it was the case of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Islamization of the royal family was misunderstood by people and required the fame of all sovereigns for them to be approved. Such illustrious conversions, despite its ruthless methods were barely viewed as foreign oppression rather as intrinsic transformation (Diop, 1987: 163-164). So, the spread of Islam in some regions were subjected to sporadic contentious. The resistance of the Empires and Kingdoms of Yorubaland the early Islam encountered in the southwestern modern Nigeria is typical.

Either peacefully or bellicosely, Islam fused with the prevalent customary life, and sporadically went through appropriation processes, its “Africanization”²⁸. Its propagation was facilitated by specific metaphysical affiliation between African creeds and the Islamic practices. “In the latter, there is to be found an invisible world, a doppelganger of the visible one; it is indeed an exact replica of it, but the initiate alone can see it” (Diop, 1987:165-6). This dual world apprehension is common in various forms to African beliefs to such an extent that Africans feel convenient in Islam, at times without perceiving the metaphysical horizon shift. African creeds, almost obliterated, were in the course of the degeneration and being depleted of their religious substance, their initial profound philosophy. The assortment of empty forms they left behind could hardly contend with Islam on the ethical and rational level (Diop, 1987:165-6).

The proselytization of Islam in Africa peaked with the expansion of Muslim commerce networks, linked by genealogy, trade, and fraternity. This consolidation conferred upon Muslims not only the social and economic effectiveness but also the possibility to exert massive political control and power. Islam expanded at the expense of traditional African, cultures customs and religions that were incongruent with it. Depending on the structure of the society, Muslims either brought about reconfiguration of existent African

²⁸ The process of “africanization” or “appropriation”, the process in which converted Africans made Islam their own, adapting it to their conditions will be analyzed in the following ensuing chapters.

communities or engendered new ones in compliance with Islamic models. There were empires (Songhai Empire: 1340-1591), Kingdoms (Kingdom of Gomma: early 19th century–1886), Caliphates (Sokoto Caliphate: 1804 - 1903), Sultanates (Kilwa Sultanate: 12th century–1505), dynasties (Almoravid dynasty 1073–1147) or Imamates (Imamate of Futa Jallon: 1727-1896). The Kanem-Bornu Empire (9th-19th centuries) for instance, at its height encompassing the modern-day countries of Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria and Sudan converted to Islam in mid 11th century. Simultaneously but more in direction of West Africa, the prevailing commander of the Bornu Empire also converted to Islam. As these kings adopted Islam, their citizenry thenceforth patterned after. The Ouaddai Empire and the Kingdom of Kano embraced Islam centuries later (16th century), which led the Sokoto Caliphate in Nigeria, commanded by Usman Dan Fodio who distinctly devoted himself to expanding Islam in the 19th century (Diop, 1987: 89 - 99).

Islam's power was such that if it had proclaimed that enslaving one man by another was a capital sin, it could have ended or reduced slavery in the Middle Ages (Diop, 1987: 168). Islam has at no time indeed exhorted the doctrinal abolishment of slavery, yet it was deemed for restraining its archaic institution - which the previous monotheistic religions, Christianity and Judaism approved and upheld as well. Without condoning it, the Islamic book prescribes a humanitarian line of action to slavery by adding the notion of liberty as a natural situation of mankind, limiting the possibilities of enslaving people, exhorting the liberation of slaves and regulating the slave's treatment and condition. With the expansion of Islam, the condition of slaves might well have improved, yet the institution was not abolished, any more than it was under pre-Islamic period. Effectively the Islamic Empire's expansion culminated in a much stricter perception and often arbitrary application of the Islamic legislation. For instance, individuals foreign to Islamic empires could be imperturbably subjected to slavery legitimizing thereby offshore enslavement operations. This conversion resulted in a poignant paradox of slavery in Islam: the humanity of the diverse regulations and traditions that brought about the liberation of slaves increased the marketing of more slaves only war could provide, compelling human being into slavery or slave trade. Enslavement was well entrenched in Islamic empires across Africa for over 600 years before the influx of Christian-Europeans.

3.2.1.5 Slavery and its Confinement to Africans - Atlantic Slave Trade

Motivated by material craving, cultural ascendancy, and self-aggrandizement, the European incursion in Africa was the outgrowth of a series of crusades launched in 1095 as Pope Urban II urged all Christians to protect Christians in the Eastern

Orthodox Church from Muslims, free Jerusalem, and allow Christian pilgrims to pass safely. The concealed goal of the Catholic Church – at that point the foremost mighty and prosperous European organization, yielded to the pressure it was confronted with from competing kings and warlords. The European kings and warlords posed indeed a competitive threat to supremacy and Land control of the Church in Europe, since they strove for the unification of their people alike and the extension their influence by participating in the Crusades opposing the rise and expansion of Muslims. These European crusades galvanized the insurrection of strong slave armies, kind of army of slaves the Arabs initiated around the world. The white slave armies, the Mamelukes, when stationed in Egypt, revolted in 1250 A.D. against their Arabs and Turk masters. As they overthrew the government, they established their own line of ruling sultans. With this debacle Arabs hated and looked upon whites with scorn, conversely the ex-slaves hated their former master even more (Chancellor, 1987: 153). The white slave's rebellion in conjunction with their bloody violent assault on their masters peremptorily put an end to the general slavery of the whites. With the abolition of the white slavery, the foci of enslavement were deflected solely on Black people, and Africa was converted thenceforth to the exclusive hunting ground for slaves. The deemed inherent black inferiority emanated from the dire felt need to justify the success in confining the institution of slavery to the African people (Chancellor, 1987: 153-154) leading to the prevailing degradation of a whole race.

The myth of racial master-slave superiority-inferiority, appeared to be a concrete phenomenon. As Arabization spread among the Blacks so did slavery, slave raiding and slave capture. The Arabs' insatiable and persistent requests for slaves shifted the slavery paradigm, from an institution that articulated a military ascendancy by the number of apprehended prisoners to an institution that triggered warfare expressly for the enslavement of men, women and children for sale and resale. Humans were reduced flagrantly to ideal commercial articles of trade, as chattel (Chancellor, 1987: 159), offering slave traders various incentives and motivations to deal henceforth in the lucrative business. The Black continent was extorted of its human beings through all possible itineraries depending on the stakeholders involved. Under the yoke of Arabs, approximately nine million were reduced to slavery across the Sahara. Half of the number of slaves along the trans-Saharan caravan routes were exported through the Red Sea and one more four million via the Swahili ports of the Indian Ocean (M'bokolo, 1998). If the Arabs were the pioneers and main slavers, they were abetted by other Black Africans. When they were not capturing black Africans themselves, Arabs usually purchased enslaved black African captives from endemic warfare between black

African adjoining ethnic groups or from unscrupulous black African criminals who made a business out of catching their own kinds. It could be argued that Africans were dealing in the business as survival strategy against the implacable institutionalized commodification of human beings that lasted ten centuries (from the 9th to 19th).

From the 15th century, the chattel slavery traffic took hold and gathered momentum with Europeans, a large-scale market within an economic system across the Atlantic Ocean that exported about eleven to twenty million the (15th to 19th centuries) – over the double of the previous ones within the half period of time. The Atlantic slave trade remains the largest slave import in world history, that besides precipitating extreme anguish for individuals compelled into enslavement, empowered Europeans to broaden their settlement in the New World and acquire tremendous capital to fund the industrial revolution. In this system of production, distribution and consumption goods (guns, ammunition, and other factory-made goods) were brought from Europe to Africa in exchange of human chattel, which were exported as slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas and the Caribbean. The triangle of transaction was closed with the return of the Americas' slave-labor plantations to Europe. The active participation of the Africans in this slave industry was proportional to the scale and the sophistication of the trade. Whereas some Black Africans resorted to slave abduction as a desperate act of resistance that corresponded to a survival strategy, the lure of profit systematically brought others, especially merchants and chiefs, into the transatlantic slavery trade.

Various empires and kingdoms re-built or massively established their economy on the slave trade leading to flourishing contact with the European settlements on African coasts. The Funj Sultanate, an ethnic group in present-day Sudan for instance, suddenly attacked the nearby groups in order to sell them into enslavement. The triangular trade constructed discrepancies that led to intra-ethnic disparities and divides, or where applicable, it impaired and deteriorated the confidence between ethnic group. It resulted in inter-ethnic enmity, which collective memory could barely discard (Chancellor, 1987: 159). On the interpersonal level, individuals or families then and since, found added wealth in the slave trade and high social standing was shown by the number of slaves one claimed, resulting in strife for the unique reason of seizing more captives. After hundred years of servitude, the enslaved by and large came to assimilate that they were viably second-rate beings, and that their White masters were first-rate in the very life's structure. For whether in Asia, Europe, South America, the United States or the West Indies, the historical situation remained the same: the fundamental connection to the past were severed. All the knowledge of the great old days were no longer known this includes also their lineage and family ties as well as

their real names, that were ruined (Chancellor, 1987: 77). The advancement of Europe and Asia 1000 years after the “golden age” of the black civilization stimulated to eclipse that civilization or depict it solely as the achievement of Euro-Asia.

3.2.1.6 Pre-colonial Configuration of African societies

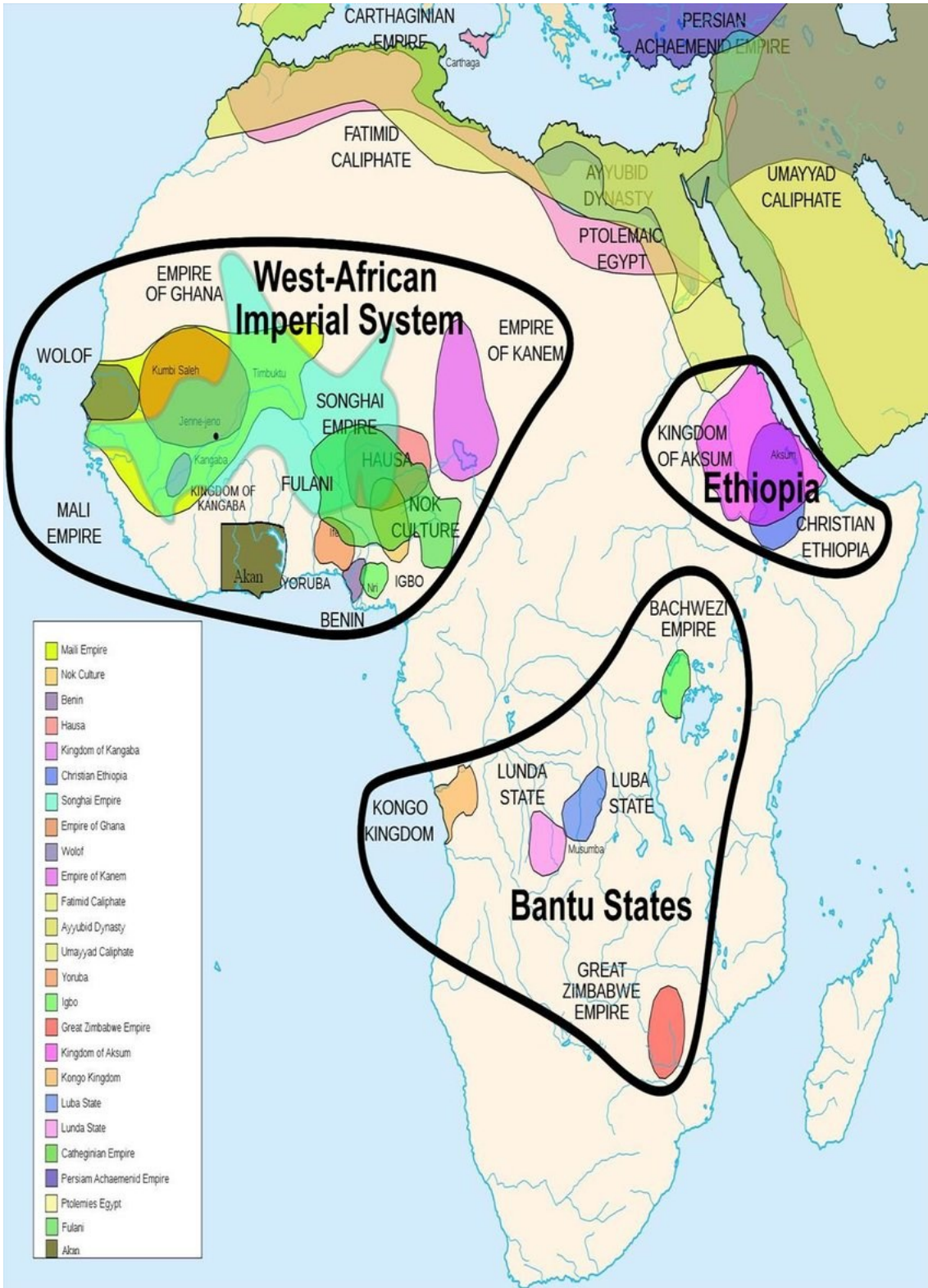
In general, primary African societies and civilizations handled the long-standing extraneous influences, “destruction” or/and natural conditions differently: resistance, cooperation, transformation, adjustment, re-adaptation, evolvement, migrations and other processes led to the formation, development or/and subdivision of ethnic groups. Noticeable pre-colonial African civilizations includes Egypt, Kush, Nubia and Carthage in Northern Africa. West African societies grew into organized political systems and institutions encompassing more of the space and its populations. A topographic plan of Lower Guinea seacoast from the early 17th century depicts around forty current various kingdoms that later merged however, to form the Asante empire. The empires of Sudan, Mali, and Songhai as well prospered in this cardinal point. Great Zimbabwe established around 1250 CE rose as the most complex civilization over all Southern Africa, whereas peoples of Zambia developed also an elaborate civilization. Exploiting the mineral wealth of their land, these societies exploited their own land’s natural resources, traded with neighboring communities, and basically built a vast network across the area. Further equal prominent models of societies existed in East Africa, the Kingdom of Aksum, and in Central Africa the Kongo Kingdom, Loango, Ndongo, and Tio states. Most of these pre-colonial African civilizations (empires, kingdoms, states or societies) varied greatly in size and structure as they emerged to fit regional natural environment, political, and socio-economic situations throughout the era.

African societies have been constantly adapting and readjusting to the various influences resulting in new order as empires, kingdoms or simple chiefdoms, both creation and rise of some and decline of others until the abrogation of Atlantic slave trade and the depletion of slavery. The abolition could be attributable on the one hand to the 18th century enlightenment actuated by the French revolution (1789-1799) respectively the abolitionist movement it triggered around the world, on the other hand to the unrelenting struggles as well as the resilient revolts of slaves themselves. However, in view of the of events happening in the French Empire lead by Napoleon, abolition could not be imputed to this motion that endorsed the resort to reason in the new evaluation of conventional conceptions and social establishments. Even the

ensuing Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen ²⁹ could not bring about a reversal of the slaveholders' stance toward African slaves. After the slavery abolition in 1794, the Law of 20th May 1802 had in fact the expressed resoluteness of restoring slavery in Santo Domingo, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. Whereas the French transatlantic slave trade proceeded for one more two decades, slavery was effectively reintroduced in the French Empire and its Caribbean colonies for fifty years, (James, 1963: 45–55). In this continuum, it could be assumed that slave trade terminated because it was no longer economically lucrative, the nascent industrial revolution rendered it ineffectual, expendable and superfluous. However, European profit-seeking, racist ideology, expansionist ambitions and self-aggrandizement did not cease, instead they intensified with the enlargement of industries requiring more natural resources, cheaper and free labor, and more marketplaces for large-scale industrial products. Implanting of settlements on African territory functioned as an opportune option to address these demands. This sparked new interest in the continent, all the more so as European powers extended definitely their claims so greatly that by 1900, European states had officially requested for the right to African territory.

²⁹ The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (French: Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen), is a human civil rights document from the French Revolution set by France's National Constituent Assembly in 1789.

³⁰ On that day, the French Law of May 20, 1802, was approved, repealing the Law of February 4, 1794, which had prohibited slavery in all French colonies. The 1794 order, on the other hand, was only executed in Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe, and Guyana, and was a dead letter in Senegal, Mauritius, Reunion, and Martinique, the latter of which having been taken by the British, who kept slavery alive on that Caribbean Island.



Map 2: Precolonial Africa (Before 1880)

3.2.2 Colonial African Culture and Postcolonial Cultures

3.2.2.1 Colonial African Culture

Long before the Atlantic slave trade, European explorers, missionaries, traders, anthropologists, physicians had been on the continent. Before European troops systematically besieged Africa, there was a meeting in Berlin.

3.2.2.1.1 Berlin Conference and Colonial Settlement

From the 1870s to the early 1880s, European countries like the United Kingdom, France and Germany began to look to Africa in search of the raw material and commodity for the increasing industries and the possible marketplace for the manufactured products. To preserve their economic interests these nations started commissioning and dispatching scouts to secure settlements from the African populations respectively their supposed representatives. Correspondingly, King Leopold II of Belgium contracted commissioners to request the expanse of land in the middle of Africa as to upsurge his personal assets acquiring this African region. To secure Germany's economic interests, the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, previously disinterested in Africa, felt constrained to assert right to territories in Africa. This rush brought about conflicts among European powers.³¹ The specific rivalry of Great Britain and France made Bismarck to arbitrate in late 1884 calling an assembly of European powers in Berlin, the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) that sealed the apogee of the competitors for African continent, an operation publicly recognized as the “Scramble for Africa”. Europeans' leaders and diplomats in service of their imperial interests carved up Africa: in the process, the assertion of their rights to African territory were then negotiated, prescribed and topographically planned. A joint agreement bestowed free exchange between the colonies and established a structured approach for future negotiation among Europeans. Neither the Conference nor the plan for impending negotiations offered Africans a voice in how their motherlands were divided and their territory mapped out. This disregard of distinct local cultures and histories essentialized all peoples in Africa as “Negro” (Fanon, 1963: 68).

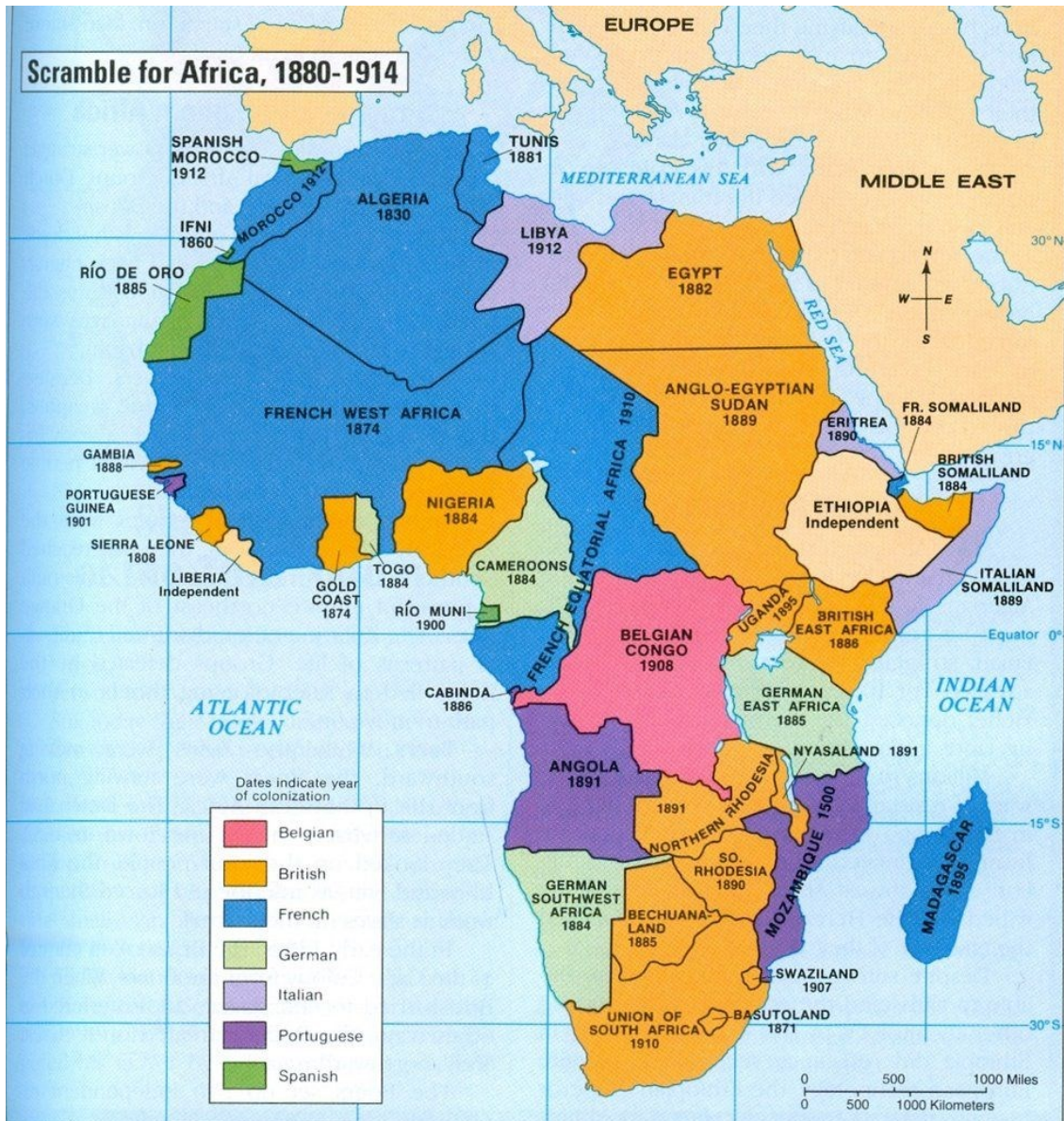
More than formalizing, the conference legitimated and adduced rationale for the European colonization of Africa. The colonizers gave reason for their conquests by arguing that they had a legitimate and theological obligation to take possession of the land and culture of the African peoples (Craven, 2015: 31-59). The European colonizer

³¹ European conflicts included the ones between the British and French in West Africa; the Portuguese and British in East Africa or the French and King Leopold II in central Africa.

conceived the precolonial history of Africans as one of “barbarism, degradation, and bestiality” so as to rationalize the hegemony of Western civilization (Fanon, 1963: 149) casting their function as “Mission Civilisatrice”³² or “The White Man’s Burden”, civilizing “barbaric” “indigenous” or “backward” peoples. The rationale for colonial intervention purported to contribute to the spread of civilization including infrastructure for the advancement of the various colonies, expansion of their economy and trade, introduction of western education and languages, spreading a “true” religion proselytization to Christianity, unification of the various African ethnic groups and the abolition of slavery and slave trade by African and Islamic powers. The conference conferred also free rein to systematic acts of aggression - organized, continuous, methodic, and willful - and systemic unbridled occupation. The assaults were willfully performed according to continuous, methodic plans and in thoroughly manners. The control of the land encompassed people and whatever was on it, particularly the natural resources Europeans required, and geopolitical convenience among European competitors. The related subjugation of the population was for cheap or free labor, for finished products, and for continuous destruction in the world of meaning. This exploitation system serves the same economic, racial, and degrading motives as the one of slave trade, at the narrow difference that the helpless colonized people were held hostage in their own land rather than an alien one.

The colonial settlement was systemic insofar as, along with the occupation of land, there was the exploitation material resources, the subjugation of Africans and quelling resistance. It inexorably led to the disintegration of African social bonding, culture, creeds, values, identities as well as knowledge, based upon the introduction and enforcement of pertaining colonial administration system.

³² La “mission civilisatrice” (in English “Civilizing mission”) was one of the axiom of French colonial expansion under the 3rd Republic. In the 19th century, the ideology of the civilizing mission finds its source in the myth of the white civilizing and its corollary: the inferior and the primitive nature of the Africa who legitimizes this civilizing project. The colonizers constructed an image of the colonized whom it has stigmatized in its absolute otherness; colonial ideology built a “negro otherness” (Conklin, 1997: 1-2).



Map 3: Scramble for Africa (1880 - 1914)

3.2.2.1.2 Colonial Administration Systems

There was a twofold administration approach for the colonies: the immediate management including the impairment and destruction of the existent structures and the long-range administration through the implementation of educational perspectives.

Administration Policies: The colonial administration was based on a dehumanizing assumption: the colonizers literally did not consider the African population as human beings. They presumed that native Africans are impervious to moral code and thus are the exemplification of outright moral badness (Fanon, 1963: 6) in contrast to the Christian invaders who are incarnation of good. In the resulting colonial administration, the European settlers took strategic advantage of the pre-existing ethnic institutions using two major rules equally condescending: in the system of “Direct Rule” the colonizers administrated their subjects directly, pertaining to the French colonial policy of assimilation. Higher rank was bestowed, and more rights and citizenship-privileges were stretched to reach Africans who assimilated colonizer’s rule and culture. In the system of “Indirect Rule”, the colonizers governed interposing local ethnic authority, a scheme peculiar to the British colonial policy. The combination of both policies was widespread, not only contingent upon time and place, but also varied from to colonizer to colonizer, from one colonized people to another to whim of their ethno-traditional structures and their attitude, conformist or non-conformist, towards the colonial invasion. The conformist African(s), “the good” to cooperate with, are those who surrendered admitting the ascendancy of the assailants. Individuals or ethnic groups with such “survival” strategy were strengthened thus assigned to be instrumental in pursuing the colonial agenda. The non-conformist Africans in contrast were the adamant resistant individual or ethnic group, “the bad” left on the side, to be weakened, ostracized, diabolized or if necessary, systematically wiped out. This was the case in Namibia, where German rule, hampered by unremitting native African rebellions culminating in murderous German retributions from 1904 to 1908 publicly recognized as the Herero and Namaqua genocide.

Like the slave trade, such a far-reaching enterprise affecting African precolonial structures would have not prevailed without African assistants, subordinates, and conveyor belts fundamental for such sorts of domination to ingrain, thrive and perdure. Beyond their stance on colonialism, ethnic groups were consistently plotted against each other to serve the interest of the colonial administration. This “divide and rule” strategy was a fundamental principle of European imperial policy of maintaining power. From its inception at the Berlin Conference, colonizers overlooked the configuration

and pattern of the unified African ethnic groups. Notwithstanding, ethnology or ethnicity was at the center of colonial administration. It translated in armies' racial policy, embodied in Gallieni's words: "Any agglomeration of individuals, race, people, tribe or family represents a sum of common or opposite interests. If there are mores or customs to be respected, there are also hatreds and rivalries that we must know how to unravel and use for our benefit, by opposing them to each other, by leaning some to better overcome the others" (Lebigre, 2016: 78).³³ By constructing and keeping different ethnic groups segregated, they contended against one another and let them squabble among themselves. This strategy helped to contain, control and suppress any insurgent movement likely to subdue the colonial administration. This is the case of Igbo against the Hausa in British Nigeria.

As colonialism expanded, ethnic societies were categorized according to the exacerbated extant criteria (cultures, physical features, languages, or religion) or based on artificially constructed ones (colonial borders or anthropometry). The categorized ethnic groups were arbitrary but were strategically allocated different rights, edges and privileges that justified, legitimized and normalized the categorization. Since Europeans claimed superiority over Africans, their appointed representatives considered themselves to be a superior breed respectively (Chancellor, 1987: 159). The pernicious Rwandan situation illustrates this colonial combination of political, military, and economic strategy of maintaining power. On anthropometric grounds Europeans segregated Hutu and Tutsi, giving the latter - the lighter-skinned thus superior - assets, preferential treatment, positions of authority and privilege, while the Hutu were made to do laboring work. Besides leaning on traditional ethnic structures and authorities, the colonizers trained local agents in colonial schools to serve initially as intermediary or subordinate in the colonial system; and later to carry out the colonial mission often as erected leader.

Cultural Administration: The colonial school relies on the epistemological and ontological prejudices that validated Western supremacy. It established a sound basis for European scholarship and episteme as credentials to enlightenment and the "good life". For their own benefit, the colonized find the better life assimilating Europeans cultures, language including religion, Christianity. Christian missionaries along with their schools moved forward with European administrations. Colonial governments that

³³ «Toute agglomération d'individus, race, peuple, tribu ou famille représente une somme d'intérêts communs ou opposés. S'il y a des mœurs ou coutumes à respecter, il y a aussi des haines et rivalités qu'il faut savoir démêler et utiliser à notre profit, en les opposant les unes aux autres, en nous appuyant sur les unes pour mieux vaincre les secondes.»

needed African staff for their system usually helped and developed basic and vocational education initiated by the missionaries, and often themselves supplied some sort of higher education to those chiefs whose cooperation they requested. The colonial administration respectively education systems are based on the Christian division of time and date, the Gregorian calendar. In conjunction with the system of months, there is a system of weeks, with Saturday and Sundays as weekend. The administrative cycle, processes and procedures are attuned to Christian celebration and festivity related to significant dates of the life of Jesus: Christmas and the adjacent the four-week season Advent, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Saints' Days, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week. Additionally, certain phases in the life of the individual Christian, which are characterized by celebrations and special services, are introduced: baptism or birth in the Christian church, confirmation, conscious confession of affiliation to the church, marriages and funerals.

Africans schooled in systems that exclusively inculcated in them the colonizer ideologies and ideas to show sophistication and elevation, gradually abandoned their original ones; they adopted for example the European naming system, Christian given names like Mathew, Mark, Luke or John adding to or even changing their African ones. African auxiliaries illustrated, through schooling, training and assimilation of colonial values, their inclination besides serving as associates of the colonizer to sustain the supremacy the colonial "school", promoted it and advocated for it. By endorsing it they invalidated, marginalized, and eroded the knowledge, experience, and rights of Africans and consequently maligned and deprecated the lives of Africans. Education was not just to train local subordinates to serve, but also concomitantly a paramount instrument of transmitting European cultures and in the process, leading to the erosion if not the annihilation of the African ones. Unlike other civilizations, most African communities preferred oral tradition, although a few possessed written languages. Their past was recorded mainly through stories and oral histories and knowledge was transmitted from generation to generation, through initiatory practices, ritual and different types of traditional education. This systematic conveyance was purposefully damaged, if not absolutely interrupted by colonization. With its technological superiority, with its own methods and ideals of life, colonization did everything to substitute its own way of living for that of Africans. To avoid sowing in fallow land, the colonial powers had to "clear" the African tradition in order to plant their own (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 26).

The colonial administration thus first began by fighting the traditional African educational institutions, chasing down the holders of traditional knowledge and

illegalizing educational ritual and customs. Local practitioners and healers were thrown into jail as “quacks” or for “illegal practice of medicine”. In colonial schools for instance, children were not allowed to speak their native language to prevent traditional sways. So much so that the contraveners were either reprimanded or were affixed with a small board named a “symbol” on which was a donkey’s head and were deprived of lunch (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 27). The abandonment of local languages would sooner or later cut Africans from their customs and alter the very structure of their minds. It would irretrievably sever the humanity of one of its riches, of a deeply human lifestyle, fraternal and balanced, more and more rare in modern humanity (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 32). It was essential in the cultural aggression to prevent African people to re-discover the threads that connect them to their most distant ancestral past. The feeling of historical continuity, the most efficient cultural armor with which African could protect themselves was interrupted in its seminal state. The erasure and annihilation of historical consciousness have been hallmarks of colonization, subjugation, and dehumanization practices since the dawn of humanity (Diop, 1981: 212). Where the colonizers aroused reservations to penetrate, their ideas, conveyed by African subordinates, attained the masses in remote and inaccessible areas, so that the transmission hardly finds more ground or exercise. Other than imposing its rules on the African country’s present and future, colonialism turns the historical conscience of the Africans “distorts it, disfigures it, and destroys it.” The result was like a “hammer to the head of the indigenous population.” (Fanon, 1963: 149). It is more a combination of process to merely exploit and abuse the people, to strip African people of culture and history. In asserting that the Africans possess no culture, the European powers deny the African their history and humanity, in effect ruining their cultures, making them cultureless and nationless.

3.2.2.1.3 Re-Configuration of Colonized African Societies

From previous extraneous influences, African civilizations, cultures, and traditions could heretofore reconstitute themselves as societies and perpetuate themselves and their cultural heritage thanks to memories transmitted through oral tradition deeply rooted in family, kinship or lineage ties. Constantly in fluctuation, African communities from the antique till colonial time, have freely changed, adapted, and evolved according to the nature of the extraneous influences, to internal contexts (intra-ethnic disposition or inter-ethnic relation) and to the discretion of climatic and environmental alterations. The colonial assault and settlement engendered the widespread collapse of the large pre-colonial African empires and kingdoms, “small splinter states spread over the continent like an epidemic” (Chancellor, 1987: 58). African ethnicities who used to

migrate freely to the whim of natural conditions and/or security reasons were found trapped in the confinement of incarcerating colonial artificial units called countries. There had been civil wars, re-division of the country, reunification again, decentralization, a breakup into autonomous monarchies and back to unification once more. These fluctuations depended on the strength or the weakness of the local leadership in any given period, or the role played by the colonizers in unifying or failing to unify the country (Chancellor, 1987: 79) until the outbreak of the two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) that changed the colonial gestalt. Africans could not be related to the World Wars, they however participated actively at the sides of their respective colonial masters.

World War I in particular, and the enormous hardship and casualty it engendered, drove few Europeans to question whether countries who so brutally fumble their claim issues, have the moral right to dictate to others. A few reflections of this conception were found in the League of Nations and the mandate framework applied to the previous German colonies.³⁴ These were entrusted as mandated territories to either French or British administration without complete possessions of the victorious nations. Although the role of the new rulers in equipping the Mandate territories and their peoples with self-rule was announced, this was indeed not implemented but led to the territorial breaking up of the colonial empires starting by the German one, which ceased to exist in 1919. The subsequent subdivisions of the other colonial empires into smaller territorial states assigned Africans to arbitrary border confinement. From this point forward the formation and advancement of an ethnic group occurred actively as colonial power purposely and directly conceived separate identities to establish their authority: the conservation or imposition of certain cultural values, power relations, etc. The limited freedom of movement in constrictive artificial national borders exacerbated ethnic fractionalization in some geographical areas and accelerated it in others, leading to ostracization from larger communities. Ethno-cultural groups that inhabited remote areas, endogamous over generations and developing unique cultural and genetic traits, evolved from cultural continuities interacting with their specific environmental conditions. In these cases, ethnic formation often results in an identity that is less valuable than one that stands in stark contrast to competing groups. In many cases, social grouping is inclined to depend mainly on familial identity, rather than a larger

³⁴ The German colonies German East Africa (Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi), German South-West Africa (Namibia), German Kamerun (Cameroon), and Togoland (Togo), it meant shift of colonial master, thence the type of administration system, education system and language(s).

shared identification relating often to ethno-cultural revitalization or formation of a different ethno-culture. Subsequently it resulted in an immense continental diversity. The same ethnic groups could be found in different restricted perimeters or countries, with different cultural varieties according to the coexistence with other ethnicities in another geographical territory.

From the outset, the colonial enterprise was founded on economy, politics, culture, and psychology. Whereas its economic and political reasons were preliminary ostensibly flagrant, the cultural and psychological incentives intrinsic to colonial ideology, appeared later more conspicuous, more pronounced definitely not less outrageous as Europe consistently assailed Africa in different ways and intensity. The manifold and pervasive fallout of colonialism affected and somewhat still affects the pattern of thought, behavior, and generally the life of the colonized. It was quick to “dislocate in spectacular fashion the cultural life” of Africans. The “cultural obliteration” was sanctioned by the denial of local reality, the introduction of new legislations, the ostracization of the natives along with their traditions to remote areas, unrighteous cultural appropriations, and by the “systematic enslavement of men and women” (Fanon, 1963: 170). The methods and agents of colonialism changed, as did its primary foci of assault, whilst its driving motivations along with the underpinning ideology are dubious and controversial. In any case the official declaration of independences is arguably designated as post-colonialism.

3.2.2.2 Postcolonial Cultures

3.2.2.2.1 African Independence Movements

Since the inception of the colonial settlement, Africans have been resisting and fighting heartily against its bondage immediately developing a feeling of rebellion. What commenced by later 1950s as sporadic struggles for liberty, became a trans-border movement with continental dimension as the crusade for freedom swept through the Africa. The colonial enterprise was confronted with a wave of African struggle for independence triggered by political parties. These are built by appreciable numbers of Africans who had emerged by the end of the 1940s from traditional society through the good fortune for economic development and education. A broader and favorable coalition to appeal for support could be developed around those political parties or enlightened Africans against the deliberately colonial exploitation by ever more thoroughly rooted European political and economic systems. Complementary and sometimes parallel to the politicians, there were the cultured class of African scholars whose hallmark is “the recognition of a national culture and its right to exist” (Fanon, 1963: 147).

The colonized intellectuals position themselves in history – inconsistent with politicians that situated themselves in the expediency of the present. Intellectuals, well aware of the dangers of falling into Western culture, went back to an era furthest from colonialism. They are not strong enough to accept the oppression of late history. Therefore, they reclaimed the past to rebuild the national culture, and through its consciousness the struggle for nation could be legitimized. The pursuit of reclaiming the past is not circumscribed to a national endeavor; it was performed on a “continental scale.” The past could be brought back, but not the cultural past, since the colonizers considered Africa, on a continental scale as a “den of savages” that is cursed, evil, and hated (Fanon, 1963: 150). The colonized intellectuals’ attempt to right this wrong had to broaden it to African, or “Negro,” culture. As colonialism opposed “White” culture to other “noncultures”, “Negro” culture, “Negro” literature or “Negritude” in particular, must enclose the whole continent.

The continental fight commenced regionally with the politicians or political parties organized in federation-wide political association, such as the African Democratic Rally (RDA) - a western Africa-based umbrella organization with different branches (1946) - that sought equality for Africans and achieved many of its goals, despite of harsh repressions. The independence struggles had taken hold and went beyond the “Negro” perspective to encompass Africa as a continent. This continental alliance against the colonial enterprise that crossed and blurred racial, ethnic, cultural and religious disparities was materialized by the Casablanca Group or bloc. The group was constituted of African independence leaders of seven states, Gamal Abdel-Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sékou Touré of Guinea, Modibo Keita of Mali, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Ferhat Abbas head of the transitional administration of the Algerian republic, Abdelkader Allam, a representative of Idriss 1st of Libya, and Mohamed V of Morocco (Mazrui & Wondji, 1998: 470-471). They shared the continental vision and need for political unification or federation by transferring many powers from Africa's newly independent countries to a supranational, pan-African authority as a means to annihilate colonialism, advance cultural exchange, enhance the continent's geopolitical significance and build up economic advancement. In line with their aim of supporting the independence of others, Nyerere at conference of independent African states in Ethiopia (1960), called for the creation of an East African Federation. Tanganyika may have postponed independence from the British Empire until neighboring Kenya and Uganda could do the same. It would be more accessible for the three countries to unite the moment they gained independence than after,

because after that their respective governments might feel like they were losing autonomy as a result of the unification (Smith, 1973: 72).

These various strident movements that strove for outright systematic independence were given their strong and grimly repressive response. The unrelenting separatists, who bluntly aspired to complete freedom and right of self-determination were subdued and fought against, with election fraud to incarceration of relentless leaders, waging war against them, when necessary to their blatant assassination. Some independence movements and/or their corresponding fugleman were accused of communist affiliation as fallout of cold war. The Algerian War of Independence, the “Congo Crisis” or the Cameroonian “hidden war”³⁵ are typical. Whereas the relentless are debilitated or incapacitated, amenable local politicians or leaders were co-opted, converted and accredited for another colonial approach. These were African intellectuals that disguised their belligerency in their barely concealed aspiration to assimilate themselves to the colonial world. The “colonialized bourgeoisie” offered peaceable and then compromised as further means out of the brutality of decolonization. Such contrivances jeopardized the right to equality, blunted and trivialized the independence struggles. Where “indirect rule” prevailed, whereby the elected were primarily representative of the local chiefs, pro-colonialists Africans were still government nominees. In both rules, the representatives, purposely trained by the colonizer were chosen by them, essentially after rigged elections but on no account elected by the people. Although the claim and the struggle for independence was a continental phenomenon, independence was granted to single countries and negotiated separately, often with individual politicians instead of the whole constituency. That means after having politically, physically or militarily eliminated those who tenaciously asked for it, independences were then granted conditionally to those who asked for it the least.³⁶

African countries were independent provided that the colonizers had a stranglehold on them, keeping control in form of cooperative agreements, which gives the colonizer a

³⁵ The latter in particular also known as Bamileke War, is the independence struggle between the colonizer France and a Cameroon’s nationalist political party the Cameroonian Peoples Union (UPC) predominantly made of Bamileke ethnic group. Launched in 1955 as upheavals, the movement endured even after independence in 1960 stamped as “rebellion” to be quashed. The first President the independent, Ahmadou Ahidjo requested continued French military intervention to fight the UPC rebels or maquisards. The rebellious party was consistently crushed by the joined Cameroonian and French Armed Forces by 1964 and its leadership Ruben Um Nyobe (1958), Félix-Roland Moumié (1960) and Ernest Ouandié (1971) one after another violently eliminated (Deltombe, 2011: 114).

³⁶ Pierre Messmer, the French high commissary of the Republic in Cameroon from 1956 to 1958, later Minister of Armies under Charles de Gaulle from 1960 to 1969 revealed in his autobiography the French strategy in the following words: “We will grant independence to those who demanded it the least, after having eliminated politically and militarily those who demanded it with the most intransigence” (Deltombe, 2016).

preponderant role in terms of trade, monetary system, military, administration policies and government system. One of the first single initiatives was led by Nkrumah with his own mass political party. After general election victory, he negotiated a succession of concessions with Great Britain, and in 1957 the Gold Coast became an independent state of Ghana. When Britain consented to the principle of working with nationalist politicians, other African colonies started to take after the case set by Gold Coast. The flagrant independence of French colonies was a deterrent example. With the reinstatement of De Gaulle in power (1958) after the collapse of the French Fourth Republic, the colonized were proposed complete internal self-government in a referendum, as a French assistant to the French community dealing with supranational issues. With the exception of Guinea, where Sékou Touré guided his fellow constituents to vote for outright independence, all of the French colonies voted for this scheme. The consecutive mass independences in 1960 entailed cooperation agreements, which gave France a preponderant role in terms of trade, monetary, cultural, military, and political cooperation, including administration procedures.

3.2.2.2.2 Post-Independence Administration

From 1957 to 1976 almost all the former colonies were enacted as independent states, marking the end of the colonial period. 37 Africans in the new countries elevated flags, celebrated uplifting song for created nations, and honored the rise of new nation's builders or freedom fighters. However, the African pursuit of freedom and after-independence aspiration to expansion could barely unfold, for colonialism left behind abiding legacies that maintain and nurture colonizer influence. With his statement "Gabon is an independent country, but nothing has changed between Gabon and France, the status quo continues" (Fanon, 1963: 28), the president Léon M'ba, first appointee of this nascent nation, depicts this influential French omnipresence. After colonization, such countries remained shackled to their colonialist(s). Such a political heritage eroded democratic perspectives. Wars or turmoil waging from the middle of the 1950s until the 1970s were gradually developed into a system of government, through which extremely violent techniques of war were routinized and formalized in a certain way. The condoned dictatorship fortified in single-party regimes, turned out to be approved as a kind of permanent war not only against the opponents of the regime, but also against the entire population that craves for freedom. Torture as a matter of fact turned into commonplace, a standardized practice of a regular system. Some

³⁷ There are exceptional independences that are attained later on, countries such as Djibouti in 1977 from France, Zimbabwe in 1980 from United Kingdom, Namibia in 1990 from South Africa.

traditions, cults, ethnic or religious groupings, writers considered subversive or non-conformist were arbitrarily outlawed. The history of the emerging independent African countries has been replete with a chronicle of bombings, summary executions, beheadings, prosecutions or genocides. By delegating repression to local people at the local level, colonizers transformed colonial conflicts into sporadic civil wars, the fires of which were never really extinguished.

The colonial political legacies impinged administrative, economic, cultural, intellectual, and social aspects of life. State organs or government institutions were established as authoritarian and authoritative symbols but deliberately made to function depending on the appointed civil servants. Institutions appear weaker than the appointed person giving room to abuse of power or the cult of personality. The colonial system of forced labor and the subsequent normalized post-colonial violence, appertaining to the structural daily administration was reflected in the educational practices as corporal punishment. Despite formal independence colonial socio-cultural implications and repercussions on Africans were devastating in the post-colonial era. We find three groups. The “colonized intellectual”, the better educated people from the natives in colonizer standards are often appointed to be the mediating representative. The colonists had “implanted in the minds of the colonized intellectual that the essential qualities remain eternal in spite of the blunders men may make: the essential qualities of the West, of course”; trained “ready to defend the Greco-Latin pedestal” (Fanon, 1963: 11) versus any antagonist. Besides the privileges related to their status, the native of the highest class took over the colonial state that exploited the colonized instead of serving them. The second, the native worker is valuable for services they render to the colonizer. The third one, the poorest class “the lumpenproletariat”, the system obviates them, their conditions preclude any chance of participation and they are the first to undergo violence from the colonist (Fanon, 1963: 66). Africans’ quest for freedom and dream of expansion did not become reality after independence given the historical precedents that led to colonialism, its foundation, its lasting and changing aspects, and its subsequent calamities. It is therefore comprehensible for the colonized intellectual to seek return to precolonial times and culture.

3.2.2.2.3 Reconfiguration of African Societies and Culture(s)

More than physically disarming Africans, colonialism robbed them of their pre-colonial cultural heritage. To reverse the colonial order and thwart the post-colonial strategy, the quest of the colonized intellectual considers the impulse to defend, re-discover, and tout their cultural roots (Fanon, 1963: 148). Three parallel, sometimes contradictory orientations with different apprehensions of “nation” emerged; (i) nation continental in

scale (ii) nation as state or “political nations” and (iii) nation as ethnicity or “cultural nations” (Meinecke, 1970: 10-11).³⁸

Continental Culture: The anti-colonial struggle in Africa was to be performed on behalf of African consciousness in opposition to the blanket notion of European domination with the whole continent as essential framework for contention. This quest was articulated both as the continental African unity as well as the colonial category of the common African or “Negro” culture - even enclosing African Americans and Afro-Europeans in the initial congregation of the African Cultural Society in 1956 engendering Pan-Africanism. Besides on the geographical arena, the conceptualization of this struggle was established on the common historical indignation of the transatlantic trade along with the impairments of the colonial “scramble”, onslaughts and domination; on the shared cultural traditions or ancestor-creed officiating as common political agency; and on the concerted endeavor to break up the economic foundations of colonialism. It challenged the interest-driven colonial borders by essentializing the entire continent akin to the colonizers’ contrivance at the Berlin conference. The invention and development of diverse cultures about which colonizers declaim in emphasizing the “great ethnic differences” among Africans was intentionally designed. The apprehension of Africans developing an eventual sense of wholeness and unification of actions are profound and hundreds of years of age. Many ingenuous schemes are successfully implemented to uphold contentions and partitions (Chancellor, 1987: 162). The continental aspiration of the Casablanca group advanced as the members vouched to support the Algerian Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) in its struggle against French domination. This solidarity impetus towards the dependent Algeria was impaired by the opposing group, the Monrovia Group (Englebert & Dunn, 2013: 320–321). The Monrovia Group pledged rather for the colonizer France. In the attempts to cast their differences aside the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 - today the African Union - was created. OUA has only achieved limited integration and unity of its member states as upheld by the Monrovia Group. It legitimated the promotion of nationalism, the creed that each nation of Africa should be self-governing, nation-states as instituted during decolonization over Pan-Africanism.

Lured by power of lower scope, leaders of newly African states emphasized the value of preserving their autonomy and building up their unraveled institutions, militaries and

³⁸ Meinecke made an important distinction between “political nation” (Staatnationen) and “cultural nation” (Kulturnationen); the former having shared “political history and institutions such constitution” and the latter growing out of commonly experienced cultural heritage - including common language, religion customs and history (Meinecke, 1970: 10-11).

economies. Culture at a continental level was perceived as overly simplistic, vague and kaleidoscopic identities: “colonized”, “(Pan)-African”, “Black”, or “Negro”. It again reproduces colonial racism relegating African people to “animals stripped of their humanity”. Additionally, a continental movement could be considered as limited, too diffuse to address various specific local struggles, which required concrete resistance on a national level. This pursuit at recovering continental continuity throughout history is considered utopian and conclusively counterproductive. It paradoxically restricts efforts at emancipation by re-introducing an essentialist, comprising and often bourgeois singular understanding of “nation”. Thence the importance of taking it from the continental character to a national one, for “every culture is first and foremost national” (Fanon, 1963: 154).

National Culture: Nation should be the primary arena for contestation to encourage a distinctive articulation of downtrodden people’s cultural diversification throughout class lines. To enact national liberation, it is essential to re-create a national culture that colonialism has systematically destroyed, ultimately not as ancient reality waiting to be disclosed in a restoration of pre-colonial history and tradition, rather as an extant one at the present national level. National struggle and national culture then become inevitably intertwined. The struggle for national liberation is the struggle for the ground of cultural expansion, in as much as a national culture barely prevail under predicaments of colonial subservience (Fanon, 1963: 161-171). The apex of this cultural expression is in the claim for the status of independent state itself. This struggle leads to a break from the subservient conditions forced on the nation by colonization, to a “national consciousness”, which essential to the struggle people initiated, depicts the pinnacle of national culture. The struggle for national culture is not an outcome to itself, rather a liberating process, from which the nation comes up as an equal participant on the international platform, where a worldwide awareness can find and reinforce a set of universal values (Fanon, 1963: 179-180).

Although this conception features nation on a temporal line extending past from the future, it favors on a spatial line, nation as state (or civic nation) to the detriment of nation as culture (or ethnic nation). Nation as a state, is an association of people formed based on a polity under a system of governance in which cultural boundaries ideally match up with political boundaries. Since national boundaries in Africa were enforced on peoples, these contrived colonial national borders could not officiate as paradigmatic grounds of anti-colonial resistance (Miller, 1990: 48). The expression of cultural differences of African populations - including the inherent struggles they are confronted with - that might be blurred and dwarfed on the continental level, are found

restrained in a confinement of forged nation-state frontiers and theorized in a unified often hegemonic national culture. In line with “post-Enlightenment Western thought” nation as culture became subordinated to the worldwide struggle of the nation, more overtly political than an ethnic group. The nation-state became the prevalent carrier of regulation over geographic areas, supplanting polities that were administered through different rules of legitimacy; thusly the discrepancy between state frontiers and the confines of ethno-cultural communities. In discarding ethnic polities as divisive, the inherited approach in post-independent national state is to establish a common identity consistent with the principles of nation-state, to such a degree that the national group is restrained in its state territory and the state consists that nation alone. State’s policies are vested to assimilate ethnic cultures into the domineering national culture, generally the culture of the colonizer. The quest of the African to reclaim the past could not be therefore a national struggle; the colonialism’s condemnation had also an ethnic scheme.

Ethnic Culture: Ethno-cultural expressions and practices, if not proscribed by institutional mechanisms, are relegated to private household, colloquial situations or communities’ spaces primarily. The state institutions in contrast nurture an overarching national integrity and highlight its identity and culture in the public sphere. The compulsion of homogeneity in a population of diverse ethnic and cultural communities resulted in the social, cultural, and political hibernation and subordination of those communities. Some were additionally excluded from core state institutions, structurally deprived of economic resources, and underrepresented in the national the public sphere. The founding principles of the notion of “nation” are undermined, since “nation” supposes political constituents of free and equal citizens who participate in the political system, allegiant to them by the actions of their will, and take responsibility for them. To maintain political stability and social equilibrium, African states permanently sanctioned ethno-cultural expressions and diversity as illegal and enforces assimilation as law and obedience to cultural homogeneity as duty or moral obligation.

The more colonial-inherited state assertively prevailed, the more the ethno-consciousness and its intrinsic desire for sovereignty of ethnicities aroused. Nurtured in private and informal concealment or retreat, ethno-cultural expression and idea of identity resurfaced demanding public and formal recognition. Culture or any struggle related to it should be initiated there, where ethnicities were rooted. They represented steady groups of people established based on a shared language, territory, history, ancestry, or psychological constitution manifested in a shared culture. These were immediate cultural heritages, so precious, profoundly lived, in which the African

societies, fragmented by various external forces found themselves trapped. It appeared that various African social categorizations were formed and established on a foundation that much preferred a strong belief in similar ethnic origins and common culture. On that ground, members of ethno-culture were part of something larger than themselves and were part of the very ethno-culture for life, regardless their whereabouts and distance. Given by birth through descent and blood membership is fixed via principle of *jus sanguinis* ("right of blood") foremost before becoming *jus soli* ("right of soil"). Indeed, some of the nationalist movements had very clearly an ethnic base: the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia or the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

Though with clearly specific ethnic foreground, the nationalist anti-colonialism movements were basically political and territorially orientated without ethno-cultural goals or aspirations. Nearly all those ethnic-based nationalist movements craved for self-determination or sovereignty not more than the scope of confining colonial perimeters, overriding ethno-cultural and transboundary political independence. Inasmuch Africans did not struggle for independent statehood, ethnic groups resultantly are hardly nations in Africa, and almost all African states are not nation-states. African populations rather consist of a host of ethnic groups, heterogeneous and disproportionally distributed, which have not many shared objective or subjective characteristics. Dominated by other more powerful ethnic groups within the new states' post-colonial boundaries, various minority ethnic groups, who did not fight for independence liked better the perpetuation of colonialism as the lesser of two evils. Those ethnic groups which are excluded from power after independence did not inevitably feel autonomous, for stripped of their self-determination they were compelled by the majority, power and diplomacy to go "independent" respecting scope of a state that estranged more and exacerbated their conditions (Ben-Ami & all, 2000: 295). National culture triumphed over the ethnic one, therefore civic dimensions over ethnic dimension.

Switching back from nation to ethnicity has been considered since decolonization as a regression, highly unfavorable and inimical to build the nation putting national integrity in jeopardy. Allegedly, the time for ethno-culture claims has long passed. Ethno-culture claims have been voiced, and have been as matter of fact either unheeded, silenced or reprimanded. Having ethno-cultures restricted or constrained, most multi-ethnic and multicultural African countries are however at the stage of ethnic conflicts and aspirational national unity is still held in abeyance. It is indeed counterproductive and inimical to skip the ethno-cultural phase the way it has been wielded so far.



Map 3: African National Independence (1957 - 1990)

3.2.3 Contemporary African Cultures

3.2.3.1 Cultural Homogenization through National Policies

African's history reveals a varied population consisting of heterogeneous countries drawn in consonance with of the balance of power between colonizers. Nearly all African states are multi-ethnic with frontiers that separated ethnic groups. This constellation renders the interplay between state and ethnic groups eminent for the analysis of the cultural heritage. Contemporary states made nation building incumbent on the obliteration of ethnicity. It was therefore crucial to develop an understanding of national community in the midst of heterogeneous groups that constitute the country. Idealism and providence cannot underlie nation building. It must systematically be configured to the extent that it instills a feeling of patriotism and allegiance to a big integrated nationhood (Chancellor, 1987: 54). Ethnic groups are considered as pernicious to the development of modern statehood and explosive for aspirational national unity. To that end ethnic histories, cultures, and languages were ignored, dismissed or discarded. Correspondingly, ethnic polities were duly overruled by nation-state's principles, imposing contrived political histories, institutions and constitution. The newly made African states were fortified through citizenship regimes as well as through procedures that further national integration and uphold emotional engagement to the fatherland. These include, authoritative national programs indicating particular days as national holidays to be proclaimed and commemorated accordingly; promotion of nationalized physical areas, localities, streets, infrastructures, and parts of nature after role models and illustrious or grim national historical events; school systems conceived to inculcate young people an approved historical and bequeathed narrations concerning the nation, the state's past events, and the common culture of the nation; development of national collective memory in memorial sites and monuments; representation of the nation in official state symbols; and, establishment of the official language(s) of the country – predominantly colonizer language(s).

To preserve the nation's homogeneity, the post-colonial one-party state – often with ethnic inference - was also perpetuated. In most African countries, single-state party governed whereas all opposition parties were either outlawed or allowed to participate in limited and controlled elections. Under the prevalent single-party system that disguised dictatorship, African nations had accessed to a new era of their history with the advent of democracy hallmarked by the dislocation of the Soviet Union ending the cold war and the West-East divide. The age of democratization in the 1990s - like the one of independence in the 1960s - swamped the continent with its benefits and

backlashes. An old abeyant controversy has been henceforth activated. Most African States moved from a stable, peacefully oppressive, and often repressive single-party system to a multiparty system: political parties were under indictment of ethnic overtones and the multiparty system was associated with conflict-laden situations. Consequently, opposition parties or associations have been legalized, freedom of speech/expression started to prevail, regular elections were taking place, human rights could be guaranteed or its violation drastically slumped. As a result, there was renaissance of ethnicity. Nearly all multi-ethnic African states were abounded with problems and stippled with conflicts related to ethnicity. These conflicts formerly latent, turned throughout the continent into a spiral of violence among ethnic groups which culminated in wars - the most appalling one being the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The broader impact was on the political and socioeconomic development of the majority of African countries.

Nowadays, it is argued that the multiparty-system in some countries is in fact a feigned one-party state, dominant-party system that grants at least allegedly democratic multiparty ballots, but the real practices or balance of political power conclusively preclude the opposition from winning the elections. The democratization movements instigated dormant adversary and inimical “collective memories” in ethnic communities, which impacted the post-colonial administration and that of autonomous ethnic groups management system. African states are replete with the smoldering ethnic crisis awaiting to conflict throughout. Whereas some ethnic distrusts have historical pre-colonial roots, other stemmed from the more recent administrative schemes that advantaged some ethnic collectivities in relation to others. Whenever and wherever activated, the ethnic enmities could break out, like the latest partition of Sudan into South and North in 2011 or the separatist movement in the Anglophone Regions of Cameroon since 2016. That means despite the diligent after-independences homogenization policies of nation building, the resilient ethnic identities represent forces to be reckoned with, forasmuch as colonial states were carved out of multifarious ethnic polities passed unheard and are still largely unheeded. The allegiance that African people owe to their ethnicities are stronger than the one to the states deprived of ethno-cultural and historical profoundness. In terms of identity, they are as well more salient. Inculcated informally or in some cases nurtured clandestinely, ethno-culture fights back demanding recognition and calling for legitimacy.

3.2.3.2 Diversity of Ethnic Cultures

Despite the homogenization attempts most African ethnic groups manage to keep some of their particular cultures relying furthermore on close ethnic-related structures

rather than the nation-state. The resilience of ethno-culture is more obvious where the independent state fails - deliberately or not - to supply public goods and services extend authority further than the capital-cities. Ethnic groups in this case perpetuate themselves and their related culture independent of the state and its institutions often informally, if required clandestinely. Ethnic-specific institutions remain and persist also with and through the political, administrative, economic, cultural role they play in or for the national government. Whereas some ethnic groups, thanks to their influential well-established political structures were granted favorable concessions from colonizers and after independence, others had either to cooperate with national governments or to impose themselves by means of substantial support and approval across their collectivities. Local ethnic leaders for example, are entitled to receive payment taxes and supply essential public goods or are conferred the momentous authority of allocating land rights. To formally recognize the jurisdiction of ethnic institutions responsible for the settlement of property rights disagreement and the enforcement of customary law, some countries passed laws or actually amended the constitution. The separate ethnic groups adaptation to the contemporary single countries' situation exacerbates the already diversified ethnicities in Africa.

From the historical external influences and the inherited colonial partition along with the ensuing policies, Africa crawls with cultures or cultural expressions idiosyncratic to various ethnicities. The abounding cultural diversity is found not only across distinctive countries but also within single nation-states – sometime even within the smallest administrative district. Intensively studied, the African cultural diversification unfolds a shared cultural continuity throughout the continent, many similarities that ignore borders and close distance between ostensibly distinctive ethno-cultures. Metaphorically, the diversified communities of cultural trees derived from common cultural root and tree trunks ramified in myriad branches, shared political and socioeconomic structures with slight variations. The variations of different ethno-cultural groups are perceptible in multifarious cultural expressions over time. For instance, the Mandé peoples are controversially categorized as a divergent branch of the Niger-Congo family³⁹ following the four African ethno-linguistic affiliations - the Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo. It is a family of ethno-cultures in Western Africa sharing many related Mande languages of the region. In its variations and denominations, the Mandé ethnicity includes Maninka in Guinea, Mandinka,

³⁹ The Niger-Congo is also commonly referred to as Bantu

Soninke in Senegal, Bambara in Mali, Kpelle in Liberia, Dioula in Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, Bozo in Mali, Mende, Susu in Sierra Leone and Guinea, and Vai in Liberia. This ethno-culture both across countries and within a country underwent variations that differentiate it from the tree trunk ethno-culture in such a way that today the Mande in Ivory Cost is different from the one in Guinea or Mali and Mande could be even different within the very single country. Though slight, these variations are significant in cultural aspects and linguistic development.

Various large ethno-linguistic affiliations experienced these differentiation processes after colonial partitions in almost all African states. The proliferation of ethnic groups could be attributed to simple contrivances, manipulations of the ethnic aristocrats or it appeared to be backlashes of dynamic political, economic and historical processes. To that end, a distinction could be drawn between archaic ethnicities that existed and evolved through intrinsic and extrinsic influences of the pre-colonial time, and the ones latterly formed or constructed under a colonial or post-colonial combination of circumstances. Irrespective of the ethnogenesis' rationale and its nascency, emphasis should be placed rather on the value of extremely rooted identities at individual, family, and community levels. Ethnic diversity in contrast, if not instrumentally exploited, has been muffled, hushed or simply ignored as antithetical to national unity. The cultural expressions of ethnicity in its diversity should be understood and administered to such an extent that an ethno-culture could live its specific identity/identities at this level first and foremost. Subsequently - if at all, the identity/identities could be reformulated to conciliate it with, and if applicable immerse it in the identity/identities of citizenry of a nation- state. On all accounts, it is of paramount importance for nation-states to consider all of their ethnic identities with the aspiration to and actual preservation of peaceful interethnic relations. Ethno-culture is a decisive factor to be harnessed as natural force and resource and to be used as building stones of a pluralist society. This goes through addressing ethnic cultures directly and separately within the framework of an ethno-cultural mapping.

3.2.3.3 Ethno-culture and Characteristics of Intangible Ethno-Cultural Heritage

Given the ethno-cultural diversity, their overlapping territories and the multifactorial ethnogenesis in far and near history, it is more appropriate to consider ethno-cultures in African countries in terms of its multiple variations rather than as a unified or common phenomenon. "Every culture is first and foremost national" (Fanon, 1963: 154), not national in terms of the colonial contrived nation-states but in terms of community. In the understanding of African communalism, allegiance to a collectivity of people represented the most crucial features of individual's life experience. This feeling

of allegiance and commitment is primarily to the interest of their own ethnic collectivity rather than the society or nation as a whole. Africans generally define themselves within the context of their community, which appear to be ethnicity. Therefore, every culture is primarily and essentially ethnic. The thrust of this work is to consider every single ethno-culture in its smallest temporal and spatial conception and variation, which the national policies – educational policies in particular - structurally attempt to assimilate and standardize. Ethno-cultures are neither confined within country boundaries where people feel cramped in, nor in the coercive administrative divisions. They transcend those two structural confinements and are determined by a combination of factors. Four factors could be singled out to determine ethno-cultural groups, to explore their institutions, symbols and process: historic factor, linguistic factor, psychological factor (Diop, 1981: 211-219) and self-determination respectively other-determination.

An ethno-culture is first a collectivity designated by an appellation, an identification, a solidarity, shared sentiments, reciprocal interests and common objectives and ideas of future. Ethnic self-determination reciprocally other-determination refers to the sense of feelings of persons that are ethnically and/or culturally not like oneself. Its formation and development can come from either through a process of self-identification or as the result of outside identification describing an ethnic group that has a distinct culture. An ethno-culture is also established by some shared objective characteristics and markers such ancestry. Common descent or kinship approved by a founding myth represents an influential and potent force for unification and stability of political organizations, systems and institutions. These build a feeling of shared history, either objectively based on authentic history or apocryphal as a pure creation of late times. The factor related to the past is the cultural seal that consolidates the varied aspects of the persons making them into an entity, by the specific slant of the sense of historical persistence experienced by all of the collective. The third factor, the linguistic one generates - like the historical one - an ethnic conscience that grants a person to differentiate itself from a population, whose components are unfamiliar. Language as a common denominator, characteristic of cultural identity par excellence is a vehicle and a crucial asset for confirming ethnic identities. Through the feeling of cohesion that it creates, it represents a safe and firm armor of cultural security for a people for “as long as a conquered people has not lost its language, it can have hope” (Montesquieu cited in Diop, 1981: 214). The historical and linguistic factors constitute coordinates, quasi-absolute points of reference in regard to the perpetual psychic fluctuation, the psychological factor. It consists of moral and spiritual consciousness that is converted

in cultural traits such as goodness, gaiety, optimism, social sense. The set of cultural factors that determines ethno-culture are complementary intertwined and not isolated, and ethno-cultural definitions are liable to vary gradually, both within and outside groups. There is nothing fixed or permanent about them, but they change with condition. More than mere valuable artifacts depository or sporadic folkloric exhibition, ethno-culture is a living force and source of new impulses without discarding the old moorings, strongly tethered to the continual reality of the people, and constitutes people's whole frame of achievements through which they are maintained in existence.

3.2.3.4 Characteristics of Intangible Ethno-Cultural Heritage

3.2.3.4.1 Reconstructed Ethno-Cultural Heritage

Either destroyed, erased, or merely disrupted, contemporary African cultural heritage is far from the civilization of early African societies. Based on precise and rigorous orally transmitted tradition with various overlaps, reconstruction of the great events of the past centuries in the smallest details could be achieved. These include the life of great empires or great men who have illustrated the history of the Peul Empire of Macina in the 18th century. It is also these cross-references in oral traditions that have enabled Boubou Hama of Niger to put together a comprehensive production on the history and traditional knowledge of the African peoples (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 25). In the absence of written sources, other African intellectuals are resort to their creativity in order to learn about new sources to record the continent's pre-colonial history. While some orally based linguistic pasts remain promising, others are however problematic, since a lot of oral histories could be barely remembered been forgotten or altered through retelling over generation. Most of historical documentation is partially a collection of myths, partially a result of selective recollection or its transpired interpretation. Even the documented could hardly correspond to what took place, considering the differentiation in the narrative and interpretation of the very historical events. Every generation customizes history in view of its needs and its actual life conditions.

Another reconstitution assignment tried to determine whether a cultural practice or institution called "African" was actually African in terms of Blacks' solidarity, a continental institution inconsistent with the peculiarity of an ethnicity, a nation or an African region. This difference was considered essential, as too usually things are pictured as "African" which concern exclusively to some societies (Chancelor, 1987: 162). It was important as well for the African of diaspora that despite their broken linguistic bond, perpetuated the memory or cultural customs through their stronger historic bond. Generally, people attempt only to know and to experience their history well, to pass on its memory to their descends because a people without an historical

conscience is a population (Diop, 1981: 219). In fact, the history of Africa informed such complex intertwined processes of a long period, a vast geographical area and diverse communities to be over-simplified in just a continent. Throughout that time, a large number of those communities have not defined themselves as African, rather by names connected to regions or ethnic groups, part of continental initial larger ethnic group, such as Swahili, Mandinka, or Berber, or in fact entities lesser in size. Ethno-cultures therefore, could be neither be submerged in a national contrived citizen culture nor in a historical African cultural consciousness.

In the same endeavor of cultural reconstruction, the assignment was moreover, to separate traditional African institutions from the incursive Asian and European influences; to find out the authentic culture, what is originally African and what is the reflection of any other external influence. Culture and intellect have been a form for downtrodden people to wield their right to exist. Colonial racism assumed that Africa does not possess a culture. To conclusively prove that they do, the native intellectuals are galvanized to “renew contact with their people’s oldest, inner essence, the farthest removed from colonial times”. Yet “reclaiming the past does not only rehabilitate or justify the promise of a national culture” (Fanon, 1963: 148). On the grounds that colonialism predominantly wiped-out pre-colonial culture along with the world in which it originally prevailed, pre-colonial culture cannot be regained. Endeavors to restore continuity over the century are often devised, artificial and eventually counterproductive (Fanon, 1963: 148). After assimilating to the dominant culture, it should be about to rediscover - not reconstitute - cultural heritage, not till then at the 3rd stage cultural struggle, which without political support is empty (Fanon, 1963: 158-9). The preference of the pre-colonial cultural heritage is not be apprehended as reminiscent “golden age” through touting culture of the past, but rather as a way of rediscovering the cultural heritage, the one in existence and considering its valuable importance in reconstituted modern ethno-cultural societies.

3.2.3.4.2 Resilient Ethno-Cultural Heritage

Despite the external influence or assaults, ethnic groups could keep the cult of the past. It is not in vain that throughout history, African empires, kingdoms and chiefdoms rose, expanded, reached the apogee and fall, some split other reconstituted resulting in diverse countries and ethno-cultures. Centers of ethno-cultural generations have existed, have been generated and have evolved. The ethno-cultures, because they have survived the time and evolution, resisted the external “destruction” and intrusions, are the heirs of the ancestors’ realm by blowing on the embers to maintain the burning flame of cultural heritage, further by preserving the ashes, if the flame fades out - to

metaphorically rephrase Jaures (1910).⁴⁰ The flame represents the maintained cultural heritage, essential foundation of the living being that continues to burn or shine despite the diffused foreign influences and the erosion of the time and evolution. Ethno-cultures need to continually reassure themselves that they believe in certain moral and spiritual values which they have received and which they must transmit. An uninterrupted transmission reflects a long and persevering cultural evolution to be perpetuated, a constant and ethno-cultural value regardless of both eras and latitudes.

Preserving the tradition and being faithful to it, are the duties of the ethno-culture, transmitting it as a flame fanned and maintained by the constant breath of living ritual with the same fervor over the days, years and centuries so that it does not turn into ashes. Whenever it does after all, the ashes are preserved as the symbol that nourish the memory and fidelity of the tradition; that means what is left of the past could be kept preciously and in good condition. The preserved ashes represent the residual cultural heritage of the destructive passage of external influences, the practical amenities and demands of progress and the corrosive contingency of time. It also implies a constant, a continuity, a heritage from the past to the present but does hardly represent the very essence of tradition. What happened becomes memory, it is no longer life in the here and now and yet one has got to live with elements of the past so that they continue to assert themselves in the present. It is not a question of keeping them from age to age unchangingly, independently of the evolution of the world and of humanity, but rather of ensuring their sustainability.

3.2.3.4.3 The Integrative Ethno-Cultural Heritage

Without trivializing the complex factors that led to the “destruction of Black civilization”, the focus should not be laid on the re-construction of the culture. Emphasis should be placed rather on the cultural impact and reverberations of “Islamic Asia” and later of “Christian Europe”. Prior to colonization, these extrinsic cultural aspects were already part of the African culture. The “africanization” of Islam, the process in which converted ethno-cultures made Islam their own, adapting it to their living conditions is exemplary. What was at that time considered as African culture included not only African traditional cultural expressions and practices, knowledge and memories that resisted the “destruction” and survived through the time, but also the integrated and henceforth inherent external cultural influences - including backlash - that have been transmitted both from generation to generation. Indeed, people and cultures do not flow unimpeded

⁴⁰ For Jaurès (1910) the tradition does not consist in preserving ashes, but in maintaining a flame (Jaurès, 1922: 115).

and unchanged - in the way that capital for instance does. The social production of culture is not a separate process, it instead embroiled histories of disputed interactions at each stage of its construction and consumption in diverse communities. Cultures move in various directions simultaneously determined by the historical, economic, and political requirements of particular circumstances. It implicates systematic action of relation that generates new social rooms to which new significations are granted.

The colonizer and the colonized - so their historical experiences - are inextricably linked. Ethno-cultural heritage cannot elude, ignore or otherwise discount the "overlapping territories, intertwined histories" (Said, 1993: 206) of Africans and Europeans or/and Asians. They are so convoluted that it is hard to untangle (Said, 1993: 206). Even the institutional knowledge corporation elaborated within and sanctioned by the academy which has been brought out mostly by western countries' individuals in the last centuries, respects also this overlapping rule. Long before McLuhan used the concept of the global village in 1968, the cultures of the world are interlayered, mixed, and juxtaposed. Ethno-cultural heritage is not made of a single type of culture to be easily depicted in singular terms. It is dynamic and constantly adjusting as it changes its operations, its places, its instruments and its medium. Its production is usually occasional, and could be accommodated simply in consonance with peculiar needs. Its spontaneous essence nature means that it would barely be stable, and it remains tractable enough to embody foreign components. At one level, it entails a spontaneous modernization or some extent inevitably, a degeneration of the traditional aspects.

More than influencing, the intrusions are today part of the elements of ethno-culture and are arguably considered by natives as such. The relations between "intruders" and autochthons facilitate the expression of the change's experiences in societies disintegrated by modernity, and they promote ensuing requirements for social transformations as people move between different places. The hierarchical nature of these relations however, as succession and pinnacle of previous colonial domination, similarly provides special exploitation of resources, cultural oppression, and psychological self-aggrandizement. History's inert state, remaining social and political structures of dominance, and socialization through powerful institutions - including media and schools - all contribute to the perpetuation of these incentives. Time has not managed to exorcize the exactions of the past, for over fifty years later the problem rises with acuity: schooling is still called "the foreign school" or "the school of the white". The "European school" has not been completely integrated to the African culture as a cultural medium the way the Islamic school did in converted ethno-cultures. In "The

Ambiguous Adventure” education is at the center of the cultural change or clash. One of the issues facing the locals is whether or not to enroll their children in the foreigners’ schools. Although they believe that the children should learn from the “invaders’ new school”, they recognize the risks in sending them off. The new school might kill in them what they love today, rightly preserve and keep with care. For learning they obviously forget as well: Is what they will learn worth what they will forget? It is for this reason the Diallobés were reluctant to send their children there (Kane, 1961: 44). This example depicts how school and education in general disseminate culture.

3.2.3.4.4 Self-determined Intangible Ethno-Cultural Heritage

The formal education (or schooling)⁴¹ indeed, heritage of Western-Christian civilization, kills what the Africans are most firmly attached to. An imperceptible phenomenon of “intellectual genocide” goes on structurally in African schools and universities subtly destroying African cultures, traditions, customs and heritage (Kum’á Ndumbé III, 2007: 28). Faced with this continuous “oppressive” educational system, the natural urge to fight for, reclaim, and proclaim their cultural origins is both imperative to constitute ethno-cultural heritage in the present, and to improve the well-being of the individual person. The introduction of the school leads the transformation of the local cultures into the subordinate cultures of an imposed administration. Cultures in schools exist in a hierarchy like classes and nations. The colonizer’s culture becomes more powerful than the local ones that it devalues. For instance, the foreign language gains cultural authority, depreciating the native language as it is taken into its realm, tamed, and accommodated. This would only be attainable to a select few, unlike the collective development of oral cultures. School turns to a part of the dominance, control, and brutality perpetrated against the language, culture, and people being translated.

Notwithstanding the cultural hegemony, which prompted to the depersonalization of some African peoples, falsified their history, systematically demeaned and combated African values, and attempted to gradually and officially replace their languages with those of the colonizers, African peoples were able to find the required strength for resistance and the liberation of the continent in African culture (African Union: 2006: 7-8). Thus, intangible ethno-cultural heritage is demanding - despite the inextricability of cultures, in that it permits essential differences to be drawn so that actual ethnic or nation aspirations become definite. It is therefore legitimate for natives to defend their ethnic culture(s) from external assaults. The appeal for consciousness-raising or

⁴¹ Institutionalized public basic schooling (IPBS), a paradigm that became standardized over the world in the twentieth century, is widely used to arrange formal education. (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011, 198).

“conscientization”⁴², cultivates possibilities for the liberation and collective empowerment of colonized, downtrodden peoples. “Pedagogy of the oppressed” (Freire, 1970) encourages education as cultural action, leading towards the liberation and transformation of people’s minds and reality. It reveals that education is based on oppressive relations of power and domination, and it helps to translate educational practice into liberationist movements. Therewith the call for attention to oppression discloses how power works pedagogically through organizations to yield, control, and legitimate specific type of knowledge and ideology (Giroux, 2005: 20). The Freire’s pedagogy that uplifts students into a liberation education, relies on dialogue relating to the realities of life familiar to students, giving them voice and raising their critical consciousness (Freire, 1970: 71-85). Classrooms could be then transformed into sites for the humanization liberation for future citizens rather than neutral spaces (Freire, 1974: 52). In this perspective, ethno-cultural knowledge could be valorized, and education, not just schooling could be seen as a liberationist praxis, wherein both theory and practice come together. Indeed, education does not mean simply schooling - attuned to western style, values, and content. Education predates schooling and is a lot broader and deeper. Its fundamental aim should be intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage. This possibility emphasizes the contextualization of educational programs by relating it to the African environment, child development, cultural heritage, and technical and economic advancement requirements. For that, a “generative pedagogy in the context of all cultures” contributing scientific knowledge of universal value” is needed (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011, 7-15).

The hybridity of ethno-cultural features and the local self-determination of cultural depositaries and bearers are thereby two orienting concepts to be noticed. African culture or its scope is incorrect ignoring the ethnic patterns of cultures existed before the intrusions, resisted or survived the intrusions on the one hand, and on the other hand, African culture is incomplete without encompassing Islamic-Arabic and Western-Christian heritages. Even the school of the whites and the related languages are an integral part of African culture. Islamic values in fact, were considered already as traditional African values as they clashed with those of the West during the expansion of the school. This determination of the nature of their ethno-cultural heritage should be allocated to those concerned; the choice to resort to it should be also subject to the Convention adopted in 1972 on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural

⁴² The term is derived from Fanon’s coinage of a French word “conscienciser” in his anti-colonialist work, *Black skins. It* means for Freire the development of consciousness adequate to transform reality and lived experience.

Heritage, or the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted in 2003 – the key documents that focus on and influence heritage and initiate heritage research.

3.3 The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention: Opportunity or Threat

Because the resort to or the subjection under the above-mentioned Convention is rightly incumbent to the local people of every ethno-culture, it is worth analyzing the threats and opportunities it represents for the concerned

3.3.1 The Convention as a Threat for Local People

3.3.1.1 The Irrelevance of the Convention for the Local People

Intangible cultural heritage could be considered today as the multicultural heritage that stems from the traditions of ethnic groups conditioned by their worldview and environment, including the borrowed or imposed external elements. Basically, the motivating interrogation is, “what constitutes a national culture and how are its desires legitimated?” African culture is irrelevant unless it participates fully in the political struggle, economic, and social emancipation, as well as rehabilitation and unity efforts, and that a people’s cultural growth has no bounds (African Union: 2006: 10). Cultural heritage is in this sense a substantial resource for the native, it has been consistently performed, dynamically transmitted and safeguarded without any institutional support, either in form of resistance or as survival strategies. With the Convention or without the Convention people have been performing even clandestinely their cultures, because culture is far from being a simple catchword, enjoyable folklore, or passive dregs of free action, which is less connected with people's perpetual reality. Ethno-culture ideologies are not the means of sustaining actions; rather, action produces culture. Action gives birth to cultures. “National culture is the collective thought process of a people to describe, justify, and extol the actions whereby they have joined forces and remained strong” (Fanon, 1963: 168). The Convention seems to be irrelevant in this regard, merely unneeded in so far as the “Intangible Cultural Heritage” is practiced and valorized by the members of the ethnic group regardless of Convention.

3.3.1.2 The Lack of Representation of the Local People

There is obviously a discrepancy between the government and the depositaries or the bearers of heritage characterized by different forms of inequality. The state is generally considered as an apparatus of power. As a clearly stratified and centralized political institution, it groups, controls and administers people through democratic representation, which is hardly guaranteed in most African countries. The Convention addresses a “state party”. In the area of heritage policy, not just that credit is bestowed

to expert knowledge but also priority is granted to professional opinions, which consecutively bring about specific societies of interest, implicating stakeholders and stewardship. Besides, the representation and decision-making in the Convention policy is reserved to and favors particular social groups - namely the intellectual elite. The level of implication of communities is therefore compromised and likely to be jeopardized by the national endorsement procedure imperative for heritage authorization in the UNESCO system. Even if the stewardship endorsed democratic representativeness, it unlikely to stand in for the interest of the ethno-cultural communities involved, for colonial inherited State institutions and the pertaining legislations are generally weaker than its embodiment. That means the stewards who embody the institutions – be it the head of state, the police, the teachers or the appointed UNESCO representatives - are more powerful and influential than the institutions including the related regulations. They manage their position and enforce the law by their own volition. This shifting administrative functioning is overlaid by the bigotry of the ethno-cultural allegiance. The ethno-cultural preference or enmity is a predicament that could be an impediment to the representativeness of African ethno-cultural communities in the implementation of the Convention policy. This non-involvement might raise opposition of the local people, depositaries or bearers who tend to assume control, orientation and use of the heritage. There is a risk of heritage despoilment as reactive defensive phenomenon from those whose sense of belonging matters to one or more of them (Machuca in Arizpe & al., 2013: 62), and they participate in the process of heritage production by claiming ownership of a particular cultural heritage. In the context of state and global powers, indigenous opposition movements and cultural maintenance projects are too often rendered meaningless even powerless but appropriate for the concerns of the state. As it is originally conceived, the UNESCO Convention (2003) is believed to empower the state to initiate efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage at the discretion of the dominant power structure.

3.3.1.3 The Exploitation and Lack of Self-governance of Local People

A Euro-American platform has traditionally mobilized the politics of heritage protection based on the assumption of universality developed by "World Heritage", the logic of which has huge impacts both internationally and locally. (Meskell, 2010: 196). Cultural institutions are increasingly organized and controlled by the government. This runs counter to all notions of development, neo-liberalism, and governmentality (Bennett, 1998: 61). Investigating the tree-sided interaction of community, culture and central administration, he ascertains the latent tensions between ethno-cultural community and

central administration, where cultural forms are deployed and controlled by central administration, and it is viewed as external and imposing, indifferent or antagonistic to the creative cultural life. Generally, central administration is criticized from the standpoint of cultural critique with indignation. States are perceived primarily as administrative control authorities and repressive forces, and they move international funds within their borders and exercise control over a wide array of resources. The ultimate beneficiaries are either the state, the ruling elites or multinational tourism enterprises who put on display “culture” gaining exposure. At any case, through heritage, the value of an ethnocultural community grows, it often benefits the state or other economic forces, rather than the community itself.

3.3.2 The Convention as Opportunities for Local People

3.3.2.1 A Tool for Recognition

Although dislodged from their ancestral roots, having their culture relegated to barbarism/primitivism or reduced to a subculture without any consideration people perform and manage to safeguard their cultural heritage regardless the Convention. Ethno-culture communities are resisting both state efforts to define their identity, their place and state efforts to subvert their systems of knowledge and law. This resistance, resilience or hope could be nurtured by the Convention. In fact, there are requests from many who seek acknowledgment and recuperation of what they judge as their culture, whether or not they expect to be on the UNESCO list. The convention has the potential to foster new enthusiasm in the quest for identity factors, as well as the diversion of something that can provide new meaning. Cultural heritage plays an essential role in global culture-orientated politics, where cultural traditions and repressed history could grow to be influential instruments for the formerly subjugated territories. The preservation and celebration of former components of reified culture could be put into force by cultural politics as to deal with the current local issues, potentially with the trend of development. Such an approach that deeply investigates communities as particularities could serve the upcoming possibility of approved structure and the acknowledgement of their cultural rights differently. Recognition of the “Intangible Cultural Heritage” of the oppressed ethno-cultures is however not the only potential of the Convention.

3.3.2.2 A Platform for Self-Determination and Self-Governance

Participation and empowerment in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention are conditions for inscriptions. Programs that empower local and indigenous groups and give political relevance to some forms of expression can use the concept of "cultural heritage" to mask the complexity of history and politics (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013:

12). As mentioned above ethno-culture, usually ignored, marginalized, or, worse, destroyed has the opportunity to move from the margin to the center through the Convention. As international ratified mandatory (legal) instrument the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention is made up of operational guidelines for implementation the members are requested to follow. Participation and empowerment being part of the cultural expressions of those who practice the intangible culture could relativize the state position merely as a system of power by diversifying the exercise of power. Indeed, political discourse concerning a nation-state involves disjunctions and discontinuities ingrained in the political disparities between center and periphery (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013: 12). The periphery, made up of ethno-cultural groups, experiences the state representatives or elites as foreign though politically influential. The prospect of the Convention actualizes the categories of state rule in local politics or “village politics”. “Village politics” facilitate the establishment of the state, but the subjective experience of being both outside and subject to the state’s power initiates the formation of local communities. (Tsing, 1993, 24-25).

More than to serve as a tool for awareness or consciousness raising, the Convention could be an incentive for freedom – or at least could back it up. The Convention could bring radical transformation of the marginalized at the periphery in such a way they realize the importance of being active by reacting to transformations happening in their environment. They might henceforth be highly probable to undertake upon themselves the struggle for the structural change of the society, which up to the present moment helped to trample down on them. The Convention legitimates the necessity and the impulse to defend local ethno-cultures from the onslaught of colonizers’ projects that robbed them of the knowledge of their past and twisted their perception of themselves and each other. Even though the endeavors to restore it over history are usually artificial and ultimately self-defeating, the natives could in this sense be galvanized to re-establish connection with their people’s earliest and most pre-colonial source of life. At the risk of missing the seething present out of which real movement is born and enacted, culture should not be reclaimed through trumpeting its past but through the struggle itself. Cultural strife devoid of political endorsement and out-in-the-streets movement is hollow or meaningless considering the mutual standpoint between the real fight for liberation and the manifestation of ethnic culture. Culture and the movement toward struggle evolve correspondingly. The pinnacle of this cultural manifestation is in the strife for nationhood itself (African Union: 2006: 10; Fanon, 1963: 177). The Convention provides a platform for such struggle. The impetus to protect, regain, and promote local cultural sources is fundamental to make their culture, to

enhance the single person's well-being, to strive for advancement of the cultural good including its inherent economic valuation. For local people, the Convention could represent thence the opportunity not only as a framework for cultural expression but a platform to exercise those cultural claims, essential prerequisite for heritage valuation.

3.3.2.3 A Means or Chance for Cultural Commodification

Although controversial, the late-modern European notion and cultural phenomena of heritage is crucial in the context of non-Western cultural politics in terms of intangible cultural heritage. Cultural heritage has significant organizational and economic reformative potential (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013: 4, 12). It carries a strong potential for the acquisition of sociopolitical capital as well as channels for economic resources. The involvement of local communities in the field of world heritage seems to be a key requirement in recent years and a necessary measure to achieve sustainable development. This requirement emerges not only from the UNESCO Global Strategy in which community participation is one strategic objective, but also from field observations whereby the protection of heritage can best be guaranteed by involving local communities and laying protection and conservation issues in their own hands. For local groups, culture as patrimonial estate is a symbol of esteem and reputation, most of all in conjunction with a commercial gain in a community with an inclination to touristic activities and tourism. The approval of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage could enable to take advantage of intangible resources, assets and properties (cultural, aesthetic, symbolic and cognitive). The rising tendencies in cognitive capitalism is convenient for that matter. These trends are progressing by catching and holding information concerning the properties of plants and their operating rules on the one hand, on the other hand by apprehending information about vernacular interpretive system or designs for handcrafted manufacture assigning knowledge that may be replicated cheaper in an infinite number of ways (Arizpe & al.; 2013: 63-64).

Despite the sociopolitical and economic entanglements that could often be detrimental or even derogatory to the heritage commodification, the practical ground rules of the Convention vouch for the involvement of the depositaries and bearers of culture as active participants in negotiating for their interest. Those supposedly inconsistent personals, communities or governments perspectives observable in the circumstances of appropriation, debated restitution could be managed in such a way all stakeholders - particularly the cultural bearers, get advantage from the heritage commodification. The conceptual valorization is not the exclusive factor that makes heritage; symbolic and material resources constitute as well an added value (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006).

This approach is more channeled into social entrepreneurship, broadly conceptualized as classical domains of business studies. All economic facets in the discourse here should be oriented towards an efficient use of heritage. The oncoming challenge would be to appropriately combine economically justified heritage valuation with approaches of participation and empowerment. For this purpose, the Convention requires usually the participation of cultural bearers and depositories for their heritage to obtain value and importance as UNESCO cultural heritage.

Derived from the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, "Intangible Cultural Heritage" is filtered exclusively through governmental representatives in arranging and operationalizing the Convention rather than grounded in scientific knowledge and cultural expertise. The Convention is in essence organizational, institutional, and political so to specify target areas of influence and expertise in comparison with the comprehensive interdisciplinary analysis of concept culture.

The review of the principal periods that punctuate the manifold and dynamic development of an "African culture" made to conclude that the determination of "Intangible Cultural Heritage" should be incumbent to local ethno-cultural groups themselves. The self-determination - that either comes from within the people or could be hortative from outside - is decisive in considering the Convention. The perception of the Convention as a threat or an opportunity should be conceded to the deliberation of every ethno-culture. Ethno-cultures, formerly subject to oppression, are resisting state efforts to define their identity, place and efforts to subvert their systems of knowledge and law. These aspirations need to be supported. For this reason, national and international heritage legislation, policy, and instruments should be aligned with the projects of ethno-cultural self-governance and self-determination both fundamental to the recognition and assertion of people's rights. The right to determine the nature of Intangible Cultural Heritage is about the right to define one's cultural identity and place in the world today.

The alternate option is to maintain at least intangible heritage at local, national, and likely global levels denoting interventions, which generate, or create and reshape levels of order in or for the communities involved. As a result, the culture characterized as "intangible heritage" ultimately looks like "in transit". That is, from living forms of expression to systematic symbols implemented in cultural policymaking and mediated at the all levels through diverse institutions and organizations. In any case, this is not only a process of external influence, but also a two-way path with reacting

communities' representatives and internal claiming in the creation of cultural, political and economic institutions (Kuutma in Arizpe & al., 2013:11).

In any case ethno-cultural communities should not officiate as passive recipients of cultural policies but rather as active participants in agreeing or refusing the available alternatives including contradictory and deviant ones. In the global restructuring of "heritage production" and global programmes of contentious impact, it appears meaningful to identify the enabling conditions for particular instances. People and countries completely separated from their ancestral foundations have never jointly advanced their development. This past could be a substantial resource for ethno-cultures provided that it uncloses prospects for the future and yields a ground for hope through the appertaining education. Although there are basic educational commonalities peculiar to African societies that muster them up under a whole, termed as "indigenous African system of education" (Gwanfogbe in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 42), simple, distinctive, refined specificities single out every ethnic group differentiating it from others. Thus, there is a necessity to explore ethnic-specific traditional education of the communities involved at lowest level of administrative district pointing out at the same time the commonalities with the aid of the following methodological approach.

4 Methodological Approach

Twenty years after the recommendation by the National Forum on Education 1995 to introduce local knowledge and practices into the school curriculum, the Cameroonian educational system remains fundamentally unchanged. The present study aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly within early childhood education in rural areas. The related objectives are (i) to identify the “Intangible Cultural Heritage” knowledge of preschoolers, (ii) to analyze the existing early childhood education strategies and (iii) to explore the “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as supplement of knowledge to be transmitted through the curriculum. From the above analysis of the current formal education and the configuration of ethno-cultural intangible heritage it could be hypothesized that the current formal primary educational system is not constructive for the primary school starters. That means:

H 1: there is no consideration of the cultural particularities of the children

H 2: there is no inclusion of the daily environment of the children

H 3: there is no possibility for fostering self-determination of the children

In order to verify these hypotheses and achieve the above-mentioned objective, the research design is based in the Far-Nord Region context purposively selected for its stronghold of multifarious and diverse ethno-cultural (id)entities and citadel of the country’s enshrined traditions. Moreover, the region officiates as the most populated area- about four million - in the same way as the two cosmopolitan Regions⁴³, county towns of Yaoundé and Douala, respectively administrative and economic centers continuously populated by the rural exodus. The region is also deliberately chosen due its high illiteracy and low schooling rate, the lowest of the country and therefore one of the five education priority zones.⁴⁴ Finally, the predominant presence of the Islamic education makes the region typically relevant and indicative to represent the interplay of the triple educational heritages within the smallest administrative division. For this reason, the study is conducted in the rural area of Kolara, conveniently chosen regarding accessibility and the availability of contacts. The investigation consists of a

⁴³ Far-North Region 3 993 007 inhabitants in 34,263 km²; Centre 4 159 492 inhabitants in 68 953 km² and Littoral 3 354 978 inhabitants in 20 248 km² (PopulationData.net, 2020).

⁴⁴ Education priority zones that include Adamawa, East, North, Far North and North-West) are geographical location areas, designated for the receipt of special educational resources in order to compensate for poor environmental conditions.

combination of two intertwined phases: preliminary fieldwork in the form of participatory research followed by systematic data collection methods.

4.1 Journey Approach as Preliminary Fieldwork

The study has resorted to qualitative research methods framed on the “Journey Approach”⁴⁵ (Strier & Strier in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 447), which is based on the grounds of participatory research. It aims to equip the school and the community with “actionable” knowledge that engenders culture-based action opening advanced prospects and practices, and empowering change. Depending on the information and realities encountered, it is meant to help solve every day educational issues and to generate change, through learning and using knowledge accumulated consistently. Teachers, parents, and children may engage in the of learning and finding the unknown the missing or the hidden about themselves and their societies bringing new understandings and novel creations. This approach expects to trigger original and innovative programs that are suitable for a given school within its peculiar cultural context.

Additionally, it intends to acquire convenient familiarity with Tupuri and Fulbé ethno-cultural communities and their practices taking part in their cultural setting over one week. The participation of the researcher sustains both a counterbalance between the insider and outsider roles. It allows for a combination of involvement and required detachment to maintain objectivity. The research entails a range of clear-cut and varied methods: informal interviews, direct observation, participation in the real life of the community, group discussions, analyses of existing documents on the ethno-cultural heritages in order to establish the on-site traditional educations, activities’ outcomes, and life-histories. This extended research obtains further detailed and factual information about the individual key players, communities, and/or part of the studied population. Perceptible details (such as daily time allotment) as well as less discernible ones (like culturally prohibited behavior) could be conveniently noticed and understood over this period.

As a method of investigation, qualitative research request systematic data collection techniques and a sturdy documentation of research procedure. In order to ensure

⁴⁵ Four principles guide the Journey approach:

1. Cultural context in which the research takes place should be taken into account - for one size does not fit all;
2. The genuine participation that provides participants with a sense of genuine control over the research process reducing exclusionary barriers;
3. Researched knowledge should not be real estate owned by the researcher, rather shared and belongs to teachers, community and world;
4. Knowledge should be actionable: research should be concerned with the production and implementation of knowledge that generates action and change.

credibility and trustworthiness of data generated, it is essential to bundle qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation, “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (Denzin (1970), cited in Bowen, 2009: 28). The study is expected to draw upon triple sources of evidence; that is, to explore points of convergence and confirmation using various data sources and different methods in different settings. The study’s findings would not be thus merely a spurious result of only one method, one source, or investigator’s partiality, but rather results of a systematic review of documents in combination with interviews and sitting-in-on classroom observation. Each method is specifically appropriate for generating an explicit category of data. Detailed information that elucidates the respective modules about the conception of the study and the procedure of investigation is provided as follows.

4.2 Document Analysis

Document analysis consists of reviewing and systematically evaluating the official program of primary education, level one and three learners’ textbooks officially accredited by the Ministry of Education that helps to identify the scheme of formal education. These are French, Sciences and Environmental Education, Civics and Moral Education learners’ textbooks. As possible source of empirical data for case studies these documents may enclose text (words), graphics and pictures that have been registered prior to the investigation’s interference.

Besides providing supplementary research data, the purpose of the document analysis is to understand the sociocultural, political, and economic context in which school programs are conceived and implemented and indicate the conditions that impinge upon the phenomena being investigated. At the same time, it helps to track change and development in the school program by giving a clear picture of how it fared over time. Furthermore, documents are analyzed particularly to enrich pre- and post-interview sessions using data culled from documents to review data from interviews and vice versa. Thus, this analysis might not only augment interviews - asking and/or additional probing questions, but also suggest circumstances or contexts requiring observation. Documentary evidence could be ultimately useful in verifying findings or corroborating evidence from other sources. While contradictory findings trigger further investigation, converging information or confluent evidence breed credibility. In the end “documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem” (Merriam 1988, cited in Bowen, 2009: 29). Despite its immense value in case study research and its utility for this approach, document analysis is not used as a stand-alone method, rather as a

supplementary data collection method in support of triangulation, because the significance of document analysis lies as well in its role in methodology and data triangulation.

4.3 Qualitative Interviews

The qualitative interviews include expert interviews and group interviews. In both cases the focus of the inquiry is articulated around interview guidelines - that are developed iteratively focusing on the research question. Based on the documents' analysis and on the preliminary fieldwork, topics and questions are constructed, tested, and finally refined. The semi-structured interviews consist in general questions to open the conversation about the topic, followed-up by questions or probes and checklists prepared in advance in order to elicit certain types of information from the interviewees.

Expert Interview

The expert interviews are conducted with specific target groups that officiate as experts: a national curriculum expert, the school headmaster, the primary 1st level teacher and the president of the UNESCO National Commission and the Commissioner for Cultural Heritage. To ensure a credible and indicative sample that is likely to cover the main groups of interest, it is of paramount importance to select the mentioned expert purposively. The systematic sampling of the experts aims more to generate useful data for the study rather than statistical representativeness. The inquiry deals not only with their personal experience, but also emphasizes on their perception and their line of action pertaining to a specific group of experts. The interview with the curriculum expert, the principal and the teacher are articulated around the integration of the local environment into the formal educational system, the consideration of cultural particularities of the children including their self-determination; whereas the interview with the representative of the National Commission for UNESCO focuses on the intangible cultural heritage, its transmission, its awareness and its possible integration in the formal education system (copy of the interview guidelines appear in the Appendix).

Narrative Group Interview

The group interviews are conducted with parents and/or custodians of traditions who gather at the traditional chief place daily to discuss various issues of the communities, the country and the world. It is intended to effectively elicit data on a group's cultural norms in order to generate broad overviews of issues of relevance to the community represented from this customary environment. The on-the-day attendees are invited to narrate about the educational systems (formal, informal and non-formal); the evolution of what is considered as intangible cultural heritage and its introduction into the formal

educational system (copy of the interview guidelines appear in the Appendix). In a narrative mode, they are encouraged to elicit reciprocally reminiscences of situations and actions. The interview is also opened to a discussion whereat the participants are kindly invited to pose issues they are appeal to deal with, and to disclose various perspectives held by their community members concerning early childhood education issues. Consistencies and discrepancies generate more data - which are necessary as far as data quality control is concerned.

Document analysis may supply useful information about what and how teachers are engaged in instructional practices, thought to be more desirable than they actually do. The interviews with various stakeholders in the formal education may capture people's attitudes toward what teachers do. However, they are not probable to give a comprehensive and precise picture of naturally occurring behaviors in the usual contexts. Thus, the interviews are complemented by direct sitting-in-on classroom observations.

4.4 Sitting-in-on Classroom Observation

Generally, classroom observation explains and clarifies the nature of the instruction itself evaluating the school program, its effectiveness and its fidelity or degree of implementation. The non-participant sitting-in-on classroom observation in this study aims to represent the rural classrooms situation accurately, that means to explore the extent to which local particularities are emphasized or required in the teaching program⁴⁶, the teaching methods and strategies⁴⁷ including the inherent or resulted classroom interactions.⁴⁸

Observation Strategy

In relation to the data to be collected the researcher looks for a place out of the main action in the classroom from which the whole classroom is visible so to be able to visually sweep the classroom at timed intervals avoiding contact with teacher and students ("observation point"). To mitigate teacher biased behavior due to an intruder in

⁴⁶ The teaching program involves the evaluation of the fidelity or degree of implementation of the official programs, the examination of the lesson structure (use of time schedule, the number of activities that constitute the lesson, the links and transitions between activities), teacher's use of materials (use of the textbook, use of other resources), teacher's use of language (use of instructional language, use of questions, feedback techniques, explanations of vocabulary and grammar).

⁴⁷ The teaching methods and strategies consists of classroom management strategies (setting up groups, maintaining order, time management, seating arrangement); the types of teaching activities (whole-class activities, pair and group activities, individual activities) and teaching strategies (presenting tasks, organizing practice, teaching techniques, involvement or valuing of learners' perspectives).

⁴⁸ The inherent and resulted interactions concern the teacher interacting with learners (learner participation, interest and motivation, teacher response to learners' misbehavior); learner interactions (time on task, questioning behaviors, student-to-student talk) and learners' use of language (use of language in group work, use of the mother tongue during class, problems with grammar and pronunciation).

the usual classroom setting, the observer takes place as a student being part of the desk without participating in the classroom activities, albeit addressed or requested by students (“piece of furniture” Chesterfield, 1997: 8).⁴⁹ From this position information is collected at explicit intervening periods through the process of the school day. A school day from 09h30 to 15h30 has two sequences of 120 minutes. Each sequence of classroom observation involves the completion of four separate instruments, undermentioned in the succession in which they are conducted throughout the progress of the observation.

Instruments and Procedures

Mapping the school and the classroom: The description of the school infrastructure and specially the spatial arrangement of the classroom are meant to provide a useful tool to classroom observer. A school map establishes the situation of the research by presenting where facilities of the school⁵⁰ are located, their relative size and what facilities are available. Illustrated during the researcher’s first visit, the classroom map shows the spatial set-up among students, teachers, and materials. It is a classroom checklist that determines the physical arrangement of the desks together with the position the teacher typically instructs from, the position of students in relationship to gender, age, ethnicity, the presence/absence of instructional aids; and structural features of the room. The maps are used as a reference in observations (copies of the mapping the school and the classroom appear in the Appendix).

Running Record: The running record consists of detailed time-based (every 20 minutes) descriptions in the form of notes that capture key events occurring throughout the 120 minutes sequence lessons. The observer pays special attention to the teacher’s instruction, the significant substance of the lesson and the practice of approaches that build up “cognition” and “metacognition”. That means the observer writes down how the lesson is opened, how new material, tasks and activities are introduced, the questions asked including any interaction that ensues, the role played both by the teacher and learners in assisting the learners to complete the assignment, as well as the amount to which students create a grasp of the subject matter at hand (copy of the running record appears in the Appendix). The account should enclose information to greatest extent without any evaluation of the lesson. While noting down

⁴⁹ Chesterfield distinguishes four types of observations strategies: the “observation point”, the “piece of furniture”, the “teacher’s helper”; whereby the observer moves like a teacher in the classroom) and the strategy of playing a role of a student (1997: 8)

⁵⁰ Facilities of the school includes roads, classrooms, offices, storerooms, library, kitchens, and recreation areas, potable water, latrines and electricity.

the classroom activities as it takes place, the researcher stops at 20-minute intermissions to accomplish classroom checklists.

Classroom Checklist⁵¹: This is a clear focus observation that measures the presence or absence of events or actions providing a listing of various aspects of a lesson. Through a series of “snapshots”, intermittent visual spans of the classroom, the researcher checks any detected episodes of the activities or events under study. The classroom structure, the content, the method, and teacher-learner as well learner-learner interactions are recorded. The variety of questions for which the checklist could be conducted encompass the following: Do small/large groups take place? Does the teacher appreciate/punish? Are read-alouds, think-alouds or recitation used? To which extent is the cycle teacher-centered versus student-centered? Each sweep takes five minutes. Taking into consideration that the interest is in representing the instructional day, such visual spans are repeated six times throughout each sequence of instruction, in such a way that a total of fifteen are available for analysis (copy of the classroom checklist appears in the Appendix).

Follow-up conversation with the teacher: In this conversation, the researcher has the opportunity not only to discuss events that bear relevance to the research question, but also to clarify and interpret information gathered from the observation in pursuance of learning further about the teacher’s teaching approach. For instance, one could inquire about the aggregate count of registered students in the class (so as to determine the proportion of attendant students in course of research), whether the lesson is a single unit or part of a bigger plan, how representative that specific class is and how the class usually runs in order to mitigate the influence the observer’s presence might have on students’ behavior. The follow-up conversation is also a second form of expert interview with the teacher that compares teachers’ position on the objectives of the educational system, relations to cultural heritage and education interaction between stakeholders (copy of the follow-up conversation with the teacher appears in the Appendix).

4.5 Limitations of the Methodology and Mitigation Strategies

The research methods described above have some limitations. Part of these considerations are associated with methodological issues that could impede the drawing of reliable conclusions. One of the major methodological weaknesses is the

⁵¹ The classroom checklist is different from the above-mentioned maps, which focus on the inventory of inanimate features as constituent component of the classroom environment.

purposeful use of systematic sampling techniques related to representativeness of the number of expert interviewees, i.e. how the interview with one curriculum expert could be also extrapolated to the views of peers. The convenient sampling resulted in male respondents exclusively, which per se question the diversity of perspective as far as gender is concerned. Circular questions and checking questions about the discrepancies or different orientations could help to mitigate this concern.

Similar methodological concerns are related to the actual duration essential to achieve a conclusive observation period, in addition to the relevant sum of observations that are necessary to collect reliable and valid data on the measures of instruction. This could also be reflected in the analyses of data: what is the pertinent level of analysis (for instance individual, the group, or individuals within the group) - knowing learners are nested within classrooms, while classrooms are imbedded in the school.

Another methodological concern regards the obtrusive effects of the classroom observation technique. The presence of an unfamiliar or external presence in the classroom is expected not only to play a part in determining the nature of the lesson - making the lesson untypical of the teacher's usual style of teaching, but also to affect teacher and learner behaviors, causing reactive effects.⁵² The observation resulting of this situation might not reflect teaching-as-usual. Therefore, the collected data in such circumstances might be biased. To mitigate these validity and reliability risks, observations are conducted two days long in the same setting with the same actors.

On the other hand, it is essential to take into account that teaching is a complex and dynamic activity that involves various simultaneous events and actions impossible to notice. And the motivation of specific behaviors such as paying minimal attention to the teacher might not be directly observable or might be noted as confusion or disinterest. The observation is as a matter of fact, videotaped to record incidental aspects that might inadvertently slip from the attention of the observer.

All those limitations, nevertheless, do not indeed draw away the value and utility of the investigation techniques, because they are conducted in the most rigorous way in order to be reproducible, systematic, credible and transparent. Using numerous perspectives and strategies to investigate the same phenomenon overcomes bias and enhances trustworthiness besides providing a "many-sided kaleidoscope" and detailed picture of the early childhood education in the chosen rural area.

⁵² When observed, teacher's instruction might be either slightly better than usual, or the presence of an observer could trigger teacher anxiety leading to lesser performance than usual.

4.6 Data Analysis

The data analysis is twofold consonantly with the investigation phases. Analysis of the preliminary fieldwork data consist in first categorizing information gathered through casual conversations, direct observation, presence in the society day-to-day life, group, discussions, analyses of documents, outcomes of the activities undertaken, and life-histories. Secondly it is about finding share themes and building a living ethno-cultural heritage connected in sequence together with the appertaining traditional education in Kolara.

The advantage of an observation and interaction extended over a week is to identify inconsistencies between participants' statements - and often believe - should occur and what takes place verily, or between various features of the formal system. It is also expected to disclose conflicting aspects between multifarious facets of the social system or between informed perceptions or dispositions and unconscious behavioral attributes.

The second analysis is a thematic analysis organizing data in regard to research questions and according to recurrent themes found in the official primary education program, the selected three textbooks and the one-time qualitative data collection methods (expert interviews and sitting-in-on classroom observation). The thematic analysis of document and interview transcripts involves selective coding techniques, and the data of sitting-in-on classroom observation will be analyzed using descriptive statistics. The essential idea of this process is to develop a single storyline around which all relevant information is draped.

The combined data could provide a qualitative richness creating a contemporary way of understanding cultural and educational phenomena. In the analysis, the outcomes of the analysis of textbooks, the feedback from expert interviews and sitting-in-on classroom observation would be compared to determine areas of agreement as well as areas of divergence. This would also improve the quality and consistency of the data collected. By examining information collected through various methods and different data sources, the researcher could corroborate findings across data sets, counter threats to trustworthiness and thus establish credibility by minimizing the impact of potential biases peculiar to a single study - such as responsiveness, researcher bias, and respondent bias.

5 Living Ethno-Cultural Heritage as a Supplement of Knowledge in formal Primary Education

5.1 Educational Heritages of Kolara

5.1.1 Background and Ethno-Cultural Mapping

5.1.1.1 Overview of Kolara

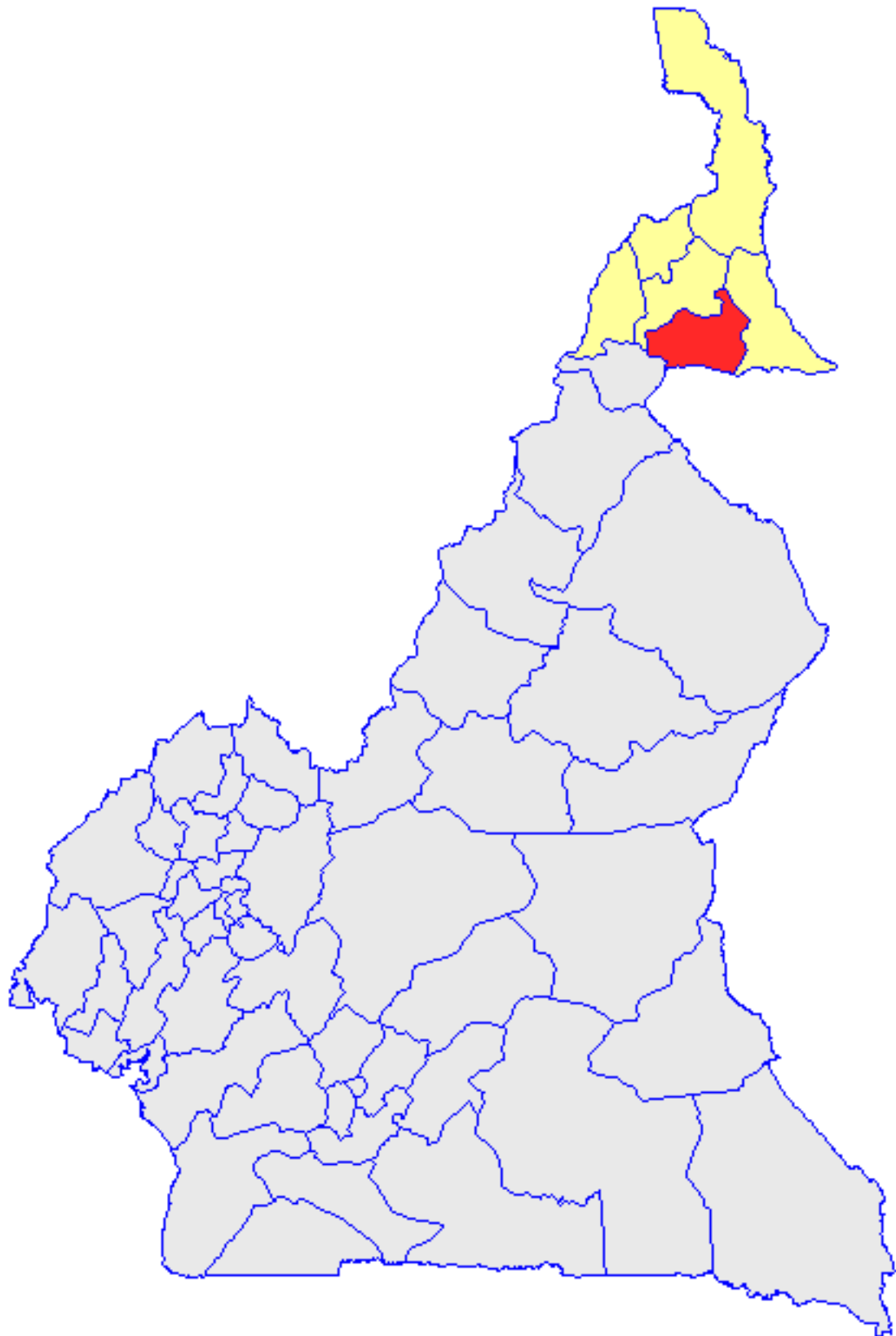
The Far-North region (like the country itself) is socially a complex ethnic mosaic and specially a stronghold of multiple ethno-cultural entities and identities. The confinement of nation-states borders splits some ethno-culture into sporadic varieties. Since independence, the region became a heterogeneous ethno-cultural puzzle of administrative divisions and sub-divisions drawn according to the evolution of the balance of political power struggle among ethno-cultural forces and elites. This apportionment has been overlaid on the cultural directions of these variegated ethnicities to the extent that every city and sometimes village has its own ethno-cultural map, political tone, and linguistic constellation. This intricacy has been superimposed with at least three creeds (animism, Islam, Christianity: Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals) and colonial languages - English, French, and Arabic. In the city council of Moulvoudaye (Mindif) located in the Mayo Kani Division, ethno-cultural components include the Tukuris (60%), the Fulbés (30%), and others (10%)⁵³ unevenly distributed in eight districts, among other Kolara (Minatd, 2013: 16).

Kolara is an administrative district of 2nd degree headed by a Lawan - an auxiliary of the Lamido of Mindif to whom he swears allegiance. The district is constituted of four villages⁵⁴ administered each by Djaouros who report to the Lawan. In the same vein the Djaouros help to maintain peace and order in the village administration. The villages are made up of neighborhoods, which are run by neighborhood leaders (Minatd, 2013: 16). Initiated by the colonizers to establish their power, this administration strategy of relying on the traditional chiefdoms was perpetuated by the post-independent administrations. Kolara is endowed with an integrated health center, a zoo-technical station, an agricultural post, a general public high school welcoming students from 6th to 13th grade, a primary school, a rural library and a training center for young girls. Today the chiefs have the status of administrative assistant without

⁵³ Other ethno-cultures, that constitute the majority in other towns includes the Massas, the Kanouris, the Mousgoums, the Djabarmas, the Mouseis, the Arab choas and the other tribes of the southern regions of Cameroon mainly made up of civil servants and workers assigned to the commune. In the town, there are also some Chadians.

⁵⁴ The four villages include: Kolaré garré, Djindjiringué, Soulkandou kolara, Sarman Gouloum

needing formal education. They serve as a link between the administration and the people of the village and still have the authority to deliver traditional justice - particularly for land and civil matters, including inheritance. The post-independent administrations maintained control of the national territory by ensuring the loyalty of traditional chiefs through cronyism. Kolara is ruled under the traditional organization of Fulbé, one of the two major ethno-cultures (32%); the Tupuri ethno-culture represents more than the majority of the population (67%); the ethno-cultures from other Regions are mainly made up of civil servants and workers assigned to the commune which are estimated at 1%.



Map 5: District of Kolara in the Mayo Kany Division

5.1.1.2 The Fulbé Ethno-culture

The Fulbé⁵⁵ people are one of the largest ethnic groups widely dispersed throughout the Sahel from the Atlantic coast to the Red Sea. They inhabit many countries: West Africa, northern parts of Central Africa and regions near the Red Sea coast.⁵⁶ They are found mainly in the three northern regions of Cameroon. They were originally nomadic pastoral communities and their lives and organization were dominated by the needs of their herds. As the modern nation-state impedes and regulates the amplitude of the itinerant lifestyle, the Fulbé have evolved even more complicated methods of moving cattle among their connected families. Families may live in stable settlements, but herds wander in response to water availability. Fulbé settlement styles have varied over the decades, ranging from traditional nomadism to sedentary existence, the majority in Kolara consists of sedentary farmers, settled artisans, established merchants and nobility. They are bound together by ethno-culture of their history, kinship, their Fulfuldé language and their predominantly Islamic creed.

The officially adopted Fulbé “Lamido-Lawans-Djaouros” organizational structure is monarchical in nature, popularly considered as a highly centralized method of administration. The Lamido is supported by ministers in charge of Lamido’s workers Sarkin Fada; in charge of livestock Sarki Sanou; and the head of butchers, Sarkin Pawa. The Alkali takes charge of judicial administration and has at his disposal the Dogari, Lamido’s police whose responsibility is that of security. He is represented at the district level by the Lawans, who entrust their power to the Djaouros in the quarters. However, the Lamido is not simultaneously the spiritual authority. This is the prerogative of a designated Islamic savant, who is not bestowed complete allegiance to - conformable to the Islamic principle of no compulsion in religion and no intermediary to pledge allegiance to god. The major ethno-culture Tupuri is subject to the jurisdiction of the Lamido or/and Lawans administratively. Traditionally however, Tupuris have an autonomous way of life. Increasingly, the leaders of the Tupuri communities are moving away from the line drawn by the Lawans. This situation might constitute a threat to the peaceful coexistence between the Tupuris and the Fulbé (Minatd, 2013: 22).

⁵⁵ The appellation of Fulbé people depicts the awareness of others the other-determination, which differs based on their interethnic relations: Peul in French Fula from Wolof of Senegal, Fulaw from Bambara of Mali, Fulani from the Hausa of Nigeria, Fellata from Sudanic and Chadian Arabic...

⁵⁶ The Fulbé live disproportionately in Mauritania, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea, the Gambia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Togo, South Sudan, the Central African Republic, Liberia, and as far east as the Red Sea in Sudan and Egypt. Apart from Guinea, where they constitute the major ethnic community, they are either a significant or a minority ethnicity in almost all other countries they are found.

5.1.1.3 The Tupuri Ethno-culture

The Tupuri ethno-culture is not only found in Kolara but also found both in another Regions and in Chad. In Chad, the Tupuri live near Fianga, Fianga Sub-prefecture and Mayo-Kebbi Prefecture in the southwest of the country. In Cameroon, the Tupuri mainly live east of Kaélé in the Mayo-Kani division and in the Kar-Hay subdivision of the Mayo-Danay division of the Far North Region. Besides, there is a large city-dweller population dispersed in various urban centers assigned substantially as civil servants and workers (Kolyang & all., 1999: 9-10). The system and institution of politics are customarily based on blood ties and shared ancestors. The ruling and procedural governance are entrenched by Tupuri customs and traditions independently of the official or Fulbé ones. In this system, inheritance has been institutionalized to lessen family, clan, and ethnic competition for power. The Tupuri's bond defies the constraints of modernity, obscures frontiers and masks distance between Tupuri, just like the power of their leader.

The Tupuri traditional life is organized in compliance with the social life program determined by the supreme spiritual leader, Wan Kluu. He lives in his temple at the foot of Mount Illi, located some five kilometers south of Fianga (Chad). The Wan Kluu's power fuses the secular and the sacred mediating between the living and the dead, the Tupuri and their ancestry. This confers upon him the custodianship of the land bequeathed by descendants of the family and held in sacrosanct believe by him in place of the entire Tupuri people. The yearly program the Wan Kluu determined is locally carried out by the territorial chiefs, called Wann siri and chosen among the founders of the village - with socio-administrative prerogative they are granted. The Wan Kluu does not need any executive organ exercising authority and holding responsibility for the governance of the community nor does he need a constituted body of person that upholds, controls, and enforces his decisions. It functions rather under the apprehension of curse or evil spell that befalls the Tupuri in case of infraction or disobedience (Kolyang & all., 1999: 7). Besides the fear of profanation, Tupuris simply pledge allegiance to Wan Kluu avoiding ostracism or simply because they are reluctant to end up as pariah, social outcast. At the same time the deference to traditional code grant Tupuris feeling of security, that is considered more substantial than the physical security or the security of a law enforcement organ. In Kolara, Tupuri and Fulbé refer to ethno-cultures in which the most characteristic aspects are those of a shared unique cultural tradition and transgenerational heritage. Being Tupuri or Fulbe grants a cultural identity and lens for growing children to understand and act on defined values, norms and social behavioral attributes.

5.1.2 Traditional Educational Heritage in Kolara

The educational landscape in Kolara can be split into three significant coexisting educational heritages had as origin African-traditional, Islamic–Arabic and Western-Christian civilizations. Since the formal education analyzed emerged from the latter, the remaining educational heritages includes merely the pre-colonial educational heritages, both the ethno-cultural education system and the adapted Islamic-Arabic education system since 7th century peculiar to some ethno-cultures.

Considering that education is a universal human activity, human beings are constantly involved in some form of learning. “All individuals are engaged in learning experiences at all times, from planned, compulsory and intentional, to unplanned, voluntary and incidental” (La Belle, 1982: 159). Ethno-cultures in Kolara have always had some viable forms of education determined by the contexts in which they have been embedded. These educational schemes correspond to centuries-old systems of reasoning, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and standard of living that are shaped by the social and cultural context, the living environment, the time and space of people live. They served their specific context prior to the introduction of extrinsic education systems, and continue to constitute an essential component of the society. They function as a primary variable for individual identity formation and as the backbone for group identity consciousness and mutual support as well as solid foundation and consolidation of ethnic entities. In this way, they also codify the interpersonal intra-ethnic solidarity and legislates the interethnic interactions.

In perpetuating culture and shaping ethnic identities, traditional education operates orally, for ethno-cultural communities were not unaccustomed to the technologies of literacy - specially writing and print. The ideology and the philosophy guiding these educational systems are thus neither enshrined in documents nor explicitly spelled out by their custodians. Traditional education consists in the appertaining educational practices specific to ethno-cultures that not only survived through the vicissitudes of time intensified by the enticement of modernization but also resisted the intrusive pre-colonial influences, the abrasive colonial tribulations and the post-colonial re-adjustments processes. Well-developed throughout Africa prior the intruding systems of education (Gwanfogbe in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 46), the traditional education practices have not utterly conceded to imposing neocolonial administration attempts to annihilate them and the waves of policy reforms to ignore or discard them. Despite the absence of a writing system and written records, they are still a process in present-day concomitant to the formal education system. Although formal education has taken hold, ethno-cultural education practices are still salient features considered

more useful for their daily life. They are practical in that they help to sustain societies in terms of agricultural viability, health care, ethical conduct and other facets of communal living.

5.1.2.1 The Organization of the Tupuri and Fulbé Educations

Traditional education in Kolara is profoundly rooted in ethnic framework of reference to the extent that it could not be detached from the ethno-culture features underpinning it. It is meant to prepare children to take their place in the family they are born in, the clan they are embedded in and respectively the ethnic community they identify themselves with. Children are not primarily disposed for life outside of this scope. To achieve this objective, traditional education focuses on building virtuous, respectable, proficient and co-operative individuals, tailor-made for the social life of the community and to enhance its growth. Though informally organized, Tupuri and Fulbé educations can take place in a customary establishment but are neither necessarily classroom-based nor stringently structured. An array of informal settings is available as option in the form of directed/self-directed learning, intentional learning, incidental learning, or socialization: Ethnic-specific education rests on groups. educators or custodians of traditions, customarily older people under the yoke of the traditional chief. The focal point of the educational experience here is the rituals and rites of passage from childhood to adulthood, whereby boys and girls are mainly prepared and taught each gender separately for the responsibilities and expectations of their respective future roles.

Tupuri and Fulbé educations consist of vocational education or forms of apprenticeship where children mostly learned from traditional educators or teachers. These are the elders, custodians of traditions, handicraft's professionals, craftsperson practitioners, story tellers, initiations instructors, and traditionally accredited and experienced professionals. Some of the common skills to be learned are for instance farming, hunting, fishing, blacksmithing, carving masks, stools or other furniture and cooking. The latter is mainly for females.

In specific cases, selected or gifted children learn how to practice herbal medicine, or are initiated into secret knowledge of the unseen and/or the ancestral beliefs of their ethno-cultural community.

Educational philosophy and proceeding are entrenched in family traditions elevating parental or legal guardian – specifically mothers or women - to be the initial educators and household compared to a primary institution. Young members of each family learn multifarious skills in conjunction with imparting the values, responsibilities, socialization and customs of their ethno-cultural community by observing and assisting older family and community members. Each community member participates in and is responsible

for the children education following a tacitly and clearly prescribed unwritten educational practice of the respective ethno-culture. Organized in compliance with the program determined by the Wan Kluu, educational activities of the Tupuris are carried out by the territorial chiefs Wann siri, which are ultimately autonomous for that matter. The Fulbé education is less structured than the Tupuri one. It is not necessarily controlled by the Lawan or Djaouros, rather it is incumbent to each chief of family, clan or neighborhood that has a wide scope to organize themselves and choose from educational options. For instance, they determine whether or not to enroll children in the Qur'anic school, Djangirde. Educational and educative practices in both communities are taking place in conformity with a specific social ideology with well-established tenets.

5.1.2.2 Ideology of Tupuri and Fulbé Traditional Educations

Educational concepts require theories of society in which education takes place. The traditional system of education is established on the social and cultural, religious and economic aspects common to the different communities (Baguma & Aheisibwe in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 24). It is primarily initiated by adaptive approaches to the natural environmental conditions for protection, procurement of food, shelter or ensuring successful reproduction. Skill, knowledge and attitude are learned and developed into a way of life made of various professions. As the Tupuri and Fulbé share the same geographical space, it follows that they have systematically similar social ideology. The ethno-cultural divide constructed by a subtle dichotomy. Every ethno-culture instills a sense of sense of group affiliation and imparts a communal way of living which creates its unity, its consensus and its boundaries. In order to perpetuate and preserve itself, ethno-culture establishes a corresponding system that disposes the children for adult life. The education is thence structured both on a specific ecological situation and refined by the ethno-cultural situation. The eco-culture molds the educational environment, like each aspect of education is structurally impacted by the local setting.

African communities in general have their own vision of society as the framework for building education systems that promote and valorize their respective culture(s). This model of society is more advanced than either the capitalist or socialist model. Without specific affiliation to any one of them, it tends to embrace certain tenets of both theories. The political, economic, social and cultural bases of African ancestral heritage depict both collective and individual features (Tadadjeu, 2004: 4). It is a more Afrocentric economic model which is neither the contrary of capitalism nor a reaction to it. "Africa's social background of tribal community life not only makes socialism natural

to Africa but excludes the validity of the theory of class struggle” (Brockway, 1963: 32). The “Afrocentric model” is moreover not comparable to Marxism and European socialist theory in that it involves religion, spirituality or spiritualism, ancestral faith, supreme being. Another distinction from the classical socialism is the traditional African way in sharing economic resources. Known as “African socialism” in various form in sub-Saharan countries (Ubuntu, Harambee or Ujamaa⁵⁷) and despite diverse versions existing even within a country, the shared basic fundamentals of this model make it unique to Africa: societal growth steered by a big public sector, including African identity and what it means to be African, and avoiding the formation of socioeconomic strata in the community (Friedland & all, 1964: 3-5). For the Tupuri and Fulbé, the group has a right but the individual in the respective community should shoulder multi-faceted obligations. The individual should sacrifice his/her interest for the common good of his/her polity. The individual being in both ethno-cultures will have privileges and enjoy rights after the accomplishment of his/her societal duties. Therefore, ethno-cultural identities or background take precedence over individual identities.

Within Tupuri socialism, affiliate to an ethno-cultural community is of utmost importance in the life of an individual. A Tupuri defines himself within the context of his own community and with respect to other people and communities. Every aspect of life within the Tupuri community happens in groups, like fishing together, hunting together, or farming together following the calendar set up by the Wan Kluu according to the yearly seasons or the vagaries of weather alteration of the Sahel region. The educational ideology is derived from this system of ideas and principles on which every aspect of life is based. A deeply entrenched principle intrinsic in the Tupuri society, which is a significant initial stage in the social affiliation process, is to begin at an early age inculcating the children the preeminence of the ethno-community needs over the ones of individual. This communitarianism does not conflict with hard work, a virtue that is also precociously instilled in children inasmuch as “the laziness of youths is worse than war”. The joint hunting is typical, as it is not only a process of learning through

⁵⁷ Ujamaa is the Swahili word for extended family or familyhood. It is a politic ideology that formed the basis of the first president’s (Nyerere) social and economic development policies in Tanzania. Nyerere pointed out the need for an African model of development that constituted the basis of African socialism for Tanzania.

Ubuntu is a word originated from Zulu and Xhosa languages in South Africa, which expresses the believes in a bond that ties together all of humanity and the fact that a human being is of a high value. The ancient Ubuntu philosophy recognizes the humanity of a person through their interpersonal relationships.

Harambee is a word among natives particularly Swahili porters of East Africa that traditionally means “let us pull together”. This togetherness a basic tenet offers that brings local Kenyans communities together regardless the government and its related policies.

experience that brings about healthy emulation but also provides young participants with the incentive to strive for excellence.

Fulbé socialism is also established upon ideas and principles that Fulbé's social identity and personality are mainly shaped by ethno-community exchanges. The ideology places however a greater degree of development on individualism or individual initiatives. It accommodates the single enterprises of a person or family within ethno-community in a given place, or a group who shares the same interest or history. This is due on the one hand to the Fulbé nomadic pastoralist trading antecedent, although the majority is made of semi-sedentary persons in addition to sedentary settled peasant, craftsmen, traders and upper class (Appiah & Gates, 2010: 495). On the other hand, the ambivalence of the individual and group initiative could be attributed to the strong centuries-old influence of Islamic social ideology.⁵⁸ This religious orientation also characterizes the thinking of the Fulbé. Their educational ideology is laid out correspondingly. It is prevalent that a child often spends extended periods of time under the care of a family member, mentor, teacher, guide or any chosen role-model. Cattle breeding or driving the cattle up to the pasture both in rainy and dry season is one of the principal activities. In the course of this performance, whereby the procedural knowledge is exercised, the child is completely detached from the family or the community.

One of the fundamental educational value common to both ethno-communities is the extended family concept - distinctive to "African socialism"- whereby children grow up with many social interaction partners; grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins, friends, neighbors, leaders of the community, role models, coaches and teachers. The educational articulation of this extension is linked with the African belief that children are a blessing regardless of their biological parent(s), their education is a collective ethno-cultural enterprise. Thus, everyone takes responsibility for their upbringing, providing a safe and healthy environment. Training the virtue and building the character of the youth into fully acceptable adults is such a comprehensive task the respective ethno-communities, that "it takes a village to raise a child". This is the communitarianism bottom line that the Tupuri and Fulbé philosophy of education are derived from.

⁵⁸ The Islam social ideology is analyzed in the ensuing paragraph.

5.1.2.3 The Philosophy of the Tupuri and Fulbé Education

The primeval quest for essence of life, its purpose and the perennial human existence through progeny have also been the preoccupation of ethno-communities prior to extraneous intrusion. The reflections of most of the thinkers in the past were not safeguarded or perpetuated by writing, which is one of the most effective record-keeping systems. The absence of a clear written statement on philosophy in various communities raises contentions on the existence of educational philosophies. This accounts also for the fact that these thinkers remain unknown out of their communities as philosophers, yet it does not impinge the results of their deep and sustained philosophic reflections in the distant past. These initial considerations represent the fundamental roots, from which philosophy of traditional education should be derived. "Africa's longest experience with the education of offspring, as the birthplace of humanity, implicated and still implicates a 'philosophical attitude' about life, the universe, and how best to induct children into the canonical ways of society" (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 58-59). Its orality makes it challenging to source, but it could be reconstituted as backtracking in its dynamism. The lack of authorship and absence of copyright probate the communitarian character of the philosophy. Though oral and initially uncharted, traditional ideas, practices and activities would not have come about without a specific philosophy substantiating it. The traditional educational system, which seems to be identical in almost all sub-Saharan African nations (Baguma & Aheisibwe in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 24), are founded on sound philosophical principles identified as preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and holism (Omona in Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 25).

Despite these continental similarities, the Tupuri and Fulbé single themselves out. Philosophical reflections as product of the culture and intellectual history of a society, are time-related, context-sensitive and culture-tailored, fitted to address the challenges of that particular ethno-culture in the first step. The pertaining education scheme is compatible with the values and practices of the ethnic groups duly safeguard in the social and political set-up of the persons as well as cultural artifacts, myths, adages, worldviews, proverbs, anecdotes, and spiritual beliefs and practices. From these incomprehensive mediums, reflections and visions of community sages have been safeguarded and conveyed, the philosophy of education of the two ethno-community involved could be explored or reconstituted.

Tupuri: An explicit educational philosophy that guides the educational process in the Tupuri society ensures that children are raised to take social responsibilities and fit for the productivity in the community. However, a notion the philosophical features of the

Tupuri education could be instituted by looking at their preserved cultural particularities. Historically, Tupuri are known to be communitarian people. The substantial system of beliefs or attitude that influences Tupuri's decisions and behavior dealing with life in general is principally compiled in the emblematic society of Gournas or the "institution of milk cure" from which the implicit educational philosophy could be construed. The origin of the Gournas is ambiguous, anonymous and not copyrighted but its authoritative practice as an institution is common to Massa, Kera and Wina ethno-cultures, which are considered to be different variations of the same ethnicity.

The Gournas is a depiction of an ideal miniaturized society in an enclosure located away from the village, always near a point of water. Reflective of the politico-social organization of the society, it is directed by a chief of the Gournas ("Wan Gournas") supported by an assistant ("Gouwo"), a treasurer ("Wan furum-hoole"), judges ("Alkali") and so of gendarmes ("Soode"); a girl's chief ("Wan may-re") deals with relations between Gournas and girls (Seignobos & Tourneux, 2002: 125). The Gournas presents itself as an apprenticeship in social life, doubles up as restoration of physical condition; an optimum equilibrium and composure between the body, the mind and the spirit for adults between two rainy seasons during which de rigueur agricultural work is carried out. The season-related cyclical organization of the Gournas brings the Tupuri in permanent aspiration towards consonance with natural environment. The participants, milk drinkers of their dairy cows, soak themselves up beautiful, train to sing, dance and fight. The songs denounce the evils of Tupuri society and taunt the misconduct of some – including participants - in order to correct the habits and customs manners within the society. Aspects of communal solidarity are inculcated by enacting code of behavior against recurring evils such as murder, sorcery, theft, infidelity, incest, treason, dishonesty, treachery, etc. The, "dance of the cock", performed in peak physical condition of the participants involves the dancers forming a circle and holding long sticks. The stick is an essential accessory not only in the Gournas, as they sleep, travel and dance with it, the expression of strength, the symbol of Tupuris' courage. The Gournas, whose social function is to dance while singing at traditional festivals, funerals and mourning of the notables has an approach to character education.

Educationally, the Gournas is mentioned as teaching wisdom and virtue, a traditional institution responsible for building personality and wisdom in conjunction with families and the ethno-community. The world of children is inextricably intertwined with that of adults since they are to assimilate traditional moral tenets and expectations perceived binding on any person who is their ethno-culture. For Tupuri, education requires children to participate in the daily activities of parents and elders. Children are trained

and assigned certain gender-specific tasks. In their development, girls assist their mothers in agriculture, commerce and household chores - fetching water and firewood, whereas boys help their fathers in breeding animals, hunting or building. Hence, in addition to the Gournas of cows "Gourna day" for adults, there is often in parallel a Gourna of goat or "Gourna Firi" for children (up to 15-16 years old). More than just a dance or food service, the juvenile version of the Gourna is a school of good morals, a training center for life in society. Besides learning the performance of the folkloric Gourna it also opens up as a matrimonial venue for young people with ambition for marriage and building a family (Ruelland, 2002: 59-60).

In the Gourna, the children are disconnected from the parental care and intervention. Their primary education is not only no longer requested, but also tested in interaction with age cohort in the village or from other Gournas. Assessment of proficiency in Tupuri children ready to take on adult responsibilities based on their social, moral, intellectual and practical abilities in their peer culture and on momentous occasions and in adults' company various circumstances. An educated person in the traditional Tupuri society is a morally upright person who follows ethical customs and society values and combines these principles with specialized survival skills, such as being a healer or fisher. The Tupuri live out the communal living and common ownership differently from the Fulbé.

Fulbé: The cultural particularities of the Fulbé are in essence oral traditions or narrated and sung literatures. Experiences, ancestral wisdom, and oral traditions are essential accretion proved effective over time that could be examined as the philosophical communalism distinctive to Fulbé people. Proverbs, myths, maxims, worldviews, anecdotes, and spiritual notions and practices feature the notion of philosophy appertaining to Fulbé education. The whole is the preserve of elders who initiate the youth into adulthood. It officiates as a scheme in the transmission of suitable and acceptable moral cultural value and good social interaction. The ethos of the Fulbé is summarized in the Pulaaku or laawol Fulbé, means word for word the "Fulbé pathways".

For the Fulbé, the individual is constituted by physical appearance, speech and profession - incipiently cattle husbandry. These three qualities are determinant of the Fulbé ethnicity, which a Fulbe is no longer of, if all three are lost. She/He becomes "someone else" (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 33). Maintaining therefore the trilateral relationships of interdependence between oneself, family, and work (cattle) is considered as a priestly role. The overriding philosophy in the Pulaaku is what could be viewed as the archetype of an educated person in the Fulbé family. The traditional

Fulbé family is under the head of the patriarch, the entire society is made of the different families' patriarchs and the land that they own and occupy, as well as the buildings and livestock on that land. Within the families, elders not only biological parents could introduce implicit vows of honor established on Fulbé values. The values are inculcated build and improve the development of Fulbé identity within the young people. A central aspect to the Fulbé's lifestyle is the behavioral code transmitted from a generation to another as preeminent moral ethnicity values, that allow Fulbé beyond across confined borders to uphold their culture, heritage and identity. It bespeaks characteristics that distinguish the Fulbé from the enclosing ethnic groups, and it is also used as moral code of conduct guiding the Pullo in his interethnic and intra-ethnic relationships. To comprehend the educational philosophy of the Fulbé, a deep comprehension of the Pulaaku, basis of their extreme pride, is imperative.

Depicted as decency, good demeanors, and pastoral chivalry, Pulaaku represents social capital, which refers to social relations within an ethno-culture, including trust, regulations, and social framework (Riesman, 1977: 128). Pulaaku involves four essential principles and embodies the foundations of children cognitive, emotional and social physical development:

Munyal often translated as patience, self-control, mental discipline and prudence, indicates a blending of force and bravery in difficult situation and a stoic fortitude of the allegedly predestined life uncertainties. It is a virtue that is retrieved in contempt of harmfulness specially in situation of misfortune or affliction. By any means necessary, a Pullo should value and preserve a sense of dignity while despising and avoiding humiliation. The relevance of Munyal is expressed in the proverb "with patience (Munyal), one could cook a stone"

Semteende is referred to as shame but also connotes shyness, modesty, respect for others including foes. It is portrayed at the same time as inadequate reserve and self-control in social routine interactions. Semteende is the refined art to avoid breaching unwritten social constraints on behavior in all situations, preeminently in front of others. Hakkille, understood as Wisdom, intelligence, foresight, personal responsibility, hospitality and common sense, is another dominant virtue that makes the Pullo. It transmits a synthesis of caution and perspicacity in sustenance management and direct confrontations. Fulbé people, children in particular are expected, right from childhood to have a behavior governed by Hakkille and to be precautious in relation with others without affecting others' feelings.

Tiinaade signifies bravery in terms of both courage of a fighter and hard worker. It is recurrently used also to praise people for their valor and achievements. Accordingly,

children are expected on the one hand to be involved diligently in whatever they undertake, on the other hand to be courageous in the face of challenges. There is an array of rituals testifying to the warrior courage and lack of fear of young boys.

These set of virtues are indistinguishably interlaced, overlapped and appear difficult to untangle. The nonconformity to the code of Pulaaku for instance informs the sense of decency or degree of wisdom to choose, whereas, Semteende that embroils the absence of Pulaaku, officiates as the incentive for the Fulbé to act and react as one. Additionally, Tiinaade combined with Munyal is the testimony of Ngorngaku manhood. In theory, Pulaaku occurs in manifold areas of human relationships, through actions, behaviors or attitudes in which it is expected that a Pullo shows decent behavior, good manner and restraint. It should not be enacted all day and everywhere, rather for defined periods of public interaction. Thus, lifestyle and behavior have solemn and not solemn features that are difficult to discern (Riesman, 1975:45-47). It implies finally that the Pullo child is socialized to be stoic, to exhibit emotions at no time, to be disciplined, to be considerate, to show pride yet courteous, to be self-sustaining and to be contend with less individual wealth and luxury. The Fulbé philosophy of education, tacit, unrecorded, inconspicuous similar to the one of the Tupuri is nameless in its authorship however authoritative in its pedagogical conversion.

5.1.2.4 The Pedagogy of the Tupuri and Fulbé Traditional Education

Since pedagogies are generally enacted in the space intrinsically ideological, political and definitely not neutral, the Tupuri and Fulbé pedagogies serve as well their respective ethno-cultural interest. To inculcate the value of the Gourna and the Pulaaku into the young generation, both ethno-cultures resort various methods of teaching and principles of instruction.

The emphatic importance of early education: In both Tupuri and Fulbé ethno-communities, a child is not born sinful like in the bible (Romans 5: 12-19), in exceptional cases the child could be considered as reincarnation of a parent or an ancestor. The reincarnation body of knowledge comes within the enigmatic competency in mysticism or the domain of esotericism. The secret, the principle behind esoteric societies, contains knowledge that should not be divulged. Its mystical connotation can only be deciphered by initiated or trained membership. Beyond the esoteric concept, there are ceremonies marking the Tupuri child under the sign of his future that are necessary. The choice of the child's personal name will condition his/her future behavior by placing the child, as incarnation of the word of an adult, among the

network of relations between adults, or between them and the divinities whose protection is sought (Ruelland, 2002: 71).⁵⁹

The believe in the re-incarnation does not exclude the value of early education nor erode the importance placed on it. In both ethno-communities, children in their inception nature have behaviors that must be molded, guided and controlled from their earliest childhood. Numerous proverbs, adages and sayings are expressed to infer the saliency of early childhood education. For Fulbé, “a dried branch could not be straightened up without the risk of cracking it”⁶⁰; it must be straightened up while still wet. That means a child must be modelled while still young. As “a doe-pig does not give birth to a doe”, the Tupuri child is an extension of his parents. So that the not yet socialized baby loses his pure nature, following in the first instance the example of his parents depending on whether it is a girl or a boy. The substance of these root words implicates that both educations aspire to provide a wholesome environment suitable to build up, foster and develop children’s potentialities.

The acceptance that children are naturally predisposed to learn by imitating, renders the world around them paramount since they literally absorb information and knowledge from their surroundings. Whereas the family space falls under the competency of the patriarch, the protection and the control of the common public environment is vital and incumbent upon everyone. Parents and other socializing agents particularly are exhorted to take gut care of this milieu, in that the moral quality of the child will reflect the experienced socializing process. Aspects of communal space in conjunction with the tacit moral code of conduct – values of Gournu or Pulaaku - legislating it are inculcated. If the contraventions of these implicit culture-related laws are usually not directly indictable, they are often considered as betrayal of one’s ethno-community, punishable by ostracism or liable to curse or evil spell from ancestor. These uphold the incessant endeavor to implement a strong educational public environment favorable to the inculcation of the real meaning of integrity, goodness, loyalty, decorum and togetherness. The controlled public space, on the one hand guarantees that children are well raised and qualified for their roles, on the other hand restrains and constrains uncouth children who would bring dishonor to their family

⁵⁹ It is believed that the birth, after which sexual differentiation is officially recognized in the ceremony of "catching the hand [of the mother]" is capable of influencing the future of the brothers, the sisters, as well as that of the parents. One can infer from this conviction that the eldest of a man, within a segment of patrilineage, which is the ideally polygynous family, is presumably considered the first "reincarnation" of this patrilineage. It does not seem, however, that a masculine "future" is more valued than a feminine future in this deliberately macho society. The future, feminine or masculine, seems to be more the complementarity of lineages. children are not considered are Tabula Rasa or have some predisposition to be developed.

⁶⁰ "Leggal djornjal dartatako"

conjointly their ethno-community. Teaching, guiding and educating the child is incumbent on the adults - not just the parents - in the child's environment, instituting as matter of customary hierarchical birthright system.

The Customary Hierarchical Adult-Child Relation: Tupuri and Fulbé ethno-communities are organized according to their status in a society. It is structured on lineage, whereby its lead is designated based on age, maturity, and relation to progenitors. The old, referred with respect to as "elders" are usually ascribed as genealogy heads in that old age is generally related to wisdom and experience as clearly expressed in Tupuri: "a village without the elderly is like a well without water". The principle applied also to the adult-child, teacher-learner or trainer-trainee relation. The faith in their wisdom and experience is verbalized in Fulbé as "what the elders see while sitting the young ones standing on their toes won't see". It accredits old people with righteousness. The old person must have deserved the accreditation through his behavior and life path characterized by impartiality, empathy, experiential insightfulness, detachedness, shrewdness shown by keen insight, and further virtues valued by the ethno-culture. This fundamental value common to both ethno-communities could be understood as "elderly right or birthright", dictates the customary hierarchical interaction between individuals. Respect for parents with particular allegiance to the mother bordering on veneration is central to the family. Children are educated to admire, to honor, to respect and to extend special courtesy to older persons that usually officiate as authoritative figures. In the wake of the same logic, the duty of taking care of the unable aging family members is generally incumbent to the younger ones.

Beyond the limits of the family circle the "elderly right" prevails also in the relation between adult and children, teacher and learner, trainer and trainee and even between peers. "Those who respect the elderly pave their own road toward success" (Tupuri saying). The "elderly right" is the hierarchical customary right, privilege and respect that one is entitled to on basis of the age. That means the elder of two or the eldest regardless of their personal abilities and skills are basically right or privileged. The right to speak for instance is given primarily to the elder or eldest at any time to the old man, who has the last word and children among elders should converse with their ears. It might not be necessarily equal or based on equality, but it endeavors to establish justice and equal right. The customary "elderly right" is also situational and accommodating. Varying contingent upon circumstances, this right appears to be disadvantageous for the elder or the eldest. For example, this prerogative of the oldest to speak at any time is attached to the duty to guarantee of justice and fairness at his

own expense. If the elder or the eldest earns by customary “elderly right” to distribute, she/he makes sure that the youngest or the weakest chooses the first. The privilege to be served or eat first during mealtime is inevitably tied to the duty to ensure that the youngest or children are replete and satisfied, even if that mean for the elder or eldest to eat less or not all. Teacher or trainer whom by “elderly right” would also earn the privilege to face the first threat or difficulties, such as foreign assault or attack of a dangerous animal thereby achieving their community function of role model.

Role Modelling as Pedagogical Approach: Elderly people were to deserve that infallible respect by living an exemplary path of life and are expected to behave accordingly at all times to serve as an archetype on which children could be patterned. Parents and other socializing agents in configuring a harmonious environment for the children natural development, are bound in honor to exemplify the ideal. To officiate as role model is an ingrained attitude of a lifetime in Tupuri and Fulbé societies. The Pulaaku is instilled in children by compassionate and reassuring care from warm, supporting, and trusted people, and it aids in the development of self-control. Children could also learn to control their emotions by observing how their parents and caregivers manage their own emotions and behaviors. They model themselves on them. Like “guinea fowl shaves his head imitating his father” (Ruelland, 2002: 71). Tupuri hold that offspring follow in the footsteps of their parent’s or adult’s behaviors by naturally watching them. The Gourna performers officiate as caretaker for the young Tupuri to observe and imitate their examples as grown-ups of and in the Gourna. Gourna participants are accredited to perform and practice what they preach and to obviate what they castigate i.e. they exhort by example - serve as role models.

For both Tupuri and Fulbé, it is an important axiom for traditional pedagogues, who must remember that they lead by example. They stress the significance of observational learning, imitation and modelling - characteristics of vicarious learning. Although oral expression is substantial in the enculturation process, the value of the Gourna and the Pulaaku are rather known, characterized and expressed by actions. Actions have a stronger impact on children in so far as they are more prone to feel allowed to do what their parent do, albeit their parents tell them not to do it. What should be achieved and the value to be imparted on children is not realized by just talking, preaching or exhorting; it must also model. The systematic and nonsystematic pedagogic process are therefore by example. In instilling their children moral goodness, parents and other socializing agents consider the necessity to embody them themselves. Gourna participants as matter of fact endeavors to continually evaluate and examine their own actions seeking complete perfection. In the process, they

ponder over whether they are living up to the standards they set up for themselves, the society and the children. The embodiment of their demeanors and diligence illustrates obviously the intended values to impart to the children and the society as a whole. For that Tupuri and Fulbé traditional educations resort mostly to extramural pedagogy based on practical experience.

Life-Related Situational Pedagogy: Education for Tupuri and Fulbé is seen as a perennial to lifetime process starting in the family with birth as outset before other educative bodies take over. There is continuum between family, community education and as well as other venue in which one learns. All have a particular quality to different degrees, a continuous ethno-cultural whole and succession in which no educative setting is distinct of distinguishable from the adjacent ones. More comprehensive and inclusive, education is designed to be extramural and goes beyond the confinement of classrooms or institutional compound. In this variety of settings, teaching and learning are inextricably linked to daily life. Knowledge is acquired through experience and from one's natural environment, whose cycle, variations and vagaries dictates the configuration of activities. The organization of the Gournas is hinged on to this cyclical life-related methods and principles of teaching. The ethnic-specific pedagogy - in addition to its link to daily life - is dispensed with the circumstances that present themselves in activities such as farming, hunting, fishing, blacksmith, sculpture or cooking.

The various life activities settings constitute specific process sequence of education that are neither necessarily successive nor progressive in the implementation. Parents, custodians of traditions, customarily older people, handicraft's professionals, practitioners, story tellers or medicine people extemporaneously incorporate the unexpected situation(s) and accidental event(s) in their teaching - despite their particular teaching plan. Any unpredictable circumstance is an importunity for the teacher or adult to impart values of the ethno-cultural community. This improvisational pedagogy is peculiar to basic tenets of Pulaaku, whose inculcation is circumstantial. The unexpected is or become at any time the part of the teaching process and plan. For example, if a snake suddenly springs up from the underbrush during a group farming session, it will be a convenient occasion for the master to give on the snake. The content, the configuration and the focus of his instruction is contingent upon his audience, it varies correspondingly if it consists of children, adolescents or adults: He can talk about the stories of snakes, the medicines of this reptile bite, or he will be more willing to dwell on the misdeeds of the serpent, to apprehend them (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 24). This example mirrors the broad array of life-related and situational culture-

specific methods and principles of instruction, that entail at the same time to bring learner consistently into focus.

Learner-Centered Experiential Pedagogy: The Tupuri and Fulbé traditional educations are characterized by a learner participative approach. Traditionally families call upon children to self-care and to ponder on their life situation and whereabouts. Along these lines they are prompted to admit, assume and bear responsibility for unremitting improvement of their living conditions. At a much early age, parents and/or caretakers foster, enliven and embolden children to develop into autonomous life. In order to correspondingly materialize this independence children are asked, in some situations even exhorted to undertake quite difficult tasks on their own. The appertaining common tasks are farming or livestock farming for the Tupuri boys and driving up the cattle to pasture for Fulbé boys. Girls are processed in both communities for taking care of the household. Traditional educators recur to this participative pedagogical approach involving the learner in various situations that challenge old premises and entrenched practices in which the exercise and the development of thinking at all levels is triggered. The strenuous situations are meant to manure creativity. Cultural content and behavior are transmitted to the youth through dynamic oral traditions, that holds a beneficial educational practice and contributes to the comprehensive expansion, development and thriving of the children exposed to it.

The traditional learner-centered approach has also communitarian component. Cultural contents and behaviors are not only learned through observation, imitation of adults' archetypes and unaccompanied participating in the daily life of their ethno-community but also acquired either alone in incidental or directed interactions or with their peers. Tupuri and Fulbé parents do not actively bring up children at certain stages of their development.⁶¹ Within these transitional stages, children are getting more and more responsible for their learning relieving gradually their parents and other adults from these obligations. Participative spaces are provided gradually to allow children to mature on their own. Out of direct parental care and intervention, they acquire further experiential self-explorative knowledge confronting concrete daily life reality. In some situations, they are better with their age-grades, that means children matching randomly with other of same and/or different ages, learn from one another. The Gourn of goat ("Gourn Firi"), the juvenile Gourn illustrates this peer learning pedagogical process. The adult-free self-organized platform impregnates imagination, creativity,

⁶¹ Ethno-cultural developmental stages are detailed below.

discovery and questioning abilities along with critical thinking. Children are self-schooled as responsibility-bearers who can contribute to their own development, thence to their families and to a larger extent the community as a whole. The learner-centered and life-related situational pedagogy combined with the customary hierarchical relation role-modelling approach barely labels children as failure. Laying emphasis on the early education, Tupuri and Fulbé traditional educations expedite the acquisition of cultural content and cultural behavior, to be considered as curriculum.

5.1.2.5 The Curriculum of the Traditional Educations

The traditional education as well as the corresponding curriculum are strongly related to objective aim of the education could be considered into moral aspects and the functional aspects.

Life-Time Curriculum: The common main objectives of Tupuri and Fulbé traditional education is to build virtuous, respectable, proficient and co-operative individuals who are tailor-made for concrete life in the community and enhance its advancement. The ensuing curriculum distributed and spread over lifetime, is perceived as a lifelong experience and fundamental constituent of living. It is an ongoing process meant to prepare children for their role on their respective community. Learning is considered as not having an endpoint, a process without termination to participate to the Gournas or to the learning and teaching of Pulaaku. Acquiring knowledge in both ethno-culture is endless and boundless regardless the gender distinction in the educational approach respectively the exercise of profession:

Besides the Gournas, an educated Tupuri is supposed to have boundless and multifarious knowledge about farming, hunting, fishing, weaving straw and building a house. The informal but explicit Tupuri calendar different from the Gregorian one that begins in October, determines the various activities. These are stretched and cumulated over the year in such a way that Tupuri are raining/dry seasons farmers and breeders from May till January; fisher in March, April and May; hunter in the months of June, July and August and constructor of traditional house between November and April. Activities are only limited or interrupted during the February, March and April heatwave. The Gournas, including livestock farming is performed between October and February, the dead period of the farmers (Kolyang & all., 1999: 9-10).

Knowledge as for the Fulbé is extensive, diversified and concerns the whole life situations. The connoisseur for the Fulbé is not a specialist, rather a generalist. An old person, for example, will have knowledge as well in pharmacopoeia, in “science of the lands”, in “science of the waters”, that in astronomy, in cosmogony, in psychology etc.

It is about a “science of life”, life being perceived as a unit where things are connected, reciprocal dependent and interacting (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 22).

Tupuri and Fulbé knowledge is as a matter of fact a holistic, infinite, diversified comprehensive and living knowledge, forasmuch as the old people, gender-neutral. These are the last depositories similar to gigantic libraries with numerous rays imperceptibly joined to each other that represent this “science of the invisible”, substantiated by the initiatory chain conveyance (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 25). The absence of a systematic curriculum and its orality appears to be inspirational, foster ingenuity, a fertilizer for creativity allow full bent to the children imagination. This infinite and unbridled knowledge is however, in its transmission punctuated by untangled transitions of beings.

Developmental Stage related Curriculum: Educational contents and activities are culture-specific assigned to the transitional stages of development in order to ensure that the young people are ready to take life responsibilities. Each ethno-community envisage different major transitions in life (“endpoints of development”) or stages of child development to phrase Piaget, considering that diverse cultures “recognize, define and assign different developmental tasks to the same biological agenda” (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011: 58). The unwritten curriculum is arranged in a logical order to correspond to the expected turning points of distinctive developmental stages that the Tupuri and Fulbé perceive or recognize separately.

Tupuri Developmental Stage: The concept of baby or the little child (“mbàrgâ”) who the mother wears on her back and does not speak, continues to apply to a child up to about two years. From birth, sexual differentiation is officially recognized in the ceremony of “catching the hand of the mother” (“bàa gë”), that takes place three days after birth for a boy, for a girl four. Both boys/sons (“wëlë”) and girls/daughters (mày) are referred to as such till the adolescence or the end of childhood. “Boys” leave childhood between 16 and 18 years old - depending on their own maturity - and become “young-man-dancer”. They could therefore join the Gournas with their first sexual relationship by “loosing virginity”. It is only when a man gets married and he becomes “head of the family enclosure” (“jè tin”), that he is considered as adult. The boy’s education principally consists of following the footsteps of his father.

The status of the girl differs from that of the boy in that the girl is a leaf of the stem. She is referred to as “girl” or “daughter” during her lifetime. Detached from her paternal family to fulfill a nurturing role, she is to grant her fertility to her husband’s family. The early departure of the daughter from her father does not imply a relaxation in her education. Even married, with the status of “wife” (wàày) within the family of her

husband, a woman is called “daughter, daughter” (mày). In the noun phrases, “foreign girl” (mày wâarë) - followed by the name from his home village, constant reminders of his status as a foreigner and his status as a child. There is thus, in the appellative norms, a clear distinction between a male child, promised to the status of adult and a female child, verbally still considered as a child (Ruelland, 2002: 71). This statutory gender imbalance is found also in Fulbé Developmental Stage, not at the level of the appellative norms though, rather differentiated initiation rites.

Fulbé Developmental Stage: Fulbé view also the development of the person to be accomplished at the rate of periods of growth of the body, each of which corresponds to a degree of initiation. The initiation aims to provide the physical person with moral and mental power that helps the ideal and total fulfilment of own potential. Two main phases are to be considered in life: the one ascending up to sixty-three (0-63), the other descending to one hundred and twenty-six (64-126). Each of these phases comprises three major sections of twenty-one years consisting of three periods of seven years. Each section of twenty-one years marks a degree of initiation knowledge, competency or ability, every period of seven years indicates a threshold in the development of the individual (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 38-39).

The 1st section (0-21): During the first seven years of the existence a growing being requires as much care as possible; the child remains intimately bind to the mother on whom she/he depends completely for all situations of her/his life. From seven to fourteen, she/he is confronted with the external influence of the environment, but she/he always feels the need to refer to her/his mother, who continues to be her/his criterion. From fourteen to twenty-one years old, she/he is at the school of life and the teacher(s), and gradually get a rid of the influence of the mother. The 2nd section (21-42): The age of twenty-one indicates a crucial threshold, the ritual circumcison for boys and the initiation to the ceremonies of gods. The education provided to adults, to deepen the knowledge already received, ranging from twenty-one to forty-two years. During the second half of this threshold, the person matures from the teachings she/he got in the preceding period. She/He is supposed to be listening to the wise old people - just listen without the right to speak - and if she/he happens to get a word in edgeways, it is either as a favor or as a trial but never as assignee, not by law. The 3rd section (43-63): At forty-three on the other hand, she/he is supposed to have reached virtual maturity and is one of the masters. Entitled to speak, she/he is required to teach others what she/he has experienced and mastered in the first two periods of her/his life (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 12-13).

At the age of 63 that terms the ascending phase, the person is supposed to have achieved his active life and is no more bound by any obligation, which does not prevent her/him from continuing to teach if this is his vocation and her/his ability. At no time, the human being is considered as monolithic unity, limited to its physical body, rather as a complex being, governed by multiplicity in perpetual movement, she/he is neither static being nor completed (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 13). The human being is such a progressive seed plant from a first capital that is its own potential. This will develop through the ascending phase of his/her life depending on the environment and at the whim of the encountered circumstances. Forces extricate from this potentiality are in perpetual movement, as the cosmos itself. The “human being is the universe in miniature”. These milestones of beings, specific periods of education are merely indicative and unsystematic i.e. not necessarily successive, progressive or standardized to stringently establish an evaluation, graduation or certification system.

Evaluation, Graduation and Certification System: From the imprecise grades and overlapping development stages results a loose and unsystematic evaluation system - although there is a culturally recognition of well-educated, acknowledgement of performance and excellency or Graduation. In both ethno-communities, parents or family members in the first instance set up deliberate or casual tests for evaluation to gauge both a child’s capability and personality. Through conversations and running of errands, levels of physical development, oratory and social competence (such as integrity, goodness, loyalty, decorum, togetherness...) were assessed in children. In the second instance their competence and skills that could be also determined within the family setting, are commonly extra-familial assessed from their achievement and predisposition for specific works. The outcomes are more examined from specialized educators for children’s professional orientation. Correspondingly, they are to complete vocational training or initiation covering all the required disciplines along with what is supposed to be known pertinent at a given age cluster. The third and terminal evaluation, that generally involves a particular age group or children with specific culturally valued attribute, is in itself systematic in so far as it is thoroughly prepared by educators.

Educators establish an evaluation program outlining the test or trial, activities involved and the duration with the emphasis laid on the level of their children’s community obligation. For the Tupuri this is materialized in the Gournas at the point in course of the initiatory process for girls and boys separately. These are often associated to the common festivities such as “Ngakaki” - festive of chicken, where chicken is slaughtered as sacrifice; the “Feobari” - festive celebrating the end of raining season good harvest

(„Kara) one month after the festive of “Nkgakaki”, the “Kara” - festive to face the hardship of the dry season and open the hunting activities or the “Feogéré” - festive for twins, where black sheep are slaughtered. As for the Fulbé, evaluation is combined with the circumcision for the boys and wedding for both boys and girls. The children poised for maturity are gauged more for social competence and community loyalty than other aspect. The graduations are organized accordingly in forms of competitive artistic performances, games, festivals, dancing, wrestling, running, hunting and farming singing and drawing. Even these ceremonies could be deciphered as intentional training to develop character and a sense of community. Wrestling exercises for instance help to impart the sense of harmony and solidarity. The essence of competing is therefore less about winning and losing, it is rather the acquisition of the sense of courteous behavior, endurance and solidarity, competitive spirits presumably inculcated to peer-group at the primary age. These recognitions do glorify neither degree, certificate nor credit system that hallmark children as inadequate. They are rather emulating trophies that creates incentive for betterment, without examination but orientation. Children emerge gradually fully grown initially as neophytes or applicants. On this roll, they “graduate” from the low observatory and passive degree to an active participatory stage up till they progressively changeover into matured standing adulthood. And later they function as socioeconomic actors-members of their family and community life, and so irrespective of systematic or standardized curriculum.

Flexible, Dynamic and functional Curriculum: Although Tupuri and Fulbé educations are characterized by communal solidarity, the curricular contents are neither brought into conformity with a standardization nor confined in textbooks holding the monopoly on knowledge. In both ethno-communities, the curriculum is unstandardized, flexibly tailored to individual needs and designed to accommodate a wide range of particularities in such a way that there are various curricula. Dynamic, time specific, person sensitive, situation related, curricula overlap. For example, elementary, middle or higher teaching could be given simultaneously, according to context and situations, and is every time a period of instruction and practical wisdom. Each circumstance surrounding the instructions settings is an opportunity for the master to impart lessons to his students contingent upon their state of understanding. A caravan of small ants transporting a grasshopper, for instance, will allow the master to provide a course not only on the ant and the grasshopper, but also on the significance of solidarity and the tremendous strength of the ant that constitutes the union of small forces assembled (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 39).

The process of education is designed in such a way that it does not imply that a child's education is only as valuable as the career that they may be able to obtain as a result of their training. Both Tupuri and Fulbé oral traditions illustrate an inherent value for education. What people do for living should provide them with a sense of pride and personal fulfillment. It should tap into that part of them that has something valuable to give to their community. The evaluation of educational goals, aims and outcomes are conceived to pass beyond the employment and value education on account of acquiring knowledge. The value of education is salient without undervaluing the functional aspect of education or training by maintaining perpetual harmony between the value for education and its utilitarian aspects. Therefore, the evaluation in the various educational settings (family, initiation or apprenticeship) foregrounds the social aspects of education. Even when wisdom and aptitude that embody the cognitive aspects of intelligence are examined, they are axiomatically associated to the social skills and allegiance to community or ethnic group.

Environmental and Livelihood-related Comprehensive Curriculum: Ethnic specific therefore culturally relevant, curricula are embedded in the realities of Tupuri and Fulbé children's lives, their natural environment that made adaptation to be the primary purpose of traditional education. Each new skill, acquired knowledge or attitude was developed specifically in a response to a variety of physical, geographical, environmental, political, historical, and societal difficulties. These represent the shared sociocultural and economic features both ethnic groups based their respective traditional education on. Curricula are not rigid and definite enough to allow growth out of practical concern of the children who are beginning their lives as members of the community. The content of the Gournu is practice-oriented and provides Tupuri children both with the abilities to subsist and to build social connections. The seasonal professional activities of the Tupuri, the community obligations, the political role as well as the ethical principles and metaphysical beliefs are the focus of the education project. The curriculum is functional and officiates as the school of life because it is developed, continuously questioned and adjusted in the Gournu.

The content of the Pulaaku is likewise relevant and inextricably connected to the livelihoods of Fulbé children and the ethno-community in general. In conformity with their traditions, Fulbé used to be nomadic folks, pastoring animals keeping themselves away from the sedentary agricultural people. Subsequent to their interaction with other ethno-communities, they have endorsed an extensive array of socioeconomic patterns. The pastoral tradition is today more prestigious than functional, as it is considered as the authentic archetype of Fulbé culture. The curriculum includes thus - besides a very

important oral part, a practical part “on the ground” breeding, hunting, and even sometimes agriculture, where the Fulbé do not have servant farmers “rimaybes” (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 39). The notion of education imparts knowledge and skills meant to earn them a living in its utilitarian sense – rather than based on paper qualification, which are good as a symbol but incomplete. Traditional education was deliberately designed to qualify the children for their society and not for life outside the ethnic community.

Both Tupuri and Fulbé curricular are unwritten and their contents are not divided into conventional areas of study like biology, chemistry, mathematic, politics, etc. It is a systemic curricular approach that wedges the daily grind of the children, their relatives and ethno-community’s livelihood together, putting into a whole knowledge, mastery and competences concerning aspects of life into one comprehensive educational program. Yet various disciplines are implicitly encompassed in educative perceptions and conceptions that actively foster both intellectual development and training in various realms of knowledge through observation, imitation and participation processes. The teaching of seasons’ characteristics is exemplary: It includes indeed the alternation of seasons and the appertaining fauna and flora, respectively their impact on professional and daily life activities. Geography, Geology, Environmental Studies, Natural Sciences, Animal Husbandry, Livestock Farming and/or Astrology are implicitly ethno-specific taught. Mathematics i.e. figures, numbers, abstract systems of measurements are introduced quite early to Tupuri children. Tupuri have developed various units of measurement; whether to count (addition, subtraction, multiplication and division) hunting products such as tree frogs, frogs, birds, rats; the calabash to estimate liquid or quantify grains the harvest of millet, the cord to evaluate the length of the fields, the feet in the construction of the hut etc. There are suitable measurement systems (Kolyang & all., 1999: 61-68). History in particular, exclusively ethno-specific history is instructed, at family setting foremost, then at village limits and later at the degree of ethno-culture. Heroes are erected or acknowledged singularly within the ethno-culture and hymn of praise spontaneously composed and poured on them and their leaders, proving the art of rhetoric and the levels intellectual commitments. This the case of the Fulbé griot in his/her text and lyrics. The themes of mental drills are in most cases improvised and differ from an occasion to another, from an ethnic hero to another or from a focal event to another. Artistic performance, Festivals and rituals are also used as means to teach youngster about the history of their family, community and or ethno-cultural group. This presupposes the local history could not be taught in other language than the intrinsic one.

5.1.2.6 The ethno-specific language of instruction

The Tupuri's and Fulbé's language of education is mostly also not written (like ideology, the philosophy, the pedagogy and curriculum), that means the transmission between educators and children is by word of mouth. It does not imply that the lack of writing means the absence of culture "where there is no writing, there is no culture", for "writing is one thing and knowledge is another" as Hampâté Bâ put it. Writing is the photograph of knowledge, but not knowledge itself. "Knowledge is a light thing that is in human being. It is the inheritance of all that the ancestors could know and that they transmitted to us in germ, just as the potential baobab is contained in power in its seed" (1972: 21-22). The oral transmission is so precise and so rigorous that great events of the past centuries, with various overlaps, could be in the smallest details reconstructed. It is in the wake of the various oral traditions that the history of the Tupuri and Fulbé in the earlier centuries could be reconstructed.⁶² Knowledge, art, ideas and cultural artifacts is received, safeguarded and passed on orally from generation to received. In both oral ethno-cultures, people are committed by their words and speech, that characterize or construe them; thence the deep respect for the traditional narrations granted by the past. If it is permissible to enrich the form of this oral legacy or embellish its poetic structure, the framework and the basic outline remain immutable throughout the centuries, conveyed by a prodigious memory idiosyncratic to ethno-cultures with oral tradition. Under these conditions, Tupuri and Fulbé oral source remains trustworthy, constantly controlled by the respective traditional environment.

Versed in the norms of their respective ethno-cultures, children are fluent foremost and at least in their mother languages studied from family members and peers. Through observation, imitation of sociocultural consistent behavior, Tupuri and Fulbé children could be able to naturally learn the words and actions of their coeval and older persons' language proficiencies. These like mentioned above are rooted in familial traditions to enable parents or guardian, female in particular, to play their substantial roles as primary educators and teachers in an all-inclusive activity in which storytelling, proverbs and myths also plays an important role. The lack of written literature tradition led to advancement of the art of speech in a most exclusive manner: poems, epics, historic and chivalrous narratives, didactic tales, tongue twisters, wordplay, riddles, word games, rhymes, mythologies... conveyed throughout centuries by the

⁶² It is in particular on the basis of the various oral traditions that Hampâté Bâ was able to rebuild the history of the Peul Empire of Macina in the 18th century. It is also these cross-references in oral traditions that have enabled Boubou Hama of Niger to provide his comprehensive production on the narrations and traditional knowledge of the African peoples (Hampâté Bâ, 1972: 25).

monumental oral memory and languages. It is as such especially valuable that “when an old man dies, a library burns to the ground”.⁶³ The death of each elder represents a great loss, figuratively a library full of books, magazines, journals and other materials like musical and movie recordings, a place where knowledge old folks gathered for many years is basically found.

Story telling or folktales for instance is a momentous educative activity: parents, other older family members and professionals orally told story to instruct children about the past, customs, mores and values of their ethno-cultures. Children commonly congregate in the night around the raconteur, who then relates stories using personifications to encourage conformity, deference, and qualities like as patience, integrity, and other ethical characteristics that are vital for communal cooperation teaches first and foremost rhetoric or verbal jousting. In casual talk or in serious conversation, Tupuri and Fulbé resort proverbs as effectual communication form. A proverb is worth a thousand words since it is usually a short and highly condensed saying. It facilitates the quick understanding of the meaning and also the recollection or reminiscence of the essential content afterwards. Its brevity makes proverb memorable, easy to learn and retain in memory, a proverb has characteristic of being melodious, and rhythmical as the following Fulbé proverb depicts: *Ha maodo walli ehwi, mingel dari ewata*, meaning what a lying elderly person can see, a standing child cannot see. By virtue of their nature, proverbs can be used as a source of moral authority. In spite of its cultural and traditional inception, proverb poses as ordinarily essentially expressions of universal truths. Proverbs are concise, rhythmic, and meaningful, and in addition to being easy to remember, they are also easy to apply at opportune times. Coincidentally, it is their nature that they can be easily used in ordinary conversation. They enrich and color normal daily conversation by allowing a speaker to express a point in a nutshell yet with severely critical impact. This is typical to the Griot, the Fulbé historian, storyteller, praise as well as mockery singer, poet, or musician; in other words, a repository of the Fulbé oral tradition.

From both traditional educations, good morals and virtue are impacted, solidarity and harmony in society created, the cultural heritage of each ethno-culture perpetuated and its boundaries preserved. All of this instills sense of community primacy and communal life in the young, as well as preparing them for adult duties and prestige. As schooling

⁶³ Hampâté Bâ (1901-1991), an author and ethnologist from Mali, is known for stating before UNESCO (1960): (“In Africa, when an old man dies, it’s a library burning.”) “En Afrique, quand un vieillard meurt, c’est une bibliothèque qui brûle.” (*Andal, de maoudo walli fou, gel ta-i*).

has arguably taken hold, traditional educations are still salient in Kolara. The formal education seems sporadically to lose out to traditional educations, considered more useful for their daily life. Indeed, education prior to any invasive influence involves familiarized socio-cultural mores, practices and knowledge, which resonate acutely with ethno-cultural communities or reverberate throughout their quotidian life, similar to the Islamic education for those are Muslims.

5.1.3 Islamic Arabic Educational Heritage in Kolara

Islam is fundamentally established on the Qur'an, which means "reading" or "recitation" is considered as the word of God (Allah) delivered to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)⁶⁴ by the archangel Gabriel compiled in a book of 114 chapters of unequal length called suras (chapters) and 6236 verses. The Qur'anic religion spread to Cameroon with the Muslim Fulbé pastoral nomads and under the conqueror Usman Dan Fodio, in contrast to the previous peaceful conversion. Massive conversion of the people mostly with ethno-cultural overtone went through automatic imitation of their kings such as the Nso Kingdom or Mandara Kingdom. Considering that individual also freely converted to Islam regardless their ethno-cultural affiliation, various ethnic groups are known as Muslims, these are usually cross-country ethno-cultures such as the Kanuri, the Hausa, the Mandara, the Kotoko etc. Generally, Islam is adopted within their cultural contexts and schemes of beliefs. Its practice was dynamic and is regularly being adjusted according to prevailing local conditions, as a process of appropriation of Islam. The Fulbé, akin to various ethnicities have commonly appropriated Islam to the extent that Fulbé and Muslim identities are overlapping and intertwined. Cultural indicators or practices that accompanies Islam became aspects of specific ethnic identities, but they nearly not exist separately. These distinctions transpire in the organization of the Islamic education.

5.1.3.1 Islamic Educational Organization

A hierarchical administrating structure as that of a government does not exist in Islam. Despite the absence of central administration, each Lamidat - Fulbé traditional chiefdom led by a Lamido - designates persons to Islamically educate their children called Mallum'en - singular Mallum. Mallum is a generic term for teacher that could be qualified as Modibbo (plural Modibbé) or Goni (plural Goni'en). A Modibbo, speaks Arabic and knows the exegesis of the Qur'an, the Tafsir⁶⁵, as well as Islamic history.

⁶⁴ In Accordance with the Islamic principle the name of the Prophet should be follow by the "peace and blessings be upon him" (PBUH).

⁶⁵ Tafsir or Tafseer from Arabic literally means interpretation.

Goni⁶⁶, which stands for the Arabic “Hafiz” or the feminine equivalent “Hafiza” that literally means “guardian” or “memorizer”, is a term used by Muslims to designate a person who has completely memorized the Qur’an. A Mallum might not be necessary Modibbo or Goni to be qualify entitle to teach. Among the Mallum’en if applicable Moddibbé or Goni’en, the Imam(s) of the community is/are nominated. This committee, the Mallum-board is by Islamic law compelled to respect the authority of the Lamido or any administrative or societal hierarchy but without allegiance, restrictively reserved to the almighty Allah. In Islam, there is no intermediary between Allah and the creation that he brings into existence through his mere command “Be”. However, the Mallum’en function as living intermediaries between laymen and the teaching of Prophet (PBUH). They are thus needed from the massive up to the sovereign (Diop, 1987: 168).

The Mallum, versed in the commands and words of the Qur’an, heads the school (Vernon-Jackson, 1967: 5). He/She is not meant to be paid and expects no pay for his teaching under the axiom of the Prophet (PBUH): “the best amongst you is the one who learns the Qur’an and teaches it” (Annawawi, 1994: 259). He/She is supposed to live from another activity, from Alms, voluntary gift from community or families. Consequently, any Muslim could initiate her/his Qur’anic school apart from the designation by the Lamido. Since the campaigns of violence of Boko Haram in the region in 2014, every Qur’anic has to be officially declared, registered or if necessary, required a special administrative authorization. In the absence of Mallum, at no case the Muslim children should remain without Islamic education or teaching. Based on the “convey from me, even if it is one Ayah of the Qur’an”, parents or any another adult male or female in the Muslim community has to reach out for the teaching of children. Reversely, seeking (religious) knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim and “the one who goes forth in search of knowledge is considered as struggling in the cause of Allah until he returns” (Annawawi, 1994: 327-8). There is conclusively neither reason nor excuse not to teach or learn. Islamic instruction is not an exclusive prerogative of the Mallum, but the ethno-community as a whole – including the Islamic community worldwide in the sense that a teacher from any place in the world might travel just to instruct in the Muslim ethno-cultural community of Kolara. The responsibility is however incumbent (before God) to parent first and foremost, the Mallum being the one parents and community largely delegate authority to. No Muslim can be exonerated from the responsibility to impart Islamic knowledge to children.

⁶⁶ Goni is also found in other Muslim ethno-cultures Hausa Kanuri or Kotoko

5.1.3.2 Islamic Educational Ideology

From its etymology⁶⁷, Islam means in the religious sense submission to the will of Allah and obedience to his law. It is a complete system and mode of life established on the basis of sacred Islamic precepts both for individual and collective welfare of mankind leading to peace and comfort. Islamic education, as social activity is constructed on this social theory with well-established tenets. These are primarily enshrined in the permanent basis Holy Qur'an; in it, social and economic regulations are described in detail, and are considered necessary in order for an individual and collective life to sustainable, harmonious and meaningful. Its teachings are exemplified in the Sunnah⁶⁸ of the Prophet (PBUH), who developed the commands of Islam by his words and deeds compiled as Hadith.⁶⁹ Moreover, traditions and cultural values, which are compatible with the precepts of Islam are accommodated by the Muslims in their respective regions.

This underline both the local and global dimensions of the Islamic ideology. Locally, Fulbé Muslims – along with other ethno-cultures Muslims, operate with ample autonomy unregulated by higher or hierarchical institution in their worships. This justifies the conception of a brand of education that addresses specific and different social, political, economic, cultural and geographic circumstances. Globally, Muslims in Kolar are also members of the Ummah⁷⁰ Islamic community all over the world. All sections of Muslim population are bound together by a common belief and a feeling of the affiliation to the same congregation. Since the nascent of Islam, the bond of faith among Muslims regardless their origin is reflected in the related education and inculcated. The steady attachment to the revealed tenets of the Qur'an and the prominent social and economic content of Islamic practices perpetually consolidate this bond.

Comparatively, the Islamic ideology is opposed both to capitalism and communism considered both as flawed due to their materialistic ideologies unsuitable for living beings whose properties outstrip the material. Another shortcoming of these ideologies – albeit in opposition - is the assumption that the individual and the community are in irreconcilable conflict. Communism wanted to destroy the individual in favor of society.

⁶⁷ Etymologically Islam derived from Arabic word "salam" which means peace, purity, submission and obedience.

⁶⁸ Sunnah ("a well-trodden path") used by pre-Islamic Arabs to denote their tribal or common law, came to mean in the Islamic community the example of the Prophet (PBUH), His traditions and practices.

⁶⁹ Hadith, literally "report" in Arabic, is a written documentation of the Prophet's words and deeds. Six of these collections of sayings attributed to the Prophet, compiled in the 3rd century AH (9th century CE), came to be regarded as especially authoritative by Muslims.

⁷⁰ Ummah is a word derived from the Arabic for mother

Knowing that society is nothing other than the multiplication of the individual, the result is the inevitable ruined of the society. Capitalism, on the other hand, by focusing on the individual and unduly protecting him from the demands of society, gives the individual a sense of justified self-interest, condones the unbridled acquisition of capital whereby actions cannot only be considered morally right or wrong by virtue of the morality of the outcome. The outward projection of this feeling could be expressed in various forms such class-thinking, nationalism, slavery, colonialism and ethnic-thinking. The latter, the hallmark of “African socialism” conflicts with Islamic ideology.

Though community-based, Islamic ideology transcend the simple ethnicity structures. These narrow identities extend the boundary of responsibility as a human being only to ethnicity, where ethnic identity or background prevail over individual identities. The Islamic ideology predicates an overarching concept of human solidarity, a larger sense to human belonging, one community (Ummah), with mutual obligations but religious rights to their own traditions regardless the origin. “Human beings, we created you all from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most God-fearing of you. Surely Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware.” (Qur’an, S.49: V.13). There is a sense of faith with the universal human perspective, that is supposed to inspire Muslims to outwards beyond the bounds of ethno-culture, language and geography. In the Muslim world, Muhammad (PBUH) is understood as a divinely guides figure, a human being, who not in spite of his belief in God, but thanks of his belief in God, is able to construct a society that transcends bounds of ethnicity, lineage, race and gender. And hence it is through religion that one can find a more just society, society built on common historical memory, even if most Muslims had nothing to do with that period genetically and ethnically speaking, they feel the sense of ownership over it. That sense of ownership is transported through the derived philosophy of education.

5.1.3.3 Philosophy of the Islamic Education

The characteristic ethos of Islam unites in itself both the spiritual and temporal aspects of life, legislating the individual’s relationship to Allah through conscience, as well as the human relationships in a social setting. The Islamic religion has a peculiar spirit that combines the spiritual and the secular aspects of life, not only regulating the relationship of the individual to God through the legislation of conscience, but also of interpersonal relationships in the social environment. Therefore, there are both Islamic religious institutions and Islamic law, ethnic communities’ groups and further institutions that govern society. As a religious institution commissioned by God to represent its value system to world as a religious community as well as a social movement, Islam in

one sense has an Islamic spiritual and a social dimension. It befalls in the Islamic education in Kolara; the set of beliefs that influences what and how Muslim children are educated. The philosophy that underpins the Islamic education in Kolara and the northern Region part in general are inferred from the three dimensions of Islam: Al-Islam, Al-Iman and Al-Ihsan.

Al-Islam consists of voluntary submission to Allah, observing the Islamic five pillars, precisely “to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and that Muhammad (PBUH) is the Messenger of Allah; that you observe Salat (prayers), pay Zakat, observe Saum (fasting) of Ramadan and perform Hajj (pilgrimage) of the House, provided you have resources of making journey to it.” Iman: belief in the six articles of faith of Islam Iman (faith) namely the “believe in Allah, and His Books, and His Messengers and the Last Day and that you believe in foreordainment, its bad and good consequences.” Al-Ihsan “is to worship Allah as if you are seeing Him; and although you do not see Him, He sees you” (Annawawi, 1994: 23-24). Although believed to be omnipresent, Allah, one and only creator of the universe is not incarnated in anything, and every living being bears witness to his unity and lordship. His majesty and sovereignty are reflected by the fact he is thought to be an intimate God, closer than anyone’s jugular veins and He responds whenever a person in need or distress calls upon Him. It involves demonstrating righteousness on earth, promoting the wellbeing of persons, speaking up for those who are downtrodden and most in need. Although the Islamic philosophy of education is more Holy-scripture-centered, individuals’ needs are of contemporary relevance for preparing children for future. Mallum’en, - including parents and the community as a whole - are seen as an institution that works with children in realizing their individuality and improve society.

5.1.3.4 Pedagogy of the Islamic Education

The Emphatic Importance of Knowledge in the Early Education: is the backbone of the pedagogy of the Islamic Education. The Qur’an’s verse “It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allah” (S. 35: v. 28) refers to the understanding of the Islamic commands, and knowledge of the legal and the prohibited. It is based on this beneficial knowledge that equitable judgements could prevail. So, when a Muslim dies, all “deeds come to an end except for three things: a ceaseless charity⁷¹; a knowledge which is beneficial, or a virtuous descendant who prays for the deceased” (Annawawi, 1994: 328). From the three categories of actions rewarded even after

⁷¹ Ceaseless charity, also called “Sadaqah Jariyah” refers to voluntary charity such as constructing a school, or planting a tree; as long as people profit from these, the donator is bestowed upon.

decease, two emphasize the everlasting importance of knowledge as legacy, teaching, learning, educating and parenting. Muslim parents instill very early the injunctions of Islam in the minds of their children. The Azan Islamic call to prayer is made in low voice in the ears of the baby as the first practical and spiritual training for the performance of daily five prayers. The importance of mandatory prayers is impressed on the children's minds in an early age. This exercise, like the one of other compulsory rituals such as fasting in the month of Ramadan, will turn out to be worthwhile when they mature. Although the command is to perform the prayer for children at the age of seven and punish for not fulfilling it at the age of ten, and do not let children - regardless their gender at this age - share the same sleeping surface; it is considered necessary for children to acquire some sense before, through role modelling that begins at home specially from mother.

Role Modelling as Pedagogical Approach: starts in the family setting for Muslims are ordered by Islam to do all possible to provide moral education and knowledge of Islamic sciences to women. If a mother has acquired Islamic education and has the mindset of a sincere Muslim, her child's upbringing will be shaped along Islamic lines for at least the first three years. This implies that Muslim women must be well-versed in Islamic disciplines guiding their children. The antipathy to Islam and lack of respect for Islamic etiquette among the younger generation can be traced back to a lack of home Islamic teachings, before the 3-5 years old children are entrusted to Islamic role models and the society as a whole. The primary Islamic role model is the Prophet (PBUH) for every single Muslim both male and female. His knowledgeable immediate followers serve also as second role models. Those who embody his teachings are Mallum'en who overtake the complete Islamic education spending ideally twenty-four-seven with the children just like a boarding school. This aims not only to control the fresh mind for the inculcation of Islamic teaching but also to avoid the interference of the surroundings. The Mallum chooses to install Islamic programs as much as possible as in children brain in such a way that it unconsciously or automatically executes them as received like a computer. There should be no room left in the brain for uncontrolled programs of surroundings over the course of the experimental first 10 years. Therefore, the public space is considered sacred because children learn by imitation. Being devout and faithful in the Qur'an injunctions and practices is highly exhorted whereas non-practicing Muslim or their sinful deeds should be kept secret.

The Variable Islamic Hierarchical Parent-Child, Adult-Child, or Teacher-Learner Relation: Although the noblest of human beings Qur'anically is the most Allah-fearing, parent-child sacrosanct hierarchical relation is recurrently exhorted in the Qur'an: "And

we have enjoined on mankind to be good and dutiful to his parents. His mother bore him in weakness and hardship upon weakness and hardship, and his weaning is in two years- give thanks to Me and to your parents” (S.31: V.14).⁷² As the Prophet (PBUH) was asked “Who among people is most deserving of my fine treatment?” the answer was “Your mother, then your mother, then your mother, then your father, then your nearest, then nearest” (Annawawi, 1994: 95). It highlights out the inviolable prominence of parents emphatically mother and paramount importance of their rights. That could be inferentially extended to adults and teachers. Furthermore, the obedience to the authority Muslims live under is a religious duty (Qur’an, S.4: V.59)⁷³ and the Prophet (PBUH) stressed that “one who obeys his authority, obeys me. One who disobeys his/her authority, disobeys me” (Annawawi, 1994: 187). Authority - not just the Islamic one, must be owed loyalty provided that it does not conflict with Islamic principles. In line with the education model that depicting Qur’anic schooling, the relationship between students and their Qur’an teacher is of significant value. The Mallum is defined by parents as the individual who compensates for parental indulgence by enforcing a stricter discipline than they are capable of. In respect thereof, the Mallum condoned by the parents, resort sometimes to corporal punishment as necessary pedagogical methods.

Lack of improvement due to a perceived effortlessness is punished, as is any display of disrespect for the Qur’an, Mallum, or more advanced students. In order for the learner to (i) learn to revere God's word; (ii) put appropriate effort and concentrate into studying the Qur’an; and (iii) learn his standing with regard to the Mallum’*en*, those outranking them in both age and religious knowledge, stern discipline is thought imperative. However, this stratified relation is nuanced and could be superseded by the knowledge hierarchy. Children are also to be bestowed mercy upon as the Prophet (PBUH) said: “He is not one of us who shows no mercy to younger ones and does not acknowledge the honor due to our elders” (Annawawi, 1994:106). So, the authority of the Mallum or any other adult in the activities that impart knowledge or skill is variable not upon circumstances, for the value of person is not gauged by the extent of age rather by that of mental capacity, knowledge and consciousness – just like the prior-ranking for the designation of Imam.⁷⁴ For this reason, children could have priority and predilection

⁷² Or in the verses 17:23, 24 or 29:8 to mention just a few.

⁷³ “O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger (PBUH), and those of you who are in authority” (Qur’an, S.4: V.59)

⁷⁴ The Imam, the one who leads the prayers (As-Salat) is “The person who is best versed in the recitation of the Book of Allah, should lead the prayer; but if all those presents are equally versed in it, then the one who has most knowledge of the Sunnah; if they are equal in that respect too, then the one who has emigrated (to Al-Madinah) first, if they are equal

over the adults by the virtue of their clear understanding and vast knowledge foreordained by Allah (Annawawi, 1994: 40). This is more discernible in the Mallum's learner-centered approach and the organization of peer-to-peer learning activities.

Learner-Centered Approach and Peer-learning: Mallum'en have at their disposal a vast array of strategies as learning motivation for the children, from compliment, play, contest, rivalry, insults, threats, to corporal punishment. Some are more frequent, more covertly and conclusive practiced than others. Explicit praises in particular are subdued and intended for outstanding achievements. The teacher might embarrass a child by comparing her/him to another, but rarely challenges a child to perform as well or better than another. Neither praise nor competition were applicable to this socialization target in Qur'anic schools, which aim at teaching children humility towards God and superiors. Praise, competition or related words trigger envy, which in Islam "is permitted only in two cases: A man whom Allah gives wealth, and he disposes of it rightfully, and a man to whom Allah gives knowledge which he applies and teaches it" (Annawawi, 1994: 157). Qur'an recitation is act of worship increasing closeness to Allah, rather than a means of gaining admiration or of surpassing others. Therefore, instruction is considerably individualized, to a degree that learners determine their personal Qur'anic learning pace. The Mallum accommodates each learner's abilities fine-tuning the teaching accordingly. No learner is expected to perform the text for the Mallum until perfection is achieved. Pushing learners over their preparedness and abilities is perilous, at the risk of causing partial or inaccurate learning of the Qur'an likely to dwindle the incentive to learn. The Mallum is cautious not put less-gifted children at risk by providing a secure foundation of religious knowledge without exposing them to knowledge that exceeds their ability.

As one of the primary role model and authoritative person, the Mallum allocates authority and delegate responsibilities to few talented or more advanced learner. They are appointed to function as deputy of the absent or busy Mallum. These appointments of deputy which is quite stable current phenomenon is more a pedagogical strategy than simple vacancy filling or out of sheer laziness. Although the designated learners are competent enough, all students remain consistently under the supervision and direction of the Mallum. As a matter of fact, peer-to-peer modeling, evaluation, rectification is believed to make for more interesting and more memorable as peer talk is more interesting and salient for students. Notwithstanding, Mallum'en and parents

in this respect also, then the oldest of them. No man should lead another in prayer where the latter has authority, or sit in his house, without his permission" (Annawawi, 1994: 40).

underlined the significance of receiving spiritual knowledge through an experienced intermediary, and they opposed peer teaching for a variety of reasons. It is rather difficult to oversee and manage, which has major ramifications for the transfer of Qur'anic knowledge accurately.

Life-related Pedagogy - Extramural learning: The Islamic education is meant to take place everywhere and Qur'anic school, where the children of Muslim families are instructed are in the first instance the house of the Mallum. Children, exclusively boys from 3-4 not later than five years old are traditionally given to a Mallum and live separated completely from their families. In return, the teacher has students in his custodial care that work for him as a part of the education and training. This includes household chores, cutting the wood or working in the Mallum's farm. In most cases, they make their living from asking for alms in order to allow the learners to appropriate the virtues of humility and sharing dear to Islam. The second option that includes girls, is that the children do not live with the Mallum, regularly - twice to three times a day - attend Qur'anic school, Mallum's home or any convenient open space, but they always come back to their parental household. In this regard, the compensate their duty at the Mallum's with money or any material necessary for the household and cooking fetching for firewood or water for girls. The third option is self-organized private Qur'anic instruction for individual family or group of families. In this case individual or group of parents hire a Mallam to come and teach their own and/or others' children. For the three options Qur'anic school takes place every day except on Thursdays and Friday mornings which are considered the weekend. Considering the other educational heritages in Kolara and the Region, the second option has become today the predominant one and the first option on the verge of extinction.

The fact remains that Qur'anic school is not a mural teaching jointly related to their daily life. The daily life of a Muslim is conditioned by and articulated around the prescribed daily five prayers that could be performed everywhere including the teaching place, provided that it is cleaned and purified in the Islamic sense. Many families, wealthy enough to afford home Qur'anic schooling, enroll their children preferably to Qur'anic schools for more obedience to rules, submission, and respect, parents might hardly impart at home. A courtyard, a front window or any public space with or without a shelter serves as teaching place, no need for special teaching or learning facilities such as classroom, just the minimum comfort necessary. The learners sit on the same floor, directly on the ground, needed didactic material are a slate made of local wood, ink of charcoal and traditional pen quills or stalk pen. In every instance, neither special comfort nor school and material fees are required. This along

with other various rudimentary school's infrastructure and didactic materials impart the sense of humility peculiar to Islam and open free access to Islamic knowledge to everyone. Beyond the Qur'anic teaching there, Islamic early education is about every other aspect of life performing the prayer, the fasting, living together, the Islamic hygiene, cleanliness and rite purification, moral character... are instructed, corrected and tested situationally together with the Mallum and peers. All this is encompassed in a lifetime curriculum.

5.1.3.5 Curriculum of the Islamic Education

Knowledge in Islam compared to an ocean that has no coast. The curriculum of Islamic education in Kolara has neither limits, grades nor graduation. However, some development stages in form of rituals or celebration punctuates the life of Muslim children and acquisition of knowledge. The 1st starts seven days after birth "Inderi", the naming ritual and ceremony for the blessing of a newborn. The 2nd stage goes from 3-5 to 7-8 or 9-10 years old contingent upon the physiological, cognitive and psychological development of every child considered different one from another. This stage is marked respectively by the separation from the mother, the Qur'anic school enrollment, training for prayer and fasting. Exclusively for boys comes the unavoidable circumcision "Djoul Nordou" and its related ceremony "Nastordo", that traditionally endured and enjoyed collectively with coevals. The denominations and some executions are accustomed to Fulbé while the recommendation is clear: "Command your children to perform prayer (Salat) when they are seven years old, and punish them for (not offering) it when they are ten, and do not let (boys and girls) sleep together" (Annawawi, 1994: 40). All these years before teenage are the preparation for the Islamic majority (the 3rd stage), that does not correspond to 18 years legal majority. The full age "Gnoufago", whereby an adolescent is held accountable in Islam starts at the time of life when sex glands become functional - first appearance of menstruation for girl and first sperm for boy. The "Toumbirdou" the graduation ceremony of finishing the verbatim recitation of the Qur'an is usually delayed being celebrated together with the Islamic wedding "Tegal" followed by the wedding ceremony "Bangal". This heralds the 4th and last stage, stage of responsibility that supposes at least the completion of the basic Islamic curriculum, which is however not conditional upon the individual development nor stages.

The curriculum that program could take years or even a lifetime to finish could be structured into two parts that are not necessarily consecutive:

1. **the Qur'anic teaching:** The mandatory basic course of Qur'anic schooling is devoted mainly to read, write, recite, and essentially memorize the Holy book. The

essential memorization is related to the suras indispensable for the accomplishment of the daily prayer: the obligatory sura of the opening 1, "Fathia" and generally the last shortest suras 112, 113 and 114. The memorization of the complete 114 suras is optional though highly recommended as advanced courses. The fundamental courses' objective is the literally, accurate, and reverential recitation of the God's words autonomously by the learners. This might include eloquent recitation "Tajwid", the science of reciting the Qur'an or not depending, on the skills and competencies of the Mallum. It does not mean however great skilled recitation, but its basics are authentic tone, acquaintance with the clear and distinct recitation, the content of the advanced courses. The Mallum, - if happened to study it - could interpret the understanding of the Holy writings as pedagogical tools to memorize for example, but the faithful recitation of the Qur'an is devoid of comprehension of the lexico-semantic substance for the basic years of instruction.

Understanding the first level of meaning requires flawless recitation of the Qur'an's tones. The learner who is able to perform mnemonic mastery of the entire Qur'an is eligible for the subsequent levels of interpretation and commentary. The recitation of memorized verses or their textual reading, besides conferring moral virtue, steadfastness and protection of any kind, has a physical, moral, and spiritual healing power, a curativeness of esoteric values known only to the initiates. Pedagogically, the verbatim memorization and regular recitation of the blessed verses is to build self-confidence that enlightens about the words of God and to constantly re-discover autonomously its insightful meanings. On the other hand, it recommended through regular reading or recitation to ponder over the verses using the intellect, understanding the furthest message with the ultimate goal to act upon the implication of it. Unfathomable knowledge could occur only by repeating and repeating, through the consistent, relentless, and interactive relation with the verses. The reading/reciting at different times, in various places and under all circumstances helps to unravel and constantly discover the infinite knowledge and mysteries of the godly words. This makes learning of Qur'an thus Islamic education interminable.

2. The teaching of Islamic practices, morals and philosophy: entails as well basic and advanced courses. As stated in the Qur'an "And I (Allah) created not the jinn and mankind except that they should worship Me (Alone)" (S.51: V.56), Qur'anic school also means to train and socialize children in Islam as a way of life, instilling discipline, respect, and self-control outstandingly sanctified in the five pillars of Islam, its outward form organizing Muslim's life in (i) "Sheydado" or "Simtirango" the constant affirmation and reminder of the Allah's oneness and the Muhammad's (PBUH)

prophethood; (ii) “Djouldé”, the daily five prayers, which is also called “Wakkati”, the schedule or the “time of...” for its daily accomplishment determines and structures the Muslim-Fulbé workaday life; (iii) “Soumayé”, the complete month of fasting from dawn to sunset; (iv) “Zakka” the 2,5 % yearly wealth Tax, a form of compulsory alms-giving; and “Hiddjou” the once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage to Mecca for the one with physically and financially ability. Apart from instilling Islamic values including faith in Allah’s highest power, respect for authority and order, the preeminence of the spiritual over the temporal (Tourneux & Iyebi-Mandjek, 1994: 99), Qur’anic school imparts the fundamentals of Islamic faith (“Iman”)⁷⁵, which besides believing in Allah, introduces advanced learners to a multidimensional perception of the universe, made of both spiritual and physical worlds. It is not just only a passive acknowledgment, but rather an active compliance. The advanced courses are also about the inward path known as “Ihsan”, is a self-realization process that entails recognizing who oneself (Self) is, where oneself (Self) fits in the universe and oneself (Self)’ s path to purity⁷⁶: the insinuating self, the self-reproaching self, the inspired self and the self at peace. It is the teaching of excellency with oneself, in work and in social interactions that is considered to be the highest form of worship. Although the acquisition of Islamic knowledge is highly valued and recommended, worshiping God should neither be delayed nor postponed acquiring advanced level of knowledge or Arabic language proficiency.

5.1.3.6 Language of the Islamic Education

Indeed, knowing that the Qur’an is in Arabic, Fulfuldé is the language of Islamic instruction. Despite the absence of comprehension, the texts taught, learned and memorized had profound meanings and functions for learners. The Qur’anic texts is believed to be of holy source, an invariable and matchless text that has been safeguarded and imparted categorically devotedly. Henceforth, the emphasis is in Qur’anic school is

⁷⁵ Derived etymologically from the Arabic meaning rest of mind and security from fear, the Islamic faith is the belief in (i) Allah, (ii) His angels, (iii) His holy books, (iv) His messengers, (v) the judgement day, and (vi) the decree of both good and evil.

⁷⁶ The four stages of the Self:

- The insinuating self (An-Nafs al-‘Amara): is also the seductive self, which is completely evil, completely controlled by, emotions, desires, pleasures...and solely focused on self-gratification. It is completely unaware of any transcendent purpose or spiritual dimension. “The lower self of man commands to evil acts.” (Qur’an; 12:53)
- The self-reproaching self (An-Nafs al-Lawwama): it is the reprehensible one that unable to choose between good and bad, right or wrong or heaven and hell... This self is continuously involved in an internal conflict. While it is powerless and ill equipped to handle the lower self’s inclinations, it acknowledges the higher self. “No, I swear by the self-reproaching self.” (Qur’an; 75:2)
- The inspired self (An-Nafs al-Mulhama): is the self that is aware of its flaws and works to fix them. “By the self and what proportioned it and inspired it with depravity or godliness!” (Qur’an; 91:7-8)
- The self at peace (An-Nafs al-Mutma’inna): there is ultimately the at-ease self, which is enlightened and behaves and operates in a positive manner, and thus is emancipated and released. “O self at peace, return to your Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing. Enter among My servants. Enter My Garden” (Qur’an; 89:27).

laid more on how children recite the “text” and later on how they read an Qur’anic text in Arabic. The lesson objective of the basic course is not that the learner should acquire Islamic Arabic phonemes or lexical items, rather the learner is supposed to be able to pronounce and recite a holy text faithfully and fluently. Since the Qur’an is considered to be the sacrosanct word of Allah, it is immutable truth. Its transmission should be perfect, accurate and should not be subject to manipulation, yet for the sake of pedagogy. Mistakes in its recitation are thoroughly amended and unrepeated swiftly dissipated. Generally, pedagogues or adults unreluctantly imitate learner’s mistakes while instructing or telling of stories in Tupuri, Fulfuldé, French or English, and resort to such imitative and contrastive strategies. This practice in Qur’anic school context is deemed inappropriate, ineffective and sacrilegious. In rare cases, standard Arabic is a subject of the teaching for the basic courses and definitely for the advanced course aiming for the interpretation of the Qur’anic texts, standard Arabic is both subject and the language of instruction.

Islamic Arabic education consist of inculcating a sense of faith with the universal human perspective, that is supposed to inspire children to outwards beyond the bounds of ethno-culture, language and geography. It transcends the narrow identity’s boundaries, ethno-cultural identities peculiar to traditional educations. Beyond this fundamental difference the educational heritages in Kolara are characterized by an educational approach that concentrates on developing the human personality, rather than just acquiring information, that means adults assist the children not only in their intellectual development, but also in their moral, spiritual, emotional, social, psychological, and physical ones. Their pedagogy, principally more learner-centered, puts children in optimum conditions for learning, working, playing, and exploring freely with pleasure - as recommended by Freire.

5.2 The Freiran Pedagogy

The core tenets of Freiran “Education of the Oppressed” pedagogy include the critical conception of the formal education and the problem-posing education, based on foundational concepts to be utilized in rural areas.

5.2.1 Freiran Critic of Formal Education

5.2.1.1 Education as political act

As a radical educational theorist and activist for social justice, Freire (1921-1997) initiated an influential contemporary school, now known as Critical Pedagogy. In his words, formal “education is a political act” and necessarily a form of politics. Emerging from radical grassroots movement, he shows regard for poor and downtrodden people

along with their insight of the world, which represents a knowledge as substantial as the scientific one. Even reading for instance, is not just a decoding of text, but instead a particular course of action intended to understand power the linear causal relation in society, including one's place within it. This perspective challenges the traditional separation of politics and culture from education. Freire put education on a same par with democracy and politics, oppression and liberation, because all pedagogies are implemented in the real world, they are necessarily ideological, political, and non-neutral. His argument that education cannot be neutral is at the heart of his understanding of education and social transformation.

Far from being neutral, schooling always serves some interests and impedes others. As a matter of fact, Freire in his seminal text "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1970) encouraged education as cultural action, leading towards the liberation and transformation of people's minds and reality. It revealed that education was based on oppressive relations of power and domination, helping concomitantly to translate educational practice into liberationist movements. That means if education is an instrument for oppression, it could likewise be also used for liberation since knowledge and education are social components that involve negotiations. It can either be domesticating or liberating. The pedagogy that serves to liberate clearly consists of social transformation by way of "conscientization".

With the liberatory pedagogy, people gain an understanding of oppressive societal operations and the abilities they need to undertake transformative actions. Pedagogues therefore, are to develop anew a comprehension of the political features of their vocation and "must ask themselves for whom and on whose behalf, they are working" (Freire, 1985: 80). More than just a mere means for literacy or the learning of reading and writing, education is rather a cultural and political awakening that would guide to the reclaiming of one's identity, awareness of politics, and consciousness of oppression, social justice, and human rights. Whether it is called literacy or learning, the ability of learners to engage to transformative actions is the major political function of each society concerned with people power. As he writes, "I can see validity only in a literacy program in which men (sic) understand words in their true significance as a force to transform the world" (1974: 81). Classrooms are thereby not neutral spaces but could rather officiate as sites for the humanization liberation for future citizens (Freire, 1974: 52).

Adamant proponents for critical pedagogy credit Freire for pointing oppression out and for depicting how power works pedagogically in institutional production, regulation, and legitimation of particular forms of knowledge and ideology, hence the movement for

critical literacy, critical teaching as well as learning and consciousness-raising of the “oppressed”. Critical pedagogy encouraged the questioning of inherited assumptions, identity, power, and authority (Giroux, 2005: 20). It is a pedagogical “process that invites learners to engage the world and others critically” (McLaren, 1989: 195). Freire insistence on the dichotomy between oppression and liberation of schooling revolutionized educational consideration, an avant-garde progressive pedagogy in contrast to the “banking concept of education”.

5.2.1.2 The Banking Concept of Education

Metaphorically “banking concept of education” refers to an educational approach that perceives students as empty open bank accounts, brain banks upon which knowledge is “deposited”. Students are considered as Tabula Rasa empty receptacle to be filled, or passive beings to be instructed (Freire, 1988), the educator making “deposits” within the educatee. Educators are pillars of knowledge; they know everything, and students know nothing. Education becomes an act of depositing predetermined information, to be simply received, memorized and repeated. Promoting submissive or passive learning, this one-way communication in a relation of domination negates also education as a process of inquiry. Learners continually have an immutable existence, leading lives utterly destined in a static reality. In its purpose of transmitting mere facts, the banking education deflect people from power institutions by tuning their mind to the deference to dominant culture and to the preservation of the state of affairs culturally, socially and politically. This Conventional learning is the tool of the elite, the ritual of schooling filters into an overall culture of manipulation whereby young submissive minds are shaped to adhere to the agendas of the power elite. It endeavors to control people’s thoughts and behaviors, causing them to conform to their surroundings and impeding their creative potential (Freire, 1970: 77). It results in the process of dehumanizing students as well as teachers promoting thereby oppression in society.

In the banking education model, the teacher depicts knowledge as a gift bestowed to the ignorant, inadequate, and incomplete learners. This is a ruse by the “oppressors” to impose and control the “oppressed” in order to advance or sustain their own interests. Regardless or assuming the learners’ perspective and knowledge of the world, “books primers” - pre-prescribed curriculum, syllabus or course book - (Freire, 1974) are transmitted through individual monologues in an imposed language. It is based on the premise that an individual can awaken another or individuals are in readiness for accepting all sorts of ideas and knowledge from others. This pedagogy by considering them as objects of assistance, takes away subjects’ right to conscious awareness, maintains them in an apathetic silence. More alienated and least conscious, learners

are deprived of the faculty of critical reflection, resigned to inevitability devoid of their “right to transform the world”; they are reduced to subservient, then dependent therefore oppressed. Such educational forms inhibit the liberation and freedom of the oppressed. In stark opposition to the conventional educational practice, Freire’s approach refers to a genuine education, which is a consistent “practice of freedom” instead of a structural estrangement that instills skills (Freire, 1988). His alternative pedagogy uplifts students into a liberation education or a problem-solving education.

5.2.2 Freirean Problem-posing Education

Freire promotes pedagogically a process of problem posing, coding/decoding, that relies upon dialogue in order to develop critical consciousness in a democratic teacher-student relationship generating knowledge likely to socially transform their classroom environment and beyond.

5.2.2.1 Problematization: Coding and Decoding Reality

Freire developed the problem-posing education on two intertwined tenets: the first the necessity of a critical understanding of students and teacher’s relationship with the world. In order to develop consciousness, they engage in a critical reflection on world. This pedagogy incessantly involves the practice of turning in on oneself in pursuance of discovering oneself in one’s relationships with the world, and attempting to reveal the reasons that can help individuals understand their own situation in the world (Freire in Davis & Freire, 1981: 59). Secondly in developing consciousness, the problem-posing education makes it possible for the teacher as well as the student to turn into “subjects”, persons that “become consciously aware of their context and their condition as a human being as Subject ... [and] become an instrument of choice” (Freire, 1982a: 56).

In the problem-posing model, which “to be authentic it must be liberating” (Freire, 1982b: 148), teacher and students, as subjects “develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves” (Freire, 1970: 83). They can therefore realize that their situation in the world is far from being unalterable as described above and learn that they could transform reality. To achieve this, teachers collect learners’ experiences without approving their content. All experiences are examined with regards to expose their ideological presumptions and views. Here, the teacher and the students talk about and examine their own experiences, feelings, and understanding of the world. As an alternative to a top-down unidirectional teaching from an individual for the benefit of the other, education becomes a collaborative activity including participants. It is not incumbent on teacher to find solutions to problems; rather, it is the teacher’s responsibility to assist students in

developing critical thinking skills about the situation. It enables another comprehension of their society and the world, that is liable to be transformed. Other perspectives are henceforth feasible to conceive.

The problem-posing approach examines people's realities with a transformative perspective as a mean of problematization's process. "The process of problematization implies a critical return to action. It starts from action and returns to it". It functions through a process of "coding" and "decoding" reality, which apprehended as a whole to be analyzed and then "retotalized". "There can be no problematization without reality" (Freire, 1982b: 154). People first of all involve in a process of collecting information in interest of constructing an understanding or codification of people's real situations. Then, they start collectively to determine with features of the problem until they feel immersed in it and so able to critically reflect on its various facets, thereby gaining insight. In this pedagogy, a "problem-situation" is introduced to or brought up by the learners. At this moment, the "problem-situation" functions as a coded totality that the learners have to decipher. This situation requests a non-hierarchical class model that does not often occur naturally. It necessitates the active induction of democratic practices, whereby equality of expression prevails.

5.2.2.2 Democratic Teacher-Students Relationship

In order to occur the Freiran problem-posing education requires a situation of humility, respect and equality characterized by trust. This could imply rethinking power relationships and societal hierarchy based on ethnic, cultural, gender, socio-professional status factors. Learning happens when people have a mutual respect and understanding for each other in many instances. Education becomes a collective activity rather than the hierarchical learning constellation. The problem-posing education changes therefore the student-teacher paradigm: "The teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers" (Freire, 1970: 80). The hierarchical relationship - that objectifies the students hence dehumanize them - is superseded by the "horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is a logical consequence" (Freire, 1970: 91). The teacher is not anymore solely a teacher, but also one who is taught in conversation with the learners, who, in turn, teach while being taught (Freire, 1970: 80). The classroom becomes a democratic space whereby directivity is the main teacher's role. Democratic educators actually aspire to supplant the conventional teacher-student hierarchical relation with equally interactional paradigm.

Nevertheless, the remade “teacher-student with students-teachers” constellation neither creates at once a completely horizontal relationship nor “place them on the same footing professionally” as equal. It does not level them, does not “even them out”, nor reduce them to each other “but it does mark the democratic position between them” (Freire, 1992: 101). They uphold their individualities as determining factor in their educational interactions without imposing a false equality on their relationship. The teacher is not the same as the learners. However, from the standpoint of the revolution, this distinction must not be opposed. When the educator’s authority, as opposed to the learner’s freedom, is converted into authoritarianism, the difference thence becomes adversarial (Freire, 1985: 76). The democratic teacher balances out freedom and authority in the classroom and aligns freedom with authority in such a way to understand that “authority ... has its foundation in the freedom of others” (Shor & Freire, 1987: 91). Avoiding being completely hands off or authoritarian and dictatorial, liberatory pedagogues have to be “radically democratic” in their approach, which translates into being “responsible and directive” in the learning settings while foregrounding the learners’ reasoning ability. The new configuration does not mean however that learner’s perspectives should be unquestioningly approved or for the teacher to step back and officiate as simple organizer. It rather gives the opportunity to the teacher to challenge and to direct the learners’ feelings and knowledge for meaningful learning to be achieved.

The role of the teacher in liberatory pedagogy is de facto to maintain authoritative and directive function in the teaching process. The teacher is an authority and has authority in the learning setting but not an authoritarian and does not become one. Indeed, as soon as the teacher’s “directivity” impedes the learners’ abilities to create, formulate, and explore, the required directivity becomes a manipulative and authoritarian situation (Freire 1992: 66). The Freiran teacher is, “not directive of the students”, but “directive of the process” (Shor & Freire, 1987: 46). In this regard, the teacher’s intervention assists the learners in developing independent critical reasoning, in the process reflect on aspects of their various societal constructions in terms of ethnicity, culture, gender, or social class. When confronted with a pedagogical problem-situation (codification), the learning-subjects focus on it, striving for substantial comprehension of its significance through dialogue (P. Freire, 1982b: 161). When liberatory teacher initiates dialogue with the students, she/he implies the knowledge of the studied object to begin with, along with the range of interest and activities that could be anticipated as a terminal point on the line with that knowledge (Shor & Freire, 1987: 103). The Freiran dialogical process correlates with his concept of the development of critical consciousness.

5.2.2.3 Dialogue and Critical consciousness – “Conscientization”

From being a monologue process, education in Freire’s conception becomes a dialoguing process in which learners and teachers engage in reciprocally respectful learning. Dialogue is hence a key component of the liberatory pedagogy that also requires participants to be on an equal footing, to trust one another, to show respect and feel love to one another for the collective effort to be successful. Learning through dialogues is empowering for each one involved. Dialogue must be seen as an element of human beings’ own historical essence. It is a component of our evolution as human beings throughout history (Shor & Freire, 1987: 98). Dialogue is for Freire an interaction between individuals to name the world, mediated by the world itself, as part of narrative of the evolution of human consciousness. It is the means by which we achieve significance as human beings; it is the conquering of the world for the sake of human emancipation. People dialoging would like each to work out meaning of the world. Everyone should have the ability to express word, to depict the world, and to “reclaim and prevent the continuation of this dehumanizing aggression” (Freire, 1970: 88) - that try to deposit ideas in others brain, treating them as determined and manipulated objects. In dialogical situation people characterize the world in a social context, a practice, which helps them comprehend it better for themselves. Rather than thinking for others or without others, it is a process whereby each and every one produce and act upon own ideas without consuming those of others (Freire, 1970: 108).

Problem-posing education regards dialogue as a fundamental element, requisite to the act of cognition that unveils reality. People involved in dialogue are aware of their state of knowledge. Therefore, in contemplation of gap in their knowledge, they could upgrade thus their knowledge level and therewith enhance their transformative ability (Shor & Freire, 1987). Education, which is simply used as a method to adapt students to the reality that encircles them, does not give the opportunity to understand and transform this reality. Yet the individuals are endowed with the propensity to learn thereby to understand and to potentially transform reality. For that purpose, it is of paramount importance to establish “dialogicity” between teacher and student, insofar as no one creates himself in monologue, rather through dialogue, interactions and reflection. The established dialogue between them helps to increase reciprocal kindness; constant communication provides opportunities for striving and achievement in several circumstances.

More than just about deepening understanding, dialogue has a pedagogical foundation inasmuch as both students and teachers as “subjects” learn in a dialogical relationship

(P. Freire, 1982a), where "the flow is in both directions" (P. Freire, 1982b: 125). The dialogue process involves consistently major discovery and considerable progress. The subsequent interactive behavior challenges the mediation of social reality by raising them as issues, which could be critically examined by those who have first-hand experience of it. And even though the teacher might be knowledgeable more or otherwise about a studied object, the dialogical relation and setting enables simultaneously the teacher to comprehend the object once more or differently through the students' knowledge and perspective of the object (Shor & Freire, 1987). Within this scheme of dialogical instruction, educators and learners are essentially redesigned and become partners in the responsibility for the process of growth (Freire, 1970: 80). Dialogue becomes a form of collective action that is directly preoccupied with disclosing unjust conditions that are concealed by the ruling classes. This significant process could help the advancement of the society and social capital leading to justice and prosperity.

Fundamentally social, dialogue involves active reflection in relation to others based on the material world - including society. This posture demands critical thinking (Freire, 1970: 92-93). It is a fundamental disposition for people to become more and more critically communicative beings. Dialogue happens when people come together to share their thoughts and experiences about the world around them (Shor & Freire, 1987: 98). Critical thinking is an everlasting process, because reality is not static but in ceaseless transformation, in perpetual process. In essence, people interact with each other and the world in order to take action. Dialogue that underpinned by critical thinking could develop critical thinking. In the absence of dialogic communication, genuine education would not take place; that means no learning, and without learning, people cannot fully understand their surroundings or each other (Freire, 1970: 92-93). Dialogical encounters as Freire insisted enhance learners' critical consciousness of societal contradictory statements, information, ideas, or beliefs so that they can act or react accordingly. This process of consciousness development is assumed to be empowering for the transformation of the reality.

People critical awareness of their social reality, thinking and ensuing actions are structural process of changing their existence. Learning therefore should be critical in the interest of addressing learner's actual issues and existing needs (Freire, 1974). Because "experiences are lived and not transplanted", learners nurture a critical consciousness of the world in light of their real daily lived experiences. And through conscientization this development reshapes or modifies position of power between learners and teachers, oppressed and oppressors, in the process shifting objects of

knowledge into historical subjects. In order to undertake successfully the process of conscientization people must first of all question the status quo instead of taking for it granted. This could start for instance by requesting - through dialogical communication - for information concerning the accessibility and the distribution of societal resources and assets. Coming to critical consciousness conclusively demands querying own perception of the ruling group, which is deriving advantages from the status quo. The oppressed or learners have an unfinished or inadequate self-image because they have been preprocessed to consider the opinion and situations of the ruling group as normal, standard and conventional. As a result, simulating the practices of this group is the only mean to achieve completion, plenitude and properness. To impede this predisposition, it is essential to embark the learners in a process of unlearning the acquired social myths and detachment from mainstream culture, the culture of the ruling group assisting them to design an original way of living attuned to their own rational thought. The Freiran communicative and cooperative theory of action is essential both for comprehending the mediator function of historic, colonial and class relations, and for actively working to modify them. Through the process of questioning, archaic pattern of thoughts will transition, and new knowledge will be generated.

5.2.2.4 The Co-construction of Knowledge for Social Transformation

In problem-posing education both the teacher and student become cognitive subjects, engaged in dialogical relationship on a par level. Thus, they think critically as “critical agents in the act of knowing” (Shor & Freire, 1987: 33). In this sense, all pedagogical practices necessitate the presence of “subjects” who learn while teaching, and simultaneously teach while learning. The gnostic nature of pedagogical practice is due to the teachers-students cooperative learning (Freire, 1982a: 67). New knowledge can be achieved in the learning setting from the teacher-learner interactive communications. True knowledge develops only by inventing and re-inventing, through the consistent, relentless, and critical interactive questioning (Freire, 1970: 72). The dialogical system of education is established on creative ability and inspires true thinking and action on reality, therefore addressing to the participants’ purpose as beings. Only when they are engaged in inquiry and creative transformation are they truly authentic (Freire, 1970: 84). The educator and learners learn genuinely as they engage in dialogical communication, critically think and subsequently take actions.

In this way “the starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people” (Freire, 1970: 95). Education is supposed to be pertinent to the learners and intrenched in their reality and interest allowing them to introduce their

early learned experiences from their surroundings as “generative themes”. From the learners’ experiential knowledge, it should continue working with them in the interest of understanding the “logic of these kinds of knowledge in relation to their contents” (Freire, 1998: 36). Genuine learning could only be achieved through analysis of one’s experiences, lived experience, critical thinking and praxis. With this student-centered system of learning Freire challenges herewith the construction of knowledge in the formal education system and to a broader extent within society.

The fundament of this education is a non-hierarchical “class” model Freire named “culture circle”, in which learners and the educator in concert themes generated from “significant dimensions of an individual's contextual reality” (Freire, 1970: 104). The topics of great concern or importance to participants are stemming from their natural, cultural, social, interpersonal, political, and working situations. Discovered through the teachers-learners symbiotic research, they express openly the contradictions the learners are contextually confronted with. These generative themes are then expressed either in word, short phrase or visual representations in the form of “codifications” from which dialogue or discussion can be generated within the circle. With another perspective on these representations of their ideas and history, participants could be able to decode or to systematically and critically examine them – thereby raising consciousness - instead of simply experiencing them. More than a mere mechanical procedure it opens the possibilities for active interventions initiating societal transformation.

Freirian pedagogy goes beyond the subjects’ simple critical reflection inherent to raising consciousness and possibility of transforming the world. Praxis is necessary for subjects to take action transforming the reality they live in (Davis & Freire, 1981: 59). Freire’s pedagogy is centered on the core notion of praxis, which is “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1970: 51). Learners have the opportunity to develop an innovative lifestyle and mindset which promotes free, inventive thinking and considerate action conducive to transformation of the world as well as the learners. Learning starts with action, which is then determined by reflection, leading to more action. It is as a matter of fact a recurring process that advances the students’ ability to act in the world, therefore to change it: Knowing entails a dialectical transition from action to reflection, and then from reflection upon action to new action (Freire, 1985: 50).

For Freire liberatory pedagogy involves action at the same time, therefore it cannot be contained solely within the framework of a classroom. If children, educators, and knowledge are all diachronically interconnected with the world, then knowledge of the

world includes simultaneously taking action in it. This implicates the education could play a role in social transformation, although it could not be the lever of social change. Although the driving force of social transformation goes beyond the scope of the school and education, they play a tremendous role in furthering critical consciousness, are necessarily substantial components of larger alterations.

To sum up, Freire denounced the banking model in which knowledge is deposited in the student as an object, in which the unidirectional teacher-student interaction inhibits creativity, promotes adaptation, weakens critical consciousness, disparages context, nurtures fatalism, mythologizes and naturalizes domination. Students are subject to a cultural invasion by professionals so that “the invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders” (Freire, 1970:153). Freire's liberatory pedagogy on the contrary allows children and educators to be subjects who can perceive reality, critically reflect on it, and take action to transform it in light of that initial critical reflection, so growing their consciousness and improving the world.

5.2.3 Contextualization the Freiran Pedagogy

5.2.3.1 Pedagogy of the Oppressed and the Formal Education in Kolara/Cameroon

5.2.3.1.1 The Concept of Oppression

The interest of Freire in education started with the literacy campaigns that promoted peasants' participation in Brazil. The concern of his pedagogy was necessary part of the revolution working essentially with peasants to develop a consciousness of being oppressed. The vague generalities on peasant's oppression could not realistically address the situation of Kolara and Cameroon. He was prone to cast social reality in poor as oppressed and all others as oppressor, without providing adequate criteria by which the distinction is made. His oppression concept takes little cognizance of other forms of socially defined identities, the different types of power position and social claims based on social factors such as ethnicity, culture, gender, class. He failed to consider the fundamental distinctions between type of oppression, as well as their complex and contradictory instantiation of identity.

It is important to try to go beyond the class analysis trying to nuance the concept of oppression and subjectiveness in terms of relationship, discourse and materiality. There is certainly more to such identifications than the fact of being poor, a peasant or illiterate and more to Freire's oppression generic formula. This includes not only classes, but also ethnicity, language, religion, gender, origins and profession. The multivariable analysis might fully encompass various perspectives of the oppressed but hardly address and describes the alienation of the formal education Cameroonians are

subjected to. The pedagogical alienation cut a wide swath across ethnicity, class, religion, language and histories. Those various forms of social determination and struggles are fragmented and co-opted by the schooling into the educated or literate authority in such a way that, social determinant become relevant only when it is related to an arbitrary or discretionary access to the formal education. For instance, during and immediately after colonization, resistant ethno-cultural groups were denied explicitly access to formal education. Or some traditions, in terms of gender, are still locally perpetuating male domination whereby girl are prematurely channel to marital life creating gender imbalanced illiteracy rate. The saliency of the formal education initiates, reproduces the social stratification, upholds the social exclusion and maintains domination or “oppression”. Product of neutral education, the educated domination appears socially invisible. It neutralizes, blurs and takes precedence over all other forms of socially defined identities, which are often fundamentally culture based. Culturally universal, it does not suppose the learning of local cultures it simply ignores, discards or disparages.

The power of education is intensified by the material benefit and social status academic achievements confer. Those credentials further consecrate legitimated capital of the socially advantaged and vilify the local cultures. The socio-political or socio-economic aspect is afresh foregrounded like in the Freiran pedagogy. Unlike it, oppression or class struggle is obliterated and obsoleted by the formal education. It is rather more about exclusion, ostracizing the majority. Schooling either restructured or often exacerbated the existing divisions of the Cameroonian society at the whim of colonial and imperialist objectives. It allocates people into roles of a stratified society inducting the next generation the same categorization. Through the relative autonomy of schooling, this paradigm replicates itself and results in naturalizing its double lack of rationale: the imposition of a cultural subjectivity, bestowing authority on culture by means of an arbitrary power. The relative independence emerges firstly from the group of trained teachers, purposefully qualified and appointed as professionals. Secondly it relies on the standardization and routinization of education; and it means the subjection to its own principles of regulation. This relative independence generates the deceptive sense of neutrality in terms of class, making class determination all the more profound.

5.2.3.1.2 Freiran Pedagogy and the Mystification of Group Domination

The Cameroonian formal education is a pyramidal ladder with only a proportion makes it to the top to access social benefits. It does relatively little for the majority of poor urban children and almost nothing for the majority of rural area children. It is likely that a child from this underprivileged “illiterate” stratum reaches the privileged educated or

elite group. This is the deceiving assigned orientation of schooling that inculcates an appetite for personal prosperity amongst the poor in general and rural dwellers particularly. It merely serves to heighten the fixation with success while further blurring the link between academic achievement and socio-professional background. This upward movement of status diverts focus away from an appalling and serious situation, specifically the ostracization of the majority from the formal education at various stages. Whereas some of whom inconspicuously cast themselves out instead of going through the demeaning process of being cast out, others fail and attribute their failure to their inadequacy measuring their worth by insignificant school achievement.

Freiran pedagogy focuses more on different options of teaching and learning, thus ignores and further mystifies the preeminent influence of social status or socio-professional background. This pedagogical ideology does conceal the role they play in the origination, reproduction and perpetuation of class domination. It is an intellectual illusion to think that radical intellectuals with non-educated background could on the one hand overcome their own habitus, and on the other hand could promote the modification of the habitus of the oppressed non-educated in privileging “conscientization”. It misconceives and trivializes the tenacious profoundness of oppression emphasizing generally the value of the pedagogical relation, and in the process undervaluing its class founding principles. Implicitly the Freire’s problem-based dialogic pedagogy disguises its own implication in class domination. However, this illusory perception emerges as a result of the conveyance of the dominant school culture, its reproduction and perpetuation without any perspective of going beyond the banking model of education.

5.2.3.1.3 The Utopia of Equal Opportunity

Freiran approach appears as an alternative pedagogy to counteract the reproduction of domination related to schooling. It is the idea of assigning a great importance to the local cultures, the cultures of the disadvantaged children - including children of illiterate/non-educated parents in urban area and children of rural dwellers. These parallel cultures should equal the standing of the culture in the formal educational system. The establishment of type of school where teachers would validate the local culture, the rural area children own down-to-earth manual and practical culture. Simultaneously this alternative pedagogical approach might imply rebelling these children against the mainstream culture thrust upon them in school – expanding on it to become a full-fledged indictment of capitalism.

The resulting Freiran idea of bestowing glory upon the cultures of the disadvantaged of the society appears to be a mere populist illusion. Endorsing such sociological

relativism that celebrates the alleged mediocre cultures could be condescending and deprecative to the aspirations and abilities of the underprivileged the children. Accompanied at the same time by the hostility to the mainstream culture, Freirean perspective is likely to channel the underprivileged back more strenuously to the lowest rung of the social ladder. In focusing more on the social function of the formal education it fails to consider the practical function of the formal education, precisely the ineluctable necessity of acquiring credentials essential for survival. Progressively the disadvantaged might not be qualified and available for the working-class jobs that require basic schooling. Therefore, instead of challenging domination, Freirean approach could contribute effectively to the consolidation of symbolic domination in Cameroonian society.

On the other hand, rather than making concessions to subjugate cultures, the opposite strategy could be to inculcate dominant school culture into disadvantaged groups. For decades, policies have aimed to establish a countrywide scope access to the cultural performance of formal education, in other words, by spreading Cameroonian elite and bourgeoisie culture to the uneducated, illiterates or unschooled. This strategy has the potential both to annihilate the unequal of access to education and as well to counterbalance the privileges of the ruling class habitus by imparting the pertinent features of that habitus in underprivileged cultured classes. These well-intentioned policies - also known as “universal primary education” or “Education for All” - are not yielding robust results in term of equality of opportunity. Factors of inequal opportunity could include social standing, living location, socio-professional family environment, gender, disabilities... or the combination of these - making it a multifactorial disadvantage. It is a utopian und unattainable project to thwart discrepancies in the cultural preparation of different ethnic groups, conspicuously in rural areas. One could see in this alternative the perfection of domination. In spite of a politically enforced principle of equal opportunities and unconditional access to formal education, the school functioning would systematically bias, reproduce and perpetuate the domination, the dominance of the city-dweller over the villager, the boy over the girl, the child of the scholarly person over the child of the farmer... It means that there could be alternative pedagogy only if class structure is revolutionized, a revolution intimately connected to Freirean concept of education. An alternative education – one that is based on lived experience — releases and nurtures at least the good sense that exists within the oppressed regardless of the extent of the embodied systematic stigmatization.

5.2.3.2 Problem- Posing Education the Formal Education in Kolara

5.2.3.2.1 Preschoolers as Natural Learner and Creative Beings

The Freiran problem-posing education aimed primarily at rural peasants rather than the urban poor children or rural areas' children. It could be relevant to Kolara with a conception of children as natural learner. Such an approach assumes that preschoolers learn naturally, almost effortless they have the ability to absorb knowledge, everything from their surroundings from an unconscious to conscious mental condition. Along with their absorptive mind they have a tireless interest in manipulating materials. Naturally by themselves, with limited assistance by adults they teach themselves how to crawl, then walk, and then talk with nary a single formal lesson. Besides, they are avid little explorers who manage to get into everything constantly questioning out of their natural curiosity. Their flourishing curiosity drives them to ask hard questions about things and phenomena, about their own functioning and about the procedures of life. Questions and inquiry are windows to great instruction. Curiosity is a type of engine of achievement. Considered as active learners and inherently creative, preschoolers in Kolara are ripe to develop a sense of wonder and imagination before they are enrolled or enroll themselves. The goal of the school should neither to crushed nor to control, rather to encourage and to inspire children to learn voluntarily. Teachers are supposed to light the spark of curiosity in children, put that particular ability out, or to stifle it. As cultivator of curiosity and inquiry they give learners with attainable tasks throughout their school years, building and fostering self-esteem and motivating them to pursue further discovery and knowledge without any further assistance, very often naturally.

In schools, their precious exploring-time is taken away. Once the excitement of the first-time fades away, they realized how the school holds them back up to six hours a day from the real environment and things in real-life for something between the pages of the book. They develop a culture of compliance encouraged by the teacher to follow routine algorithms rather to excite that power of imagination and curiosity. The classroom sedentary environment erodes their natural curiosity as their endless questions begin to go unanswered. Their questions, seeds of real learning, are either immersed in the one of large number of children or restricted to some scripted curriculum that gives them tidbits of random information at certain time. With their questions unanswered, they come to realize that their interests are not coming to the fore. All day long, if they are not bored, they are overstimulated with new languages or items they might not be interested to learn, homework assignments, singing national anthem, disciplinary measures, and a ringing bell every two hours, or so. They are

expected to stay put, sit still and be quiet through most of this and feign an interest in teacher's instruction to be retained as actual knowledge. And the travesty is that preschoolers prematurely learn and grow so used to being given an education that they no longer bother exploring things on their own. They shift from active learner to passive listener and conformist inasmuch as they are being told from their first schooldays what to learn and what not without ever taking into account what they actually want to learn most importantly what they already know.

5.2.3.2.2 Preschoolers as Culturally Knowledgeable

Children in Kolar/Cameroon enroll filled with pre-school knowledge from their cultural and natural environment. This includes knowledge from their parents, family members, ethno-cultural communities, friends, neighbors, TV, and, most importantly, themselves diving full speed ahead into whatever topic they please. The Freirean pedagogy could be also applicable in light of the contextually oriented approach. Children are firstly socialized out of school; they are educated within family setting as they grow up as accredited members in their own and the co-existing ethno-cultural communities. Preschoolers in Kolar for example, could express themselves fluently both in Tupuri and Fulbé before their school enrollment. Their education is thence best promoted in consideration of their family and ethno-cultural customs and situations. It is important to first admit and comprehend the value the contextual role and the related culture in education, secondly it is of avail to recognize the relevance of cultural conceptualizations of education and of the appertaining educational theories and practices in each ethno-cultural group.

The school considered first grader as "blank slate" born without built-in mental content and even all knowledge that comes from preschool experience or perception is either ignored or discarded. In regard to Freirean problem-posing education, the value of the ethno-cultural preschool-knowledge should be heightened by propounding it as a valuable resource for education. If education emerges as a set of process that is initiated at home to be handed over to school, there should be continuum between home education that is derived from the related ethno-culture, formal education including other informal learning settings. It is a more comprehensive and inclusive educational conception that endeavors to establish a synergy between the various learning settings, fostering initiative and autonomous learning as well as the development of self-discipline and social responsibility in line with Gouna and Pulaaku. Ethno-culture essential to educational activities insofar as education is structured around Tupuri and Fulbé family customs, which identify parents and children as

collaborators in the educational process, which could also promote the teacher-learner classroom relation.

In accordance with this approach, knowledge competence, learning competence self-competence and social competence, are fundamental premise for teacher and learner to engage into a dialogical and democratic process of creating or discovering knowledge.

5.2.3.2.3 Teacher-Learner Relationships and the Learners' Individuality

The teacher-learner relationship happens in classrooms and at school. The importance of this human connection is to be of value for significant learning to occur. Children hardly learn from people they do not like; they are afraid of or they do not relate to. To align with Freiran teacher-student relationship, teachers/educators should go beyond the simple function as dispenser of content and embrace a new paradigm as guide rather than controller. Their perceptive skills of psychologist are foregrounded over their teaching abilities for successful performance. Freedom is another determining factor instilling children's spontaneity, curiosity and creativity to dawn, grow and thrive. During the preschool period children spontaneously pick up on the activity they are interested in and learn it at their own pace. Children literally absorb for instance their ethno-cultural knowledge and practices because they enjoyed certain freedom to explore and move around, they were granted a lot of leeway within guidelines in expressing themselves both independently and as member of an ethno-culture. Within a free realm of interactions with both peers and adults, they learn to form their own opinion, what in the process foster the build of self-assurance and assertiveness, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-determination within respective age range.

The Freiran concept is also subject to the assumption that children are naturally different and diverse. In Kolaria or Cameroon, their ethno-cultural preschool background exacerbates or accentuate their natural individualities and differences. The current institutionalized "one size fits all" education requires children to learn a given subject matter in a precise (situation) way, at a specified pace, and at a fixed timeframe, disregarding their current or future needs, interests, ambitions, or any prior knowledge. All the assignments learners have to make, are based on conformity compliance, and standardization - rather than diversity that could allow innovation to happen. The school is requested to sort children across a very narrow spectrum of achievement focus onto the specific disciplines. The anxious feeling that children experience as a result of being continually tested, along with their angst of failure, punishment, and humiliation, has a momentous impact on their ability to comprehend and recall information, and yet it keeps driving them away from the content of the

course and toward strategies for deceiving teachers into believing they understand what they actually do not. The evaluation scheme is not differentiated and teaching and learning methods are barely attuned to individual students' needs, abilities and competencies, if at all it is merely a result of a haphazard plan of action. Children with different or challenged adaptive skills are thereby labelled systematically as failure or ostracize themselves as such.

Children have different learning needs and grow up through development stages at various ages from each other, children have peculiar predispositions of learning willingness at diverse age range - as developmental psychologist approach. They are encouraged to configure their learning tempo autonomously or in collaboration with peers or adults. Every child is a unique person with creative potential, the drive to learn and the right to be treated with respect as an individual. Every single child is an individual with unique untapped talent and creativity, incentive to learn and thirst for knowledge thus entitled to be treated with respect and dignity. Learners prosper best with a broad and diverse curriculum that celebrates their various talents outside as well as inside the school particularly the ethno-cultural related ones, not just a selected range of them. Learning should be personalized in light of the developmental tempo rhythm of each learner that grants learners to evolve at their own pace and stage. A primordial role of the education is to awaken and develop the overall potential of each child, cultivate the creativity, curiosity, and imagination of every single child - instead of enforcing the culture of standardization. Such teaching approaches are cooperative, run democratically collaboration between children and adults, a sense of community through learning is personalized, made to fit individually and child-led, and it complements home and community education.

5.3 The Problematizing of Formal Education

The formal education of Kolaria is obstructed by a combination of factors related to school, to families and environmental context. The analysis of these factors enlightens the scope and process of school exclusion. Three specific situations could be considered: children that at no time join school; children who enrolled school but drop out afterward and those who are not yet registered.

5.3.1 School Related Problems

As a collective body that upholds norms and values, the school is a central stakeholder for issues relating to access, retention and quality education. The school has substantial influence over the extent of accessibility and retaining of students, based on the performed activities, available resources, and its own constraints, as well as the

attitudes and behavioral patterns of its personnel. The policy of fee-free and compulsory primary education does not effectively disburden parents from registration fees, school insurance fees, parent association contributions and school supplies or materials. These direct and indirect costs of education hamper the accessibility and continuity of schooling, because most poor families cannot afford these costs. A known unforeseeable phenomenon is that some children enroll themselves without their parents, that means they might not dispose money to pay the appertaining fees. The teaching staff and administration find themselves in a situation from which extrication is difficult and unpleasant when it comes to the fees' payment of the self-enrolled new school starters. Should such children continue their education without fulfilling the requirements or sent them inexorably out of school, thereby depriving them from their basic right to primary education and sentencing them to illiteracy, a life without prospects. The policy of free primary education in government schools does not make exoneration. Each child in primary school is asked to pay various variable fees, for the government to generate enough resources to sponsor primary education and for the parents to participate to development in schools. This paves the way for rampant embezzlement of fees and discredits school as institution, the credibility it is striving to acquire and inspire since independency.

Moreover, the sole primary school is poorly resourced. There is a lack of school facilities or inadequate equipment, devoid of tables and benches for the learners, libraries, electricity, school canteens and separate water and sanitation facilities for female and male. The existing classrooms are depleted, irregular number of learners per class, plethoric class size, inappropriate blackboards, poor provision of textbooks besides chalk there are no further didactic and learning materials. The facilities are simply not established to encourage families to entrust their children to the school and prevent drop-out or reduce its rate. These deficiencies are exacerbated by a shortage of teachers. There are two types of teachers professionally trained by the same governmental agency: the civil servant teachers, permanent employees paid over the minimum wage more or less motivated and the teachers who are circumstantially funded by parents' association. Fulltime appointed the latter received a salary under the minimum wage, ten time lesser than their colleagues with the same assignments and working hours. The salary along with other financial incentives consistently deteriorate motivation levels of teachers and inflame absenteeism or loss of time on task. It is an inequity that leads to frustration reflected in the school atmosphere.

The infrastructural shortcoming profoundly affects the quality of education for inadequate and lack of materials are tightly correlated to the teaching practices. Under

such conditions even the motivated teacher could hardly implement the prescribed program adequately since they are designed for optimal school and classroom conditions. Such teaching conditions require teachers' improvisation, adaptability and creativity. It is a variance the Ministry fixed program hardly accommodate and an insightful approach the teachers are not trained for. From the preliminary fieldworks arises the crucial issues of the school and classroom management, organizational and pedagogic characteristics. The unmalleable conditions indulge neither interactive / participatory pedagogy nor culturally differentiated one. This harbors psychological and physical violence, including bullying, beating, psychological stress, corporal punishment, humiliation and mortification. The structural implicit abasement is also translated in the curricula, with weak links to livelihoods and jobs and irrespective of local values/cultures – no teaching in Tupuri and/or Fulbé, textbooks and learning materials divorced from their ethno-cultures. The inappropriate teaching practices conjoined with unspecific evaluation approaches and ineffective monitoring of learning progress engenders unsatisfactory academic performances and explain mostly the reality of school exclusion, children dropping out of school or parents not enrolling their children.

5.3.2 Family and Children Student Related Problems

Families' or households' situation partly explain the phenomenon of school exclusion. Family members are the primary decision makers and beneficiary stakeholders as far as education is concerned. Depending on the goals, internal family restrictions, and socio-cultural norms, a variety of options and approaches are implemented for the children's education. One of the household constraints is the size of the family. In larger families - what is mostly the case, children's schooling is more at risk. The risk is higher for the family with low level income. Children from poor households that must work prematurely to support their families or for their own means subsistence are confronted with the highest risk of being denied access and entitled to formal education. Without national social insurance/allowance system and child benefit allocated exceptionally to civil servant, school age children often contribute to school expenses the more so as families do not perceive immediate benefits of education due to low rate of labor market return.

Families' economic hardship and education's expenses indeed impede enrollment and schooling. Some children, conscious of the importance of education and highly motivated combine both schooling and their integration in the workforce (domestic work or income support) juggling timetables with resourcefulness. Their school attendance is therewith jeopardized. Their sustentative or work-related absenteeism emerges as

routine known and condoned by teaching staff as such. Prosperity or simple independence in their income generating activities embodies a permanent risk of abandoning the school. Others who on the contrary have negative individual experiences with schooling are early attracted to workforce that compromises their schooling opportunities. The majority of the unschooled feel that when educational opportunities are confined to, or dominated by, those inside a school building, essential hands-on, ethno-culture-based, unplanned, and real-life experiences might be missing. Certain familial circumstances are as well closely attributed to a child's inability to attend school.

Often the household's negative perception of the significance of education is deeply rooted in social and ethno-cultural practices and beliefs that keep the school age children away from school. An ethno-cultural bias that applies to both Tupuri and Fulbé is the schooling of girls. Some parents do not see the need of enrolling girl to school as long they are destined to marriage, therefore to housewife life. The ones enrolled bear the risk of dropping out because of precocious marriage or unwanted pregnancy. However, the positive impact of women and mothers on the education increase girls' enrollment as the headmaster observed. Although the tendency of this cultural bias against educating girls is declining, the traditional educations such as the participation to the Gourn, the apprenticeship in traditional healing or the initiation into customary mysterious societies might be favored over schooling. Muslim parents specially find themselves in a most awkward predicament when it comes to choose between the formal education, which is a hope for future prospects and the Islamic one, the guarantee for the afterworld. Whereas some parents combined both educations as mentioned above, others simply delay the school enrollment until the completion of the Islamic one. As an historical handling this Islamic interpretation could impair attendance at school. Low household income, with critical ethno-cultural and/or religious perception of school, being a girl are somewhat related to school distancing. Conjoined with health and child labor, households' issues, direct and indirect expenses for education, educational quality, teaching practices this signifies never attending school.

5.3.3 Context Related Problems

The interaction between the school and the families takes place in a setting comprising the state policies, institutions and health care system, the community, international organizations, NGOs and private individual or elites. Attitudes and activities created within this context are essential to comprehend the phenomenon of school exclusion. Hindering factors encompass political governance problems, legislation and

government policies that do not benefit the poor as social protection measures, limited budget allocations and expenditures, inequitable allotment of resources and the lack of accreditation of multiple pathways to learning. The central government enactments are translated locally as institutional incapacity and inefficiency defined by restrictive administrative regulations and financial discretionary choices for school registration. For instance, requiring a birth certificate constitutes a barrier to school entry. The absence of effective delegation and devolution infringes the school course of actions and undermines educational performance. In order to get their salaries for instance, the civil servant teachers must take a day release travelling to the central county town of region Maroua.

Another major factor that infringes the prescribed centralized national school program is the climatic conditions. Life in Kolara is catalogued by/on the vagaries of the short raining season and long dry season for the subsistence agriculture. Activities are thus organized around it and based on it as a hedge against starvation even for those who have another main source of income. People can afford to not have money as long as they have their crop. Families need to guarantee their crop for the whole year by any means necessary. As the general school year starts in September, due to the contingencies of harvest, in Kolara school begins effectively in November after families have saved their crops. In addition to the two to three months extended holidays, there is a weekly circumstantial day-off on Wednesdays for the stakeholders in formal education: parents have their sustentative business in the hebdomadally farmer's market, the learner either accompany their parents or run their own business, and the teaching staff after officially putting in an appearance, end up also in the market. The parents' teacher in particular are bound to it otherwise their monthly salary is not enough to make a living from. Such means of subsistence activities foreground the discrepancy between the school and both ethno-communities.

Within this context, human, material and financial resources could be mobilized to tackle educational issues. This should be incumbent to the cooperation between stakeholders both internal and external to households and schools since the rationales of educational supply and demand interact within a combining context that determine a process of exclusion or inclusion. Unfortunately, an adequate communication and close collaboration between stakeholders is not to be denoted. There are no effective participatory mechanisms for ethno-cultural communities to have a trusting relationship with the school in pursuance of reducing the ratio of children victims of school exclusion. The school operates as a foreign body abstracted from the community management entities of traditional and religious leaders. Although the teaching staff is

exclusively composed of native Kolora children, the only relation with the school is through parent associations. And this prescriptive collaboration is limited to the payment of the teacher or eventually the alleviation of the school infrastructural deficiencies. An organized network and support system of school, parent associations and community leaders are missing to improve their capacity and efficiency on education. Common strategies are necessary for period of ongoing violence, high insecurity and conflict issues connected to Central African Republic civil war (2013), the Boko Haram insurgency (2014) and the Anglophone crisis (2017). These are not directly affecting children's schooling but have an indirect impact on the provision of education and the social as well as economic situation of Kolora.

The problems of the formal education in Kolora are neither stable nor permanent. School attendance is rather continuously changing, going up or down and transpires in period of time moments during the educational process that need to be determined and understood. The various stages in the process of shifting from inclusion to exclusion or inversely require an analysis underpinning decision-making and actions of various stakeholders, principally the school and their families. The data from the ethno-cultural studies are not particularly focused on problems of education, these are rather social and ethno-cultural information useful in determining the living educational heritages, supplement of knowledge from the traditional and Islamic educations, which interplay with the formal education in Kolora. It provides on the other hand an overview of considering the cultural particularity of the children, the inclusion of their environment, and possibility their self-determination.

6 Results, Discussion and Recommendations

6.1 Results

6.1.1 Considering the Cultural Particularity of Children

6.1.1.1 Textbooks Analysis

In compliance with the official program, “National Culture” as a subject is set at an hour per week – in comparison to ten hours of French, five hours of English and five hours of Mathematics.⁷⁷ There is neither a particular textbook nor syllabus or the subject “National Culture”. A considerable latitude is left to the teachers to either instruct it themselves or to invite other colleagues including local artists, that are more adequate to teach Music, Dance and National Culture. The subject is intended to allow the learners to “contribute to the conservation, and if needed to the improvement of the national choreographic and cultural heritage” and to also be able to integrate foreign culture, notably French and/or English ones. It could be expected that National Culture or cultural particularities is integrated in the textbooks or flows in the teaching of the other subjects.

To be approved, all textbooks must be developed for second language teaching (French as subject and medium of instruction), be authored by a Cameroonian pedagogue and have a Cameroonian background. Therefore, there is no single textbook in the local language. The teacher’s task is to adapt, replace, omit or supplement the material and/or method within the book. English in particular should be instructed in English from the first day of primary school, using the direct method, and teachers should “avoid translating between English and the vernacular.” On the whole, the language course should extend the children’s general knowledge of their environment, increase their knowledge of the world and lead them to the use of imagination and of creativity much more fully. The French textbook complies with the national background requirements. However, it describes cultural aspects such as dishes of the Southern Cameroon “Ndolé” or “Koki” which the children of Kolara cannot relate to. Civic and moral education textbooks neither refer to Gouna nor Pulaku, the backbone of the behavior in both communities of Tupuri and Fulbé. National events or social ceremonies are common to Kolara but taught events are either celebrated

⁷⁷ The teaching consists of 25 weeks, 112 hours monthly and 28 hours course a week full-time. The weekly hours are allocated as follows: French: 10 hours, English and Mathematics 5 hours, Sciences and Environmental Education, Civics and Moral Education, Useful Hygiene and Health Education 1.5 hours, Practical Activities, Physical Education and Sport, Music and Chant 1 hour and National Language and Culture 0.5 hour.

differently as pictured in the textbook such as marriage and baptism or simply are non-events like anniversaries for children in Kolara.

6.1.1.2 Qualitative Interview

The official program does mention the incorporation of “National Language and Culture”, though without a clear syllabus or textbooks. The curriculum expert, commissioner, custodians of tradition and teachers all expressed that there is almost nothing that concerns national culture in the formal education of a country with a diversity of culture. The national cultural diversity is not taken into consideration in its singular aspects. The focus is more on national integration in terms of civic, moral and citizenship education. According to the curriculum expert, textbooks are designed on the basis of the program, as the program does not focus on national culture and national language, there are currently, neither schoolbooks in the primary schools in the local language nor a syllabus of the national culture and languages. The specific aspects of every ethno-culture are not truly taken into consideration in the current teaching program. They are working on new programs that would take into consideration the cultural background each child brings from home and on the way to school, to allow the school to valorize and safeguard it.

The commissioner and custodians also shared this concern as they acknowledge that their populations do not have the culture of writing. This is the reason why intangible heritage is one of the most endangered including their oral traditions, languages, customs, habits, folklores and all those things that are not materialized in written form, artifacts or monuments. Ethno-cultures have no other support to ensure their preservation and transmission. There is thus the need to invest tremendous effort in support of their conservation in order to transmit to future generations (The commissioner, 2015). All respondents speak in favor of the introduction of intangible cultural heritage into the formal educational system, which is in consonance with the government’s plans for the future as the intellectuals or literate respondents clearly expressed it. The policy is in progress, the program has to be designed, the teachers have to be trained, manuals and textbooks have to be produced and particularly national languages have to be developed for schooling, because the biggest part of this heritage is included in their languages and oral expression. “From the moment that the local languages are taught formally, this could be a slot, growing opportunity, or vector for this heritage to export itself, make itself known. Students from primary school, secondary school and university could discover the heritage contained in the various languages that would be safeguarded and popularized” (The commissioner, 2015).

The objective is not for children to be professionals in cultural heritage with special expertise. There is the need to safeguard and transmit it on the one hand and on the other hand, there is the purpose to arouse the children's interest and become practitioners and/or custodians of cultural traditions. The introduction of local languages is of greatest importance. Whereas the curriculum expert raised the difficulties of its implementation in the urban areas due to the high presence of various national languages, the custodians propose the teaching of all four languages in Kolara schools. Their children do not speak the local languages well (Tupuri and Fulfulde) nor learn "the language of the white", French and English properly (The custodians, 2015). French language proficiency of 13th graders today is equal to that of 6th graders in former time of 30-40 years ago previous as the local languages were forbidden in school. Despite their fluent bilingualism in Tupuri and Fulfuldé independently of their ethno-cultural affiliation, they do not know much about riddles, proverbs, poetry, or tales formerly told as bedtime stories or in "Carambayé" (The custodians, 2015). The "Carambayé" which has as a matter of fact disappeared consisted of village gathering around a big fire to fight against the cold of the night, where story of the village could be told to the young generation. Lot of songs and musical instruments escort this social gathering like other ceremonies (The custodians, 2015).

Intangible and tangible cultural heritage should be introduced into formal education. While some heritages are important for their real or symbolic character, other traditional practices should be introduced for their utilities and convenience in workaday life such as farming, livestock farming or related artifacts that function as commodities. Profession or income generating heritage like blacksmithing should be taught in schools as long as the population lives on agriculture. Any improvement in the quality of agricultural instruments (hoe, machete, pickaxe, axe, etc.) and production should be accepted and accommodated. The preservation of heritage should not prevent development or modernization. Any hindering aspect or process is considered by custodians as backwardness. The traditional way of lightening fire "stone against stone" is outdated by matches or lighter just like mobile phones supplanted the use of drum for communication (The custodians, 2015). Rejecting modern conveniences or any attempt to bring those old hindrance back is considered as calamity. However, it is recommended that the children learn about them for emergencies. It is sad that some practical and useful things have disappeared. In contrast, there is some cultural heritage associated with witchcraft that should be left out altogether. The art of sorcery used to do harm, hurt or kill – and is distinguished from traditional medicine and useful and healing knowledge. Both Tupuri and Fulbé medicine practices did not disappear

because of its effectiveness and efficiency in complementing modern medicine. “A bone fracture for instance, where modern doctors see no option but to amputate the leg of many people, our traditions cure them using plants and bark. We have many cases like this” (The custodians, 2015). Regrettably, traditional healing is secret knowledge that is shared or transmitted only from parents to elected or exclusively gifted children. Its introduction into the formal educational system could be rather impossible not only for its business purpose and ownership but also for preventing it from perversion and profanation. The solution should be to take its selected or elected apprentices (trainees) to school to gain both traditional and modern knowledge at the same time - so to improve upon it (The custodians, 2015).

6.1.1.3 Sitting in on Classroom Observations

During the two sequences of two hours each, the teacher resorted neither to cultural heritage artifacts nor local material. The only teaching materials used were the textbooks, chalkboard learners’ slate and small sticks for counting. He communicated in French throughout and used local languages only when most pupils majority did not seem to understand. This happened three times (out of the 10 classrooms checklists): at the first occasion, he spontaneously reprimanded a misbehaving learner in Fulbé and the two other occasions were in order to explain mathematic operations: addition (sum) for the 1st form and subtraction (minus) for the 2nd form. The teacher asked the learner to give the equivalent in both local languages Tupuri and Fulbé. Taking in consideration learners’ perspective would have triggered the integration of cultural elements. Since the teacher could not diverge from the prescribed program and textbooks, learners permanently had a diligent, but routinely assigned task. Although teacher and learners are proficient in both Tupuri and Fulbé and all native from Kolara, during the complete observation, there is neither use of intangible cultural heritage material nor local material.

6.1.2 Including the Daily Environment of the Children

6.1.2.1 Document Analysis

The French textbook covers themes of school, the way to school and life at home. It depicts school infrastructure different from the one in Kolara: schools with a cement fence around it, painted and modern buildings, benches, blackboards, canteens, playgrounds and swings. It depicts teachers well-dressed with ties and learners with uniforms in a modern environment which could be what children yearn for, but is not their reality. Except for the classroom building nothing is correlated with the local school scenery. 90% of the pictures of the textbooks do not reflect the reality of Kolara’s children. Words concerning the theme “on the way to school” do not exist in

the village. The road safety legend depicts for instance a traffic light, zebra crossing and quality roads that are only found sporadically in a few big cities within the country. Pictures of family life do not represent the reality of Kolara's family: cooking in a modern kitchen equipped with oven or families having breakfast, lunch and dinner together on the table with cutlery. Activities illustrated in the textbook of Environmental education introduce agriculture, physical milieu, technical milieu and living creatures. They are in contrast with life in Kolara. For example, scissors or weathercock are not to be seen in the village; photos or drawings of planes, boats and trains are illustrations children can relate to only in their imagination. The introduction to agricultural lessons depicts some products that are familiar to the children such as peanuts, mangos or tomatoes but others like bananas, palm oil or coconut palm are mysteries to unravel. Agricultural activities are designed more for the southern regions which have six months of rainy seasons, "sow in March and reap in June" does not correspond to the steppe of the Far-North Region. The experimental exercise related to the environment involve substances that are inaccessible or unavailable. Apart from water, sugar and milk, the illustrated substances such as colorant, pineapple juice, petrol or diesel fuel are alien to the learners in Kolara.

6.1.2.2 Qualitative Interview

In view of the official sources, it could be determined that school education is emphasizing more on theory than on practice, that is to say detached from the environment of the child. Both the government and UNESCO are developing programs that focus on technical and professional teaching because it is in this context that education should promote and assess the process of transformation of the environment (The commissioner, 2015). The children's four settings - homes, the quarter and the village in which homes are situated, the way to school and the school - are privileged both in the teaching program and the conception of schoolbooks. Nonetheless, at the moment as the curriculum expert explained, both the program and the resulting schoolbooks are extensively national and do not articulate the specificity of a precise region or location. The current educational approach is to take into consideration the living environment of the children, trying to combine both rural and urban areas. Children in rural areas are introduced to what is going on in the city, including streets, taxis, planes, televisions and internet. Those who live in the cities are instructed about village lifestyle like farming, nature, and wildlife. Both programs and the affiliated schoolbooks relate to children's' environment, not their geographical or administrative singularity but rather encompass the global Cameroonian environment.

The practical activities are meant to be vocational for children to benefit from the environment they are living in and, if applicable, to be able to transform this environment. For instance, children should benefit from the experience of the blacksmith in a village by having basic knowledge of this job, that means to be able to manufacture some tools. To extend the pedagogical project the idea is to draw on one's environment in which the child lives, take the element of this environment to use it on his own not only to be able to be integrated in this environment but also to change it based on the available elements. Therefore, if children involved in practical activities are to acquire knowledge in various domains (art, plastic art, etc.) in such a way that if they happen to quit school, they could have the possibility to cope on their own. "Unfortunately, the weakness of our program at this level is that our teachers are not enough equipped in their training to put it into practice" (The curriculum expert, 2015). Teaching Painting requires knowledge and/or practice in the domain or a special pedagogy for that matter. The teacher training does not put emphasis on Practical Activities. It has not been taken into consideration by those who conceived the program, thus a weakness in their implementation (The curriculum expert, 2015). Additionally, the 60 minutes a week allocated for it are not enough for any adequate educational outcome.

The environmental reference in formal education is so unspecific that the custodians of traditions consider school as alien to their life and reality. Though important, school is detached from their reality, costs money and keeps children so busy that they cannot be requested for imperative activities such as cattle-breeding and farming. Enrolling children in school is interpreted as social distancing, dissociation from parents, family and community. The inconsiderateness is also expressed through acknowledgment of the lack of collaboration between school management and communities. The only relationship between the school and the local communities is the contact the school has with parents' association, which is limited to the payment of parent association's fees and its management – such as hiring supplemental teachers. There is neither contact nor cooperation between teachers and parents. The custodians admitted this breach as being their mistake without justifying it or trying to rectify it.

6.1.2.3 Sitting in on Classroom Observation

The school buildings are not in line with the architectural heritage and environment of Kolara. The architectural style is characterized by traditional circular shaped houses made of mudbricks and adobe plaster randomly disposed. The most housing type is a small construction with a narrow entry way under a conical roof covered in millet stem or thatching. The walls are made of locally available materials using clay and weave

walls of straw. The head of a particular household or lineage often builds few small usually single-room outhouses within a united walled compound called “Tin” in Tupuri and “Saré” in Fulbé. The outhouse of the household’s head is ordinarily found in the middle of the compound, and generally houses have a granary in close proximity, as the long dry season prevents year-round growing of crops. Concentric farms surround the settlement, which are protected by hedges to keep livestock away. This domestic architecture contrasts with the school though rectangular house construction, modern models of concrete walls and a metal roof equidistantly arranged in the shape of “L”. The school nonetheless does not meet modern international standards - like being equipped with a library, storeroom, kitchen/canteen, latrines, electricity, internet, running potable water, textbooks and necessary educational materials. The classroom environment is inadequate for teaching and learning: dusty and unfrequently cemented floors, poor ventilation, hot temperatures and atmosphere thick with sweat. The classroom is poorly furnished - no desk for learners. Sitting on makeshift cinder blocks, rubble stones or simply on the floor, children learn to write their first alphabetic characters either on their thighs or curled up on the floor. Such learning situations are not optimum prerequisites for self-determination.

6.1.3 Fostering the Self-determination of Children

6.1.3.1 Document Analysis

In the official program, no time is allocated for extra-curricular activity or freethinking during which time learners could express or fulfil their needs and creativity. Children come to school with knowledge of their natural and cultural environments and creative nature - but are totally submerged in textbooks. The three learners’ textbooks with preassigned themes do not provide room for autonomous thinking or excursive behavior. They are replete with instructions, commands or warnings. The first lesson of the civics and moral education textbook explains the school rules and regulations and illustrates bad behaviors and their associated punishments. The image of four children kneeling down in front of the teacher portrays the nature of abasement learners might go/have gone through in case of transgression. The moral education that includes awakening moral consciousness and good habits demand respect vis-à-vis superior, teachers, parents, elderly people or simple elders and appeal to children to be unconditionally obedient to them. An unrequested respect for instance requires learners to stand up whenever a superior comes in the classroom.

If all these are presumed to be children obligations - in school, home and public spaces - there is no mention of children rights neither in the national program nor in textbooks, Cameroonian children rights not to mention fundamental children rights, in accordance

with the dully enshrined Human Rights Declaration and related legal instruments - to which Cameroon adheres.⁷⁸ This includes principally fundamental right to education, identity, health and most importantly protection against child labor. The teaching of these basic rights would be inconsistent with their reality in Kolara. Children would be cushioned against their own reality, a huge discrepancy between, what is declared and what is lived. This breach in the document is either a denial of those rights or the inability to guarantee them – least the child’s right to education. In any case children are deprived from their basic prerequisites that build self-determination for self-determined life.

6.1.3.2 Qualitative Interview

The absence of collaboration between the principal stakeholders within education generate a discrepancy in the pedagogical enterprise, that means there is no real link between family and school concerning teaching and learning. Indirectly it also means that there is no connection between the formal education and the traditional and Islamic-Arabic educations. The school provides education that the families - if they happen to accept it - follow unreservedly without participation, but in parallel to school impart their traditional and/or Islamic values. Children are then abandoned to the teacher and the school. According to the curriculum expert, children are torn between these two environments that should be integrated in order to complement each other. The relationship between the learners and the teacher under teacher’s pedagogical supervision is however particularly good because both are implicated in the process of attaining knowledge. It is a rather tripartite relation: Teacher-Child-Knowledge. It is an extraordinarily strong relation as well due to the cultural importance Africans attach to children. Particularly in schools in the rural areas, where the teacher is from the village and totally integrated in the communities, children are better off. The situation gets into predicament when the teacher follows the predetermined program without improvising or adapting it to their own context. Teachers are trained to comply with the official program.

The respondents characterize the current teacher-learner’s relationship as hierarchical imbued with respect reflective of the Cameroonian institution, which is organized according to the person’s status in society and their ethnicity. In this top-down relation, children can express their needs only through their school performance, their

⁷⁸ Beyond these international Conventions, the Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon guarantees the right of the child to education and further highlights it in the 1998 Law to Lay Down Guidelines for Education.

unquestionable respect of the instructions and their ability at abiding by the rules of the teacher, the school and the institutions. Failure, breach or contravention is liable to punishment, including corporal punishment. Corporal punishment principally, though proscribed, is common practice confirmed by all respondents. In rural areas specially, this illegal practice goes unpunished due to the poor enforcement of legal instruments. Except for the commissioner - who notices a growing awareness - the curriculum expert, custodians, parents and school staff advocate its necessity and justify its practice. The custodians and parents rationalize it with the importance of discipline for good upbringing tantamount to the biblical adage "spare the rod and spoil the child". Yet they distinguish corporal punishment from uncontrolled violence hazardous to health - ethical limits the teachers are taught not to cross in their training according to the curriculum expert. Teachers and the curriculum expert uphold corporal punishment as the carrot and stick pedagogical approach. The latter notably attributes the unremitting corporal punishment to the cultural phenomenon, whereby the African child belongs to the whole village so that it is everyone's responsibility to reprimand a child at any time. Such a cultural stance is transcribed in their daily life, their profession, therefore inexorably in school as well. Along the same lines corporal punishment appears socially as a necessary evil comparable to the professional admonition despite the global trend and movements protecting human and particularly children rights (The curriculum expert, 2015).

The curriculum expert's standpoint contradicts the line of the government, his colleagues and himself are working on. Teachers are trained to realize a child's problems, problem children supposedly have difficulties to express otherwise. Teachers should not misuse their educator, adult and role model's authority being authoritarian, but use it nonviolently like he clarifies: "more and more we let them know that authority comes in mastering its own profession. When a teacher happens to master his area of expertise, he does not need a whip". It means the ongoing authoritarian methods are on the way to be relinquished. Children should participate in their own education. Active measures are to be taken to reduce classroom size, create a center of interest – where children debate among themselves and the teacher is only there to supervise and lead them knowing where they are heading based on their own idea. This new pedagogical approach is still tentative (The commissioner, 2015). At this experimental level, the teacher expresses his frustration about the passivity of the learners and the difficulties of arousing their interest. At the end, he always comes back to the former approach, the ex-cathedra teaching asking learners what he wants them to do. This is what the primary school inspector actually requires him to apply, a

complete discrepancy between what he does and what he was trained for. He finds also the implemented “collective promotion” inadequate for plethoric class size, as it applauds laziness and the easy way out: “Pupils could move from one grade to another without any knowledge”; they “could find themselves in the next level without being able to participate actively with their peers, they would be frustrated, and this feeling of inadequacy means failure in the long run” (The teacher, 2017).

6.1.3.3 Sitting in on Classroom Observation

The school is comprised of 478 students and 8 male teachers of which 4 are civil servants and 4 parent association teachers, 7 Tupuri and 1 Guiziga (an ethno-culture in the Far North Region).

School attendance: Level One

Form One	Male		Female		Total	
Number registered	33	60 %	22	40 %	55	
Present	18	55 %	17	77 %	35	64 %
Absent	15	45 %	05	23 %	20	36 %
Form Two	Male		Female		Total	
Number registered	45	65 %	24	35 %	69	
Present	29	64 %	17	71 %	46	67 %
Absent	16	36 %	7	29 %	23	33 %
LEVEL ONE	78	63 %	46	37 %	124	

The level one classroom made of 1st and 2nd grades is overcrowded - with 71 learners present of the 124 registered – and difficult for a single teacher to implement any learner-centered pedagogy or focus on learner needs. Over the entire observation-time he works with the two-separate grade-groups only, without flexible small groups, or small groups individual activities. The two groups of learners are seated randomly according to their grades, the 1st grade largely at the left and the 2nd grade at the right without distinctive demarcation between both. The lesson began with 1st grade, while others sat around listening or talking to peers. Later the teacher set permanently meaningful tasks for the 1st grade, while interacting with the upper one. He proceeded alternately onward.

The teacher asked exclusively lesson-related questions not varied but probing for learner comprehension. They are mostly simple recall or close-ended questions. The teacher set varied learner’s possibilities of answering: either he designated the learner to answer orally, sent the learner to write on the board or instructed them to write on

their individual learner's slate. The teacher-learner relation was good as the curriculum expert described - suffused with respect and obedience. The teacher was bestowed the full respect and unconditional obedience he was due as an adult, autochthonous of Kolara (Tupuri), and teacher. The interaction was also substantiated by the learners' motivation and enthusiasm to answer questions. Most of the concerned learners did not only raise their hands but also completely stood up and shouted "Moi, monsieur" ("I sir") in order to get a word. The teacher constantly gave feedback about correct and incorrect responses encouraging further effort. At no time were the learners encouraged nor given the possibility to ask questions.

Fortified with his authoritative status, the teacher was authoritarian since he followed the program regardless of the learners' perspective and his interaction with the children was also imbued with fear. The teacher went around with an electrical cable whip known as "la chicote" (The Whip) - the learner frequently chorused after the teacher. Indeed, he whipped misbehaving learners twice during the classroom observation. In addition, there was also a stick used for pointing while reading on the blackboard. Although it had not been used to punish, it could be seen as a psychological threat towards children, a visible specter of fear and violence. The classroom observation provides corroborative evidence that supports the punishment depicted in the moral textbook and materializes the corporal punishments that the interview respondent alluded to as a necessary pedagogical method. The school setting is more about obedience training than helping children in need.

6.2 Discussion

It was assumed that the current formal education of Kolara is not constructive because it does not take into consideration the cultural particularities, it does not include the daily environment, and does not foster self-determination of its children. From the above results, it could be stated that formal education is not constructive for the children of Kolara: there is no consideration of the cultural particularities, there is little relation to their daily environment and there is no possibility for fostering their self-determination.

6.2.1 The Significance of the Cultural Particularities of the Children of Kolara

Biculturalism and multilingualism are features of Kolara as Tupuri and Fulbé ethno-cultures cohabit as results of colonial African partitioning exacerbated by the country territorial division and the internal precolonial and particularly postcolonial migratory flow. The sense of self-identification of a person is rooted in their ethno-cultural

heritage. From infancy, children's knowledge of their own and others' cultural identities evolves, affected by the values and attitudes they encounter from their first instances at home with their family. Progressively as they grow up in their surrounding neighborhoods and ethno-culture together with the coexisting ethno-culture, they especially learn from their peers. Since there are neither nurseries nor daycare facilities, this prolonged pre-school childhood helps them to learn the necessary skills for their survival and beyond biological and physiological functions, they are trained in the intellectual, psychological and sociocultural conditions of existence. Language is fundamental to the expression of culture since it is a form of conveying value systems, beliefs, and social norms. It also serves a vital social function by fostering sense of ethno-cultural affiliation and solidarity. It is the means by which culture, history, traditions and shared values are acquired, transmitted and safeguarded in connection with a specific heritage.

This pre-school acquisition of knowledge is discarded once children join school, increasingly it wastes away and withers as the institution devalues it. In the process, school also discredits prematurely their natural embryonic bilingualism including their mother-tongue education. The inconsiderateness of the previous knowledge results in the alienation of the Tupuri and Fulbé. The drawback of the inconsiderateness or the oversight of the cultural heritage is that the school remains culturally and linguistically estranged to most of people in Kolara; a lot of Tupuri and Fulbe are skeptical about the utility of the formal education. For the children, the discrepancies between culture and expectations of the family and the school, along with the demoralizing experiences of being underprivileged, could lead to a cycle of resistance and failure in school. Schooling appears often to be irrelevant, as they are systematically exposed to frustration and resentment, their ensuing reaction is absenteeism, to truancy and then dropout. For primary school starters, schooling sets the benchmark of behaviors the unavoidable determinant in building their identity. If they manage to perform accordingly, they feel socially acknowledged and mainly authoritatively approved. This bestows them subsequently optimal chance of integration both into the mainstream system and their ethno-cultural group. If education is merely another source of distress and anxiety, as it appears to be in the majority of cases, it is frequently rejected as meaningless and not worthwhile enduring or completing.

Beyond the scope of Kolara, with the advent of democratization in conjunction with liberalization processes, the deficiency of the ethno-cultural consideration is expressed on the national level by the proliferation of private Islamic-Arabic schools ("Mahad") on the one hand - historically it was expressed as a fundamental opposition to Western

education, Muslim reluctance to enroll their children in school. On the other hand, the ethno-cultural unspecific formal education led to the ongoing Anglophone insurgency or separatism. Though different in their approach and methods, both movements attempt to broaden the school's purpose to include all facets of human development; all the activities of human life assimilated as cultural heritage are the concerns of the school not just the development of learners' intellectual powers.

It could be argued that biculturalism in addition to the two official languages could overstrain the children. On the national level where multiculturalism and multilingualism is an important aspect of most Cameroonian villages and cities - as people are from different ethno-cultures - this could also make things impracticable as the curriculum expert expressed its unfeasibility concerning urban conglomeration. In the days of independence, local languages were not academic. In Kolará the level one learners (1st and 2nd forms) are confronted with four cultures along with their respective languages and institutions or social agencies - despite the formal furtherance of only two. In addition to primary social agencies of Tupuri and Fulbé ethno-cultures (like families, neighborhood, community, religion, etc.) school exerts substantial but discrepant influence in educating the children of Kolará. Children are torn between at least two categories: formal and informal. As the educating process takes place in social settings, every social agency utilizes education as a tool to advance its own goals. Maintaining, transferring, and generating societal values, ideas, beliefs, and culture are all part of this three-fold social role.

Considering education as a socialization process it is essential to blend or harmonize the parallel education schemes by either integrating the informal ones into the formal one - for the school as institution has a tremendous impact in educational process - or to institute the informal ones as formal/to the standard of the formal. The single ethno-cultural identity matures into more intricate and varying identity gradually as children establish affiliations with multidimensional social groupings within the vast diversified Cameroonian society. Cultures are dynamic, evolve and change as distinct groups' beliefs and lifestyle adapt to other cultural influences such as mass media and popular culture, resulting in up-to-date versions of identities. In the Cameroonian culturally diverse environment, individuals are likely to identify themselves with several communities or sub-cultures. In addition to the ethno-cultural identity, these identities may enclose identity based on gender, birthplace, religious, age or social status, and the school endeavors to inculcate Cameroonian citizenship. Within such a multilingual society, upholding the different ethno-cultural languages is crucial for the safeguarding of cultural heritage and identity. The process of peril, attrition or loss of a given

language leads to the progressive destruction of cultural aspects including the cultural identity. During all of the Cameroonian history, the official derogation of ethno-cultural languages has been a purposeful policy for national unity or nation building.

The policy of multiculturalism is equally vital in achieving a cohesive Cameroon as it recognizes and considers the importance of its diversity accepting, respecting and promoting citizens' right to live their cultural heritage within the context of the country's overarching dedication, which means the consideration of every existing single ethno-culture. Education allows an individual to appreciate the most valuable features of other ethno-cultures, while keeping one's own ethno-cultural uniqueness. Children from distant ethno-cultures could facilitate their integration as a minority both in their local ethno-communities, but also the city or region they live in. The socialization of children is a major social process of education. Individual engagement in the race's collective consciousness is just how education proceeds (Dewey, 1966). Understandably, every educational system should give the consideration to the social environment which is constituent of the natural environment.

6.2.2 The Significance of the Environment

Life requires a perpetual and regular adaptation of experiences in accordance with the environment. Consequently, the ideas, perceptions, skills, attitudes and values undergo change. Ethno-cultural communities developed, perpetuated, adjusted and readjusted their cultural traits to their environment accordingly. The type of the requirements of the ethno-culture to which the children should be fitted and acclimated also impacts educational readjustment. The French and English adopted educational systems are adapted to the lifestyle and the appertaining Greco-Roman cultural heritage conditioned by the environment. The school year calendar and the apportionment of terms are standardized to the alternation of seasons and the Gregorian calendar - including summer holidays, hibernation, winter sleep, Christmas break, and Easter holidays. The school terms, breaks, holidays and weekly configurations (weekdays and weekends) are all formatted to this conditioning.

This partition of the school year calendar was transposed in the Cameroonian education system. In Kolara this partition in 1st, 2nd and 3rd terms is incompatible with the busy, short rainy season and hot dry seasons and the appertaining sustenance and spiritual activities such as farming season and the recuperative Gurna institution. The incongruence of the academic with the environmental conditions of Kolara results in absenteeism of both teachers of parents' association and low school attendance of learners; high school dropout rates, specifically boys before teenage years; and at the most extreme, no enrollment at all.

Considered as a natural process (according to some educationists), education takes place spontaneously through children's experiences in nature and interactions with the environment. These experiences engender particular learning practice, which subsequently result in the children improvement. That is to say, education emerges as a lifetime process and each experiential situation is a step forwards for both understanding oneself and the living environment. Making children's self-imparted survival skills and innate potentialities fit for their environment and socialization are not worthy in school. Some course of actions that require physical abilities like craftsmanship, adroitness in using the hands or any professional preparation are somewhat associated with training rather than education. The national curriculum that responds to one of the key missions assigned to the Ministry of Basic Education, is conceived to guide the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes in learners and to set the foundation for learning with focus on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). As a result, schools only consider cognitive practices that build reasoning to be actually instructive. This mission (conception) accounts for the classical belief that human nature is substantially timeless and spaceless similar; the major objective of education should be thence identical around the world. As a result, the official curriculum in schools should be largely the same, with minor adjustments to account for local conditions and peculiarities. Cameroonian formal education is imparted to every ethno-culture found in different environmental conditions in the same manner without any little scope of variation.

Education goes beyond teacher's instructions, it is a natural process children realized spontaneously. It is not acquired under discussion, but by experiencing in the surroundings as Montessori educational systems consider. To this effect, the teacher's assignment turns into planning or opportunistically exploiting, like the old Fulbé master, a course of activities spread out over a specifically designed environment that allow children to learn by observing, interacting, and performing tasks. Education, as Dewey indicates (1966), is the rebuilding or reorganization of experience that strengthens the ability to affect the path of following experiences and enhances the nature of the experience. This conception presupposed that children had already gained some experiences as a result of their interactions with their surroundings, education as a matter of fact consists of rebuilding these experiences in the appropriate orientation in the furtherance of giving them additional meaning. The teaching and learning content is designed to be centered systemically on natural environment, with courses held in the nature to provide for a dynamic and creative learning setting, established on the

children's needs and preferences including their intrinsic aspirations. In this approach, the school can be concerned with all aspects of human existence.

The enrollment in school disconnects the children from their immediate and regional environment, and the curriculum shelter them from their local realities. Patterned after foreign model and conceived for the whole environmentally diversified Cameroon, the curriculum does not bring children in Kolara into consonance with their environmental situation. They are introduced to ways of life of others, related items, subject-matters, activities and situations out of their scope. Subliminally, children develop early preference for what is foreign to their environment. Below the threshold of conscious perception, they end up in the re-production of what is suitable somewhere else. This is neither productive nor constructive in a very poor school condition, that does not fulfill basic requirement of international standard. It thus could be a convenient and opportune way to replace current practices with auspicious available places of teaching, which grant an unrestrained setting for learners to be in interaction with their natural environment - if applicable, also universe. Such outdoor and nature-related classrooms could be a means to overcome the persistent infrastructure problems both in rural and urban areas. The Kolara school situation aspires that education should enable children to establish logical or causal connection between what is learned in the school and their daily life realities, most importantly be able to self-determine.

6.2.3 The Significance of Self-determination

The main essence of the traditional education practices in Kolara is to prepare children for adult life at an early stage, making life harmonious with all existence. Deeply rooted in their immediate surroundings⁷⁹ and connected to cultures of their reachable world, these education systems are based on enjoyable learning and are tailored to every single child's unique and distinct character. It relates to the procedure of cultivating one's intelligence, rational thought, training, sociocultural awareness, and self-awareness. These educational values in all aspects are not only systematically ignored, but also severely repressed by the formal educational system. From the early stages of school enrollment habits are formed, knowledge and information learned and instructions instilled to an extent that the children's life is deprived of nature and their mind and world are establish in disagreement. This education is inadequate to prepare self-determined children for the fundamental challenges of living by cause of infringing the natural, social and ethno-cultural educative process, the way in which the unique

⁷⁹ The immediate surroundings are understood as both natural and social environment including neighboring other ethno-cultures.

and individual development of children, in conjunction with their social integration - about which school provides excellent preparation - is regarded as the foundation of education.

The national school program introduces an approach that fosters the development of intellectual, methodological, personal, interpersonal and communication competencies of children in school (competency-based approach). If competency is considered as the learners' aptitude to resort to both basic and advanced skills in their daily encountered circumstances, it means that schools should have the capacity for adaptation to the needs of preschoolers, teachers and the ethno-cultural communities. It is thus an approach founded on a collection of outcomes established from simple everyday activities examination of common tasks that learners face in real-life scenarios. These preschool competencies children bring along are not taken into consideration in the educational processes.

First of all, the instructive process of knowledge acquisition is the means set in place to generate targeted improvements in students. Instruction means teaching of particular ideas, values, skills, information and knowledge to students and aims at effective learning in individuals. Thus, instruction functions as the instrument of educating children along with their educative experiences that are discounted, denied or banned. Instruction is as well one of the strategies of delivering experiences in the acquisition of a body of knowledge. Schools place children passively in the classroom to receive instruction from the teacher, although children tend to be very curious by nature to learn and perceive their surroundings through direct autonomous observation or exploration. Instead of facilitating their capacities to learn by providing suitable learning conditions and responsive settings, the instruction is teacher-centered and curriculum based. The instruction setting is devoid of children who interrogate and prevents children from guiding in their knowledge exploration and development of skills and values.

Secondly, the comprehension of principles is not dependent on the collection of separate pieces of information and knowledge. It necessitates consideration of existing knowledge in relation to other facts and conceptions in order to develop basic tenets between the facts and concepts. Understanding of principles is only meaningful when knowledge of the concepts is acquired. In the process of continuous learning, individuals learn to apply their experiences in acquiring new information and also to rebuild new information as substitute for what is previous learned. The school enrollment in Kolara prevents this reconstruction and reinitializes the process of pre-school experiences. Some of the Level I learners in Kolara, for example, already earn

their own living. The school contravenes, delays or ceases this active and a dynamic learning, which takes place throughout life since it does not encompass the pre-school predominantly traditional education.

Thirdly, logical and critical thinking involve the deliberate utilization of cognitive competence in favor of attaining higher cognitive structures and capabilities. These are delayed and could neither be created nor developed without continuity on previous knowledge and an appropriate learning environment. Education is reduced to mere completion of a body of knowledge, principles or information devoid of systematic explanations or justifications, which is indoctrination into the national citizenship and contrived culture. In Kolara, education takes place in a programmed environment, where preschoolers are considered as simple objects and rather than thoughtful subjects. There neither room for autonomous coherent and logical thinking nor critical reflection. Critical thinking is necessary for a teacher-learner democratic classroom and for finding a place in a democratic society. This involves also the knowledge of children rights which the school program and curriculum are dismally deprived of.

In order to achieve a teacher-learner, democratic, Freirian classroom, children are to engage in direct and true thought process, but also inconsistently. Children in Kolara are rather consistent thinkers that conform to patterns and repeat teacher's phrases from prescribed textbooks. The social settings in which teacher-learner interactions and peer interactions take place - as students learn substantially from each other's experiences - are not designed to help children to disclose enduring and authentic values characterized by awareness of their own individuality and their own impartial inquiry. The educative process consists in providing nature and supportive settings for children to voluntarily experience learn. The national curriculum fails to contemplate the needs and interests arising from learners, although the mastery of prescribed contents is less meaningful than self-expression. The school system aims rather at French and/or English literacy as only the means by which children can be educated for tests - that means learning and teaching how to pass the tests. Questions surrounding what it means to be creative are not raised. It is a form of learning that numbs and robs the mind of any possibility of being imaginative. This results in an education of ruin which prematurely imperils the awareness of the self, self-esteem and self-expression vital for a democratic society.

In the same vein, the Conventional educational system generated the sense of conformity that impedes critical and autonomous reasoning. It engenders the type of person whose imperative concern is to find security by focusing on normative aspects of education that develops appreciation for certain norms or standards to be achieved.

This encourages the initiation of others involved in activities that have intrinsic value and which adhere to standards - usually characterizing the majority or mainstream. Thus, Level I school learners are dependent, obedient and ignorant of their self, their environment, and specially their rights to free education, protection against child labor, and rights to live free of violence. The ignorance of these fundamental protective rights is more a political than a pedagogical choice. Politically, it is from colonial legacy that the government or decision-makers aim at preventing insurgency from the independent and well-educated citizens, therefore this potential threat should be extinguished. Pedagogically, there is an intricate situation due to discrepancy between what could be deservedly taught and dire reality. The children's knowledge and awareness about their rights creates a predicament:

How to impart the right to free education in schools with poor infrastructures that ask for school fees and parent association contributions;

How to forbid children from working without providing paid allowances or family benefits;

How to educate without providing protection that no organ and mechanisms could guarantee.

Established facts are the denial of these rights combined with ignorance of education does not make children ideal members of a democratic society and that the schools are made to be listening schools, rather than doing and thinking schools.

The school system aims to make children aspire to become literate individuals; informed persons crammed with information, facts and degrees; or individuals in search of a job which they would never get or have in informal sector without a formal education. In this sense, instead of manifesting the hidden ability of children and developing their ethno-cultural knowledge, the formal system inhibits it. It does not enable children to be self-reliant or autonomous, and in the process, it erodes and drains their nascent self-confidence and impairs their self-esteem and self-respect. In school children are likely to develop a sense of personal inferiority arising from conflict between the desire to be performing students and the fear of being humiliated. As long as the school system barely foster a holistic life perspective, it is of minor importance for it teaches children in Kolar to be obedient, impersonal, artificial and unable to think independently. Although it is intellectually awakening for a few it makes most children inwardly inadequate, untalented and unproductive without their Gurna or Pulaaku moral compass. These traditional moral compasses could be pedagogically integrated in the formal educational process or utilized as a pedagogical tool to prevent the imitation of

the normalized rampant corruption and embezzlement that undermines Cameroonian society.

The formal education system in Kolara indicates a homogenizing education that is ethno-cultural unspecific and unrelated to the distinct environmental characteristics of the region. Its rigid pedagogical methods are teacher-centered and curriculum based. It does not involve the process of building character, enhancing mental strength, and refining intelligence, every mentioned item can contribute to primary school starters being self-determined. On the contrary children enrolled in Kolara school, are cut off from their families thus detached from their ethno-cultural community, disengaged from their environment and disconnect from themselves. Education intends to elicit the best from children by developing their potentialities and integrating them with themselves, their surroundings, their ethno-cultural community, their country and humanity as whole. The three cardinal principles of educational recommendations are free creative self-expression, active interaction with nature and ethno-culture specific comprehension.

6.3 Recommendations

Cameroonian ethno-cultural heritage, diversity and multilingualism are precious assets to be completely identified, appreciated and utilized accordingly through a corresponding formal education system. The current one-size-fit-all system seems not to be constructive for the district of Kolara. Therefore, it is important to have a national formal education system that could entertain ethno-cultural specific, environmental related and learner-centered educations. The character of teaching practices, from curriculum conception to pedagogical strategies, should be governed by academic objectives that are dictated by philosophical and social approaches, as well as national issues and objectives.

6.3.1 Organization of Formal Education

An ideal model of formal education should be reflective of the various features of the Cameroonian ethno-cultural realities in furtherance of connecting all levels of society and making communication, knowledge, power and wealth distribution easier. This could further also a governance underpinned by democracy and participation. At the present, the communication chasm between ethno-cultures, particularly the one between those who speak exclusively local languages and those who speak official foreign ones is far-reaching. It exacerbates social disparities, the concept of distance, and the sense of being underprivileged and ostracized. The educational system, rather than encouraging inclusiveness in multicultural and multilingual context, is a key social

institution that establishes impediments by relying primarily on institutional standards that is unrepresentative of the cultures and languages in the daily life of the majority of Cameroonian. The consideration of the various ethno-cultures could benefit the population as far as the social harmony and the socioeconomic advancement are concerned. Thence the necessity for a national education system that creates and upholds social cohesion.

To create a culture of inclusive education, the formal education system should be decentralized in such way that it accommodates various ethno-cultural heritages where the particular needs of every single child are taken into consideration. It consists of building a cohesive educational conglomeration of interrelated and interdependent family systems, ethno-cultural systems and formal education system. Every district unit is geographical and timely confined, impacted by its surroundings, characterized by its configuration and function, and articulated through its operations. At all levels, from the local, the regional to the central ones, it is imperative to draw an ethno-cultural map with its traditional educational heritage and specific linguistic configuration – like in the case of Kolara. The extent of cultural variety in administrative districts across Cameroon greatly fluctuates. Some metropolitan schools are diversified in term of cultures and languages, whereas other schools on the other hand, consist simply of a handful of ethno-cultures. Considering that these differences will influence the level of demand for diverse ethno-cultural groups, educational institutions should guarantee the adequate representation and the satisfaction of all extant ethno-communities' needs. The ethno-cultures in the educational map of divisions and districts that devolves the responsibility at local level, could bring the school and the ethno-cultural communities together for education.

A decentralized organizational structure requires a national policy guideline to accommodate all cultural heritages and national languages into the formal system of education. Such approaches should be ingrained in a nation's social purpose, codified in legislation, and embodied in all aspects of the design, finance, and research. Education, along with adequate legislation, could grant a better hope for furthering a social cohesion in such a way that children are not stampeded constantly into divided loyalties forcing them to choose between schooling and their ethno-cultural education therefore identity. Identity issues are especially important for children. They must be able to express and investigate their own ethnocultural group identity deliberately as Cameroonian citizens foremost in formal education system. To instill in children the sense of affiliation, curriculum and resources must represent the variety of the school

and of Cameroonian society. Teachers must be able to capitalize on the cultural knowledge that learners contribute to learning setting.

It is hence critical to conceive an educational approach that supports cultural variety in order to ensure meaningful relationships and a learning context. The advantages of considering the numerous instructional needs of all students in local schools, including how to leverage these variations to improve learning, should be addressed. The detailed conception and the actual execution are contingent on nation's political determination and the ensuing educational system in conjunction with ethno-cultural mapping that profiles every administrative district of as momentous factor. Thus, it is imperative to involve parents and ethno-cultural communities, to support the representation of parents and diverse ethno-cultural community groups in the conceptive development, execution and assessment of management, guidelines and strategies. Districts, schools and their communities should be encouraged to build community consultation; consultative processes that assists schools in communicating properly with their various communities' stakeholders, such as the employment of mediators, translators, and outreach services or celebration of key community events.

6.3.2 The National Curriculum and Ethno-Cultural Curricula

An archetypal curriculum should validate ethno-cultures in the country's educational map. The ethno-cultural educational map should depart from a prescribed central curriculum with fixated adherence to French and English curricular ideals and design ethno-cultural generative curricula based on international patterns in sciences of education and appropriate pedagogical scholarship. Adaptability like this should benefit from the insights of other pedagogical approaches. The objective of ethno-cultural generative curricula is to build ethno-cultural cultural identity shifting the teacher-student paradigm framed on the Freirean problem-posing education. Basic education molds learners and encourages them to be dynamic and creative. Every child is endowed with learning potentials which need to be awakened and guided by appropriate instruction and instructional materials. Additionally, it aims to teach environmental related and ethno-cultural knowledge bases, adding constructive techno-cognitive substance and relevant standards to the mix. The goal is to initiate perspectives of looking at and valuing ethno-cultures. Educational administration should recognize and appreciate ethnocultural structures, its assumptions about the world, problem-solving and communication abilities, conscientious acts, and many other key competencies.

The ethno-cultural generative curricula are a combination of equally weighted determined centralized curriculum and flexible generative local curriculum, both to be implemented according to the various local context and situations.

Determined Standardized Curriculum: The concern is conceived to guide the improvement of knowledge, skills and attitudes in learners and to set the foundation for Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and in higher grades with a focus on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). These academic disciplines need to be tailor-made, that means review of curriculum for inclusive teaching and learning; encompassing ethno-cultural content in the curriculum; provision of materials that stimulate learning, including textbooks in ethno-cultural languages involved. The teaching of the determined syllabus of Mathematic or Science should be based and start with the local environmental material to assist learners from the extant ethno-cultural and linguistic competencies.

Flexible Generative Local Curriculum: The flexible generative curriculum is supposed to be learner-centered generated out of the teacher-student interaction. The learners could explore various sources in order to determine what content should be learnt and offer a framework of issues to consider. The unscripted curriculum allows substantial time and space for learners and teacher to be creative in teaching. For learners, including primary school starters, it would mean time and space to allow their natural learning ability and creative drive to thrive and prosper. It develops the learning culture of asking questions, autonomous thinking, fertilizing creativity and connecting classroom learning and real-life - the prescribed curriculum might circumvent. Such a curriculum has the potential to be not only learner-centered but also ethno-cultural specific and environmentally related. All these curricula require a corresponding pedagogy to be implemented successfully.

6.3.3 Pedagogical Approach

The running new pedagogical approach also calls for a change of paradigm from teacher-centered and curriculum-centered to learner-centered pedagogy by appealing to thought process in line with the scheme of the classroom problem-solving situations. This approach that includes compensatory teaching, a competency-based approach and automatic/administrative promotion, is either incorrectly implemented or not implanted for it is simply not adapted to the situation of Kolara. The following should be related to the above recommended curriculum:

School Ethno-Cultural Education is a pedagogical approach that accentuates the recourse to local culture and tradition and its schemes of teaching and learning both within and outside of conventional schools. It integrates the school in the community in

such a way that the school is not seen as alien in the society. School ethno-cultural education involves the use of ethno-cultural heritages – such as storytelling, sculpture or poetry - to conceive philosophies for teaching. It resorts as well to ethno-cultural heritages to design and implement teaching tools the rural preschoolers are accustomed to; it helps moreover to build contexts for teaching and learning that rural youth are knowledgeable about. This approach bestows the opportunity to uplift student attendance, enhance motivation and knowledge content. The intellectual capital or background in terms of prior knowledge, learning and skills, which preschoolers or learners bring to the classroom could be taken into account rather than being ignored due to the assumption that all learners enroll with equivalent competences and should receive equal treatment. Seven out of eight (87.5 %) of the teachers in Kolara are Tupuri with the one of eight being of Kolara ethno-cultural background. This constitutes a great opportunity for the implementation of school ethno-cultural education if the national school program and curriculum would be flexible enough for any diversion. Since the cultures have been transmitted through the traditional community-based initiatives, traditional education's agencies, they should be integrated in the formal education process.

Reality Oriented Learning is a pedagogical approach which concentrates on implementing the real-life situations of the learners to develop knowledge and considers how learners relate to the teaching environment or learning setting. Teachers build up an understanding of student realities in order to concentrate teaching and learning based on this assumption as the instruction's vantage point. It is established on the essential assumption that learners are both expert at learning and also skilled in the learning content. In furtherance of teaching and learning, teacher and learners have to engage into the Freirian dialogical and democratic process of discovering or creating knowledge. It is an interchange of "expertise" between learners and teacher. In this reciprocal give-and-take of skill or knowledge gained from experience, training or study, the teacher has the opportunity of understanding and learning more about learners and their respective realities. And in the process, the teacher could provide a learning setting that makes room for self-expression to the extent that learners and teacher together could play a role in the configuration of learning/teaching settings and activities. Since the teacher is constantly working to build it up, the local content expertise with the learners and the ethno-cultural community is seen as part of the classroom and the school and vice versa. This approach could also boost learners' concern, attention and curiosity in the subject and increase skillfulness and knowledge

of various activities and subjects - related to Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.

Project-Based Learning is a method for involving learners in the investigation of real-life issues and difficulties. They improve their content understanding as well as problem-solving skills through these activities. This method of instruction works to engage learners who are indifferent to conventional subject by allowing them to identify and address issues in their neighborhood or the world at large. It also allows teachers and students to express themselves creatively. Students can participate in a project and learn all topics as they complete it in schools that commit to project-based learning in general. This could be a permanent project – also as learning setting - in and with the farmer's market that keep learner away from school on Wednesdays in the rural area of Kolar. In asking the learners the elements of the curriculum lessons that occur in their respective communities, teachers could incorporate these elements in the content of the teaching in such a way to involve it in a process where a typical classroom's instruction appears within the communities. In this process, learners create, question/involve parents, collaborate with peers and learn at a speed and step they are comfortable with, and implement what is learned in school and vice versa. This could address the tricky issue of children as an income generator conflicting with schooling.

6.3.4 Mother-Tongue-Based Multilingual Language(s) of Instruction

Language acquisition in multilingual settings has the potential to be both inclusive and functional. Languages ought not be disconnected from one another, but rather used together to help learners develop linguistic competence, learn multiple languages and cultures at the same time, recognize the potential synergies that emerge within and between languages and cultures in interactions, by becoming effective communicators in multilingual societies.

In the decentralization education system, administrative districts might have different language policies. Various factors are significant strides in designing language policy for national development in general, particularly language in education policy. Any language policy option should take into consideration principles and factors that have been proven to be efficient in a constructive language policy.

First of all, the ACALAN calls for a paradigm shift. Diversity and multilingualism should not be considered as liability or hindrance but rather an asset and resource in the strategies to the official development, promotion and use of local languages. Linguistic strategies which capitalize on natural proficiency of different languages are necessary

to standardize and legitimize linguistic diversity promoting community stability as well as personal and collective improvement.

Secondly, it calls for consideration of the language constellations at the regional, divisional, sub-divisional or district levels to the school level. That means each Cameroonian school's linguistic distribution is unique and requires language(s) of instruction specifically adapted to its needs. The distribution languages spoken in a location need to be addressed in the interest of elaborating an effective language policy. An appropriate language approach for education would consider and address the various characteristics of every community's linguistic reality, each school and even each classroom. There should not be a one-size-fits-all model for different linguistic contexts and learning environments in Cameroon. The multilingual education model should follow the country's decentralization policy in such a way that every single school within a village has its own language constellation based on mother language, the third henceforth ineluctable consideration.

For decades, UNESCO advocated that the learning of reading and writing is best attained through instruction in the mother tongue or the language the learner knows best (2003: 27). Echoed by ACALAN in Cameroon, mother tongue-based multilingual instruction is almost consensus amongst educationalists today. It is crucial for preschoolers to realize that the language(s) they are familiar with is (are) are given importance. Its introduction as language(s) of instruction, at least for the early years, to serve as transition that attenuates the emotional impact of the home-school/family-teacher discrepancies or to mitigate its nefarious effects. To achieve reasonable expected outcomes as already recommended by UNESCO, mother tongue instruction need to be consistent as language of instruction for as long as achievable. This raises the question of the duration mother tongue languages have to function as medium of instruction.⁸⁰ Addressing this concern leads to the fourth consideration: the judicious and methodological combination of mother tongue languages and the various languages in the constellation.

Local languages are generally treated as lesser and non-prestigious. It is imperative that the other languages in the constellation and the mother tongue interact complementarily rather than competitively or additive instead of subtractive. Each language without hierarchization plays a specific supplemental role. The key is to

⁸⁰ The mother tongue-based multilingual education, which aims mother tongue language proficiency is a variable model. The exit of mother tongue language as a medium of instruction from the school system could be early (1-3 years), medium (4-5 years), late (6-8 years), very late (more than 8 years) or not at all - remain mediums of instruction (McIlwraith, 2013: 44-46).

understand the role that languages of wider communication are playing in today's world and in Cameroon as a lingua franca among multilinguals for whom English and/or French is/are a supplementary language(s). They are thus not to be dislodged from their prominent position in the educational system and privileged position in the world for a successful participation in globalization, modernization and the dissemination of knowledge. But learning in the lingua franca approach can be postponed up to the end of third grade, and where applicable and required up to the sixth grade or secondary education.

The resulting option could be a community-related or school-related mother tongue-based education consisting of either a bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual or multilingual constellation. This could include English and French that serve as official languages, a variable regional language(s) and foremost home or mother tongue(s). The primary education should emphasize the proficiency and literacy in local languages to produce at least bilingual and bi-literate students - the essential mother tongue and French and/or English. Thus, with these considerations, it could be expected to have, depending on the linguistic constellation, mother tongue-based trilingual, quadrilingual or multilingual education, a situation that already exists in Kolara without any official promotion and valorization. The national language policy built upon an ideological pluralism, is to guarantee multilingualism through processes of revitalization and revalorization of every single language and ethno-culture as national treasures. Proficiency in French and/or English is necessary for effective engagement throughout the society as well as acquiring or sharing nationally and internationally knowledge, information and insight on various people's values, opinions and cultures. Proficiency in local language satisfies these needs regionally. Likewise, self-enrichment and self-representation require fluency in first language abilities.

7 Conclusion

In all, the formal education system of Cameroon is a system built on foreign models, namely the missionary colonial education system of German initially, later on the English and French systems. The reform attempts to the post-independence system of education have remained intrinsically attached to the English and French systems. It could not be expected to have successful outcomes in a country that is inherently and intrinsically multilingual and multicultural. The educational objectives could not be fully achieved with a national educational policy that does not clearly state the national ideology, a system deprived of a clear-cut philosophy and a trendy pedagogy implemented regardless of the local realities relying upon the curriculum and irrespective of local languages. There is a tremendous gap between formally educated and non-educated Cameroonian citizens. The educated that are products of the formal education might be open to the world but are hardly rooted in their own cultures as stated in the law on education. The formally non-educated are the result of traditional educations specific to various ethnicities that have been transmitting their respective tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

The UNESCO concept of “Intangible Cultural Heritage” appears to be a result of scientific knowledge and cultural expertise that is filtered exclusively through government agents by negotiating and operationalizing the Convention. This concept could differ from the people’s concept of cultural heritage that has been transmitted from generation to generation. Since Cameroon as a country is a construction of the Berlin conference, the evolution of its cultural heritage could not be detached from the history of Africa. Africa digressed from its initial endemic values and cultures as the “Cradle of Civilization” with “Islamic- Asian” and “Christian-European” intrusions. The pre-colonial African culture could be distinguished from the colonial and postcolonial diversified African cultures at the discretion of both internal and external influences and environmental conditions. Contemporary African cultures encompass both the traditional cultures and the centuries-old integrated external influences. In their features and variations African cultures are expressed with respect to kinship such as family, clan, ethnicity and community. Africans generally define themselves within the context of their ethnicity, often regardless of the contrived state borders. They refer to ethnic identity as supported by cultural practices, traditions, and society and to a group of people who believe to be ethnically or culturally distinct from other groups or both - hence the concept of “ethno-culture”. It is distinguished from the “Intangible Cultural

Heritage of the UNESCO Convention, which could be an opportunity or threat, depending on the socio-political or geostrategic context of ethnic communities. Independently from the Convention, Cameroonian ethno-cultures are entirely dislodged from their ancestral roots having their culture relegated to barbarism/primitivism or reduced to a subculture, absent from the formal education. However, this heritage could be a valuable resource for ethno-cultures only if it opens on to a future and provides a basis for hope through the appertaining education system. Although there are basic educational commonalities peculiar to African societies that muster them up under a whole; simple, distinctive and refined specificities single out every ethno-culture differentiating it from others.

The administrative district of Kolara offers the possibility to explore how to blend the receding ethno-cultural heritage with the formal education system in accordance with the aim of education in Cameroon and therefore could be an example of how to train citizens firmly rooted in their cultures but also open to the world. It presupposes that the current formal primary educational system is not constructive for primary school starters. On the basis of participatory research followed by systematic data collection methods, three educational heritages could be outlined: the ethno-cultural traditional educations specific to the two major ethno-cultures of the Tupuri and Fulbé and the Islamic Arabic educational heritage peculiar to Muslims, predominantly Fulbé. In interactions with these educational heritages, the formal education processes were examined in line with the Freirian Problem-posing Education and related schooling problems were identified. It appears that the formal education system is not constructive for the children of Kolara in so far as there is no consideration of their cultural particularities and their daily environment, and it is not fostering the self-determination of its children. The national cultural heritage that should be articulated in official school programmes in terms of socio-culturally relevant curricula, has been maintained, protected, safeguarded and transmitted merely through community-based initiatives, traditional and informal education. The fusion of various education systems in Kolara could be ethno-culturally specific, environmental related and learner-centered.

From the findings of this study there is a need for a clearly defined eclectic Cameroonian philosophy of education, which shares in a global educational philosophy determined by a national ideology that can accommodate various decentralized ethno-cultural ideologies. Ideally this should be part of the country's educational policy resulting from a constitutional provision, materialized in decentralized organizational structures, and operationalized through a student-centered pedagogy that requires a

situational and environmental related implementation. Such a pedagogy implies not only instruction in ethno-cultural languages, i.e. mother tongues of the children, but also the integration of various Cameroonian ethno-cultural heritages within formal education.

Further, it could be of avail to systematically investigate the level of intangible ethno-cultural knowledge, skills and competencies of preschoolers or primary school starters in Kolara and the Region. This might include the perspective of the alumni or the elites. Due to the limited number of case studies on the traditional education in connection to the formal education system in Africa, the present study could be regarded as starting point of scientific discussion on how education in Cameroon should be configured and implemented. This might also be of interest for other African countries with similar ethno-cultural configurations. Moreover, to enlarge these findings to the rest of the Cameroon, it would be necessary to draw ethno-cultural maps of other administrative divisions in order to establish the pertaining traditional educational heritages and specific linguistic configuration. From there the educational specificities could be traced, assembled, compared with each other, analyzed and finally integrated in the national education system.

8 References

- African Union** (2006): Charter for African Cultural Renaissance [https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37305-treaty-Charter for African Renaissance ENGLISH digital 0.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37305-treaty-Charter%20for%20African%20Renaissance_ENGLISH_digital_0.pdf) (Download 21st March 2015)
- Annawawi**, M. (1994): *Le Jardin des Verteux*, Dar Al-Garb Al-Islam, Beyrouth
- Adegbija, E. (2000): "Language Attitudes in West Africa", in: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 141, 75–100
- Aka, A. (2002): *British Southern Cameroons 1922-1961: Studies in Colonialism and Underdevelopment*. MD: Nkemnji GlobalTech, Plateville
- Akoulouze, R. (1984): *La Reforme de L'Enseignement Primaire au Cameroun, 1967-1984*. Mimeograph. IPAR, Yaoundé
- Alexandre, P. (1963): "Aperçu sommaire sur le pidgin A 70 au Cameroun". *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* Vol. III, No. 2: 577-582.
- Amin, J. A. (1994): *Continuity and Change in Cameroon's Education: The case of West Cameroon*. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 29, 248- 259
- Appiah, A. and Gates, H. L. (2010): *Encyclopedia of Africa*. Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Arizpe, L. & al. (2013): *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Springer-Verlag, Cham-Heidelberg – New York –Dordrecht – London
- Azevedo, M., & Janet, S. L. (1989): *Education: every citizen's right*. In M. Azevedo (Ed.), *Cameroon and Chad in historical and contemporary perspectives* (pp. 137-141). Edwin Mellen Press, New York
- Baldwin, R. & al. (2006): *Redefining Culture: Perspectives Across the Disciplines*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London
- Bender, P. and al. (2005): *In Their Own Language...Education for All*. Education Notes, World Bank.
- http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/EducationNotes/EdNotes_Lang_of_Instruct.pdf.
- Ben-Ami, S., Peled, Y., Spektorowski, A. (2000): *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern Nation State*. M, London
- Bennett, T. (1998): *Culture: A Reformer's Science*. Sage Publications, London–Thousand Oaks–New Delhi
- Bentor, E. (2019): "Warrior Masking, Youth Culture, and Gender Roles: Masks and History in Aro Ikeji Festival". *African Arts*. 52: 34–45
- Bitja'a Kody, D. (1999): "Problématique de la cohabitation des Langues". In: Mendo Ze, Gervais (éd.): *Le français langue africaine: Enjeux et atouts pour la Francophonie*. Paris: 80-95.
- Bitja'a Kody, D. (2001): "Emergence et survie des langues nationales au Cameroun". *TRANS* No. 11/2001. *Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. <http://www.inst.at/trans/11Nr/kody11.htm>.
- Bokamba, G. (1991): " French Colonial Language Policies in Africa and their Legacies". In: Marshall, David F. (ed.): *Language Planning: Focusschrift in Honor of Joshua A. Fishman*, Vol. III. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: 175-213.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009): "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method", *Qualitative Research Journal*, Vol. 9 Iss 2 pp. 27 - 40
- Bracher, M. (2006): *Radical pedagogy: Identity, generativity, and social transformation*. Palgrave MacMillan, New York, N.Y.

- Breton, R. & Foutung, B. (1991): Atlas administratif des langues nationales du Cameroun. ACCT, CEREDOTOLA, CREA, MESIRES, Programme DYLAN, Paris & Yaoundé
- Brockway, F. (1963): African Socialism. The Bodley Head, London
- Cameroon Today (2016): Education in Cameroon – The Cameroon Education System <http://www.cameroon-today.com/education-in-cameroon.html> Stand of September 2016
- Cameroon, (1998): Law No.98/004 of 14 April 1998 to Lay Down Guidelines for Education in Cameroon. In Cameroon Tribune No. 6580 Friday 17th April 1998.
- Chancellor, W. (1987): The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 B.C to 2000 A.D. Third World Press, Chicago
- Chesterfield, R. (1997): Classroom Observation Tools. Institute for International Research / Improving Educational Quality Project. (www.ieq.org)
- Chuo, K. & Walter, S. (2011): The Kom Experimental Mother Tongue Education Project Report for 2011
- Chumbow, S. B. (1996): The Role of National Languages within a Comprehensive Language Policy for Cameroon. Academic Discourse presented at the University of Buea.
- Chumbow, B.S. (2011): "African Renaissance and National Development in the Age of Knowledge Economy. Keynote Address. Conference on African Renaissance, Integration, Unity and Development, University of South Africa.
- Coleman, H (2010) : English in Development. British Council, London
- Conklin, A. (1997): A Mission to civilize. The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-919, Stanford University Press, Stanford
- Cohen, R. (1978): Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology, Annual Review of Anthropology 7: 383-384 Stanford University Press, Palo Alto
- Craven, M. (2015): Between Law and History: The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the Logic of Free Trade. London Review of International Law 3, London
- Cummins, J. (2003): Bilingual Children's Mother Tongue: Why is it Important for Education? SPROG Forum, 15–20.
- Dasen, P.R. & Akkari, A. (2008): Introduction: Ethnocentrism in education and how to overcome it. In PR Dasen and A. Akkari (Eds.). Educational theories and practices from the Majority World (pp. 7-48). Sage, New Delhi, India
- Davis, R., & Freire, P. (1981): Education for awareness: a talk with Paulo Freire. In R. Mackie (Ed.), Literacy and revolution: the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (pp. 57-69). The Continuum Publishing Company, New York.
- DeLancey, M. W. & DeLancey, M. D. (2000): Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon (3rd ed.). The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Maryland
- Deltombe, T. (2011): Kamerun! Une guerre cachée aux origines de la Françafrique (1948 - 1971). La Découverte, Paris
- Dewey, J. (1916): Democracy and Education. An introduction to the philosophy of education (1966 edn.). Free Press, New York
- Diop, C. A. (1987): Precolonial Black Africa: A Comparative Study of the Political and Social Systems of Europe and Black Africa, from Antiquity to the Formation of Modern States. Lawrence Hill & Company, Westport, Connecticut
- Diop, C. A. (1981): Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology. Lawrence Hill Books, Brooklyn, New York
- Diop, C. A. (1963): The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: The Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity. Karnak House, London
- Droz, G. (1992): Les mythes platoniciens. Le Seuil, Paris

- Durkheim, E. (1968): *Education et Sociologie*. PUF, Paris
- Echu, G. (2003): Multilingualism as a resource: The lexical Appropriation of Cameroon Indigenous Languages by English and French. *TRAPS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*.
- Eggen & Kauchak (1992): *Education Psychology: Classroom Connections*. Macmillan, New York
- Ember, C. R. & Ember, M. (2005): Explaining Corporal Punishment of Children: A Cross-Cultural Study. *American Anthropologist*, 107(4), 609–619.
- Englebert, P. & Dunn, K. (2013): *Inside African Politics*. Lynne Rienner, London
- Esch, E. (2012): "English and French pedagogical cultures: convergence and divergence in Cameroonian primary school teachers' discourse", in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 48, No. 3, August 2012, p. 303-321. Routledge, Oxford.
- Estacion, A. et al. (2004): *Conducting Classroom Observations in First Things First Schools*. Mdrcc – Building knowledge to improve social policy (www.mdrcc.org)
- Eyongetah, T. & Brain, R. (1974): *A history of the Cameroon*. Longman Group, London
- Fanon, F. (1963): *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press, New York
- Fasold, R. W. (1984): *The sociolinguistics of society*. Basil Blackwell Ltd., New York
- Fleminger, D. (2008): *The Cradle of Humankind*. 30° South Publishers, Johannesburg
- Fonkeng, G. E. (2007): *The History of Education in Cameroon: 1884-2004*. Queenstown Lampester. The Edwin Mellen Press, New York
- Fonlon, B. N. et al., (eds.) (1982): *ABBIA: Cameroon Cultural Review*. No. 38, 39, 40. CEPER, Yaoundé
- Fonlon, B. (1963): A Case for Early Bilingualism. *ABBIA*, 4, 56-94.
- Freire, P (1998): *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, PA
- Freire, P. (1992): *Pedagogy of hope: reliving pedagogy of the oppressed* (R. R. Barr, Trans. 2004 ed.). Continuum Publishing Company, New York
- Freire, P. (1988): "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom and Education and Conscientizacao." In *Perspectives on Literacy*, ed. Eugene R. Kintgen, Barry M. Kroll, and Mike Rose, pp. 398–409. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL
- Freire, P. (1985): *The politics of education: culture, power, and liberation* (D. Macedo, Trans.). Bergin & Garvey, South Hadley, Massachusetts
- Freire, P. (1982b): *Extension or communication* (Bigwood L. & Marshall, M. Translation). In *Education for critical consciousness* (pp. 93-164). The Continuum Publishing Company, New York.
- Freire, P. (1982a): *Education as the practice of freedom* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). In *Education for critical consciousness* (pp. 1-84). New York: The Continuum Publishing Company
- Freire, P. (1978): *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bisseau*. Seabury, New York
- Freire, P. (1974): *Education for Critical Consciousness*. Continuum, London
- Freire, P. (1970): *The Education of the Oppressed*. Seabury Press, New York
- Friedland & all (1964): *African Socialism*. Stanford University Press, California
- Gaillard, P. (1994): *Ahmadou Ahidjo - Patriote et despote, bâtisseur de l'Etat camerounais*. Groupe Jeune Afrique, Paris
- Garforth, F.W. (1962): *Education and Social Purpose*. Oldbourne, London

- Giroux, H. (2005): *Broder Crossing: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (2nd Ed.) Routledge Publishing, London
- Hall, L.E. (2005): *Dictionary of Multicultural Psychology: Issues Terms, and Concepts*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA
- Hamadou, Y. (2006): *Nouvelles stratégies des écoles coraniques au Cameroun*. <http://nordcameroun.canalblog.com/archives/2006/03/10/1498149.html>
- Hampâté Bâ, A. (1972): *Aspects de la civilisation africaine*. Editions Presence Africaine, Paris
- Hardman, F. & al. (2008) *Pedagogical renewal: improving the quality of classroom interaction in Nigerian primary schools*. *International Journal of Educational Development* 28/1: 55–69.
- Harris, W.V. (1999): "Demography, Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves", *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1999.
- Heugh, K. (2013) "Navigating contested space, time and position: ethnographic research in bilingual and trilingual education systems of Ethiopia", in: Shoba, J.A. and Chimbutane, F. (eds) *Bilingual Education and Language Policy in the Global South*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Heugh, K. (2010): *Productive engagement with linguistic diversity in tension with globalized discourses in Ethiopia*. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 11/4: 378–396.
- Hinton, L. (2001): "Language Revitalization: An Overview", pp. 3-18, in Hinton, L. & Hale, Ken (Eds.). (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. Academic Press, San Diego
- Human Development Report (2004): *Cultural liberty in today's diverse world*. UNDP, New York
- Ilboudo, P (2009): *L'éducation bilingue au Burkina Faso. Une formule alternative pour une éducation de base de qualité. (Expériences africaines études de cas nationales 11)*. Tunis: ADEA.
- IPAR, Buea (1983): *IPAR-Buea, Annual Report, North West and South West Provinces for 1983/84*, NAB
- IPAR, Buea (1977): *IPAR-Buea, Institute for the Reform of Primary Education: Report on the Reform of Primary Education*" National Archives Buea 1977, NAB
- IPAR, Buea (1976): *IPAR Buea, Annual Report for 1976/77*, NAB
- James, C. L. R. (1963): *The Black Jacobins* (2nd ed.). Vintage Books, New York
- Jaurès, J. (1910): *Chambre des députés* in (1992) *Pages choisies*. Rieder, Paris
- Kane C. H. (1961): *L'aventure Ambigüe*. Jillard, Paris
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006): "World Heritage and Cultural Economics", in: Karp, Ivan; Kratz, Corinne (with Buntinx, Gustavo; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara; Rassool, Ciraj; Szwaja, Lynn; Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás) (Eds.): *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. Duke University Press, Durham
- Kouega, J. P. (1999): *Forty Years of Official Bilingualism in Cameroon: An appraisal*. *English Today*, 15(4), 38- 43.
- Kolyang, D. T., Temga, J.; and Wayang, I. (1999): *La Culture Tpuri: Techniques de chasse, de pêche et objets d'art*. Les Cahiers de KA'ARANG, Guider
- Kroeber, A.L. & Kluckhohn, C. (1952): *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Peabody Museum, Cambridge
- Kum'a Ndumbé III (2007): *L'Afrique s'annonce au rendez-vous, la tête haute! AfricAvenir / Exchange & Dialogue*, Berlin
- Kum' a Ndumbé III (2007): *L'Afrique s'annonce au rendez-vous, la tête haute! AfricAvenir / Exchange & Dialogue*, Berlin

- La Belle, T.J. (1982): Formal, Non-formal and Informal Education: A Holistic Perspective on Lifelong Learning. *International Review of Education*, 28(2): 159-175
- Langer, W. (1935): *A Critique of Imperialism*. Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., New York
- Lebigre, J-M., (2016): *Petite encyclopédie du Grand Sud de Madagascar*. Presse Universitaire de Bordeaux, Bordeaux
- Le Vine, V. T. (1964): *The Cameroons: From mandate to independence*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles
- Martin, G. (2012): *African Political Thought*. Palgrave MacMillan, New York
- Mason, T.F. (1985): Towards a philosophy of pluralism. In P.O. Bodunrin (Ed.), *Philosophy in Africa: Trends and perspectives* (pp. 105-127). University of Ife Press, Ile-Ife
- Mazrui, A. & Wondji, C. (1998): *Histoire Générale de l’Afrique. Présence – VIII. L’Afrique Depuis 1935*. Africaine, Paris
- M’bokolo, E. (1998): "The Impact of the Slave Trade on Africa", *Le Monde diplomatique*, 2 April 1998.
- Mbuagbaw, T. E. (2000): "Language and Education in Cameroon: A Sociolinguistic Perspective". *African Journal of Applied Linguistics (AJAL)* No.1: 135-145.
- McLaren, P. (1989): *Life in schools*. White Plains, Longman, New York
- McIlwraith, H. (2013): *Multilingual Education in Africa: Lesson from the Juba Language-in-Education Conference*. British Council, London
- Meinecke, F. (1970): *Cosmopolitanism and National State*. Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Meskell, L. (2010): "Conflict Heritage and Expert Failure", in: Labadi, Sophia; Long, Colin (Eds.): *Heritage and Globalisation*. Routledge (192–201), London–New York
- Miller, C. L. (1990): *Theories of Africans: Francophone literature and anthropology in Africa*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- MINATD (2013): *Plan Communal de Developpement de Moulvoudaye*, Yaoundé
- MINEDUB (2018): *Cameroon Primary School Curriculum - Level 1: Class 1 & Class 2*. Ministry of Basic Education, Yaoundé
- MINEDUC/ADB (2004): *The Evaluation of the Pilot Experiment on the Reduction of Class Repetition in Cameroon Primary Schools*, Yaoundé.
- MINEDUC (2002): *Compensatory Teaching and Automatic Promotion in Primary Schools*. Ministry of National Education, Yaoundé
- MINEDUC (2001): *Education Project II: Compensatory Teaching*, Yaoundé
- MINEDUC (1994): *Preparation for the National Forum of Education*. Ministry of National Education, Yaoundé
- MINEDUC (1984): *La Réforme de L’Enseignement Primaire au Cameroon: Bilan 1967-1984 et Strategies de Relance*. National Centre of Education, Yaoundé
- Moore, L. (2006): "Learning by Heart in Qur'anic and Public Schools in Northern Cameroon." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practices* Vol. 50 Issue 3: 106–126.
- Neba, A. S. (1987): *Modern geography of the Republic of Cameroon*. Neba Publishers, Camden
- Ndille, R. (2015). From adaptation to ruralisation in Cameroon education policy, 1922-2002: Replacing six with half a dozen. *African Educational Research Journal*, 3(3): 153-160.
- Ngoh, V. J. (1988): *Cameroon 1884-1985: A Hundred Years of History*, Navy-Group Publications, Limbe, Cameroon
- Ngoh, V. J. (1996): *The History of Cameroon Since 1800*. Pressbook, Limbe

- Njock, B. (1966): Le problème linguistique au Cameroun. *L'Afrique et L'Asie*, 73, 3-13.
- Njong, M., & Kamguia, J. M. (2006): Structural reform measures and primary school enrolment in Cameroon. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 8 (1): 1-15.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. PANAFA, London
- Nkrumah, K. (1964): *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation And Development with Particular Reference to the Africa Revolution*. Monthly Review Press, New York
- Nsamenang, A. B. & Tchombe, M. T. (2011): *Handbook of African Educational Theories and Practices: A Generative Teacher Education Curriculum*. Human Development Resource Centre (HDRC). Yaounde: Press Universitaire d'Afrique
- Nyerere, J. (1968): *Ujamaa: The essay on socialism*. Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam
- O'Sullivan, T. & al. (1983): *Key Concepts in Communication*. Methuen, London
- O'Toole, T. (2001): The historical context. In A. A. Gordon and D. L. Gordon (Eds.), *Understanding contemporary Africa*. Lynne Rienner, London
- Quane, A. & Glanz, C. (2010): *Why and How Africa should invest in African Languages and Multilingual Education – An evidence- and practice-based policy advocacy brief*. UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, Hamburg
- Peoples, J. & Bailey, G. (2010): *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (9th ed.). Cengage learning, Wadsworth
- Quinn, F. E. (1989): Rain forest encounters: The Beti meet the Germans. In M. Njeuma (Ed.), *Introduction to the history of Cameroon in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (pp. 88-105). Macmillan, London
- Republic of Cameroon (1998): Law No. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 to Lay Down Guidelines for Education in Cameroon.
- Richards, J. & Rodgers, T. (2001): *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Ruelland, S. (2002): Paroles sur l'enfance chez les Tupuri (Tchad) In: *Journal des africanistes*, tome 72, fascicule 1. pp. 53-72
- Rudin, H. R. (1938): *Germans in the Cameroons*. Yale University Press, New Haven
- Said, E. (1993): *Culture and Imperialism*. Chatto & Windous, London
- Said, E. (1979): *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, New York
- Seignobos, C. and Tourneux, H. (2002): *Le Nord-Cameroun à travers ses mots: Dictionnaire des termes anciens et modernes*. IRD Editions et KARTHALA, Paris
- Shor, I., & Freire, P. (1987): *A pedagogy for liberation: dialogues on transforming education*. Bergin & Garvey Publishers, South Hadley, Massachusetts
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2001): The Globalisation of (Educational) language rights *International Review of Education*, Volume 47, Issue 3–4, pp 201–219
- Smith, L. & Akagawa, N. (2009): *Intangible Heritage*. New York: Routledge
- Smith, W. (1973): *Nyerere of Tanzania*. Victor Gollanz, London
- Smits, J, and al. (2008): Home language and education in the developing world. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2009, UNESCO
- Sow, A. A. (1993): *Fulani Poetic Genres*. Indiana University Press, Indiana
- Stumpf, R. (1979): *La politique linguistique au Cameroun de 1884 à 1960: Comparaison entre les administrations coloniales allemande, française et britannique et du rôle joué par les sociétés missionnaires*. Éditions Peter Lang, Berne

- Tadadjeu, M. (2004): Language, Literacy and Education in African Development: A Perspective from Cameroon. Literacy and Education. doi: 10.1.1.489.1565
- Tambo, L. (2000): Strategic concerns in Curriculum Development in Cameroon. In: Ndongko, Therese and Tambo, Leke. (eds) Educational Development in Cameroon 1961-1999. MD: Nkemnji Global Tech, Platville
- Tchombe, T.M. (2001): Structural Reforms in Education in Cameroon. Unpublished Policy Paper
- Tchombe, T. M. (1999): "Structural Reforms in Education in Cameroon" retrieved from <http://www.educationdev.net/educationdev/Docs/Cameroon.PDF>
- Tchombe, T.M. (1998): Progressive transformative teacher education in Cameroon. [online]. Available from: <http://www.ejournal.aiaer.net/vol22210/5.T.M.%20Tchombe.PDF> [Accessed September 2014].
- The Commissioner (2015): Personal Interview
- The Curriculum expert (2015): Personal Interview
- The Custodians (2015): Group Interview
- The Teacher (2017): Personal Interview
- The World Bank, Human Development Network (2006): Language of learning, language of instruction. Implications for achieving Education for All. The World Bank, New York
- Todd, L. (1983): Language Options for Education in a Multilingual Society: Cameroon. In C. Kennedy (Ed.), Language Planning and Language Education. (pp. 160–171). George Allen and Unwin, London
- Tomasevski, K. (2006): "Free or Fee: 2006 Global Report – The State of the Right to Education Worldwide", Copenhagen
- Tourneux, H. & Iyebi-Mandjek, O. (1994): L'école dans une petite ville africaine (Maroua, Cameroun). Karthala, Paris
- Transparency International (2010): Africa Education Watch – Good Governance Lesson Primary Education. Transparency International, Berlin
- Tsing, A. (1993): In the Realm of the Diamond Queen. Princeton University Press, Princeton
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics** (2009): Information Sheet No. 1. Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics. UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Montréal, Québec
- UNESCO**, (2006): Strong foundations. Early childhood care and education. EFA Global Monitoring Report. UNESCO, Paris
- UNESCO**, (2005): Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2006: Literacy for Life – The Leap to Equality. UNESCO, Paris
- UNESCO**, (2003): Education in a multilingual world. Education Position Paper. UNESCO, Paris
- UNESCO** (2003): Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 17 October 2003, Paris <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf> (Download 21st March 2010)
- UNESCO** (2001): Definitions for intangible cultural heritage Member State, 8 March 2001 <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00078-EN.pdf> (Download 1st October 2010)
- UNESCO (2000): Report of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee 24th Session 26 June-1 July. UNESCO, Paris
- UNESCO**, (1999): Declaration on Science and the Use of Scientific Knowledge. World Conference on Science. UNESCO, Budapest, Hungary

UNESCO (1953): The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education. In: United Nations, (2002): Report of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August-4 September 2002. United Nations, New York.

United Kingdom (1958): Report by His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Cameroons under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the year 1958. HMSO, London

United Nation General Assembly 18 December 1992 A/RES/47/135

Van Santen, J. (2013) Should a Good Muslim Cover her Face? Pilgrimage Veiling and Fundamentalism in Cameroon. In Renne, E. (Ed.): Veiling in Africa. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana

Vernon-Jackson, H. O. H. (1967): Language, schools and government in Cameroon. Teachers College Press, New York

West Cameroon (1962): West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: Education Department Statistics at 31st December 1962. Government Press, Buea

Wolf, H. (1997): "Transcendence of Ethnic Boundaries: The Case of the Anglophones in Cameroon". Journal of Sociolinguistics 1(3): 419-426

9 Appendix

Interview Guidelines with the Curriculum Expert

“The present study aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in rural area. At this step of study you and expertise are the focus. We are interest in your opinion and your experience as Curriculum expert. You could begin for example by describing how the school curriculum comes to existence. Please tell us everything that you believe is relevant.”

Impulses	Specific questions	Checklists
<p>Education and the cultural particularities of the children</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Could please describe to what extend the present national school curriculum takes into consideration the cultural particularities of pupils? - Does the educational system consider it as learning “prerequisite” the children bring from informal and non-formal educations? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oral traditions/expressions - Performing arts - Social practices, Ritual and festive - Knowledge and practices concerning nature & universe - Traditional craftsmanship - Pre-school practices - Pre-school Knowledge - Pre-school expressions - Pre-school representations - Pre-school skills
<p>The local environment into the formal educational system</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does the curriculum take into consideration the daily environment of the children? - Your opinion on the debate about the ruralization respectively the professionalization of the formal education? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local climate - Local soil - Local water - Local energy supply - Local resources - Agriculture - Farming - Traditional work skills
<p>Learners’ self-determination</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How could you describe the focus of the educational reform on the learner, reducing the authority of educators? - Do you think that the educational reform by proscribing corporal punishment has the same focus? - Could you please explain or describe this impetus? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definition of respect - Perception of the authority in the society - Learner determining their learning interest - Learner creativity -Learner independent learning
<p>Closing question: Is there anything you want to add? Something important we might have forgotten to mention...</p>		

Interview with curriculum experts April 2015 – English translation from the video in French

As an expert in developing school curriculum would you please describe to what extent the present national school curriculum takes into consideration the cultural particularities of pupils? Does the educational system consider it as learning “prerequisite” the children bring from informal and/or non-formal educations?

Generally, about the program, there are objectives that are fixed beforehand. The president of the republic gives a general orientation of the whole republic and every sector tries to meet together to design technical orientations to implement the political orientations. There are general objectives that we translate pedagogically into learning objectives. In 1998, we had the general state of education in Cameroon. It was a kind of forum with some various participants coming from different horizons that decide on the education generally. This forum came out with a law on the educational orientation that determines exactly in which domain and how education has to function in Cameroon. After the forum, we developed in 2000 in the “Ministry of primary education” the first programs for the primary education to respond to these orientations. These programs are designed on the objective-based approach, program that has objective and content as far as discipline is concerned. We need to know the Cameroonian educational has two sub systems. The pedagogical approach was not quite the same and the vision was not until that time the same. However, we try to translate in both systems the above-mentioned law. Therefore, the program that is run in primary schools in Cameroon is developed by Cameroonian education specialists, chosen from primary education of teacher training colleges, with the support of French cooperation came and sat down together to design those programs. As I said these programs are based on the objective-based approach. Therein we have subjects such as Sciences, Mathematics and French language including its different components, Social Science (History Geography and even Environmental Science). These programs function till today. Meanwhile, there are innovations that come into the system in particular the technology of information and communication. As a matter of fact, in 2007 we developed another program dedicated only to these new technologies taught theoretically in the schools. Besides there are innovations concerning human rights and the fight against HIV virus and AIDS - that are also part of the small additive programs. To recapitulate, there has been a general with all disciplines complemented with other ones. This is how the program is presented today in Cameroon. But I have to say straight away that we are in the process of reforming those programs thus a lot of things could be changed. In the meantime, even on the national political level there has been also evolution, teaching programs should be adapted to this evolution as far as approach, content and disciplines are concerned. This is how the teaching program generally looks. Now concerning their implementation, meaning the concrete activities in the classrooms. Teachers are asked to cover this program during the school year. Besides we have schoolbooks we use. All those books are based on this program. However, we have a commission specialized in approval of schoolbooks. One of the requirements of the publisher, is to cover the highest percentage of the official program contained in the syllabus. Even when it comes to evaluation of the teaching in schools we refer to this program. Do what the teachers do correspond with is inscribed in the program? What have they covered at this period of the school year? This is what I have to say globally about where the programs come from, how they are conceived and how are they used in classrooms. Concerning the contents, there are already disciplines that are classic, French English and Mathematics... Because the main important objective of the orientation law demand that a product of Cameroonian educational is to be rooted to its culture however opened to the world. We are trying to convey this in the school program. This weakness of the program in 2000 is that, it does not integrate the aspect of the cultural assimilation. In these programs, there is nothing that concerns for example national language. Nothing. There is almost nothing that concerns national culture. One knows that Cameroon is a country diversified in its culture. These programs are not paid attention to the national cultural diversity in their singular aspect, it encompasses some aspects of the culture but focusing more on national integration in terms of civic education, morals and citizenship education. The specific aspects of every national culture is not truly taken into consideration in the current teaching program. In perspective, we have a reforming approach because the programs that are in the process of development will considerably take definitely these specifics aspects into account, national language and national culture. I said in a very general manner if you happen to have an exact point you want to focus on, we can talk about.

You said that the approval and even the adjustment to political context, these are variables in the establishment or improvement of the school program. You said as well that there are shortcomings concerning the cultural particularities. Are these particularities taken into consideration when it comes to preschoolers? They are coming with knowledge specific to their cultural particularities is this taken into consideration in the elaboration of the program?

We have here some problems that are specific to Cameroon. The first one is the linguistic problem. We have on the one side the Francophone culture, on the other Anglophone, and the official languages are French and English. The official program emphasizes more on these aspects of the use of those languages because they are the languages of the administrative work. That is not purely on the cultural domain. Now the other problem is there is a multiplicity of languages implying multiplicity of cultures. Besides that, in the Cameroonian way of life there are two modalities: there are some who live in rural areas and others in urban areas. The problems are defined in relation to the area we found ourselves. When a child goes from home to school, he is going empty headed; now it depends on the geographic location of this child. If he happens to be in a rural area, almost no problem arises, because everyone in the village speaks the same language, the same cultures. There is no a big problem in this case, but the current program - that does not take into consideration this phenomenon of languages and cultures - does not tackle the question of the knowledge the child brings with him from home, either to valorize it or not. This is one of the main issues. Following the same idea, the child from an urban area, the problem is more crucial. Why? Because when we speak of a school in Yaounde, Daoula Garoua or Bamenda, in reality you would probably find in those schools the whole Cameroon, children coming from a variety of regions East, West, North, South... thus a variety of language and cultures. If we are to introduce a cultural element in such schools, you see, knowing that there is a background of a political problem. For instance, if in a school found in Garoua (Nord Region), we decide to teach Bassa (a national language from the Littoral Region), one could imagine the problems it would generate? And if on the contrary we introduce Foulfoulfe, the most spoken local language in the Nord Region, what about the child from Douala or Nkongsamba, you see the problem that it might create? Hence, we have these real difficulties. For the coming program, in process of being established, we are asking ourselves how to handle this issue. Are we planning to use national languages as subjects of learning, language of instruction or as a tool for learning? The first problematic concerning the national language is knowing that it is the most important element that vehicles national culture as well. The question is to use those languages as subject of learning, I mean that we will teach and learn them or we will use them as language of instruction, instrument of teaching and learning meaning that we learn Science or Mathematics in Foulfoulde or Bassa. You see the point? We are in full reflection on this aspect at level of the ministry of education, because behind the teaching of the language we have the teaching of language. As I said previously there a political issue: for example, if we decide to use a language for the national television to broadcast the news in national language, which language do we use? If we do that in Foulfoulde, Bamilike would not be satisfied, if we do it in Bamilike, Bassa would not be satisfied and so on. Cameroon is in a very complicated case on the cultural domain. However, the thought is in process and in progress for the children in rural areas, there are fewer problems. The schools will try to help those kids to safeguard their cultures. We will have in schools either people to teach the culture of the village, or in the village resorts to expert or resource people to teach the aspect of the language, proverbs, the notion of the culture of the village, the story/history of how the villages came to be. On this side, there is no problem. Our brainteaser is in the urban areas. However, people researching on that specific domain managed to identify a bunch of languages spoken by a lot of people. In the big Nord, there is Foulfoulde for example. Those researchers believe that if we teach Foulfoulde in the school, even if the child is Guiziga or Toupouri, they might not have a problem with that. This is how it might work. There are planning to initiate cultural zones trying to get them into groups. Yaounde is zone Beti, the Ewondo language is somehow understood. This is how it should work. We are looking for solutions to this problem. The school as far as the new program is concerned will take into consideration the cultural background the child brings from home and on the way to school, to allow the school to safeguard it. As I said earlier, one of the essential points in the orientation law is to have Cameroonians rooted to their cultures and opened to the world, including everything it means. When I am rooted to my culture, it means I safeguard my culture, but without paying attention to the world. To be opened to the world I need to communicate with the world in the language the

world understands. This is the reason why we emphasize on French and English. At secondary level, this changes because they have to learn German, Spanish, Chinese or Arabic.

All those languages are taught except local languages?

Yes, in the secondary school the local languages are taught, there is even a course, a Faculty at the teaching training college opened for that matter, training secondary school teachers to teach Cameroonian cultures. There is real progress in this direction.

Is it from the 9th grade?

No, it is even from the beginning of the secondary school, meaning from the 7th grade until the 13th grade. It is not a secondary language, it is principal language in the same way as French and English.

What is your opinion on this as an expert?

I also have difficulties with my kids because they are all growing up and going to school in Yaoundé. At the beginning, they were speaking our language at home, but now they are principally speaking French. That hurts me because I see the break, the rupture with the cultural link, local and national. In this way, we can have OMI (Office de Migration International: International office for Migration) people without cultural base, which are neither American, French nor Cameroonian, just a race like this, people that rove like this. I personally believe it is indispensable and important not only to teach our culture but also to safeguard and practice it. There is no point of learning if we do not happen to practice them it. In fact, we can teach it for pleasure, but children need to practice it.

What is trend?

When I observe the Cameroonian educational sphere/realm everyone is concerned with the problem of national culture and national language. It means there is a serious problem that people are willing to tackle uncompromisingly. Whatever program we reform, whatever program we design, we have to know that the point of national culture and national language is a fundamental element and a real issue. It is requested, I could even say demanded.

The approval of the program depends on what? Are the authors locals?

This is the domain I am in. I am one of them. This is what I wrote for example, the latest publication. What I perfectly and pertinently can assert to you is that all those authors are Cameroonians. However, there are various publishers, local and foreign. All of us work with local authors who are all teachers or have a teaching education concerning schoolbooks. Notwithstanding, like I said before book refers to the program, as the program does not focus on national culture and national language, you cannot find a schoolbook in the primary school in local language. There are books that exist. At the moment, there is no program for the national culture and Cameroonian language. You will not find a schoolbook at the primary level dealing with this issue. In the program to come we will take into consideration this aspect. It is such an important issue that there is a special administrative management that is taking care of it, and an inspection of pedagogy that are dealing with this issue. Therefore, it is just a matter of time, automatically we will have it soon.

There is a debate on the ruralization, professionalization of the education. How does the Cameroonian educational system integrate the environment of the child, the UNIVERSE in which the child lives? Does the school help to transform this environment?

Actually, our endeavor both in teaching and the development of schoolbooks is - as close as possible - to the world in which the child lives. What is this universe? Firstly, the home, and then you have the village and quarter, the way to school and finally the school. So, you have those four places, milieus that are privileged both in teaching programs and the conception of schoolbooks. Everything that we develop as a teaching situation is based on those four places, because we believe that we could not be talking about things that are away from the environment of the child. However, we have a problem in Cameroon. At the moment both the programs and schoolbooks are national. We take a book like the one I gave you, it does not take the specificity of a precise place. What we trying to do is to overcome the global concern. If one had the possibility to conceive schoolbook for the specific regions that deals in depth with the specificities of this region without ignoring that this Region is also a part of Cameroon (taking in this regard national elements) that would be great. We have not yet reached this level; it means proper complete decentralization. However, both schoolbooks and programs are trying to take into consideration the living environment of the child, both in rural and urban areas. The children in the rural areas have to know what is going on in the city so in the book we will talk of taxis, planes, television, internet... and for those who are in the cities we talk about plantation and the life in the village. This is the approach that we have at the moment. We take it into

consideration but it is not specific enough. It is not specific, it encompasses the global Cameroonian environment.

At the end of the primary school is a child ready to make good use of the knowledge they got from the school because the objective of education is to integrate into life independently? Is the child able to transform to its environment and deal with it accordingly?

The competences we are trying to impart and develop in children are basic necessity for life in all domains. We have to understand that the objective of the primary school is not to train professional, the primary does not make them fit to go and work. It provides essential elements in order to be able to live in a given environment. That means, if inadvertently the child is not able to continue schooling, he is still equipped to be able to live. For example, if the child lives in the village, he has acquired basic necessity on agriculture, knowing what is germination, how to plant; basic knowledge for his health, basic knowledge of the world, he knows the world exists, that there are continents. Primary provides the basic element indispensable for life. As proof (as far as I know, it has changed maybe) there are competitive exams that require CEPE - the certificate that ends primary school. It helps to become a policeman. That means with this knowledge he might ease his way into life, but this is not the aim. The aim is not to train the children to go and work, it is to provide them with skills to be able to continue with the schooling but also to be able live in a given environment.

Is the local knowledge integrated in the program? We know they are practical activities an hour a week in the first level as supplement of knowledge?

The idea at the beginning of the program is to make the educational project, a project that integrates the whole environment of the child. The child at the primary school lives in an environment and be able to act on this environment. The practical activities matter so as to benefit from the environment he is living in, in order to be able to transform this environment. If a child is in a village where there is a blacksmith, he should be benefiting from the experience of the latter to have basic knowledge on this job, that means to be able to manufacture some tools. This could be the same with the carpenter. To extend the pedagogical project the idea is to draw on one's environment in which the child lives, take the element of this environment to use it on his own not only to be able to be integrated in this environment but also to change it based on the found elements. Therefore, if a child is involved in practical activities, he has to acquire knowledge in various domains (art, plastic art...) in case he happens to quit school he could have the possibility to cope on his own. Unfortunately, the weakness of our program at this level is that our teachers are not well equipped in their training to put it into practice. To teach painting, one needs knowledge in this domain from the training, which is not the case, because their training does not put emphasis on it. It has not been taken into consideration by those who conceived it, thus the weakness in their implementation.

The interaction between the actors of the education

There is a good interaction between the stakeholders. The terms and conditions of this interaction could vary from one place to another, from one institution to another or from one actor to another. First of all, we have the relationship between school and family, the principal actors in the educational action of a child. Then what do we observe in our environment? We have the impression the pedagogical project that is supposed to involve these two actors is not integrated, that means there is no real link between family and school concerning teaching and learning. That is to say the school does its job, the family tries somehow to follow for different reasons – I have not done any research on it. You would observe that as a teacher – I am a teacher, I was teaching- when the parents happen to bring their children, they abandon them to the teacher, the school has to find a way to deal with them. At a pinch what some parents do, when children come home, they check if they have done their homework. There are many terms and conditions, many parameters that come into account. There is level of instruction from the parents, some are very busy, and do not have time to see what the children are doing, to accompany them. At this level, the interaction exists but is very weak in the academic support of the child. If a child could find between these two environments that become integrated, and complement each other, it would be very astounding. What I am saying is what I believe for I have not done any research on it; it is based on my own empirical observation.

Now the relationship between the student and the teacher pedagogical supervision, here there is no problem at all. The relationship is very good. This relationship is very strong because both are implicated in the process. The teacher is compelled to take care of the child and the child has to follow what the teacher says. In fact, it is not a teacher-student relation but teacher-

student-knowledge. This relationship is bound to be strong, very strong, because we benefit something that could be cultural. The African gives a very important value to a child. The child is very important in the life of African. The teacher that receives a child in school is not only a teacher, but also a parent, he takes care of the development of the child both at the academic level and cultural one. What I observed particularly in schools in the rural areas is that, it luckily happens that the teacher speaks the language of the village. Although it is not enshrined in the program, if the child is stuck or happens not to understand the teacher resorts to the local language to make him understand. This is what we experience often. Again, in the rural areas, as the teacher is totally integrated in the area, he knows the parents, the people of the village... It is such a very closed circle that inexorably everybody is taking good care of the children. Now there is another relation when the teacher is the hierarchy we have a vertical relation, which is hierarchical. At this level, we have to respect the hierarchy in a top-down direction. Institutions in Cameroonian system are more top-down. This is how it is presented.

Is the relation between the teacher and the student not top-down?

The effort we are making (our endeavor) now in the classroom is that this relationship should not be top-down. Occasionally it is top-down and it should be actually sometimes top-down. There are moments that you have to be dogmatic. In the new paradigm of our teaching system today, we emphasize on the learning. The difficulties of the child bring this situation. The teacher is like a coach that guides a child in the relation the child has with the knowledge. The teacher is there as a kind of mediator, intermediary between both. Of course, at certain moments it is top-down, but we ask them to make it bottom-up, that means it is the child that expresses his needs. He expresses his need through his work – the way now you are doing your research. From his work, the teacher would come to realize that here is a problem, there is a problem, because it is difficult for a child to tell the teacher that “I do not understand this sentence”. These are the technics given to the teacher in their training.

What do you think about the relation parent-children, teacher – student, elder-children that are usually expressed as authority, often ends up by corporal punishment? Is it still practiced or not?

This is a very delicate problem. Situations are changing and there is evolution all over the world - in my opinion, and this is personal – we should make an effort to understand every human being in his own right. It is not because I am more integrated than my child that I have to remonstrate all the time. Although I have life experience, I should not impose on him my own views. When it is in a formal teaching framework it is the teacher that holds the knowledge though, whether we like it or not. Even in the daily life situation the teacher is the master (maître) - as the name indicates - and even in morally speaking he is an example, role model. That means for me the corporal punishment –it is not because it is proscribed / banned - I do not find it indispensable. Except in certain extreme cases where the corporal punishment is very important. In reality, the corporal punishment is practiced in our schools. We do not need to be finicky about it. Teachers continue today to use the whip. It is to use the carrot and stick approach or it is integrated in the usual way of some teachers I cannot tell. What I know is that it is practiced although it is banned. This in fact is forbidden; unfortunately, we continue to observe that it exists. Maybe it is a social phenomenon, a social fact, because for the adult it is translated maybe in other ways – this is my opinion. Within an enterprise, they call employer to order (demande d'explication) or we punish someone, it is a kind of punishment. If you are now my boss, you cannot take the whip because you know I am an adult, you know that I could retaliate in one way or the other. It is a very delicate issue.

What motivated the proscription?

Education in Cameroon does evolve in closed phase. We are living in a world, and you know UNESCO controls education in the world, we have this and other institutions like UNICEF that protect the rights of children. As Cameroon ratified all those agreements, it set the right tone to do so, it has followed those rules. Besides that, we have human rights, which Cameroon also ratifies. Therefore, either in school or everywhere we have to be sure those rights are respected especially children rights. And among the fundamental rights of a child, corporal punishment is proscribed. It is in this way that it came to be, it is not because it pleases someone that it is proscribed. Since I said practically it continues to be practiced. We are African, and as African we know how the child belongs to the village. So, everybody can reprimand the child at any time. These are cultural elements that we transcribe again in our daily life, in our profession as well therefore inexorably in schools as well.

Do you believe it is happening at home?

Undeniably yes. I have the chance to be a particular parent, but at certain times it happens that I whip my children, I can confess to you. Like I said, it is only in extreme situations. When I was teacher if a child steals, insults or hurts another one, for me these are serious situations. But for small mistakes in dictation I could not whip a child. It is when a child infringes the integrity of another, he has also to realize that he is wrong. Maybe in such extreme cases I could whip him.

Do you think that Cameroonian education or African in general is authoritarian?

I think yes, it is authoritarian to a certain extent.

Is there a movement to change it? Or is this authority necessary to the education?

Let's say there is a global movement because even consciousness also progresses globally. I think there is a movement that we observe; it brings people to understand a lot of things in the consideration of the prescription of fundamental and human rights. This authority expresses itself in different ways. Authority does not mean we always use tools to punish. We use other methods to punish, which are also authority because reprimanding someone in a very brutal manner is also as hard as whipping. All of this fails under authority. However ethically speaking, efforts are on the code of ethics in the training of teachers to show the limits they should not cross. More and more we let them know that authority comes in mastering its own profession. When a teacher happens to master his area of expertise, he does not need a whip.

Interview Guidelines with representative of the national commission for UNESCO

“The present study aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in rural area. At this step of study you and expertise are the focus. We are interest in your opinion and your experience as expert on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Cameroon. You could begin for example by describing how the commission operates and how is it structured. Please tell us everything that you believe is relevant.”

Impulse	Specific question	Checklists
Intangible Cultural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What you and the commission consider to be intangible cultural heritage - How is it related to what various ethnic communities considered as ICH? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definition of government - Definition of Intellectuals - Laymen definition in city - Laymen definition in Village - Other definitions - Differences and similarities - Complementary
Consciousness / awareness of the UNESCO Cultural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How could you describe the opinion of Cameroonian communities about the effort of safeguarding cultural Heritage? - How could you explain the non-registration / non-nomination on the world heritage list? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of awareness - No interest - Fear for appropriation - Interest in new technology - Ashamed of their ICH - Lack of motivation - ICH not interesting - No valuable ICH - Application difficulties
Education and Cultural Heritage	Tell us about your opinion on the integration of the intangible/tangible cultural heritage in formal educational system.	
Closing question: Is there anything you want to add? Something important we might have forgotten to mention...		

The questionnaire could be modified according to positioned held by the participants. The Interviewer will not be interrupted in his principal narration but questioned afterwards in order to fill narration breach, to deepen mentioned topics and issues or to ask about untouched topics. Questions such as “What do you mean concretely when you say...?”; “What do you think about...?”; “What else?”...

Interview's guideline with a representative of the national commission for UNESCO April 2015 - English translation from the video in French

How does the Commission function? What specific steps is the commission taking to safeguard cultural heritage?

Firstly, the commission is the interface between UNESCO and Cameroon in different domains of competencies that are education, culture, sciences and communication. As far as the missions of commission is concerned, we are for UNESCO and the government's both counseling organ - whenever the government has a problem or need to get in touch with the organization, we receive documents and so on - and as an organ of information we transmit information in both ways. We are also an organ of execution meaning the implementation of UNESCO's program in Cameroon. It could happen directly or through Ministry that are technical competent in the domain or through NGOs. When it comes to culture for example, our privileged partner is the Ministry of Culture. I would say our technical partner when we receive documents from UNESCO to run a survey for example we get in touch with the ministry. For now, there are only three of us in the commission, who are all teachers, not really specialized in the domain of culture, science and communication. However, we are compelled to work in all these fields. Therefore, generally when we have a program that concerns culture, we call upon the Ministry of Culture, the technical partner in order to run the research, to provide information needed to implement programs and activities. Basically, this how we work, the ministry does the main task.

Does this mean you do not expertise on culture, the traditional authorities and the custodians of culture?

In principle, we do not have contact with them. Like I said, when there is a technical issue, we refer to the experts on culture at the ministry. If we are to run a survey, collecting data, they are the ones responsible. However, a small component of cultural sector at regional office is just behind this building, with the diplomatic representation of the UNESCO. With this cultural sector, we run our small activities concerning cultures. For example, we are opening a theatre for youth in school. We are preparing a cultural calendar, a kind of repertoire of festivals that are going on in Cameroon including other repertoires like music together with the regional office and the private active players. These activities lead us directly to the field. When we look for information specifically concerning the museum, we are forced to do fieldwork together with the staff prepared in order to create a repertoire. Which museum is specialized in what, where are they found and what are their various activities? We also proceed the same way with festivals. To run such activities, we have to be in contact with professionals in the fields and the primary actors of culture.

How would you describe what the commission understands as Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage?

We distinguish the cultural heritage and the natural heritage in UNESCO. From my understanding, natural heritage is about sites, waterfalls, reserves; briefly everything that is found in the environment not created by human beings including forests and animals. It is visible and palpable. There is also the intangible heritage that is neither visible nor palpable, which falls generally under oral traditions of our populations like customs, habits etc. Our population does not have the culture of writing it, hence the heritage is one of the most endangered – even our languages. For example, I took part in a meeting with the university of Ngaoundéré about the languages threatened due to the lack of speakers. As stated earlier, the immaterial heritage includes oral traditions, languages, customs, habits, folklores and all those things that are materialized in written form or monuments. They have therefore no support to ensure neither their preservation nor their transmission. We are then forced to invest tremendous effort on the support that helps their conservation in order to transmit to future generations.

Before we manage to safeguard and transmit, do you see the difference between the commission's definition of Culture Heritage and the one that communities (practitioner, custodians of traditions and those who attached to cultures) themselves consider or understand as ICH?

The commission has documents from UNESCO, programs and so forth. UNESCO is a big organization that provides this framework and defines its programs and activities in crossways, moreover as a kind of synthesis and analysis of various cultures all around the world. Therefore,

it is difficult – if not impossible - to have the same understanding with each community particularly here in Cameroon. We have as a commission, representative of UNESCO, a perception, which is more or less general. The communities that implement, live and practice those activities, the ones who created and own this heritage that we want to safeguard might not have the same appreciation that we have. I would say that our appreciation is more general than the appreciation shown in the different communities. Besides one has to understand most of the communities have them as experiences, living standards, part of their daily lives, and we have it as objects or topics for research. Therefore, there is no way we may have the same appreciation. We need to adapt to fit appropriately in order to have the very degree of appreciation the communities have.

You said at the beginning that you are the link of transmission between UNESCO, the government and the communities. How do you manage in this perspective to fill this gap moving from particular case to generalize and vice versa?

UNESCO has a program that is now on a roll, the cultural diversity. There is even a Convention that protects cultural diversity. That means the organization is conscious that there is a variety of cultures, we should try to standardize (make uniform) them. Every culture should be given a particular interest on its own. That is the reason we are promoting diversity in the cultural expression. Our job consists of going to each and every community to record its intangible culture, codify it, i.e. to create a support for it and disclose it to UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage variety we have in a given region from a particular community.

Are all these efforts known by the communities? Are they participating in these processes? Are they showing interest in safeguarding their heritages knowing that most of these people are not “educated” illiterate?

Most of those communities are conscious of the necessity of safeguarding their cultural heritage. In our approach, we are trying to let them know that the phenomena of globalization is in the process of phagocytizing all small cultures. UNESCO, which is conscious of this fact, started protecting those endangered cultures. The best way to protect these cultures threatened by globalization - in order not to disappear - is not to continue to live in a vacuum (cut off from the world), in autarchy but to try to disclose that culture to others and principally to researchers that could bring about universal element. There is an example given by C. H. Kane that is saying we should send our children to learn how to link “the iron to the wood”. What other cultures have could be useful to others. Therefore, there is a possibility to draw external element to improve or reinforce or enrich our own cultural heritage. We let them know that they have to be well advised to be opened to the world, to work together and cooperate so that we could protect and safeguard their heritage, to resist to the pressure of other influences, and even time. We present it also in forming goods, or commodities, as a source of income, because nowadays culture is more and more considered as a factor for development. It should help them to develop themselves even in other domains that should not be necessarily cultural. For example, how good would that be if it attracts tourist? That means it brings cash and assets to cover as matter to their basic needs at this level. We let them also know their cultures as it is now experienced or practiced, could help them in other different domains than only cultural. Our approach is to let them know that we are not there to rob their heritage, it remains theirs, it is because we want them to safeguard that is why we intervene. Some succeed to get copyrights, through the UNESCO well-developed and sophisticated rights system, with very competent experts in this domain. This helps the communities and individuals not only to safeguard their heritage but also to keep their intellectual property. It is very easy nowadays for somebody to just come, listen to your beautiful traditional song, improves it making some slight changes and claim the ownership without you knowing. One of our main aim in this regard is also to supervise them and lead them to safeguard their heritage and they should also keep the copyright. With these types of approaches we meet the communities, we manage to build trust and most of the time it works, a kind of mutual trust. We come to a common ground. At this moment, I could say we have the same approach.

How do you then explain the fact that there is no one single inscription of ICH in the UNESCO, even an attempt or a nomination; knowing that Cameroon has this potential?

The problem is a technical one. Before any goods, tangible or intangible, could be inscribed or nominated as UNESCO world heritage, it has to first of all be recognized as national heritage and inscribed in national heritage list. As a nation-state, we should have our own national heritage list. We need our own repertoire. That is the first issue. Our repertoire of intangible heritage is in the process of being established and it has to be adapted to the norm of UNESCO

as well. The second issue is that the setting up of application file is very technical, it requests a lot of knowledge from both the communities and the UNESCO norms. One has to dissociate the intangible from the tangible, demonstrate and prove how the intangible cultural exists in precise forms and configurations, how it functions or practices by a given community / communities. Then one has to manage to codify it and adapt it to UNESCO requirements. I believe this is the most difficult issue. We have tried for about ten times to inscribe the Ngwon or the Ngondo, they send the files back. These are the two that we have tried to inscribe in the world heritage though nothing is working.

What are these exactly? Are they dances or rituals?

These are traditional ceremonies that take place at a particular epoch. For the Ngwon of Bamoun community it is every 2 years and for the Ngondo of Douala community it is every year. There are many other festivals all around the country. The two are just the ones that we decided to promote, the ones we set our hearts on, which are pretty famous. Like I said the absence is due to the technical problem. The application file is very difficult to pull together and procedures are very complex. We went through all of this at least twice. We are always asked to bring this element, to complete that other element. Even the waterfall of Lobé. This is a very tricky situation because this is both a natural and cultural heritage. To associate both and build up a case and file is a very tremendous task. These are the three heritage goods that we might have to start with, what also the Cameroonian government would like to have recognized as Heritage and integrated and listed as UNESCO world heritage. And like I said it is not easy and the files are still at the level of the Ministry of Culture and experts are working on it and hopefully it will work this time. Whenever we believe that it is advanced and ready at our level, we transmit it again to UNESCO. It will be decided there whether it's good or not.

Does this mean it is not even at the level of nomination?

That is right, there is no nomination at least not for intangible cultural heritage. We have a nomination for the tangible (natural) Heritage, the site of Nja, which is even threatened with downgrading. Indeed, the site of Nja is biosphere reserve, as we inscribed it in 1982 as goods of world heritage, it has its Outstanding Universal Value – knowing that UNESCO insists on the preservation of this outstanding value. As soon as there are people who infringe on these values or any other activities that jeopardize those outstanding values, its straight away downgraded and put in another register, therefore at this level, the heritage is in jeopardy. The site of Nja is threatened to fall into another category, namely the heritage in danger. Presently the government has difficulties to deal with this. The Ministry of Culture is trying to anticipate in such a way that there should be no sanction coming from UNESCO, to anticipate and ask UNESCO for support and present it rather as a problem. We cannot deal with the management of the site. If we are unable to tackle it, we need to move back, because if we back off, UNESCO will ask what the situation is. In this way, we can get the needed support to tackle those problems. Apparently, the government is keen about this idea of pulling back. The government told us to do whatever we want or whatever is necessary to keep this good. However, at the same time we want you to let UNESCO know that there is no option to stop the investment, we have committed to (do). We need to go on somehow. I do not want to say that we are getting straight to the point, but it is somehow the case, because UNESCO would not accept the mining activities, agricultural exploitation, dam... in this zone or around it. It should encroach upon the situation of the site. We have however an opportunity for finding a solution to satisfy both parties. We have to excavate the endangered areas or parts and take it out from the site. If the site covers this surface area, and the agricultural field here, we do not want or cannot simply remove it – because it is important for the economy of the country – and UNESCO does not want the agricultural field there at all, the solution would be to decide from now on the limit of the site. It means to define new limit of the world heritage site. This is what we have to negotiate in June in Germany. Like I said it is very difficult. Why am I taking the example of Nja? It is very simple. The single case hampers any further inscription. In fact, UNESCO would say that you are not even in the position to manage one single site inscribed, how could you manage more than that. It is very tricky. In a nutshell, this is how the situation looks like. We could inscribe intangible cultural heritage because we might not be able to manage them besides the technical obstacle, the technical nature of the file. However, the three mentioned are on the departure list. The Ngwon has been rejected twice and we are still insisting, le Ngondo and the waterfall of Lobe, we hope in the coming future we can the first? in the UNESCO world heritage list.

Does it have to do with the custodian of this ICH or their consciousness of it?

No, not at all.

Are the communities or custodian of tradition aware of the fact that they could inscribe their ICH?

Yes, they are. Every cultural goods we have to inscribe should have and keep an Outstanding Universal Value that means it should bring something to universality. They are a lot of intangible cultural heritage that are hard to believe. We have to list them first of all at the national level. Once we take inventory of those intangible cultural heritages, we could then classify or categorize them based on their degree of importance. This is a procedure that even the UNESCO is requesting when we apply. We have to mention that this good is more important than the other one. UNESCO does not want to prioritize the goods, for example to say that the first one is not interesting and UNESCO prefers the third one. The organization is just there to support, guide and escort us. We are the one to set up our priority, that means what comes first, second, third... We still have to do our own inventory, define the stakeholder, the custodian, the owner... Then we have to check their outstanding universal value and select those, which are likely to be inscribed into the UNESCO world heritage list. After all we can then suggest to UNESCO, we are the one to do this. The two first cultural heritages we judged to likely compete on the global level have failed to be inscribed. If we had succeeded, we would have known. Maybe if we would have taken a smaller one, we would have succeeded. But we have to set up priority first. This gets stuck at the technical level. There is maybe another approach, i.e. to take many of them and try to apply. At the moment, it is not the holder of heritage that is the infringing obstacle. That is for sure.

For the inscription, there are some conditions; two of them are the participation and empowerment of the communities. How do you describe participation and empowerment of the Cameroonian communities or the management based on your experience?

The management is shared. Let's take the case of Nja. The ministry of environment was in charge but now there are changes in the Ministry of forest. The ministry appoints a keeper on-site. UNESCO through international organization created UICE which is also on-site because the? does not only belong to Cameroon but the whole world. They are there to protect the interest of the humanity locally. NGOs specialized in this domain are also there. They are the ones who always raise the alarm bell. When we went to the UNESCO meeting we found out that those NGOs (who comes within the competency of UNESCO) have already sent their report on the site respectively to the management of the site. Usually we face difficulties when there are incongruences. For example, due to the administrative inertia we happen not to have all information on time, but those NGOs have details on specifics issues, the number of elephants killed, description of when and how; the length of the road mapped out; how many trees chopped down in the reserves, covering how many square meters i.e surface area... they detail everything. As a matter fact, the management is shared - including local communities. If we happen to say that there is no more poaching, that there is no more chopping down of trees. These people living in the reserves how are they going to live if they happen not to participate. It is not enough to ask them not to (game) hunt, what do they have to eat? Or to ask them not to use firewood; how do they cook food? Therefore, we are compelled to integrate them into the management of the site. This goes the same with any other heritage. This is a must. Together with this population we could figure out how to protect better. As the case of the site, how to protect the nature, which is actually their livelihood, their foster mother? What would you say to the pygmies - who depend totally on the nature - if you do not integrate them into the management? It is their biotope, what can you do or tell them? They have to continue to live the same nature does. We need to integrate the three-dimensional stakeholders, the local representative of the Cameroonian government, the local communities and UNESCO and the related NGOs active in the area specialized in this domain of conservation. We have to find out how all the interest could be taken into account for a cohabitation, a peaceful living together.

Concerning specially the ICH who could be responsible of safeguarding, who owns the ICH, who is supposed to bring changes when it comes to deal with new technologies?

There is no way to avoid changes. Usually the information goes through drums. Everyone that got the message transmits it through drumming and so on. From one corner to another the message at the end of the day goes through villages reaching a lot of people. The phone, precisely the mobile phone actually replaces the drum. Everybody in fact could understand and agree with this kind of change, that the drum has no much use. If I want to communicate with someone in the village I just pick a phone, straight away he got the message and there is no need to wait until the end of the day. Like I said before the big difficulty is a technical one. How

would you manage the conservation, the ownership? The reserve is a piece of cake compared to ICH. This is just a forest because the state could decide to lock down everything and do what it wants. How would one deal with flute player? He is the custodian of the heritage; you cannot give him an extra holder. That means we need to negotiate, communicate directly with him and involve him in order to figure out how he could safeguard it. This is what I said before concerning the technical part related to application.

This was the cultural part. We know culture is transmitted through education. We have different types of education formal, non-formal and informal. How would one describe the introduction in the formal educational system?

At the Ministry of basic education there is direction for the non-formal alphabetization and non-formal education belief but I am not quite sure it was created in order to have this parallel (comparison). Between intangible cultural heritage and formal education. With the UNESCO, we are developing a national policy of alphabetization that is in charge concerning this part. Even on political level the government has adopted this attitude that consists of introducing this intangible heritage in the formal educational system. There is a special department at the teacher training college created for that matter, this is even happening in the primary school. I was told that theatre would be a subject at the secondary school. In a personal capacity, I had an uncle who used to bring informally every Wednesday, custodian of traditions or experienced old people to school to transmit their knowledge and wisdom to the young generation. Those who played drums could spend two to three hours with traditional drummers, those who wanted to braid a kind of mat, those who would like to fabricate a bed made of bamboo, those would like to sculpt spoons out of wood and so on all kinds of traditional knowledge they would teach the children of the village. The aim is not for them to be professional in those know-how or experts with special skills but it is rather on one hand not to fall into oblivion and on the other hand to arouse interest both of the children and also the practitioner / custodian of those traditions. They are feeling important, not useless. They could not only fabricate the bed to sleep on or to sell, but they would also have the opportunity to exhibit the product of their work respectively knowledge. The government has already clearly positioned itself concerning that matter. They would like to introduce the intangible cultural heritage into the formal educational system. We just need to codify it, design a program, train the teachers, find documents, produce manuals... this task is already in the process. For the program, this has been done, completely acquired, even the languages because the biggest part of this heritage is included in our languages. From the moment that the local languages are taught formally, this could be a slot, growing opportunity, or vector for this heritage to export itself, make itself known. Students from primary school, secondary school and university could discover the heritage contained in the various languages that would be safeguarded and popularized. The obstacle at least is not political, but technical that means to find what is needed for the implementation of this policy, find the accompanying measures to get it taught in schools. In the functional alphabetization centers this is what people have been doing so far. For example, in the North Region they are weaving loom. We let the farmer know that alphabetization is not only to read and write the language of the white; one could alphabetize in his own language. In all Asian we witness this emergence, people who are alphabetized in their own language, with all its related values. This is what we are supposed to teach our children here.

Do you - as a commission - cooperate with the ministry of education?

Like I said before we are the interface, the drive belt between the government including its relevant ministries and UNESCO. We are working exactly in this direction with the ministry of education to figure out how to preserve the heritage and in particular the intangible cultural heritage. So, we believe that the ministry of education in collaboration with UNESCO could come up with their expertise to help resolve these outstanding issues.

As an expert in the commission and relation to the ICH, how would you describe the Cameroonian formal educational system?

The president of the republic said it in one of his speeches and I do also believe that our educational system is emphasizing more on theory than practice. This is I believe a liability for the positive transformation of the environment of the child. This is why both the government and the UNESCO are developing programs focusing on the technical and professional teachings because it is in this context that could promote and assess the process of transformation of the environment. The Ministry of education together with the Ministry of culture are in the position to figure what in cultural heritage could be helpful in the positive transformation of the environment. This is also why UNESCO is working in cooperation with the Ministry of

employment and vocational training on a program that takes on a new dimension on the professionalization of teaching to transform the environment in every sense, manual skills that are dispensed in schools. We need structures for those who are skilled in making and/or fabricating traditional stuffs (The respondent mentioned as example Balafon instead of Balofon which defined after the interview as “is a kind of wooden xylophone or percussion idiophone which plays melodic tunes, and usually has between 16 to 27 keys. It has been played in Africa since the 1300s; it originated in Mali, according to the Manding history narrated by the griots, traditional bed of bamboo...” <https://www.akdn.org/akmi-instrument-35>) to be able not only to express themselves, their talents but also to transmit to younger generations. That has been neglected until now, an important aspect in the education and training of our youth. Everyone is not aware of this mistake; both the UNESCO and the government are doing their utmost to rectify this serious mistake. It is about to bring back to the level even general teaching not only on the technical and professional school. This awareness exists at all levels, and I believe this is enough to start working on in order to make up for lost time.

Concerning the parents, it is not really a problem. Once the structures are in place, technical and professional teaching, they would be sending their children without any doubt. We foresee that parents would follow the movement.

Therefore, we can deduce that the present educational system does not help the improvement of the life conditions...

I believe that it does not cover all the needs. At the moment, the educational system does not really cover all the needs. It does not succeed at least. There are examples in other countries, they are doing original things such as lampshade with recycling materials. We are trying to do the same as we create the excellence center at the secondary school of Leclerc in Yaoundé. This excellence center would have a regional scope, its specificity is to create the material of experimentation that we study in laboratory from local materials. At the moment, we buy the material for experimentation in South Africa in a factory that has an agreement with UNESCO. All the centers certified / accredited at UNESCO are compelled to buy their needed material from the very factory. That is to say, the project that is specific to center in Yaoundé is the one we would like to produce the very material from local product. Therefore, we need people like I previously said, with manual skills, that could not be trained in primary, secondary / high schools and in university. We need in fact special extra structure to develop and train such worker, artisan or craftsman, to be able to create what we need so that we do not have to export all the things we have for this office. Even at home to be able have a better life we do not have to import things. Most of the time this stuff costs a lot of money and we know that we do not have means to import those expensive things, knowing that we could produce the very furniture on-site/locally at the very affordable cost. That could help to improve the quality of everyone, even in the village.

What do you think of the educational system when it comes to authority? For example, the suppression of the whip in the school... how do you position yourself as a parent or expert?

Even at home I do not whip my children. I believe children are the potential future, hence they have at their disposal the very ability as adults, they need to, develop and improve themselves. The methods we use in school are authoritarian. These methods nowadays are on the way to be relinquished. Everybody has come to realize it and agree with the banning of the whip. We all realize that a child should participate in his own education, he has to be consulted, he should be able to tell what he has inside, be able to bring it out, and then we follow him, accompany him. It is the reason why we are using active methods now, reducing the classroom size, creating a center of interest – where children debate among themselves and the teacher is only there to supervise and lead them knowing where they are heading based on their own ideas. Children can realize by themselves that they are participating in their own training. I believe in this respect the methods evolve to integrate the student learner in the development of their own training. The awareness is effective. The other methods are obsolete. There is even a certain autonomy for the establishment of the new ones in schools. The schools respectively teachers have the possibility to modify around 20 % of their programs. It is no more that the government gives the schools the timetable, the program and then they just have to implement. No, this is already outdated. As a teacher if I have children that have artistic skills, I could have the latitude to introduce for example guitar if they are interested in it, I have up to 20 % of leverage. In 10 hours of classes I have 2 hours to introduce what I want out of the program. We are all realizing that the former inflexible and rigid methods are no more efficient. Children are creative enough;

they have already creativity in them. We should just give them a framework to express it. It is in this direction that everyone is heading nowadays.

Is this method running now?

For the moment, we are not there yet. There are various methods, objective-based methods, and competence-based methods... in general we call it competence-based approach. All these approaches are still experimental, knowing that the old ones are not good; they have to be abandoned. But we are still looking for the appropriate one, the objective is there, bring the child to participate, take part in his own training. It is still tentative.

Definitely you are saying that the whip is not good...

Definitely it is not good and could not participate in a good training. It favors Coranisme (rote learning) helps the status quo, and the stasis. What you are given, you are forced to know it by heart. That renders stupid and impede child creativity. Why are children whipped? Most of the time it is because they could not recite their lesson well. It is stupid. It is not because you did not create well just because you did not reproduce what you have been given. A child might not recite because he could believe he has better or could do better! I could tell that even at home, I do not whip my children. Even as a teacher - as I was teaching, there are lots of other ways to punish a child, to bring the child to do whatever the adult wants, the whip is not necessary at all. The child has nothing to do with it.

Thank you for giving this interview

I rather thank you for giving me the opportunity to contribute to the integration of the culture in the formal educational system. There is a yearly UNESCO meeting on the management of world heritage. The Cameroon is eagerly awaited there because of the management of the Njah. Since two last sessions UNESCO is pulling our ears for that. If we happen not to be able to come up with a very good report the site would be downgraded. No doubt about it. It is a crucial due date.

Interview Guidelines with traditions keepers / parents

“The present study aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in rural area. At this step of study you and expertise are the focus. We are interest in your opinion and your experience as custodians of traditions. You could begin for example by describing how you perceive the formal school system.”

Impulse	Specific question	Checklists
Educational Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are other types of education that are practiced in your locality? - Opinion about the formal educational system and how is it related to the other forms of educations (informal and non-formal education). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Objectives - Teachers - How long - Steps - Helpful - Damaging - Integrated
Interaction with the school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How is your own experiences as learner in the formal school - How is your experiences parent / tradition keepers with school / teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Registered - Drop out - Lack of means - Parent reluctance - Good contact - Involvement - Active involvement
Education and Cultural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What could be considered as living (Intangible) Cultural Heritage? - Tell us your opinion about the integration of the different forms of educations, cultural heritage elements you wish to introduce into the formal educational system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oral traditions/expressions - Performing arts - Social practices, Ritual and festive - Knowledge and practices concerning nature & universe - Traditional craftsmanship
Closing question: Is there anything you want to add? Something important we might have forgotten to mention...		

The questionnaire could be modified according to positioned held by the participants. The Interviewer will not be interrupted in his principal narration but questioned afterwards in order to fill narration breach, to deepen mentioned topics and issues or to ask about untouched topics. Questions such as “What do you mean concretely when you say...?”; “What do you think about...?”; “What else?”...

Group interview with the custodians of traditions April 2015 - English translation from the video in Tupuri and Fulbé

Traditional educational systems: Generally, women are principally responsible for the education of children until the age of 7 or 8. The rest of the education is reduced to the initiation of the child to adult life. There is a distinction between boys and girls. Boys and girls are/were educated differently. Men initiate the boys while women initiate the girls. Separately children would be taught about the relationship between man and woman and how to deal with the opposite sex. Girls are initiated practically (systematically) to deal with pregnancy, early childhood care and the management of the household. The education of a boy is to take responsibility, face hardship and deal with it accordingly. Depending on his skills and wishes, he may learn a profession of/ from his father, relatives or any other person.

There is a slight difference between the Tupuri and Foulbe. The circumcision from the age 7 characterizes the period of initiation. It is not done the way it is supposed to be. They do it nowadays in the easiest and simplest way, without any educational and spiritual meaning to it. It is often used as an educational instrument in order to scare the children, if they happen not to be wise or not to do as they are told. The circumcision is done now very early at the baby age, which is actually not good, because the child cannot learn to be a man, respect the elders... There is no surprise that you see today a teenager mingle or hanging around with his mother and other women in the kitchen. Those who actually went through the traditional circumcision, whenever you see them, you can recognize them, as real man who have been in the bush and faced hardship. You do not need to ask them, there are signs that speak for themselves and tell you that he has been through this ceremony, he is circumcised and truly joined the manhood. This period lasts the time of the scarring over. In the case of many children, this period is systematically extended to the healing of the wounded organ of the last circumcised boy. It ends up with a big fire whereby specific signs are made on them (for example the 3 points on their arm). Then the individual ceremony **Nastordou** marking the manhood could come either straight away after the circumcision or later. In any case it should not be after marriage or the end of puberty. This initiation includes moral, ethical and religious (Islamic and Quranic) teaching. The successful completion of Quranic teaching **Toumbirdou** is also celebrated and takes place usually the same day of the **Nastordou** and/or wedding.

The initiation of the Tupuri boy is also religious. It takes place generally approximately every 30 years in the bush. The last ones were in 1975 and 2012. It consists of brain washing process. After this ceremony, the initiated is reborn. There is no age limit for this ceremonial practice. One must have done it at least once in a lifetime. Even if without the initiation ceremony the boy is proscribed from this time (7 or 8 years old) to:

call his mother mum again, he should call her by her name;
frequent areas where women operate or sojourn - such as kitchen
make acquaintance of the opposite sex or walk with them.

He joins the class of adult the day he happens to have his first sexual relation with a woman. This could be also before marriage, for fornication is not taboo or prohibited as far as the Tupuri traditions are concerned.

The traditional education is still relevant but with some slight alteration. The Muslim circumcision is not made traditionally, most parents take their children to hospital, and there they are advised to do it earlier than the age 7. The two ceremonies of celebration are still going on. The Tupuri initiation practices are performed only by those who are not converted to other religions (Christianity or Islam). Those religions proscribe those practices. The formal educational system hampers these practices as well.

Languages and Oral expressions: All languages have to be taught at the formal school: nowadays children neither speak local languages (Foulfoulde and Tupuri) nor foreign languages "the language of the white" (French and English). French proficiency of the 13th graders today is equal to the one of the 6th graders of former times. The former time is considered as 30 or 40 years back as the local languages were forbidden in school. Today children cannot properly learn the foreign language.

They do not know all the words in local languages, despite the fact that children are able to speak both languages Foulfoulde and Tupuri regardless of their ethnic belonging or affiliation. They do not know much about riddles, tales we used to tell in the night. All this has to be introduced into formal education. It has disappeared and there is no way and possibilities to tell

tales to the children as they want to watch TV, films, soccer... The "Carambayé" as a matter of fact has disappeared. It consists of having a big fire to fight against the cold in the night. The whole village could come to gather around, where stories of the village could be told to the young generation. Lots of instruments for this occasion - like it is the case of other ceremonies - are welcome.

Drum and Algaitha: Once you have drums, you should accompany them with algaitha. Both the practice and the instruments have disappeared here in the village; because there are no more drummers/practitioners, thus manufacturers cannot also produce. How can the drummer carry a heavy piece of wood for nothing? The other reason is also modernization, I am a drummer, my son as he was born, comes to realize that I do not earn a living out of it, he has never understood the meaning of it. When I asked him if he knows the drums, he talks about Waywa (American rapper stuff), he still know what a drum is, but connect it with modern music not with the Dawrawol (traditional outfit) I used to wear to dance. Do you believe he will follow my business and be poor the way I am? He rather wants to play the one they are performing on TV. I think people like us love those instruments and the related performance, but those who were born after us and did not see it performed or have the chance to assist or participate might not likely love it. As the children grow, they witness it, in this way they would have known it better. You cannot love what you do not know. Actually no, it is the other way around. If people love it, they would have done everything possible to learn it or have it learnt. They do not love it. So, the matter is closed. Even if they do not love it as long as they are earning their living from it they will still continue doing it.

However, when there are ceremonies, some young people come from far to drum and play the Algaitha, for there are opportunities for them to earn money. Usually they play drums and dance traditionally and people dance. Some drummers come with their dancers, otherwise people from the village improvise themselves as dancers. In this village, we had only one Algaitha player, he is old, older than I to perform. He has only girls as children, this is not a business for women, thus there is nobody to follow his lead, there is no interest, because there is no income. Though you can find plenty of them in Garoua (capital city of the nearest region, North), where it still generates income.

Drum and Algaitha are often used for 3 purposes:

Takiare: communication between people, to send messages;

To praise the traditional chief every week and they get money for that;

To celebrate various ceremonies such as birthdays, weddings...

Molorou is another instrument that has nothing to do with the previous one. There is also one last Molorou player called Dumbo. If he happens to die, the instrument will also disappear from this village. This could be performed alone, just like **Garaiya**. This is performed standing. They have all disappeared because there is no earning out of it. They are not source of income.

A singer could accompany all these instruments. A traditional singer is completely different from what we have nowadays on TV. **Bambado** (plural Wambabe) they are –among others - responsible for keeping a record of the traditions and history of the village; these accounts are preserved specially in the form of music, stories, or poetry. Bambado can also be a singer of praises, a storyteller perpetuating the oral traditions of a person, a family or a dynasty. Bambou (the profession of Bambado) used to be transmitted from father to son. This could/cannot be transmitted because it is no more valorized - both by the society and the young generation. Youngsters do not want to be like their fathers; these occupations are in distress for other occupations are no more attractive. The other reason is that the kids are ashamed of their fathers because the society sees that profession as a disgrace more like begging! The practitioners have a better chance to make a living from it when they turn it into a modern occupation or way of performing. Children believe that they are more civilized and resent doing what their parents were doing. They do not want to be called the son of the Bambado or Kila, (blacksmith) for example. Some even try by all means to pull their father out of this profession. The father might stop doing it and the son is not able to provide another way of living, they will be struggling for survival somehow. Some people abandon this profession, others do not abandon it as long as they find a way to live from it.

Rituals und ceremonies: there is a difference also here between Tupuri and Fulbe, and the rituals and ceremonies depend on the religious beliefs, Christian, Muslim or animist.

Gourna: is a Tupuri religious festive that takes place during the four or six months of dry season in others to be in perfect shape. It consists of eating good food, drinking cow milk and wheat. This practice is losing its attraction and participants because of three mains reasons:

Climate change: the cows do not have fresh and enough grass

The conversion of Tupuri into other religions mainly catholic, which proscribes the practice of Gourna

The advent of formal educational system that is not compatible with the participation to gourna.

Ngakaki: festive of chicken, where chicken is slaughtered as sacrifice.

Feobari: festive celebrating the end of raining season good harvest (Karal) one month after the festive of Nkgakaki

Karan: festive to face the hardship of the dry season and open the hunting activities.

Feogéré: festive for twins, where black sheep are slaughtered

Christian festive: Christmas and Easter

Islamic festive: marking the end of Ramadan and Fest of Al-Adha where sheep are slaughtered as sacrifice.

All the religious practices are still practiced, because they are transmitted automatically to children in their families. Families, castes, or ethnic groups are perpetuating it jealously taking care of it. There is no need to introduce it into the formal educational system.

There are other various celebrations, a celebration after completion of the pilgrimage, a celebration of slashing to have special scar for identification. Rituals such as Inderi - birth celebration whereby names are given/chosen, Weddings, funerals, circumcisions... are still performed with some differences but the core tradition is still there and as long as there is birth, death... this practice will hardly sink into oblivion. Circumcision for instance is no more practiced in a traditional way because nowadays everyone takes his child to the hospital at an early age. However, the ceremony of Nastordou, related to the circumcision is still practiced. The Nastordou is also practiced for educational purposes namely to scare the children who are not circumcised. For all these ceremonies, they used to blow the horn to inform people about the type of ceremony. Nowadays they do not blow the horn, nobody understands it anyway.

Those ceremonies will also never fall into oblivion, because those practices bring people together and bring a sense of delight. If these practices happen to disappear, it does not mean that people did not necessary like it. If the drummers for example drum, do you think that everyone would stop and come to listen or even participate and dance?

Blacksmith: It does not matter whether we like it or not. The blacksmith will exist and remain as a profession forever as long as we still deal in/with agriculture. For that we need material that he manufactures. Such professions have to be introduced into the formal school in order to improve the quality of the agricultural instruments (Hoe, machete, pickaxe, axe...) and the production.

Godoré: textile production is still being practiced. The confection of thread is still made both by male and female, and the textile is produced. The know-how is a living heritage which might disappear in the long run because there is less demand. There is an urgent need for it to be introduced into the school curriculum. Otherwise it will disappear the way **Sagnordé** did. It does not exist anymore in the village although the product is still valorized in capital of the North, Far North and Adamaoua Region. Elite of this regions still buy and wear it. The last adamant practitioner died, others moved to other places where they have more revenues or income for it.

Sculpture (Pestle, mortar, spatula...) is also a living heritage because it is also needed. It should be taught as well at school in order to improve and facilitate the life of the inhabitant.

Pottery Water jugs are produced to keep water fresh inside so that water could not get warm from the sun it serves as a fridge. Pottery produces also cooking pots, the food from it tastes better than the one made from steel or aluminum.

Building a house in the traditional will not disappear because we need it, look we are still building this way. The mixing of the mud and letting it decayed thus stronger does not need a special skill but a way to build. These technics needs to be introduced into the formal education in order to perform them.

Traditional medicine / Witchcraft / magician: There is a big difference to make between knowledge that is useful (healing) and the knowledge (Siri) that is used to do harm, hurt or kill. This practice does not disappear because all of us need it as it has been proven to be effective and complementary to modern medicine. Modern doctors can not heal all diseases. A bone fracture for instance, where modern doctor see no option but to amputate the legs of many people, our traditions cure them using plants and bark. We have many cases like these. Unfortunately, traditional healers are reluctant to teach this kind of knowledge to everyone but to a relative or any close person of their choice. They resent transmitting or sharing the knowledge

simply in order to stay in business. There is no way of bringing them to introduce it into the formal educational system. It would have been good. The solution should be perhaps to train (trainee) it at school and learn both the traditional and modern knowledge at the same time - so has to improve it.

It is sad that some practical and useful things have disappeared. The traditional way of lighting fire "stone against stone" is outdated by matches or lighters. I am sure you do not know it. In the bush where there is no easy way, people are still using it. God should forbid this tragedy. Any attempt to bring it back or revive such practice in here is seen as backwardness. It means that the mistake is not corrected and the misery is back. It is really wise to teach the kids about that in case they find themselves in a bush situation though not for daily practice otherwise it is calamity.

Interaction with the school and children: The formal education is very important but we do have our own reality. Not that the school cost money but it keeps children so busy that we cannot request them for the cattle or agriculture. It happens all the time that children go to school and register themselves on their own, if parents do not see a need or happen not to register them. I have for example eight children. I cannot afford to send all of them to school: 6 are going to school the rest help to cope with life and to pay the school and university fees for the others. I am not young anymore to be able to work on the farm alone. There is no criteria to operate a choice. I simply decide who does what.

Corporal punishment: Whipping a child is normal. We are not talking about savage whip that leads to the hospital. We do not think it is a good idea to forbid it in school. In the big cities they can afford it, in the rural areas we need to get things done, we beat our children at home and ask the teachers to do so in case of absence of respect. They do not listen to the teachers at all because they happen to know he is no longer allowed to touch them. If they are not afraid, they are lazy, they neither go to school nor help at home or in the farm. If there was no whip, they would be doing their utmost to achieve what they were asked to do. You cannot hate your own child.

There is no collaboration between teachers and parents. The only relationship is between the school and parents' association, when it comes to paying the parent association fees that serves to hire extra supplement teachers, we do not contact or cooperate with the teachers. This is wrong we know, it is our mistake and we acknowledge that, but what can we do. It is definitely not the matter of not having the time because it is now the dry season, what are we doing here? If not sitting and talk to you...

Interview Guidelines with the Headmaster / the teacher

“The present study aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in rural area. At this step of study you and expertise are the focus. We are interest in your opinion and your experience as headmaster/teacher. You could begin for example by describing how you implement the official school program at your school. Please tell us everything that you believe is relevant.”

Impulses	Specific questions	Checklists
Objective of educational systems	<p>What is your opinion how could you describe the objective of the formal education, the contents of the education of level I?</p> <p>How could you describe the methods of teaching and learning activities, the didactic / Pedagogical material of level I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Curriculum - The program - Teaching Materials - Didactic material - Textbooks - Knowledge transmission - Teaching requirements - Learning capacity, opportunities, ability.
Relations Cultural Heritage and Education	<p>-To what extend the local cultural heritage and traditional education plays a role or could play a role in the process of teaching and learning.</p> <p>- What is your opinion about its introduction into the formal educational system?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resort to ICH -Resorting to existing local languages -When? How often? - In which lessons - Opportunities - Difficulties - Challenges
Interaction between stakeholders	<p>-How could describe your relationship with children / pupils in terms of respect, authority evaluation, the proscription of corporal punishment?</p> <p>-How could you describe the cooperation with parents - respectively with the community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teachers / Ministry - Teachers Inspectors - Teachers / Teachers - Teachers / Parents - Learners / Learners - Teachers / Learners - Inexistent - Appropriate - In need of improvement
Closing question: Is there anything you want to add? Something important we might have forgotten to mention...		

The questionnaire could be modified according to positioned held by the participants. The Interviewer will not be interrupted in his principal narration but questioned afterwards in order to fill narration breach, to deepen mentioned topics and issues or to ask about untouched topics. Questions such as “What do you mean concretely when you say...?”; “What do you think about...?”; “What else?”...

Expert Interview with level I teacher February 2017 - English translation from the video in French

The objective of the formal primary education – specially the level I the content of the education, the method of teaching and learning activities the didactic / pedagogical material:

The program is overloaded. Therefore, the pupils are overwhelmed by the program.

The official program of level I: formerly we teach a child how to read and write French. With the reform, we have the possibility to integrate local languages, facilitate the explanation of the words and understanding of the children. We use images or descriptions. Description and images are not enough when it comes to intangible concepts like family, mother, father and children. You have witnessed how I resorted to the local language Fulfuldé and Tupuri. After that all of them understood what it was about. On the other side, the integration of the local language in class could easily foster the social integration of the child. For instance, a child from the South Region of Cameroon, who speaks a language different from the one spoken here in this region and this school. In this region - like you have already noticed - where everyone speaks Fulfuldé, he could easily integrate. And this goes with the new concept of education that we are supposed to apply in all government schools. A child has his intelligence, he can learn a language very fast, at least faster than his parents or adults in general. Following the new concept of education, the competence-based approach, we have to take into consideration the interest of the children. They are often passive, that means they do not show interest. Sometimes, when I wait for the children to react, nothing comes from them. I will not be able to do anything if I follow this new way of learning. I have to improvise or explain. This is frustrating and it is the biggest problem with the new approach on education. Formerly pupils are asked to do what the teacher wants them to do. Now we are trying to ask children what they can do and/or what they want to do: the flute. Very often we ask children to bring things they can do (handicraft work) or want they want to do. If they do not, we are not able to help them because we do not know. The content of education is often not related to the environment of the children. We try to integrate it to facilitate the comprehension for often children are lost. The integration of local cultural elements enhances enthusiasm and increases active participation in the class. It awakens the spirit of the child and boosts its self-esteem and image because it gives the child a feeling of knowing something. Sometimes we have to improvise materials in order to trigger their imagination and their creativity and to learn with familiar objects.

The “collective promotion” from the new pedagogical approach is very bad. Pupils could move from one grade to another without any knowledge, in level I without being able to read and write letters or count from 1 to 10. At the first level I, one could understand that could boost pupils that have difficulties. Children could find themselves in the next level without being able to participate actively with their peers, they would be frustrated, and this feeling of inadequacy means failure in the long run. Just because we want to promote children that do not deserve to go to the upper level. With the plethoric class size, it is not a good idea. Pupils do not make any effort knowing that they will move to the next level no matter how bad they are.

This new pedagogical approach (NAP) the Competency-based Approach compensatory teaching, collective promotion what I am trained for, are not applicable. The old-school inspector does not want to hear this “non-sense”, he wants. The last time the inspector me to prepare a lesson, I did it the way I was trained, these are stories, I should remove compensatory teacher, and replace it with integration activities, the child should know what he is supposed to once he is home. I have to teach them, show and evaluate their performance and nothing more. The only thing that we practice is the collective promotion.

How would you describe the relation between teachers and people, the relation between parents/communities and schools and the relation between parents and children as far as education is concerned?

Relations between stakeholders: Parents and Teachers: There is almost absolutely no co-operation or collaboration between parents and teachers. There is co-operation between the school and the parents' association that pays some teachers who are not yet civil servants. Some parents would rather have their children selling some stuff. Otherwise they simply take their children to the farm. It is a dream to expect them to co-operate – this includes educated parents. There are parents who happen not to pay their contribution. If we ask the child not to come, this might be what the parents and/or the child wish. Because there is no real co-

operation with parents, we could have introduced uniforms that could help to distinguish them from the children who are not registered – this could have helped to control those who skip school – but families cannot afford such additional expense.

The respect of the elders is not what it was. Even the respect of the parents is not the way it used to be. Respecting their tradition, Muslim girls still give their parents water only in a sitting position as a sign of respect. We should introduce such signs of respect in the formal education system for pupils do not respect teachers anymore. When we give orders, or ask a child to do something, they simply do not do it with impunity, often they do not answer. They know that you cannot touch them. There is no alternative. To tell you the truth I think we have to bring back the whip, it is very important. As you have seen, I have to shout or threaten to whip them. It works for a while or sometimes, not always. Years ago, a friend of mine in Maroua big city - because he has been teaching for 16 years - happened to beat a child. He told his parents that the teacher beat him. When the parents came to school, the headmaster was clear enough to let him know that he should expect no support or back up from the school. He was on his own. Fortunately, the parents and my colleague came finally to an amicable agreement settling the situation out of court.

Parents in this village see school or education as source of expenditures: there is no school fees anymore, but they have to pay the fees for the parent association, pay school materials, supplies... Some parents simply do not send their children to school; they rather go with them to the farm or with the cattle to pastures. Fortunately, children register themselves on their own without their parents knowing. Yes, children request education themselves. In this case parents have no choice but to comply. However, if they need the child for the particular “urgent” matter they hold their children back from school for their priority. Sometimes it is not the parents that prevent the pupils to come to school; the pupils themselves have their own small businesses to run in the market. There is nothing one can do about it. For example, today Wednesday, is the weekly market day (farmer’s market).

The only relation between parents and school is through the parent association, and even this relation concerns just a few – principally delegates. This is reduced to finances, material and infrastructures. Otherwise, there is no co-operation between teacher and parents.

Authority has its place in the education. It is/was necessary. Nowadays we are not allowed to use the whip. Children are not respecting the teachers. They do not do what they are asked to. They hardly obey because they know that you as a teacher cannot do anything. There is no wonder if the level of students decreases permanently. Today’s pupils from 10th grade (secondary school) do not have the level and knowledge of pupil of 6th grade (primary school) of formerly (70ies - 80ies). “The whip lashes were equivalent to the mistake made” (“Autant de faute autant de coup”). That was working, for it increased child concentration. There is no more respect, children do not give places to elders, there is no more birthright. If they do not respect the teachers they will not respect authority thus they will be also breaking the law. People do not break the law, because they know that there might be fined or jailed. Corporal punishment is abolished, but there is no alternative(s) offered. We cannot kneel down recalcitrant for a maximum of 30 minutes. Sending the pupil home is not considered as punishment, this could be what the kids want. The other solution is to summon the parents so the parents themselves could beat their children at home, and some do.

To what extent can cultural heritage local knowledge play a role in the learning and teaching process in the formal educational system?

The school is not adapted to the environment of the child. At school, he learns there is a program that child is subjected to and at home there is another way of doing, another way of life. The assistance, support and surveillance is different from the one found at school. The new program tries to remediate to this by introducing national culture and practical activities into the school curriculum. Unfortunately, there is no precise program, books or didactic materials. We are still awaiting the guidelines to come from the ministry. The question would be: is the practical activities related to the environment of Kolara or surrounding neighboring village(s)? You have seen how difficult it was to explain the word like bread, or buildings that are found in the book. Some children would have never seen bread or multi-store / skyscrapers for they will not have been able to go to a big city. This is supposedly the objective of the formal educational system... improve, facilitate the child to be rooted into their cultures and opened to the world.

For example, we are teaching since 2011 as teachers hired by the parents. Yesterday the Ministry of National Education published a list of teachers to be integrated as civil servants that means more wages (100. 000 Fcfa approximately 150,00 € instead of 15. 000 Fcfa

approximately 22,00 €) for those who are selected. In the whole only eight have been taken. What do we have to do? We have to go and earn money from something we are not trained for. We would have been better if we got involved in agriculture or trade and earned more money and lived a decent life. School is supposed to improve the way of life. This is unfortunately not the case... "I would have written the competitive examination police force not teaching. As a teacher, one cannot survive. I ease my anger bearing in mind often that I have to be there to help my small brother in the village. This is the only way I can continue to do this job.

Elements that could be introduced into the learning and teaching process:

- **Local languages** the two local languages, Fulfulde and Tupuri could be introduced as tuition languages. At the first level, we are allowed to resort to local languages to explain words and abstract objects. It does not matter what we tried, children could not understand. Once we said the word in local language, there is this "aha effect".
- **National Culture** is in the program, but there are no books, no didactic material as back up, no framework to learn and no canvas to direct the teacher. It is not specified what is understood as national culture. Traditional or religious ceremonies such as festival of chicken (Feokake) might not be introduced, but we could bring it as a topic because the children who are involved do not come to school anyway.
- **Practical activities:** cultural artifacts such as mats, straw curtains (shekko kind of curtains made of dried grass), hats... Since there is no specific program and book, every child could be asked to do whatever he is capable of doing. To tell you the truth they do a lot of handicraft works, that they sell at the farmer's market. That day the particular children will not come to school. Traditional healers could be also invited in schools to teach how they heal, but we have not done that yet.

1- School and Classroom Maps

School Map

Facilities	Available	Number	Size	Type
Classrooms building	Yes	3		5 classrooms
Offices	Yes	1		
Library	No			
Storeroom	No			
Recreation area	Yes	1		
Kitchen	No			
Potable water	No			
Electricity	No			
School garden	No			
Latrines	No			

Location Plan

Abandoned

Level I
Grade 4

Grade 6	Grade 5
---------	---------

Grade 4	School Management
---------	-------------------

Classroom Map

Classroom Resources

Supplies	Available	Not visible	Not available
Classroom, roof & walls	X		
Schedule for the activities		X	
Desk for teacher	X		
Desk for learners			X
Chalkboard, duster & chalk	X		
Prescribed textbooks		X	
Exercise books	X		
Learners' slate	X		
Writing material	X		
Digital supplies (PC)			X
Visual teaching aids			X
Other educational materials			X
Toys/games			X

Classroom Environment

Situation	YES	NO
A clean classroom		X
Chair and table for teacher	X	
Adequate seating space for all learners		X
Adequate writing surface for learners		X
Adequate lighting		X
Adequate space for movement between desks		X
Comfortable ventilation and temperature		X
Cheerful classroom		X
Floor is cemented or tiled	X	

2 – First Running Record

<u>Type of lesson:</u>	MATHEMATICS
<u>Sequence of lesson:</u>	FIRST
<u>Number of learners:</u>	81

Questions: who can count from 1 to 15

Visual on Board

Use of slate

Send learners to the board

Count sticks

Asking the learners to write on board

Teacher write on board and ask learner to write down

Give assignment on the board and wait for the answer on the slate

The subtraction, the operation of subtraction

The teacher writes on the board and learners copy in their book

Teacher explains the exercise learner do not understand but let them work on their solution

Come back to first grade for correction of the exercise

3 – First Classroom Checklists

Teacher use of materials	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Textbooks					X
Chalkboard	x	x	x	x	X
Learners' slates		X		X	
Reading materials	X				
Visual teaching aids	x	X		X	
Local materials		x		x	
ICH Materials					
Other materials					

Teacher use of language	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Integrates official and local languages consistently		X			
Uses code-switching when majority does not seem to understand		X			
Communicates only in official languages	x	x	x	x	x
Uses only local languages					

Strategies of Grouping Learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Flexible small groups					
Permanent small groups					
Whole class only without group	x	x	x	x	X
Individual activities		X			

Strategies in multi-level classrooms	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Teacher sets meaningful task for other level while interacting one level	x	x	x		
When teacher with one level others working on own tasks				x	
When teacher with one level others sit around	X				
Teacher teaches as though all are one level	X				

Teacher questioning strategies	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Varied questions probing for learner understanding	x	x	x	x	X
Mostly close-ended and 1-2 open-ended questions					
Simple recall question or close-ended questions					
Teacher ask no question					

Teacher's feedback to learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Feedback about correct and incorrect responses encouraging further effort	X	x	x	x	X
Feedback to correct only ignoring incorrect ones	X				
No feedback		x			
Gives feedback discouraging further effort					

Teacher interacting with misbehaving learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Reminding quietly misbehaving learner(s)					
Threatening or yelling at misbehaving learner(s)	x		x		X
Punishing misbehaving learner(s)		X			
Hitting misbehaving learner(s)		X			

Learners' responses	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Interact with teacher and each other about content	X	x		x	X
Alert, responsive and interact with teacher	X	X		X	X
Learners respond in chorus	X	X		X	X

Learners uninvolved			x		
Learners' creative thinking activities	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners involved in discussion & problem-solving and/creative activities					
Learners involved only in sharing of ideas					
Learners involved in teacher directed activities		x	x	x	X
Teacher lectures, learners listen	X		x		
Learners involved in active learning tasks	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
All learners manipulate materials.	X		x	X	
Most learners manipulate materials, others watch.	x	X			
Some learners manipulate materials, most watch.					
Learners are not involved in active learning tasks.		x	x	x	
Learner activity when assigned tasks completed	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Work unaided with independent reading or constructive tasks					
Work on anything		x	x	X	
Fool around		X	X	x	
Sit in silence	x				
Learners asking questions	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners ask questions without teacher's encouragement					
Learners ask questions with teacher's encouragement					
Learners ask questions independently					X
Learners ask no questions	x	x	x	x	
Learner Independence	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners find information independently	X	X			X
Learners make use of information sources when directed by teacher	X	X		X	
Learners follow teacher's instructions working independently	X	x	X		
Unquestioning transcribing of text from board and textbooks	X		X		

2 – First Running Record

<u>Type of lesson:</u>	FRENCH: Reading, Pronunciation, Vocabulary
<u>Sequence of lesson:</u>	SECOND
<u>Number of learners:</u>	81

1st Grade: Teacher asks question and learner on their slate and correct saying “right” or “wrong”

Teacher pronounces words and learner write it on their slate and show the teacher to get the feedback.

Teacher explains and correct the answer.

Teacher encourage chorus answer by explaining the problem writing on the board.

Assignment for the first graders the exercise on the board learners copy in their exercises books. Teacher turns to 2nd graders.

2nd Grade: Teacher writes words on the board and ask the number of syllable for every entailed in each word.

Memory test on the French sound “ON” and “TION” as review of preview lesson. “Which words contains the sound and which not?” “Which other words contain the sounds?” Teacher writes the exercise on the board and the learner it and solve it in silence.

The 1st graders who finish their assignment go to the desk of the teacher for the correction.

Teacher pass to collective correction on the board. Learner are sent to the board to correct the word.

Teacher correct the exercise book of the 2nd graders of those who finished

Correction of the assignment with the whole class using the board. Teacher gives feedback.

3 – Second Classroom Checklists

Teacher use of materials	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Textbooks					X
Chalkboard	x	x	x	x	X
Learners' slates		X		X	
Reading materials	X				
Visual teaching aids	x	X		X	
Local materials		x		x	
ICH Materials					
Other materials					

Teacher use of language	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Integrates official and local languages consistently					
Uses code-switching when majority does not seem to understand					
Communicates only in official languages	x	X	x	x	x
Uses only local languages					

Strategies of Grouping Learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Flexible small groups					
Permanent small groups					
Whole class only without group	x	X	x	x	X
Individual activities			x	X	

Strategies in multi-level classrooms	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Teacher sets meaningful task for other level while interacting one level	x	x	x		
When teacher with one level others working on own tasks				X	X
When teacher with one level others sit around	X				
Teacher teaches as though all are one level	X				

Teacher questioning strategies	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Varied questions probing for learner understanding	x	x	x	x	X
Mostly close-ended and 1-2 open-ended questions	x			X	
Simple recall question or close-ended questions					
Teacher ask no question					

Teacher's feedback to learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Feedback about correct and incorrect responses encouraging further effort	X	x	x	X	X
Feedback to correct only ignoring incorrect ones					
No feedback					
Gives feedback discouraging further effort					

Teacher interacting with misbehaving learners	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Reminding quietly misbehaving learner(s)	X				
Threatening or yelling at misbehaving learner(s)	x		x		X
Punishing misbehaving learner(s)			x		
Hitting misbehaving learner(s)				x	

Learners' responses	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Interact with teacher and each other about content	X		X	x	X
Alert, responsive and interact with teacher	X		X	X	X
Learners respond in chorus	X		X	X	X
Learners uninvolved		X			

Learners' creative thinking activities	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners involved in discussion & problem-solving and/creative activities					
Learners involved only in sharing of ideas					
Learners involved in teacher directed activities		x	x	x	X
Teacher lectures, learners listen	X		x		

Learners involved in active learning tasks	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
All learners manipulate materials.	X		x	X	
Most learners manipulate materials, others watch.					
Some learners manipulate materials, most watch.		X			
Learners are not involved in active learning tasks.	x	x	x	X	

Learner activity when assigned tasks completed	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Work unaided with independent reading or constructive tasks					
Work on anything		x	x	X	
Fool around		X	X	x	
Sit in silence					x

Learners asking questions	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners ask questions without teacher's encouragement					
Learners ask questions with teacher's encouragement					
Learners ask questions independently					X
Learners ask no questions	x	x	x	x	

Learner Independence	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Learners find information independently	X	X	X		X
Learners make use of information sources when directed by teacher	X	X		X	
Learners follow teacher's instructions working independently	X			X	x
Unquestioning transcribing of text from board and textbooks		x		x	x

4 - Follow-up Conversation with the Teacher

“Three days you have been hosting us in this study that aims to analyze the possibility of introducing the living “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as Supplement of Knowledge into the formal educational system particularly the Early Childhood Education in rural area. After three days of classroom observations we are interested to know your opinion and your experience as teacher. You could begin for example by describing how you find the observations and how your learners were during the observations, if they were for example different from the lesson as usual. Please tell us everything that you believe is relevant.”

Impulses	Specific questions	Checklists
Objective of educational systems	<p>What is your opinion how could you describe the objective of the formal education, the contents of the education of level I?</p> <p>How could you describe the methods of teaching and learning activities, the didactic / Pedagogical material of level I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Curriculum - The program - Teaching Materials - Didactic material - Textbooks - Knowledge transmission - Teaching requirements - Learning opportunities, capacity, ability.
Relations Cultural Heritage and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To what extend the local cultural heritage and traditional education plays a role or could play a role in the process of teaching and learning. - What is your opinion about its introduction into the formal educational system? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resort to ICH - Resorting to existing local languages - When? How often? - In which lessons - Opportunities - Difficulties - Challenges
Interaction between stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How could describe your relationship with children / pupils in terms of respect, authority evaluation, the proscription of corporal punishment? - How could you describe the cooperation with parents - respectively with the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teachers / Ministry - Teachers Inspectors - Teachers / Teachers - Teachers / Parents - Learners / Learners - Teachers / Learners - Inexistent - Appropriate - In need of improvement
Closing question: Is there anything you want to add? Something important we might have forgotten to mention...		