

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REUNIFICATION
DISCOURSES IN SELECTED CAMEROONIAN HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS**

BY

NKWENTI RAYMOND FRU

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

School of Education

History Education

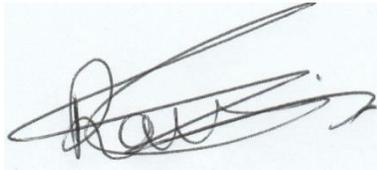
SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR JOHAN WASSERMANN

2017

DECLARATION

I, Nkwenti Fru declare that:

- a. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- b. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- c. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- d. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - i. their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;
 - ii. Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.
- e. Where I have reproduced a publication of which I am author, co-author or editor, I have indicated in detail which part of the publication was actually written by myself alone and have fully referenced such publications.
- f. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the Reference section.



Signature: _____

Date: _____

As the student's supervisor, I, Johan Wassermann, hereby approve the submission of the thesis for examination.



Signature: _____

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I praise God, the Almighty for providing me this opportunity and granting me the capability, energy and health to proceed successfully. This thesis appears in its current form due to the assistance and guidance of several people. I would therefore like to offer my sincere thanks and appreciation to all of them.

My supervisor, Prof Johan Wassermann for expertly nurturing me through my post graduate education. His personal and professional generosity helped make my stay at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) a functional and enjoyable experience. I owe the success of this thesis and everything I have achieved academically to him.

The management of Georg-Eckert Institute (GEI) for International Textbooks Research, Braunschweig, Germany for providing me a fellowship grant that allowed me spend three weeks in 2014, exploring the rich textbooks literature at their library.

The Social Science Education Cluster of the School of Education, UKZN for funding my participation and presentation of part of this thesis at the South African Educational Research Association (SAERA) Conference, 2015 at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

My wife, Forlum Immaculate Ngwa Fru who is my champion. You blessed me with a life of joy. It was you who held the foundation of our family during moments when the pressure of studies took its toll on me. I understand it was difficult for you. I can only say thanks for everything and may our God give you all the best in return.

Our sons, Richmond, Emory, and Rhema for the immeasurable joy and inspiration they brought to our lives

To my family whose value for me grows with time. Over and above, my sister Ms Delphine Nchang Nkwenti for providing me a rare opportunity to explore the limits of my academic potential. My father – Mr Nkwenti Joseph Kheka and my siblings Nche Lovet Nkwenti and Che Elvis Nkwenti for their continuous love and support. My grandfather – His Royal Majesty King Fobuzie Martin Buzie Asanji and my aunt – Mrs Eunice Bih Azie Fobuzie for material and moral support during those trial moments of my development that gave me the tenacity to carry on. A very special gratitude goes to my grand mother – Mama Monica Nanga Fobuzie for her immeasurable love, support and tenacity against innumerable odds. Words can never be enough to describe my love and indebtedness to you, Mama.

My colleagues and friends at the National University of Lesotho and UKZN.

Dr. Eric Hofstee and the “Exactica Thesis and Dissertation Solutions” for the valuable research support through the organised workshop at UKZN – Edgewood in 2013.

For patiently and expertly reading and editing my work, I am indebted to the services of Mrs Angela Bryan

The facilitators and students from the PhD cohort of the University of KwaZulu-Natal for their critical reflection as the study developed.

And to everyone else who contributed in some way to making this study possible, I say – Thank You!

Finally, the success of this PhD journey to me symbolises the triumph of the human spirit against forces of adversity.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this PhD thesis to the memories of my departed mother – Mrs Justine Ngum Nkwenti (1957-1992) and elder brother – Awah Evrade Nkwenti (1976-2007). May your gentle souls continue to rest peacefully in the bosom of our Lord.

ABSTRACT

More than five decades after the (re)unification on October 1st 1961 of the former UNO trusteeship territories of French and British Southern Cameroons, to form a single nation-state, the phenomenon remains a hotly contentious and controversial discourse in both public and academic space of the Cameroonian society. Most often than not, the tensions around discourses on reunification have resulted in activities that have threatened the fabric of peaceful coexistence and social harmony between the Anglophone and Francophone communities of reunified Cameroon. Remnants of Anglo-French colonial heritage in the form of language, legal and educational systems, curricula and textbooks amongst others have most often been at the heart of the contention. In an era where textbooks in general and history textbooks in particular have been recognised to go beyond their core pedagogic purposes to also serve ideological and political functions, the need for their content to be constantly analysed with regard to their depiction of contentious phenomenon such as reunification has become a matter of absolute necessity.

Against this backdrop, this study adopted a qualitative research approach and an interpretive paradigm to analyse six school history textbooks purposively selected from the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems of education in Cameroon – three each from each of the sub systems. Making use of a bricolage of tenets of the qualitative content analyses methodology, nuanced with the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework, the analysis of the historical genre and historical knowledge types of the texts revealed certain dominant and supporting consistent and conflicting discourses on the nature of representation of reunification in Cameroonian history textbooks. These discourses include: an uncritical nature of school history and textbooks as it relates to reunification; an adoption of old styled school history characterised by substantive rather than procedural form of historical genre and knowledge; Cameroon as an imagined state; presence of single and master symbols/narratives; identity and nationalism discourse; big men historiography, male chauvinism; and exclusion. In explaining the reasons for the presence of these discourses, the analysis revealed the following notions: the nature of school history and textbooks as a colonial legacy performing the same ideological function in Cameroon as during the different periods of German, British and French colonisation; the complex nature of reunification as a phenomenon with a similar context of the reunification controversy in Germany; the ideological nature of history textbooks at the disposal of government authorities with examples such as the presence of

master symbols in apartheid and post-apartheid South African school textbooks and the ideological use of history textbooks in the defunct German Democratic Republic (GDR) of post-WWII Germany. The postcolonial theoretical explanations of the discourse were linked to the notions of the postcolonial voiceless subaltern; the challenges of textbooks and author hybridity; and internal colonisation. The study recommends a harmonisation of the textbooks' content, a more robust system of checks and balances in selection of history textbooks for use in schools, a review of the history syllabus and curriculum to be more inclusive of the contributions of women and ordinary Cameroonians in significant historical developments of Cameroon, to ensure a more critical curriculum that incorporates critical enquiry skills and multiperspectivity from learners and discards rote learning of history, and finally that both trainee and in-service history teachers be workshopped on these curricula improvements for history education in Cameroon schools.

KEY TERMS

Anglophone; Cameroon; Francophone; History education; History textbooks; Reunification; Content analysis

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACRONYM	FULL MEANING
AAC1	All Anglophone Conference 1
AAC2	All Anglophone Conference 2
BC	Before Christ
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPNC	Cameroon People’s national Congress
CFA	Communauté Financière Africaine
CNU	Cameroon National Union
CCC	Cameroons Commoners Congress
CIP	Cameroons Ideological Party
CFU	Cameroon Federal Union
CNF	Cameroon national Federation
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEI	George Eckert Institute
GCE	General Certificate of Education
JEUCAFRA	Jeunesse Camerounaise Française
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
KUP	Kamerun United Party
KNC	Kamerun National Convention
KUNC	Kamerun United national Council
KPP	Kamerun people’s Party
PCF	French Communist Party
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PRO	Public Records Office
RDA	Rassemblement Democratique Africain
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SCNC	Southern Cameroons National Congress
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UPC	Union des Populations du Cameroun
USA	United States of America
WAFF	West African Frontier Force
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE NO	TITLE	PAGE NO
Figure 1.1	Map of the Anglo-French partition of German Kamerun – 10 July 1919	15
Figure 4.1	Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods (Green Book)	108
Figure 4.2	History of Cameroon since 1800 (Red Book)	108
Figure 4.3	Cameroon history in the 19 th & 20 th centuries (Blue Book)	109
Figure 4.4	Manuel d’Histoire du Cameroun (Book F 1)	111
Figure 4.5	Décolonisation et problèmes de l’Afrique indépendant : Histoire classes terminales (Book F 2)	111
Figure 4.6	Mon Temoignage: Le Cameroun de l’indépendance (1958-1970) (Book F3)	112
Figure 5.1	The Southern Cameroons delegation to the UN talks in 1960, led by J.N. Foncha and E.M.L. Enderley	132
Figure 5.2	Ahidjo and Foncha bid farewell to the British administration, October 1961	132
Figure 5.3	President Ahidjo and Prime Minister Foncha arriving for the opening of the Foumban conference	133
Figure 5.4	The Southern Cameroons delegation to the Foumban constitutional conference, 1961	133
Figure 5.5	Dr John Ngu Foncha, vice president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon	134
Figure 5.6	The Foumban Constitutional Conference	192
Figure 5.7	Ahmadou Ahidjo and Foncha at the Foumban Conference	192
Figure 5.8	Handing over of Southern Cameroons, 30 September 1961	193
Figure 6.1	Le Président de la République Fédéral du Cameroun S. E. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo (p. 254) – (The president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon His Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo)	218
Figure 6.2	Le Vice-Président de la République Fédérale du Cameroun S. H. John Ngu Foncha (255) – (The vice president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon His Honourable John Ngu Foncha)	219
Figure 6.3	Ruben Um Nyobé	241
Figure 6.4	André Marie Mbida	242

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO	TABLE TITLE	PAGE NO
Table 4.1	Table showing sampling of Anglophone Cameroon history textbooks	107
Table 4.2	Table showing sampling of Francophone Cameroon history textbooks	110
Table 4.3	Historiography genres and learner pathway. An adaptation from (Martins, 2007, 57)	118
Table 4.4	Summary of historical genre type and description in the text	119
Table 4.5	Substantive and Procedural historical concepts (adapted from Martin, 2012, p. 8)	120-121
Table 4.6	Conceptual mapping of substantive historical concepts (Martin, 2012)	121
Table 4.7	Analytical construct for identification of historical discourses in the text. (Condensed from McGregor, 2003)	122
Table 4.8	Procedure for conducting comparative analysis of the text on reunification	123
Table 5.1	Sub topics covered in chapter eleven of the Green Book	130
Table 5.2	Summary of historical genre type in text of the Green Book	134-135
Table 5.3	Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book	142
Table 5.4	Break down of organizational historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book related to reunification	144
Table 5.5	Influential Political figures and parties not referred to in the verbal text of the Green Book	155-156
Table 5.6	The representation of male hegemonic characters in verbal text of the Green Book	160-161
Table 5.7	Breakdown of topics and sub topics in chapter ten of the Red Book	167
Table 5.8	Summary of historical genre types in text of the Red Book	168-169
Table 5.9	Presentation of specific participants in text of the Red Book	171
Table 5.10	Presentation of generalised participants in text of the Red Book	172
Table 5.11	Breakdown of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Red Book on reunification	175
Table 5.12	Table showing breakdown of topics and sub topics of the reunification section in the Blue Book	190-191
Table 5.13	Summary of historical genre types in text of the Blue Book	194-195
Table 5.14	Presentation of specific participants in text of the Blue Book	198
Table 5.15	Presentation of generalised participants in text of the Blue Book	199
Table 5.16	Breakdown of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Blue Book related to reunification	201-202
Table 6.1	Sub topics covered in chapter forty eight of Book F1	217

Table 6.2	Summary of historical genre type in text of Book F1	219-220
Table 6.3	Break down of unique substantive concepts in the text of Book F1	224-225
Table 6.4	Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F1	226-227
Table 6.5	Significant historical time captured in the text of Book F1	230-231
Table 6.6	Breakdown of topics in the text of Book F2	241
Table 6.7	Summary of historical genre type in the text of Book F2	242-243
Table 6.8	Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F2	247
Table 6.9	Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F2	250-251
Table 6.10	Breakdown of topics in the text of chapter six of Book F3	263-264
Table 6.11	Summary of historical genre type in text of Book F3	265
Table 6.12	Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3	271-272
Table 6.13	Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts extracted from the text of Book F3 related to reunification	274-275
Table 7.1	Representation of historical genre findings across Anglophone and Francophone textbooks	299
Table 7.2	Representation of historical knowledge findings across Anglophone and Francophone textbooks	318

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF ACRONYMS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
CONSTRUCTING THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY	2
1.2.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	3
1.3 RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION BEHIND THE STUDY	36
1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	40
1.5 FOCUS OF THE STUDY	40
1.6 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS	42
1.7 SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH	43
1.8 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	44
1.9 CONCLUSION	46
CHAPTER TWO	48
LITERATURE REVIEW	48
2.1 INTRODUCTION	48
2.2 REUNIFICATION	50
2.2.1 CONCEPTUALISATION OF REUNIFICATION	50
2.2.2 DISCOURSES ON REUNIFICATION	51
2.3 HISTORY TEXTBOOKS	59
2.3.1 NATURE OF [HISTORY] TEXTBOOKS IN CAMEROON	59
2.3.2 TEXTBOOKS AND PEDAGOGY	63
2.3.3 POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF TEXTBOOKS	65

2.4 CONCLUSION.....	74
CHAPTER THREE	76
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	76
3.1 INTRODUCTION	76
3.2 REFLECTIONS ON THEORY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	77
3.3 POSTCOLONIAL THEORY: ITS CONUNDRUMS.....	81
3.4 POSTCOLONIALISM AND HISTORY/HISTORIOGRAPHY	88
3.5 DISCURSIVE POSTCOLONIALISM	90
3.6 CONCLUSION.....	93
CHAPTER FOUR.....	94
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	94
4.1 INTRODUCTION	94
4.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN	94
4.2.1 THE RESEARCH APPROACH	98
4.2.2 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM	100
4.2.3 ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS	103
4.2.4 THE RESEARCH SAMPLE	105
4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.....	115
4.3.1 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	116
4.4 ETHICAL ISSUES	124
4.5 GRAPPLING WITH ISSUES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS	125
4.6 CONCLUSION.....	126
CHAPTER FIVE	128
ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS.....	128
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	128
5.2 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE GREEN BOOK .	129
5.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN THE GREEN BOOK.....	129
5.2.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE GREEN BOOK.....	140
5.2.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE GREEN BOOK.....	150
5.2.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE GREEN BOOK	162

5.3 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE RED BOOK.....	166
5.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN THE RED BOOK	166
5.3.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE RED BOOK	173
5.3.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE RED BOOK	182
5.3.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE RED BOOK	187
5.4 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE BLUE BOOK....	190
5.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK	190
5.4.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK.....	200
5.4.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE BLUE BOOK.....	207
5.4.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK	212
CHAPTER SIX.....	216
ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS.....	216
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	216
6.2 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F1.....	216
6.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F1.....	217
6.2.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F1	223
6.2.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F1	232
6.2.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F1	236
6.3 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F 2.....	239
6.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F2.....	240
6.3.2 KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F2.....	246
6.3.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F2	254
6.3.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F2	260
6.4 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F3.....	263
6.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F3.....	263
6.4.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F3	270
6.4.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F3	278
6.4.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F3	283

CHAPTER SEVEN	287
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM CAMEROONIAN TEXTBOOKS.....	287
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	287
7.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXTS RELATED TO REUNIFICATION	289
7.2.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE IN THE ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS....	289
7.2.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE IN THE FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS..	293
7.2.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL GENRE IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	299
7.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF THE TEXTS RELATED TO REUNIFICATION.....	302
7.3.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN THE ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	302
7.3.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN THE FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	307
7.3.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	318
7.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REUNIFICATION DISCOURSES IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	323
7.4.1 DOMINANT HISTORICAL DISCOURSES FROM ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	324
7.4.2 SUPPORTING HISTORICAL DISCOURSES FROM ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS	327
7.5 DISCUSSION AND THEORISATION OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY	332
7.5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS RELATED TO RESEARCH LITERATURE	333
7.5.2 DISCURSIVE POSTCOLONIAL THEORISATION OF FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY	340
7.6 CONCLUSION.....	344
CHAPTER EIGHT	345
CONCLUDING THE STUDY	345
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	345
8.2 REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	346
8.3 POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	354
8.3.1 Possible implications for policy and practice.....	354

8.3.2 Possible implications for further research	356
8.4 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY	357
8.5 PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY	360
8.6 CONCLUSION.....	364
REFERENCES	366
APPENDIX 1 – ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	383
APPENDIX 2 – TURN-IT-IN REPORT	384
APPENDIX 3 – LETTER FROM LANGUAGE EDITOR.....	385

CHAPTER ONE

CONSTRUCTING THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The multiplicity of ethnic entities, cultural and other geographical forms of diversity, including flora and fauna, have often earned the post-colonial nation-state of Cameroon the reference of ‘Africa in miniature’. This reference seem justifiable in the sense that the country stands as a microcosm of the different cultural, linguistic and even environmental conditions that prevail in most parts of the African continent. A glaring example to illustrate this is the fact that an array of historical sources has traced the origin of the Bantu speaking people from areas around present day Cameroon. This group of people that now occupy and dominate most of Southern Africa therefore share considerable socio-cultural, religious and other similarities with the different Bantu groups in present day Cameroon. Geological and natural features represented in Cameroon include: beaches; deserts, mountains, savannah and rain forests. In line with the above, a 2016 review by *CountryWatch* describes Cameroon as a crossroad of environment and culture, “Where the desert meets the rain forest and nomadic pastoralists meet sedentary hunter-gatherers” (Youngblood-Coleman, 2014, p. 8) As Tangwa (2011) puts it, in Cameroon, all the macroscopic problems of Africa as well as its potentialities and possibilities seem to be present.

However, it is the country’s diversity informed by its colonial legacy that is of significant interest in this study. From a colonial perspective, Cameroon is the meeting, if not melting pot of the colonial legacies of leading ex-colonial nations of the world such as Germany, Britain and France (Smith, 2005). This implies that, it is one of few countries that witnessed the official colonisation of three European powers at different times in its history. It is also one of only two countries in the world that presently use both English and French as national official languages, the other country being Canada also a product of a colonial tussle. The country has two sub systems of education and a bi-jural legal system amongst other colonial legacies to accommodate its Anglophone and Francophone populations. It is therefore evident that the colonial legacy has a very great impact on the geo-political state of contemporary Cameroon and is manifest in every social strata of the society.

However, like most other post-colonial countries, contemporary Cameroon has struggled over the years to deal with remnants of its colonial past. Discourses around minority crises; marginalisation; secession; favouritism and oppression amongst others have often emerged to the point of endangering and weakening the social cohesion. Ethnic and other identities, even though many, have most often been overlooked in favour of the Anglophone and Francophone identities. A good understanding of this state of affairs requires one to go back in time to trace and challenge those colonial conditions and the different developments around independence and how all these played out to make Cameroon the kind of nation it presently is. For this reason, this study adopts a postcolonial theoretical lens because the discourses on reunification as revealed by the literature and as espoused by the textbooks in this study are all embedded within the postcolonial theory.

Therefore, in line with the above, this study compares the representations of reunification discourses in selected history textbooks used in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian secondary schools. The choice of reunification is due to the fact that it is the event in Cameroon historiography that was responsible for bringing together the two former trusteeship territories of British and French Cameroon in 1961 thereby giving the country the Anglo-French status it holds today.

The purpose of this first chapter is to provide a framework and structure for my study. It is important in this chapter that an image of what the study is about and the direction it will take be clarified from the outset in the mind of the reader. The picture of this study will be made clear through a discussion of the following aspects that will constitute sections of this chapter: background and context of the study; purpose of the study; focus of the study; rationale and motivation for the study; the key research questions; a brief discussion of the research design and methodology and the structure of my thesis.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The first section in this chapter is the background and context. This section sets the stage for my study with a clarification of reunification in Cameroon and textbooks as the phenomena under investigation. Even though reunification as an event in Cameroon was a direct outcome of colonial activities, my argument is that the phenomena will be better understood if its scope is broadened to include pre-colonial and post-colonial or post reunification activities. The choice of discussing

pre-colonial Cameroon is a deliberate one with the intention being to avoid starting the history of the people of Cameroon at the point of the arrival of colonial masters as if there were no prior history. In the second phase I discuss the creation of Cameroon as an amalgamation of different ethnic entities under German colonisation, the loss of the German colony of Cameroon during the course of World War I (hereafter WWI) and the Anglo-French partition of that colony, the rise of sentiments of nationalism (for and against reunification), and the ultimate reunification of the previously partitioned territory. In the third phase I focus on post-colonial and post reunified Cameroon. This last phase of the historical development of Cameroon is important to this study in that it captures the state of reunified Cameroon from inception up to the present moment, that is, a period of over fifty years. Developments in Cameroon over these fifty years as will be seen have caused many to question the intentions and therefore legitimacy of reunification in Cameroon. Even though the spot light is on reunification discourses in the context of Cameroon, efforts are made to not portray the Cameroon scenario as an isolated incident, but rather as part of a broader historical process of colonisation and decolonisation of the African continent and beyond. I should also highlight that the rationale for a very detailed context and background setting that I provide in this section is because it deals with the contemporary historical phenomenon that will be analysed in the textbooks as the focal point of the study.

1.2.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

For a very long time, there have been many prejudices concerning the true history of Africa. Because of lack of written sources and documents, many argued that it was impossible to engage in any scholarly study of African societies. Therefore, African societies were looked upon as societies that could have no history (M’Bow, 1981). However, that perception of Africa and African societies has greatly changed over recent decades especially in the post-colonial era. This change of perception was greatly enhanced by a global acceptance of oral traditions and other oral history works as effective social practice and means of harnessing the authority of history thereby making it a powerful history-telling tool (Ortiz, 2014; Peled, 2014; Ridington, 2014; Starecheski, 2014). The implications of this recognition of the authority of oral history in the African context is that Africans are presently recognised as creators of original cultures that have survived over many centuries and sustained through patterns of their own making. In support of the above stance, M’Bow (1981, p. vii) explains that for all their different languages and cultures, the various civilisations of the African continent are now widely recognised to represent, “to a greater or lesser

degree the historical offshoots of a set of people and societies united by bonds centuries old". Therefore it is fair to say that the African continent, to which the present day nation of Cameroon belongs, had forms of organised socio-economic, cultural and political set up of societies and structures that were greatly disrupted by the forces of colonialism.

Before the arrival of European colonisers, the territory and people that make up present day Cameroon actually existed though not as one nation. They existed as sovereign ethnic entities that had settled in the region as a result of the push and pull factors of migration. Examples of these factors included: the Jihads or holy wars that were launched from Nigeria by Uthman dan Fodio, possibilities for trade and the search for fertile and grazing land (Ngoh, 1996). Because of the multitude of ethnic groups that settled in the region now constituting the Cameroonian territory, the region was known as one of the most pluralistic in terms of indigenous African societies (Nfi, 2014).

According to DeLancey, Mbuh, and Delancey, (2010) the Baka people also referred to as the pygmies were probably the earliest inhabitants to settle in the region. By 200 BC, an influx of Bantu speaking tribes and competition over arable land pushed the Baka people to the forest areas of the east and south of present day Cameroon. The first wave of Bantu settlers to the region included the Maka, Njem and the Douala people. They were followed in the 19th century by the Fang and the Beti people. Another civilisation and ethnic group that flourished in the region was the Sudanic people. The Sudanic group were nomadic and Islamic people that migrated from the north of Africa and established a powerful presence in the northern part of present day Nigeria (Kanem Bornu Empire) and then Cameroon in the early 15th century. Sudanic tribes in Cameroon include: The Sao, Fulani, and Kanuri people. Consequently, before the creation of the colonial state of Cameroon, the following ethnic groups were settled and still live in the region: Sudanic speaking in the north around the Lake Chad Basin; the Bantu speaking people who occupied the coastal areas along the Atlantic Ocean, the fertile slopes of the Mount Cameroon and the grass field regions of the south of Cameroon; the Baka people of the forest region of the south. These

main ethnic groups constituted various autonomous tribes that were ruled by the Lamibe¹ in the north and the Chiefs, Fons² or kings in the south (DeLancey, Mbuh, & Delancey, 2010).

In spite of the religious, linguistic, cultural/customary, political and even geographical differences that separated these ethnic groups, they still interacted amongst themselves and developed different forms of inter relations such as for example trade, thereby supporting the claim that unifying and not just separating forces existed in the region before the influx of European nations and the carving out of Cameroon into a political entity by the Germans (Nfi, 2014).

Historical accounts suggest that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive on the region's coast in the 15th century. During this period, a Portuguese explorer, Fernando Po and his party arrived on the coast of the territory now known as Cameroon and were reputedly overwhelmed by the amount of prawns they saw at the Wouri estuary. As a result they named the river in Portuguese, *Rio dos Cameroes* which mean River of Prawns (Ardener, 1962; Nama, 1990; Ngoh, 2001; Njoh, 2000). The name Cameroon would eventually evolve from the Portuguese appellation. Po's arrival on the Cameroon coast in 1472 marked the beginning of an approximately 400-year of trading relations between the local African kings, especially from the coastal towns, and the Portuguese who were subsequently joined by other European nations such as the British, Dutch, French and Germans. The trade relationship was characterised by the Trans-Sahara and Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and the trade in goods such as gold and ivory in return for European guns, metals, cloth and alcohol. Fombad (2011) suggests that as in most Afro-European relations, the prevalence of malaria and other tropical diseases in the region prevented the Portuguese from carrying out any significant conquests of the interior of the country and generally restricted European presence to the coastal regions. This meant that the coastal kingdoms gained prominence as they were able to make lucrative profits from their trade with Europeans mainly due to their role as middlemen in these exchanges. It happened that the coastal chiefs and kings, out of fear that the Europeans would start trading directly with the hinterland tribes thereby undermining their powerful and lucrative middleman monopoly, decided to seek a British protectorate that will help cement their power.

¹Lamibe (plural for Lamido) is the Anglicisation of a term from the Fulfulde language used to refer to a ruler or leader. The term has been and is still used to refer to Islamic traditional leaders in West and Central Africa (<http://www.omnilexica.com/?q=lamido>)

²Most tribes especially in the grassfield regions of Cameroon use this term to refer to their traditional rulers.

However, a new turn in Afro-European relations began in the mid eighteenth century with the advent of the industrial revolution in Europe. A crucial component of the European industrial revolution was the fact that it sparked off a European scramble for colonies in Africa. These colonies were important to serve as sources of raw materials, markets and cheap labour amongst others for those nations on the industrialisation course. This European economic interest in African territories was gradually transformed into formal political control (Horn, 2007) to the extent that by the last decade of the nineteenth century, almost all of Africa had been placed under European colonial rule and domination.

In spite of numerous publicised appeals by the Douala chiefs through British missionaries and traders that Britain should formally take over the territory (Fanso, 1999; Fombad, 2011) the British government displayed reluctance to officially commit themselves to the territory. Whilst the British were undecided, the German trading community in Douala started negotiating treaties of annexation with the local chiefs (Ardener, 1962; Fanso, 1999; Fombad, 2011).

The sudden German interest in annexing Cameroon was a result of a change in German foreign policy in favour of establishing a German empire in Africa. Previously, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck had opposed colonialism claiming that "for Germany to acquire colonies would be like a poor Polish nobleman buying silks and sables when he needed shirts" (Carr, 1979, p. 162). However, things changed in the 1880s when colonialism became fashionable in Germany with enthusiastic pressure groups springing up agitating for colonies on economic grounds and a measure of national greatness (Blackshire-Belay, 1992). It was this change of position that prompted Otto von Bismarck to summon a conference in Berlin in November 1884 to seek ways of peacefully partitioning the African continent. The need for this conference was to prevent a European war in Africa especially as the rush for colonies in the continent was already creating tension and light skirmishes amongst the European powers involved. With the new interest in colonies, Germany acquired the following colonies in Africa during the period 1884-1885: German South West Africa (today Namibia); Togoland (today the Republic of Togo); Kamerun (today the Republic of Cameroon); German East Africa (today Tanzania); and Rwanda. As will be seen later, Germany was later forced to relinquish all these territories to the allied powers in the Treaty of Versailles after WWI.

Cameroon was therefore one of those regions in Africa that experienced tensions amongst European powers as well as between European powers and Africans as a result of the European quest to colonise the territory in the early 19th century. However, before the summoning of the Berlin West African conference, German traders along the coast had already concluded preliminary annexation treaties with the coastal kings of Cameroon on behalf of the German government and had hoisted their flag as a sign of annexation and effective occupation. However, the manner of this annexation was not as smooth as might be assumed. It is claimed that the German annexation happened just at a time when the British had changed their attitude in favour of annexing the territory and had dispatched their consul – Edward Hewett - to create protectorates in West Africa for the British including Cameroon. Unfortunately for Britain, treasury reluctance to finance Hewett delayed his departure (Fage, Oliver, Oliver & Sanderson, 1985) and he eventually arrived when Gustav Nachtigal, on behalf of the German government, had already concluded annexation treaties with the local chiefs and kings of the coastal towns of Douala, Batanga and Bimbia and had hoisted the German flag in the area thus declaring Cameroon a German colony. Hence there is the slogan ‘too late Hewett’ in Cameroon historiography referring to consul Hewett’s late attempt to secure Cameroon as a colony for the British. The explanation above could also justify British reference to the German annexation of Cameroon as the German coup in Cameroon (DeLancey, Mbuh, & Delancey, 2010). It should be highlighted that the German possession of Cameroon was initially limited to the coastal towns as a result of the signing of the Germano-Douala treaty of July, 12 1884 with the coastal chiefs which officially placed the coast of Cameroon under German influence and control. However, from the coast the Germans continued their exploration and penetration into the hinterland where they used their military prowess to subdue and annex several interior ethnic groups and regions and thus created Cameroon (Nfi, 2014).

The Berlin West African conference of 1884-1885 eventually partitioned Africa and endorsed the German acquisition of Cameroon. It is important to note that this partition was largely arbitrary as it did not take into account local geographic conditions and/or the ethnic compositions of the African communities (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011) that had existed prior to European colonialism. Considering that the conference had no African representative, it could therefore be claimed that the European partition of Africa in the 1884/85 conference of Berlin was conspiratorial in the spirit of imperialism, rather than accidental. The effects of this partition were

far reaching with major consequences being those which ultimately emerged as inter-state boundaries were only “artificialities at every point, as kingdoms, ethnic groups and families [that had co-existed for many centuries] were dissected arbitrarily according to European whims and caprices” (Asiwaju, 1984, cited in Awasom, 2003-2004, p. 87) and found themselves as minority groups in different spaces. The differences bequeathed by this partition of Africa and by the general European colonial presence in Africa and Cameroon in particular are therefore very profound in the sense that they have compounded Africa and Cameroon’s multifaceted problems of nation building (Awasom, 2003-2004), including tensions arising from reunification.

The verdict of the Berlin West African Conference marked the official beginning of the German rule in Cameroon – a colony that would last 30 years during which period Germany “negotiated and established the country’s international boundaries, set up the institutions for modern administration and gave rise to the idea of belonging together or being Cameroonian amongst the people of the various ethnic groups and traditional states of the territory” (Fanso, 1999, p. 282). This was the beginning of Cameroon as a conglomerate of states under colonial administration as opposed to the different nations that existed in the region before colonisation. Therefore, it can be taken that aspects such as same system of administration, education, same colonial language and culture and well defined boundaries that came with German annexation, qualifies this era as the beginning of the idea of national identity in Cameroon.

Meanwhile from the coast of Cameroon, the Germans extended their control and their claims inland over the years. Initially their major economic dealings with the interior were with African traders but because of the potential of making greater profit through direct access to the markets and raw materials of the interior, the Germans made use of their colonial power to break the African monopoly (Blackshire-Belay, 1992; DeLancey, 2013). This forceful German intrusion into the interior resulted in conflicts with the indigenous population who resisted amongst others: the disappearance of the middleman monopoly of trade that most of the ethnic groups enjoyed; the expropriation of indigenous land; the forceful use of indigenes as labourers for either the plantations or road and railway construction and the reluctance by the local population to pay taxes (Ngoh, 2012). However, Ngoh (2012) goes further to point out that German penetration into the interior was also facilitated through active collaboration from some ethnic groups that welcomed German rule. During the period of the German colonial rule in Cameroon (1884-1916), the colonial

authorities successfully signed 95 treaties with various ethnic groups in Cameroon (Ngoh, 2012) through which the indigenous chiefs and kings³ surrendered their rights of sovereignty, legislation and administration.

The main economic activity that the Germans introduced in Cameroon was plantation agriculture. DeLancey (2013) reveals that large estates were established in the south western part of Cameroon to provide tropical produce such as banana, rubber, cocoa, coffee, timber, and palm oil for Germany. Due to reluctance by the indigenous population to work in these plantations and other projects, the Germans instigated a harsh system of forced labour to meet the labour needs of German traders, plantation owners and government officials (DeLancey, 2013). The outcome of this unpopular labour practice was that many Cameroonians lost their lives serving German interest. The peak of this system was during the governorship of Jesko von Puttkamer (1895-1907). He was ultimately relieved of his duty as governor due to his untoward actions towards the native Cameroonians. Another element of German harshness was the practice of flogging. In light of this, Abanime (1985) argues that even though the whip was used in many European countries in former times as means of enforcing discipline in especially the military, the case of flogging in German Cameroon is of interest because it was reserved for blacks. White offenders could only get fines or jail sentences. This practice was given colonial backing in 1896 when a decree issued made whipping the standard penalty for blacks found guilty of minor offences (Abanime, 1985).

However, in the backdrop of these harsh measures, the German administration recorded some infrastructural successes. Examples include the extensive railway such as the 160-metre single-span railway bridge on the Sanaga South branch; the opening of hospitals in different parts of the colony including two major ones in Douala, one of which specialised in tropical diseases and the disenclavement of the interior through improvement of the road network (Abanime, 1985; DeLancey, 2013). It could nevertheless be argued that the rationale behind most of these projects was mercantilist rather than a genuine desire to improve the welfare of the indigenous population. Justification for this claim lies in the fact that forced and harsh labour was used in order to maximise favourable returns from agriculture and that the roads and railways developed mostly served the purpose of transporting plantation produce to the coastal areas for onward shipping to

³ Titles used even in contemporary post-colonial Cameroon for certain traditional rulers.

Europe. For obvious reasons, such intentions could not be explicitly expressed as the general idea was always to portray colonialism as being for the benefit of the colonised people. For example, in a message delivered at the ordinary general meeting of the African Society on October 28th 1902, the German authorities in Cameroon claimed that the main purpose of the railway programme in the country was to comply with the “most important recommendations of the Brussels conference being to extinguish slave-raiding, slave-dealing, and gradually slavery itself” (Müllendorff, 1902, p. 70). As much as the statement is true to the extent that slave trade was eventually suppressed, nonetheless the economic exploitative agenda behind the railway programme is not mentioned. This agenda is seen in the stance of Blackshire-Belay (1992) who submits in very strong words that the German occupation, domination and exploitation of African colonies were for the personal gains of Germany rather than the colonised people. Supporting this position, Arnett (1938) claims that German Cameroon was in many ways a neglected colony as it was regarded as unhealthy in climate and lacking in resources. She argues that the Reichstag (the German parliament) frequently opposed expenditure aimed at the development of Cameroon with the exceptions of the Buea area for plantation purposes. In spite of such castigation of the German agenda in their colonies Blackshire-Belay (1992) acknowledges the significant impact of German colonisation especially in the economic domain such as the introduction of Western methods of scientific research; setting up of new industries and construction of railways; pioneering the study of African linguistics, ethnography and related sciences; and building of harbours and roads.

In the domain of education, the interest of the German colonial administration was in the promotion of the German language, culture and promotion of administrative policies (Ndangoh, 2011). All education initiatives were therefore directed towards the achievement of the aforementioned. For instance, in 1910 an educational law was passed that supported the establishment of primary schools in some towns. However, the language of instruction in these schools was German and their subventions were contingent on the promotion of the German language and culture (Ndangoh, 2011). Similarly, van der Ploeg (1977, p.104) argues that the aim of this “assimilative curriculum” constituted part of efforts by the Germans to “placate and subvert” the coastal peoples who possessed monopoly of commercial access to the interior.

Another significant aspect of the German era in Cameroon is the 1911 territorial acquisition from French Equatorial Africa. The basis of this territorial exchange was the Franco-German tensions

over Morocco. In order to secure withdrawal of her rival from Morocco, France was obliged to give up a portion of their Equatorial Africa possession (Brock, 1932) which the Germans used to enlarge their territory of Cameroon. However, this territorial arrangement was short lived as the French re annexed them to their original possessions in 1916 after the German defeat of WWI.

Even though the German period in Cameroon (1884-1916) might have been too brief to create a profound and meaningful sentiment of cohesion and nationhood strong enough to evoke a sense of nationalism in its aftermath (Ardener, 1967, p. 293; Johnson, 1970, p. 69, cited in Awasom, 2000) yet it can be said that the German colonial era in Cameroon left an “indelible legacy of a common name-Kamerun-and a common German past” (Awasom, 2000, p. 94). Therefore the German colonisation of Cameroon is the ideological framework of the reunification movement that would consume Cameroon political discourse in the years leading to decolonisation and beyond because of the manifest desire by some Cameroonians to return to the German territorial frontiers before WWI.

In 1914, a vast and terrible conflict broke out between Britain, France and Russia on one side and Germany with Austria-Hungary on the other. Even though this conflict started in Europe by European powers, it immediately escalated to involve the entire world and was therefore called WWI. Even with the tensions that existed between colonial powers during the process of colonisation of Africa, such as the 1st (1905) and 2nd (1911) Morocco crises involving France and Germany; the Fashoda incident of 1898 involving France and Britain, it is fair to say colonial powers had managed to keep the peace between each other in Africa – but could not do the same in Europe in 1914. The fact that the colonial system was effectively in place by the outbreak of the European crises in 1914 is one reason that explains the escalation of the 1914 European crises to Africa and the rest of the world. The powers involved simply drew upon their colonial possessions around the world for soldiers, porters and money. As a result Davidson (1994) notes that for the first time on any scale, Africa was pulled into the quarrels of the outside world. By implication, the war was fought in Cameroon because of the significant political and economic presence of Germany in the territory.

Peacock (1982) described this war as the most “destructive and ferocious war the world had experienced” (p. 291). On November 11, 1918, the war ended with the signing of an armistice. In

the Treaty of Versailles signed with Germany on June 28, 1919 following the end of the war, Germany was declared guilty of provoking the war based on article 231 (the war guilt clause), and was consequently subjected to the imposition of various sanctions amongst which was the loss of all her colonies (Peacock, 1982). The defeat of Germany in WWI and the outcome of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany changed the political configuration of Cameroon and ushered in a new phase in the country's politico-historical development.

The fates of the German colonies in Africa were already being considered even before the armistice that officially ended the war. The war in Cameroon started in early August 1914 when a combined Anglo-French force known as the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) led by Sir Charles Dobell invaded the German colony. By September of the same year, the WAFF had captured the strategic Douala harbour and forced the Germans to retreat. In spite of stiff German opposition under Car Zimmermann, Yaoundé which was the final German stronghold in Cameroon, fell to the allies on 1st January 1916 forcing a further German retreat towards the neutral Spanish colony of Equatorial Guinea from where they surrendered to the allies after the fall of Mora on 20th February 1916 (Cameroon Department of Cultural Affairs, 1985). Even as the war was still going on in other parts of the world and would continue for another two years, in Cameroon the Germans were officially defeated and the Anglo-French forces were in complete control of the defunct German colony.

As soon as the last German stronghold in Cameroon fell to the allied powers on 20 February 1916, Britain and France jointly controlled the former German colony in a condominium – referring to the control of one state's affairs by two powers (Elango, 1985). Strategic considerations such as language differences, colonial policies and possibly pride, made the idea of the condominium to fade away as easily as it had been initiated. The failure of the condominium resulted in an agreement between Britain and France that formally partitioned the territory between them on 4 March 1916. The partition of the former German Cameroon marked a very significant historical moment for Cameroon. It was a moment that defined to a large extent the geo-political dispensation of post-colonial present day Cameroon. In the partition agreement, Britain and France respectively received one-quarter and three-quarters of the territory and its inhabitants, thus a ratio of 1:4 in favour of France (Awasom, 2000; Fanso, 1999; Njeuma, 1995). Fombad (2011) has provided two reasons why Britain settled for a smaller portion of the territory: Firstly was the fear of incurring financial responsibilities involved in taking on another colonial territory; secondly they were only

interested in that part of Cameroon that would enable them to better protect and consolidate their vast Nigerian colony. On 10 July 1919, the Anglo-French represented respectively by Viscount Milner and Henri Simon, signed a declaration in Paris that confirmed the partition and the borders as delineated on 4 March 1916 (Fombad, 2011)⁴.

According to Lee and Schutz (2012) the disproportionate nature of the partition was exacerbated by the fact that the boundary was totally unrelated to existing political, economic, demographic and physical features as constructed under the Germans. Supporting this view is Asiwaju (1985) who claims that in partitioning the territory, Britain and France made very feeble attempts to follow natural geographical features when this appeared convenient and acceptable to them; but generally they never seemed to care if the border affected former cultural and political units. Since the local populations were never consulted in this process, the consequences on them were enormous and these included amongst others division of ethnic groups and villages (e.g. the Bamums that were separated from the Nso and Ndop chiefdoms); the loss of farmland and other traditional sources of food; the disruption of traditional distance trade through imposition of custom tariffs at frontiers; disruption of community life and cross border migration (Nfi, 2014).

Such Anglo-French tendency as seen in the nature of this partition could be explained in the broader context of colonialism whereby the colonial powers' actions were informed more by their interest than the interest of the colonised people. Hence, the disproportionate nature of the Anglo-French partition of Cameroon being very similar to the arbitrary manner of the partition of the African continent at the conference of Berlin in 1884, both instances justifying the claim that the process of colonisation was designed to work according to the whims and caprices of the colonial powers at the expense of the colonised. A similar scenario depicting such European actions has already been captured in the manner of German consolidation of its rule in Cameroon using policies such as forced labour and whipping with the aim of securing their interest being to impose and maintain a European superiority complex over Africans and maximise the exploitation of natural resources.

⁴ A similar fate befell the other German colonies in Africa. For example Britain and France divided German Togoland. Belgium gained Ruanda-Urundi in northwestern German East Africa. German South West Africa (Namibia) was annexed to the Union of South Africa.

The British sphere of the partitioned Cameroon consisted of two disjointed narrow strips of territory in the West stretching from Lake Chad to the Atlantic coast and bordering on Nigeria (Nfi, 2011). Fanso (1999) submits that both the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation (UNO) conferred on Britain and France full powers to constitute their parts of Cameroon into customs, fiscal or currency and administrative unions or federations with the adjacent territories. Such position by the League of Nations and the UNO only helped to highlight them as part of the colonial apparatus at work. It is, thus, for this reason that Francophone Cameroon belonged to the Federation of Central Africa, albeit as a separate administrative unit. Meanwhile, on the other hand, for administrative reasons, the geographically disjointed Anglophone Cameroon was treated as an integral part of British Nigeria: “The Northern strip of the Anglophone territory was subdivided and fused with the administrations of three separate provinces of Northern Nigeria [British Northern Cameroon], while the southern part [British Southern Cameroon] became one of the administrative provinces of Southern, later Eastern Nigeria” (Fanso, 1999, p. 282). From 1922 to 1945 the British and French ruled their respective sections of Cameroon as mandated territories under the supervision of the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations and, subsequently, as trusteeship territories on behalf of the Trusteeship Council of the UNO from 1945 after the demise of the League of Nations.

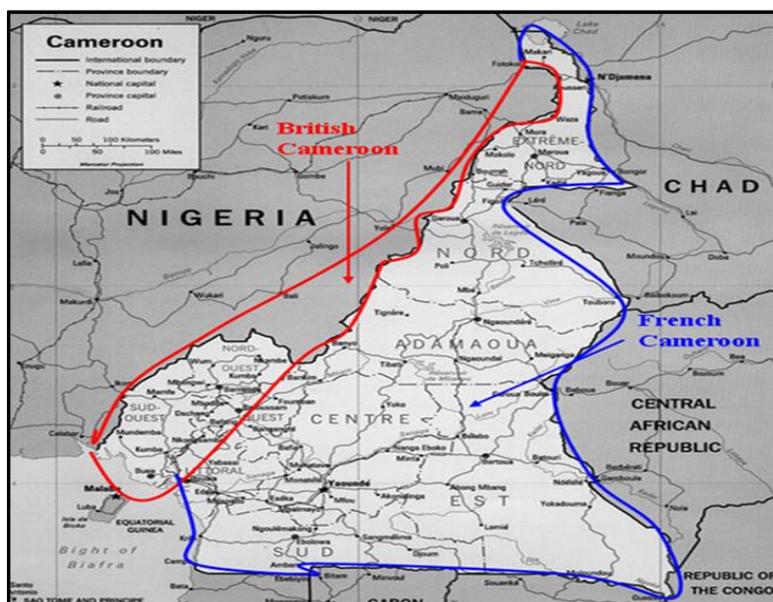
Despite its shortcomings, the partition was endorsed by the League of Nations in 1922. Scholars such as Awasom (2000) and Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997; 2000) have argued to the effect that this disproportionate partition of Cameroon after WWI was the foundation of a future Anglophone minority and a Francophone majority crisis in the region. In light of the above, it can be insinuated that the process of reunification that came later in 1961, and the post-colonial nation-state (re)construction, were bound to be challenging from the perspective that “separate colonial state formation and the development of territorial differences in languages and cultural legacies [had] laid the spatial and historical foundation for the construction of Anglophone and Francophone identities” (Awasom, 2002; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 10). The significance of the partition also lies in the fact that it created the foundation of a future minority Anglophone and majority Francophone in the region (Awasom, 2000) which has dominated contemporary Cameroonian political discourse. In contrast to the idea of creation of different identities as a result of the Anglo-French partition of Cameroon, Fanso (1999) argues that the 1916 division made many Cameroonians of both territories develop a new national consciousness of the oneness of

Cameroon. In substantiating this position, he adds that “petitions and demonstrations in favour of a united Kamerun (with a K and a U) were already in progress in Cameroon and abroad at the time of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and in 1920s and 1930s” (Fanso, 1999, p. 284). Hence nationalist activities in Cameroon building up to reunification in 1961 revolved around two principal themes: return to a ‘one Cameroon’ that would undermine the 1916 partition, or maintain the status-quo of a separate Cameroon along the 1916 partition line with the inherited Anglo-French colonial legacies operating for each region.

Therefore, the Anglo-French partition and rule of Cameroon is extremely significant in the political history of Cameroon and also in understanding the background and context of my study because it marked the official introduction of the diametrically opposed colonial cultures and administrations of Britain and France into Cameroon. It should also be noted that the struggle to undo the partition, to attain independence and re-establish one Cameroon through reunification which were the immediate objectives of nationalists across the intra Cameroon boundary, progressed differently in the two Cameroons (Fanso, 1999). What follows will highlight these nationalist efforts beginning within French and then British Cameroons.

Figure 1.1 Map of the Anglo-French partition of German Kamerun – 10 July 1919

Source: http://mapetiteniche.blogspot.com/2012_02_01_archive.html



A clear illustration of the Cameroon after the 1916 Anglo-French partition is shown in Figure 1 above. The area shaded blue represents the four-fifths of German Cameroon that was taken over by the French while the section in red represents the one-fifth section taken over by Britain. Furthermore, the section of British Cameroons also depicts the British Southern Cameroons that voted in the 1961 plebiscite to reunite with French Cameroon hence it is part of present day Cameroon while the British Northern Cameroons voted against reunification and in favour of integration with Nigeria hence the northern part of the red shaded area on the map is blank indicating that the territory is not part of present day Cameroon⁵.

In the French part of Cameroon, the French policies of assimilation and association were implemented. The policy of assimilation was a French colonial policy that aimed at ‘civilising’ her colonies by absorbing them administratively and culturally into France. Assimilation was later replaced by the policy of association which held that France’s colonial interests could better be served by a more flexible policy in which the colonised people were seen and treated as partners with France in the colonial project (Betts, 2005). It was to achieve this objective that during the trusteeship period, the French sponsored political movements such as the *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française* – JEUCAFRA (Cameroonian French Youths) to promote French interest in Cameroon (Awason, 2000). Members of JEUCAFRA were allowed to represent French Cameroon in the French National Assembly. Further measures were also taken by the French such as the institution of an elected Territorial Assembly and the recognition of political parties. In a political sense therefore, the French administration in Cameroon created an atmosphere that favoured political activities even though such activities were as good only to the extent that they did not undermine French interest. These political reforms created a framework for political consciousness and served as the basis for Cameroonian nationalism in French Cameroon. A positive impact of the French colonial policy in the region was that it led to improved infrastructure development. In light of this, Ardener (1962, p. 343) submits that by the 1930s, the road network in the French Cameroon was so improved that it “excited the reluctant admiration even of German colonial irredentists”.

⁵ It is important to state at this point that the history of Cameroon from the period of the partition up to reunification and beyond has been largely dominated by a few Cameroonian scholars. It is for this reason that these few scholars and their different works have been over used in this section of this chapter.

In the administration of French Cameroon, the chiefs and the elites played significant roles. Arnett (1938) captured the extent of their intervention in the nature of the French administration structure as follows: firstly there was the governor's advisory council that consisted of two African members and two non-official Europeans, with the main body consisting of senior government officials; secondly there was the chamber of commerce which was required by law to have two African members; lastly there was the *Conseils des Notables* (council of notables) which were assemblies headed by the senior administrative officer and met twice a year in every circumscription. The notables were nominated by the Governor from the district and village chiefs, heads of families and traders, so that every ethnic group in the circumscription was represented. Arnett (1938) explains that the part played by Africans in the first two bodies was essentially trivial. However, their role was very substantial in the last body – the council of notables. The themes discussed by them included the taxes, the price of the *prestations*, that is, the money rates to be paid in lieu of so many days forced labour, the requisitions of materials for government and the programme of public works.

In spite of these French initiatives, during the trusteeship period, sentiments in favour of a return to a 'one Cameroon' as during the German period were expressed in political initiatives such as pressure groups and political parties. One such movement created on 10 April 1948 in Francophone Cameroon was the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* – UPC (Cameroon People's Union). Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003) submit that the UPC was a radical nationalist party that championed the idea of rapid independence and reunification of Cameroon. However, in order to gain legal recognition from the French administration in Cameroon, the radical agenda of the party was not disclosed in the charter of the party when it was formed in 1948 (Fanso, 1999). The French administration was deceived into believing that the UPC was neither in opposition to the French nation, nor the existing French constitution and that the party was going to work within the framework of the French union. It was on these bases that the party was given recognition in 1948, and was the reason why the immediate unveiling of the real objectives of the UPC and its relentless campaign to achieve those objectives in the immediate future after their recognition was regarded by the French as a stab in the back (Fanso, 1999).

The radical agenda of the UPC together with its affiliation with the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* – RDA (African Democratic Movement) which had close ties with the French Communist

Party (PCF) reinforced France's opposition to the UPC which they accused of communism (Gardinier, 1963, p. 47 cited in Atangana, 1997). Being the first political party in French Cameroon with effective organisation and strength (Awasom, 2000), the UPC orchestrated a series of campaigns of sabotage, violence and terror, after its creation, which resulted in the territory being ungovernable and gave the French colonial authorities no options but to ban the party and its subsidiary organisations in 1955. However, the ban did little to affect the activities and pressure from the UPC as many of its leaders either escaped to British Cameroons from where they continued the struggle while others went underground and continued their armed struggle through guerrilla movements (Fanso, 1999).

The aggressive activities of the UPC party in French Cameroon could be explained within the context of the spirit of decolonisation that swept across Africa in the 1950s. It should be recalled that France had relied heavily on the military and other forms of support from her African colonies in her war efforts during World War II (hereafter WWII). However, the experience of France's African colonies fighting alongside Charles de Gaulle's Free French forces had the implication of raising their profile and political consciousness to the extent that after the war the colonies felt the right to demand equitable relationship with France. Such demands did not simply manifest in spontaneous manifestations or revolts; like the case with the UPC, it resulted "in organised movements, having influential leaders and a doctrine, conscious of their strength and lacking any inferiority complex with respect to the colonial powers; they are often accompanied by strikes, terrorist acts, ambushes and guerrilla warfare in the bush" (Van Langenhove, 1961, p. 405).

In spite of the ban placed on the UPC, its underground activities created awareness on the part of the French government for a need to speed up political reforms in the territory. There was an indication at this point that the revolutionary forces against colonisation were becoming so strong both in Cameroon as well as in other parts of the French colonial empire that France did not want to continue opposing them. In line with this ideological shift, the French president is quoted as saying: "the task which hitherto consisted of taking upon ourselves the government, the administration, the existence of colonial peoples is now out of date". (Van Langenhove, 1961, p. 422). Evidently this sentiment was a reaction to the perceived self-consciousness which the colonised people had acquired and to their strong desire for independence.

Such awareness by the French colonial authorities, together with prevailing international circumstances, resulted in the adoption and implementation of a series of political measures leading to full sovereignty for French Cameroon in 1960. These political concessions started in 1956 with the promulgation of the *loi cadre* (outlined law) that delineated a new policy for the territory. According to this new policy, the territory was established as a state and granted a statute which only reserved certain powers to the administering authority (Devernois, 1959). In more detail, the outlined law stipulated that each local assembly in the territories under French rule was granted the power to elect from among its members a council of ministers which under the presidency of the Governor constituted the executive for the territory. The minister who had the largest vote in the assembly was to become the vice president. Therefore, French Cameroonians were no longer to be represented in the French Assembly in Paris as French Cameroon became a quasi-autonomous state with institutions along the lines of the French parliamentary democracy. As a direct consequence of these changes, Andre Marie Mbida – an anti-UPC and anti-nationalist (Fanso, 1999), who was elected deputy in the French National Assembly in 1956, was named Cameroon's first Prime Minister on May 1957 (Atangana, 1997; Fanso, 1999). Although Mbida was a strong opponent of the UPC, he failed to impress many in the newly created Legislative Assembly of Cameroon due to his unpopular programme which rejected reunification and delayed independence. The fact that by this time the French were recognising the inevitability of their colonies moving towards independence also meant Andre Marie Mbida was unpopular with the French administration that was rather in favour of a programme that will favour independence and reunification without offending the French and cooperation with France. As a result, Mbida was forced to resign on February 16, 1958, less than a year after becoming the prime minister of the first African-led government in French Cameroon. He was replaced as prime minister by Ahmadou Ahidjo who presented a programme that satisfied the whims and caprices of the French. As if this was not enough political concession for French Cameroon, in June 1958, the Legislative Assembly passed a motion requesting a modification of its statute to recognize its right to opt for independence. The French and the UN General Assembly assented and the new statute, which replaced the statute of 1957, took effect in January 1959. This new statute conferred full internal autonomy on Cameroon with Ahmadou Ahidjo as Prime Minister. It should be noted that the French reserved certain powers in the 1959 statute such as the right to intervene in the event of armed insurrection or war (Atangana, 1997).

The last phase of constitutional developments under the French and of concessions granted to French Cameroon by the colonial authorities was the total abrogation of its trusteeship authority over the territory. In this regard, M. Jacquinet, the French Minister of State, declared in the UNO General Assembly that “on 1 January 1960, the full powers of a sovereign state will be ipso facto passed to the state of the Cameroons for her to use as she thinks fit. The state of the Cameroons will have, therefore, sovereignty equal to that of the other members of the United Nations. It should therefore, legitimately find its place within the Organisation” (Devernois, 1959, p. 234). The implication of this was that French Cameroon became completely detached from France and the French union on 1st January 1960 with Ahmadou Ahidjo as pioneer head of the new state that was now called *La Republique du Cameroun* (The Republic of Cameroon). With the desired independence achieved, Ahidjo’s attention then shifted to political developments in the British sector of Cameroon as reunification was still very much part and parcel of his political programme for the two Cameroons. Some scholars have argued that reunification was not a priority for Ahidjo but rather a tactical strategy to deprive the UPC revolutionaries of their ideological platform and relevance by appropriating their slogans (Awasom, 2002). Evidence for this claim was the fact that during his inaugural speech in the Legislative Assemble on 18th February 1958, Ahidjo while committing himself to independence and reunification indicated that reunification was not really a priority by warning that “...under no circumstances would reunification delay the independence of French Cameroon” (Awasom, 2002, p. 429).

Before proceeding to developments in British Cameroon, I should state that in a political sense, the colonial policies of Britain and France were diametrically opposed to each other. While the policy of assimilation described the French colonial attitude in general, Britain's attitude, on the other hand, was to regard the Colonies as separate entities, and to hand over to their inhabitants an ever-increasing share in the management of their own affairs until such time as they attain to responsible self-government (Bourdillon, 1944). This implied that that British colonies were not expected to send representatives to the British parliament as was the situation with the French colonial policy where in the colonies were considered as part of metropolitan France (*France autre mer*) and sent deputies to the French parliament. In a nut shell, through the policies of assimilation and association, the French wanted to absorb the colonial people into becoming French men. Where as in the British sphere of Cameroon, as a result of their colonial philosophy (explained above), the British practiced a policy of indirect rule or local native administration whereby

Cameroonians were ruled through their traditional authorities and institutions (Bourdillon, 1944). Traditional institutions were seen by the British authorities as important auxiliaries in the running of the trust territory and used as such. The system was based on the allegiance of the indigenous peoples to their traditional rulers who, with their councils, were then trained by the British colonial officials to carry out local government within the traditional tribal framework (Frost, 1945). This policy was therefore favourable to the locals who were ruled by the traditional leaders and their institutions being respected but also favourable to Britain whom with their limited personnel on the ground were still able to carry out their administrative business.

In spite of the developments in British Cameroons, the Francophone base UPC ideas of independence and reunification quickly spread to the region due to links between UPC leaders and some Anglophone nationalist leaders especially Dr. E.M.L Enderley as well as some French Cameroonian émigrés (political refugees from French Cameroon following the ban of the UPC in that part of the territory) (Awasom, 2002; Nfi, 2011). It is known that these political refugees from French Cameroon constituted the initial and essential element of the reunification movement in British Cameroon. Their commitment to the reunification course was unquestionable and was motivated by two principal factors: reunification was going to be a logical way of terminating their stigmatisation as aliens in the British Cameroon and of reuniting with their kith and kin in French Cameroon (Awasom, 2000). Enderley was the earliest Southern Cameroonian political figure to embrace the idea of reunification as a protest against what he claimed was a flagrant disregard by the British of its trusteeship status by treating their territory as an integral part of Nigeria. He therefore perceived reunification as a useful tool to further his preferred option at the time of autonomous regional status for the territory. These ambitions were carried out through the activities of the political movement – the Cameroon National Federation (CNF) which he chaired.

However, Enderley's later actions suggested that his reunification rhetoric was simply a ploy to secure an honourable status for Southern Cameroons within the Nigerian legislature than a real political show of faith. Evidence for this was the fact that as part of the decolonisation machinery in British colonial Africa, the Littleton constitution was adopted in Nigeria in 1954 which granted Southern Cameroons the status of quasi-federal territory with Enderley as leader of Government Business. Ironically, the new leader of Government of Southern Cameroons under the Littleton constitution later gradually lost interest in reunification and abandoned its course (Le Vine, 1964,

cited in Awasom, 2002; Chem-Langhee, 1976). His subsequent change of objectives for the CNF to focus on a more equitable representation of Southern Cameroonians in the Nigerian legislature and on the betterment of workers conditions (Awasom, 2000) were sufficient pointers to his insincerity with the reunification course.

This change of policy laid the foundation for the emergence of a pro reunificationist politician in the Southern Cameroons political landscape in the person of John Ngu Foncha, whom it is claimed received financial, material and other forms of assistance from the Francophone politicians, especially the UPC that shared a similar aspiration for reunification of the two trust territories of Cameroon (Awasom, 2000; 2002). The support was necessary because the pro reunificationist agenda adopted and pursued by Foncha was not supported by the British whom it is claimed had all along prepared their territory for integration with their colony of Nigeria the same way British Togoland had been fused with Ghana in 1956 through a UN plebiscite. The British were therefore overtly opposed to the idea of reunification of the two Cameroons (Awasom, 2000; 2003-2004; Chem Langhee, 1976). Therefore, the support from French Cameroon pro-reunificationist was instrumental in galvanising Foncha's successful Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) campaign during the 1961 UN organised plebiscite in favour of reunification with French Cameroon. This will be discussed later in some detail.

It should be noted that it was not only the UPC links that triggered nationalist sentiments in the Southern Cameroons. Konings (1999) posits that the blatant neglect of the territory's development, as well as to a dominant position of the Igbo and Efik-Ibibio, both migrants from the eastern region of Nigeria, in its economy encouraged the growth of nationalism and autonomist tendencies in the Southern Cameroons. His argument is that this state of affair was a result of the nature of the administration of the Southern Cameroons as an appendage of Nigeria. Greater autonomy within the Nigerian political system or self-government for Southern Cameroons was therefore required as pre requisite measures for the advancement of the much desired development in the Southern Cameroons. As a result of pressure from Southern Cameroonians for the causes mentioned above, the British just as the French had done in their own section of Cameroon were forced into making political concessions. First was the granting of a quasi-regional status to Southern Cameroons with limited degree of self-government within the federation of Nigeria in 1954; this was followed in 1958 by the granting of full regional status with a House of Assembly in Southern Cameroons that

was known as the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly (Awasom, 2000; Konings, 1999; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Nfi, 2012).

Again as demonstrated with the French rule in Cameroon, the granting of political concessions in British Cameroons was in line with the post-WWII spirit of decolonisation that was sweeping across the African continent and other parts of the world where people were subjected to colonial rule. For example this trend was succinctly articulated on the 3rd February 1960 by the then British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan while addressing the South African parliament in Cape Town. Macmillan encouraged his government to adopt a policy of decolonisation on the continent and referred to the wind of change that was blowing across Africa as a political fact (Ovendale, 1995). He was, undoubtedly, alluding to the resistance to colonial rule as well as the systematic and ultimate collapse of such rule in territories throughout Africa.

Meanwhile, with the granting of a full regional status in 1958, political discourse in British Cameroons quickly turned towards independence. Only the nationalists in the region were strongly divided over the form of independence the territory should take and three distinct political alternatives had emerged. These included: firstly, sentiments in favour of full autonomy for Southern Cameroons as a region of Nigeria, or integration which was spearheaded by Enderley and his CPNC party; secondly there was the idea of secession from Nigeria followed by reunification with French Cameroon, a course that was championed by the KNDP party of John Ngu Foncha; and finally the traditional leaders wanted full separation and independence for British Cameroons or secession (Ardener, 1962; Awasom, 2000; 2002; Fanso, 1999). These three positions could be summed-up respectively as integration, reunification, or secession.

The rigid nature of the political differences in the Southern Cameroons evoked the need for elections in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly with the view of defining the political direction and future of the territory. Unfortunately for Southern Cameroonians, the 1959 elections did not provide a clear answer to this question as the CPNC that campaigned for integration with Nigeria obtained twelve seats while the KNDP that campaigned for reunification with French Cameroon obtained fourteen seats in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly (Nfi, 2012). The lack of an outright majority on the question was an indication of the tension and uncertainty on the future of the territory. Things were made worse when in 1960 a reunificationist in the person

of A.N. Boja crossed carpet and joined the integrationists leaving the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly divided into two equal camps of thirteen politicians in favour of reunification and thirteen for integration (Nfi, 2012). At the end of a series of meetings amongst the various stake holders and political opinion leaders in British Cameroon aimed at reconciling the varying opinions, the UN in 1959 endorsed the notion of a plebiscite as the best way for British Cameroonians to determine their political future (Fanso, 1999; Nfi, 2012). The plebiscite, which was to be held on 11 February 1961 as a prelude to granting independence to British Cameroons, British Southern and Northern Cameroons had two questions for the electorate as contained in the UN General Assembly Resolution 1352 XIV of October 1959:

(I) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the Independent Federation of Nigeria?

OR

(II) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the Independent Republic of Cameroon? (Federation of Nigeria, 1961, cited in Awasom, 2000, p. 110)

The popular option also referred to as the third option of independence as an autonomous state (meaning without integration or reunification) was not included in the plebiscite under the guise that the Anglophone state would not be economically viable to stand as an independent nation (Fanso, 1999 & 2009; Konings, 1999) and due to fears by the anti-colonial powers in the UN of a further balkanisation of Africa (Konings, 1999). Evidence of the popularity of the third option that was ignored by the UN can be found in an expression made by the influential Fon (traditional ruler) of Bafut during a political and traditional leadership opinion conference organised in Mamfe. He said: “We rejected Dr. Enderley because he wanted to take us to Nigeria. If Mr. Foncha tries to take us to French Cameroon we shall also run away from him. French Cameroon is fire and Nigeria is water. I support secession without unification” (Fanso, 2009, p. 7).

In the view of Chem-Langhee (1976), the plebiscite questions were simply a choice between Nigerian citizenship and Cameroonian citizenship, considering that Nigeria and French Cameroon had already attained independence on October 1st 1960 and January 1st 1960 respectively prior to the February 11 1961 plebiscite in British Cameroons. Unfortunately the UN attached no conditions to the two kinds of citizenships it offered the electorate implying that the electorate were bound by the plebiscite to accept any Nigerian or Cameroonian citizenship depending on the plebiscite outcome.

The result of the plebiscite was an overwhelming victory in favour of reunification for the electorate in British Southern Cameroons although, in British Northern Cameroons, the result was the reverse with the majority opting to remain in Nigeria. In a more detailed appraisal of the plebiscite results in Southern Cameroons, Chem-Langhee (1976) revealed that two of the six administrative divisions (Nkambe division in the grassland and Kumba division in the forest region) voted for integration with Nigeria. However, when put together, the results of all six divisions reflected a massive backing for the reunification option. With the plebiscite results available, the UN General Assembly moved fast to implement the aspirations of the electorate in both sections of British Cameroons. On 21st April 1961, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 1608(XV) that terminated the trusteeship agreements with respect to Northern Cameroons on 1st October when it was officially integrated into the Saruauna province in Northern Nigeria and was known as Gongola State⁶. By the same UN resolution with respect to Southern Cameroons, on 1st October 1961 it officially joined the Republic of Cameroon (Fombad, 2011). From this point henceforth, British Northern Cameroons was forever lost as part of the reunification discourse. The onus now rested on the leadership of *La Republique du Cameroun* (President Ahidjo) and of the Southern Cameroons (Prime Minister Foncha) and their respective delegations to work out a constitution for the reunified Cameroon. The fact that two territories inherited from British and French colonial rule and with different cultural legacies, languages and levels of economic development needed to be merged (Awasom, 2002; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997) were not easy circumstances for the task of reunification that was ahead. As a result, three important constitutional related conferences were organised in different towns in Cameroon with the purpose of adopting measures that will accommodate this cultural pluralism and ethnic fragmentation in the new nation-state. These conferences were: the Bamenda All Party Conference that took place in the town of Bamenda in Anglophone Cameroon; the Foumban Constitutional Conference that held in the town of Foumban in Francophone Cameroon; and the Yaounde Tripartite Conference that was organised in Yaounde, the political capital of Francophone Cameroon.

The Bamenda Conference was summoned from June 26 to 28, 1961. Immediately after the plebiscite, leaders of both Southern Cameroons and *La Republique* met several times to discuss

⁶ Presently that territory is divided into the Adamawa, Borno and Taraba States of Northern Nigeria (Smith, 2005).

the future of the new state. In one of these meetings, it is claimed that both leaders had agreed that the new state should be a federation but their inability to agree on the nature of such federation prompted the need for a constitutional conference to address the impasse (Fanso, 1999; Konings, 1999). That constitutional conference was then planned for Foumban from July 17 to 21, 1961. Therefore, the Bamenda Conference was a preparatory conference for the Southern Cameroons delegation that was to meet their Francophone counterparts the following month in Foumban (Fanso, 2009; Ngoh, 2011b). The aim was to formulate draft constitution proposals with the understanding that while in Foumban, they will present the draft and the Republic of Cameroon led by Ahidjo will present theirs so that the two delegations would then arrive at a consensus on a constitution for the reunited Cameroon. The Bamenda conference was attended by the ruling KNDP party of JN Foncha, representatives of the opposition CPNC party of Enderley and other Southern Cameroons political stake holders such as the Native Authorities, the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs as well as civil society (Fanso, 2009; Ngoh, 1996; Konings, 1999).

The Bamenda Conference produced the following constitutional proposals: the establishment of a bi-cameral federal legislature; a governor or head of each state, with a prime minister as head of an accountable government in each of the component states; wide range of legislative powers to the states; the maintenance of a House of Chiefs in Southern Cameroons as well as the customary court system; separate state and federal citizenship; a ceremonial rather than an executive head of state; the reservation of some quota of ministerial positions at federal level for each state; specific provisions for the protection of fundamental human rights; power vested on the president to veto legislation detrimental to the rights of states (Ngoh, 1996; Rubin, 1971, cited in Konings 1999). An analysis of these proposals reveals an inclination by the Southern Cameroons delegation towards a very loose federation with greater powers vested on the different states than on the federal government. The adoption of these proposals meant the delegation was now equipped to meet their French counterparts in Foumban.

Things did not go as expected by the Southern Cameroons delegation once the Foumban Conference started in July 1961. Ahidjo refused to consider the Bamenda constitutional proposals and went on to suggest that he would only accept recommendations on his own constitutional proposals while cautioning that he and his delegation would be the final arbiters of what would be accepted (Start, 1976, cited in Konings, 1999). In Ahidjo's own words, "...It became incumbent

on the Republic of Cameroon [that is, Francophone Cameroon], which already enjoyed international sovereignty and which possessed its own institutions, to revise its own constitution in order to form a union with the brotherly territory of the Southern Cameroons” (Awasom, 2003-2004, p. 100). This was a huge set back to the Anglophone delegation who now found itself examining Ahidjo’s proposals instead of deliberating upon both sets of proposals as they had expected. The reality was beginning to set in – that the conference was actually a meeting of two unequal partners with the Francophone delegation in a superior bargaining position. It was therefore not surprising that the final constitution was actually an imposition by the Francophone elite upon the Anglophone minority rather than a document borne out of deliberated and concerted effort between the two delegations (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003).

The final version of the constitution was a reflection of the minimal role played by the Anglophone delegation at the conference. It included the following clauses: the creation of two states to constitute the Federal Republic of Cameroon with the former Republic of Cameroon henceforth to be called the state of East Cameroon and the former Southern Cameroons to be called the state of West Cameroon; the official languages of the Federal Republic to be English and French; the rejection of dual citizenship as proposed by the Anglophone delegation in favour of a single Cameroonian citizenship (Fonchingong, 2010; Konings, 1999). Furthermore, the constitution granted practically all authority to the federal state and created a presidential regime at federal level, implying that in contrast to the Bamenda proposal, the federal president was to be active and highly executive rather than a ceremonial head. Moreover, the Anglophone proposal for a loose federation which they considered a guarantee of equal partnership and the preservation of the cultural heritage and identity of both parties was ignored and instead a highly centralised federal constitution was adopted. The constitution adopted at Foumban was expected to come into effect on October 1, 1961, the proclaimed Independence Day for Southern Cameroons and the reunification day for the two federated states (Fanso, 2009). But before then, a final conference had to take place in Yaounde to round up reunification issues.

The conference in Yaounde took place from 5 to 8 August, 1961. It was dubbed the tripartite conference because it involved three delegations: from Southern Cameroons, the Republic of Cameroon and the United Kingdom (Ngo, 1996; Nfi, 2014). The purpose of the conference was to address issues that were considered vital for the reunified nation but had either been left out from

the Foumban talks or not resolved satisfactorily. These issues concerned: the situation of Southern Cameroonians who were serving in the Nigerian army and police; civil servants and foreign agents who were working in Southern Cameroons; status of federal services such as customs, ports, civil aviation, post and telecommunications, federal transport, police, public works. A series of resolutions was provided with respect to the issues raised. For example it was agreed that a delegation would be sent to Nigeria to find out with Southern Cameroonians serving in the military and police there if they will want to return home and join the force in Cameroon. Moreover, all services that were considered federal had to be placed under a commissioner in order to ease their transfer to the Federal Republic of Cameroon (Ngho, 1996). With all these issues resolved, president Ahidjo visited the Southern Cameroons where the British authorities constitutionally transferred the sovereignty of Southern Cameroons to him as Head of State and on 1st October 1961, Southern Cameroons was proclaimed an independent country by reunification with the Republic of Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

A plethora of scholars on this topic have come to the conclusion that the federation that followed reunification was a sham federation which safe for appearances, was actually a preparatory stage for the annexation of Southern Cameroons through the assimilation of their territory into a highly centralised Francophone unitary state (Awasom, 2003-2004; Chem-langhee, 1995; Fanso, 1999 & 2009; Fonchingong, 2010; Konings, 1999; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003; Nfi, 2014; Tangwa, 2011). These scholars have all presented arguments for the claim that as soon as the federal constitution was enforced in October 1961 the federation began moving rapidly and systematically towards a unitary system. By so doing, they have engaged in a number of initiatives adopted by Ahidjo after reunification to undo the federal system and put in place what could be explained as his ultimate goals being the establishment of a strong and highly centralised unitary state and reducing the British legacy in West Cameroon to its barest minimum in order to ensure what he claimed would be national integration (Konings, 1999). These initiatives included:

- The division of the federation into six administrative regions with West Cameroon constituting one region. The idea of placing these regions under a federal inspector, who was directly accountable to the president, definitely did not provide for equal partnership of both parties as was expected. It simply undermined the authority of the federated states and of the prime minister especially that of West Cameroon.
- The introduction of the CFA Franc in West Cameroon in 1962 to replace the West African sterling as the only legal tender for the whole country.
- In 1954, the metric system replaced the imperial systems of weights and measures.

- In 1966, Ahidjo dissolved all political parties in East and West Cameroon in favour of a unified party – the Cameroon National Union (CNU) with himself as head of this sole party in the country. The dissolution of political pluralism was done under the guise of promoting and consolidating national unity.
- In 1968, Ahidjo without consulting the State Assembly of West Cameroon appointed ST Muna, a ‘unitarist’ to replace the popular pro federalist AN Jua as prime minister of West Cameroon (Konings, 1999).
- Then in 1970 he appointed Muna as vice president of the federal Republic. This particular appointment was of great significance for two elements: Firstly it was a violation of the federal constitution that prohibited the same individual from simultaneously occupying the post of prime minister of West Cameroon and vice president of the federal republic; secondly it meant that JN Foncha who was the architect of reunification was successfully side-lined due to his opposition to over centralization and anything that threatened the federation. He was replaced by Muna who had earlier in 1965 portrayed himself as a promising ally to Ahidjo when he advocated the creation of a single political party and a unitary system for the country (Fanso, 2009; Konings, 1999).

All these measures notwithstanding, Awasom (2003-2004) submits that there was still a semblance of exercise of power by the Anglophones and a degree of political autonomy thanks to the fact that up to this point they had a functioning Anglophone government at state level. However, whatever semblance ‘of exercise of power’ the Anglophone seemed to have under the federal constitution were all to change in a matter of time as Ahidjo’s measures over the years had successfully taken him to the verge of finally attaining his grand plan. On May 6 1972, Ahidjo casually informed the federal assembly of his intention to organise a referendum on 20th May 1972 on the question of instituting a unitary state. His justification for the decision were claims that federalism impeded economic development because it was too expensive to run for a developing country and was draining the country financially due to its four assemblies, three governments and duplication of posts in East and West Cameroon (Awasom, 2003-2004; Konings, 1999; Nfi, 2014; Tangwa, 2011). However, the purpose of the referendum in itself was going to be another blatant abrogation of the federal constitution which stated in Clause 1 of article 47 that: “any proposal for the revision of the present constitution which impairs the unity and integrity of the federation shall be inadmissible” (Konings, 1999, p. 303). In spite of this warning against any threat to the continuation of the federation, the Cameroonian electorate was summoned on 20th May 1972 to cast their votes for or against the draft constitution instituting a United Republic of Cameroon. When the votes were counted, the outcome revealed an overwhelming 99.99% in favour of the draft constitution, and hence for the immediate establishment of the United Republic (Awasom, 2003-2004; Fanso, 2009, Konings, 1999; Nfi, 2014). The autocratic nature of Ahidjo’s leadership

has been scrutinised by Chem-Langhee (1995), Fonchingong (2010) and Konings (1999) as an influential factor responsible for the referendum outcome. In light of this, the above scholars expressed the view that because of Ahidjo's autocratic and hard-hand form of leadership it was unwise and physically unsafe to hold and express views contrary to those of the president on any issue, let alone oppose in words or deeds any of his plans or actions. Under such conditions, no one was allowed to campaign for a negative vote as that would have been interpreted as subversion (Fanso, 2009). As flawed as the election turned out to be, the outcome was hugely significant in terms of the direction the country was taking. Awasom (2002) has provided the following changes that were introduced as a result of the abrogation of federalism:

- The name of Cameroon changed from Federal Republic of Cameroon to United Republic of Cameroon.
- The two stars on the country's flag during the federal system were now replaced by a single star as a symbol of unity.
- The federated states of East and West Cameroon were abolished.
- A mono-cameral National Assembly of 120 deputies was established.
- The new Republic was administratively divided into seven provinces with the federal state of West Cameroon being divided into the North West and South West provinces.

With the unexpected resignation of president Ahidjo in 1982, there were great expectations from Cameroonians across the linguistic divide that the constitutional deficiencies were going to be addressed and redressed under the new leadership. This was not to be as Ahidjo's constitutional successor and loyal collaborator, Paul Biya was no different. It was simply a situation of personalities changing but ideology staying the same. In 1984, Paul Biya, issued a decree reverting the name of the country to *La République du Cameroun* (Tangwa, 2011) the name of French East Cameroon before Reunification. According to Tangwa (2011) this move could be variously interpreted either as an act of unilateral secession from the union by Francophone Cameroon or as an act of annexation and assimilation of Anglophone into Francophone Cameroon. With Anglophone frustrations, there is no doubt that the unexpected and dictatorial action(s) of the then new president has since been shaping politics in Cameroon. The reintroduction of multi-party politics and liberalisation of the political landscape of Cameroon in 1990 provided the Anglophone nationalists with an opportunity to stake a greater claim to the national agenda. This led to the creation of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) political party, mostly by Anglophone Cameroonians amongst other political parties and pressure groups in Cameroon. However, due to the fact that frustrations had led to polarisation amongst the Anglophones themselves, most of

them quickly became disillusioned with the SDF because it stood for devolution of power or decentralisation within a united Cameroon as opposed to a return to the constitution that had brought the two groups together in 1961 (Fanso, 1999; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Smith, 2005). This demand from the majority of Anglophone Cameroons could obviously not materialise as even the former president had arrogantly reminded Southern Cameroonians at one point that they had voted in the 1961 plebiscite for reunification and not federalism (Fanso, 2009; Konings, 1999, 2003). Similarly in a series of interviews in Cameroon and France, president Biya had held the view that federalism was inappropriate for a country like Cameroon (Awasom, 2003-2004). What both leaders failed to understand is that the massive vote for the reunification option during the 1961 plebiscite was only due to assurances from Ahidjo that the union was going to be strictly on a federal basis.

Government's refusal to entertain the federal proposal of Anglophones led to the holding of two Anglophone conferences tagged the All Anglophone Conference (AAC1) in Buea in 1993 and the AAC2 in Bamenda in 1994 (Awasom, 2003-2004; Smith, 2005; Konings, 1999; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997). The impressive turn out of Anglophones of various walks of life (academics, religious, business, traditional rulers, political elite) to both conferences (Awasom, 2003-2004) was indicative of the disillusionment and frustration with the union with Francophones. It is important to note that the circumstances surrounding the two conferences were never the same hence the resolutions arrived for both were also vastly different. In the case of AAC1, the objective was to look into issues related to the welfare of Anglophones, their posterity and territory. The outcome of this first conference was the issuing of the Buea Declaration which in essence called for a return to the federal form of government (Awasom, 2003-2004). As was expected, the Buea Declaration was snubbed by Biya which then led to the convening of AAC2 with the aim of charting a way forward for the so-called Anglophone problem. It was in this second conference that the discourse of secession started developing as participants were suggesting a unilateral declaration for independence of Anglophone Cameroon if the Biya regime persisted in its refusal to engage in constitutional talk. From the ashes of AAC2 therefore emerged a pressure group called the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) which has a stated objective of regaining the independence of the two English-speaking provinces through non-violent means (Awasom, 2003-2004; Smith, 2005; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997). Even though many repressive measures have since been adopted against the SCNC such as arrest and detention of its leaders and sympathisers

with very lengthy jail terms, the movement has stood the test of time and is still following its course both at home and abroad.

This was the state of affairs when the country ‘celebrated’ fifty years of its reunification on 20th February 2014⁷ with many asking the question as to what went wrong with the dreams of this post-colonial nation? The answer obviously lies with the systematic breaches to the federal constitution in the build-up to the referendum of 1972 and a blatant destruction of the spirit of reunification even after 1972 that give credence to some of the tensions and controversial discourses that have since emerged amongst scholars and in the public domain vis-à-vis reunification. One such position is held by Piet Konings and Francis Nyamnjoh. These authors have focused their reunification scholarship on its negative impacts on the Anglophone population and region leading to what has been termed the *Anglophone Problem in Cameroon* (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997). They claim that contrary to Anglophone expectations, reunification far from providing for equal partnership between Anglophones and Francophones and guaranteeing cultural continuity for the former, turned out to be nothing but absorption, assimilation, marginalisation, and exploitation of the Anglophone minority by the Francophone dominated state and even by the Francophone population as a whole (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997/2000). These grievances that are political, economic and social in nature relate to: the under representation and inferior role of Anglophones in national decision making councils; the neglect of the regions infrastructure; the massive exploitation and drain of the region’s rich economic resources such as oil and attempts at “Frenchification” or “Francophonisation”(Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, p. 21; 2000, p. 12). Along the same line of argument, Kom (1996, p. cited in Awasom, 2003-2004) posits that apart from the two stars on the national flag that signified the existence of two federated states in the Cameroon federation, the federation was totally dominated by French values and Francophone traditions at the expense of British ones: these included aspects such as the highway code, the legal tender, and system of administration.

As a result of the above factors, the view of these scholars is that reunification from an Anglophone perspective only meant recolonisation and marginalisation in all spheres of public life that have transformed them into “second class citizens in their own country” (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003,

⁷ The celebration was supposed to take place in October 2011 to mark exactly 50 years since reunification but was postponed by the government. 2014 was therefore a belated celebration.

p. 11). In support of the above claims, Fanso (2009) declared that the reunification and Anglophone problem in Cameroon is as much a minority problem as it is a constitutional and self-determination problem – “that is why they [Southern Cameroons] demanded and received categorical assurances before casting their vote [in the 1961 plebiscite] that reunification would be on no other basis, but a federation of two equal states” (p. 16). Even more disheartening to most Anglophone Cameroonians is the realisation that the 1st October 1961 that would have been commemorated and celebrated as their independence day is unfortunately remembered annually as a day of their third colonisation (Smith, 2005), though this time around, by an African country which they considered their ‘brother’.

There is also the viewpoint that the UN failed to carry out its mission as regards British Cameroons. Scholars such as Fanso (2009) have cited article 76(b) of the UN charter as evidence to justify this claim. The said article describes the mission of the trusteeship council as being to “promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as maybe appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory” (United Nations Organisation, 1945, p. 15). In line with the above concern, Fanso (2009) has therefore involved the UNO into the reunification controversy by declaring that the mission of the UNO trusteeship council was never to transfer the trust territory of British Cameroons to a neighbouring country (Nigeria or French Cameroon) at independence.

As has been already mentioned in this background and historical context setting, the reunification controversy provoked the use of the allegory of the bride and the bride groom to refer to British and French Cameroons respectively (Le Vine, 1961 cited in Awasom, 2000). Viewed from a patriarchal position, the imagery suggests weaker and stronger partners in the union. In this light Awasom (2000, p. 93), have posed the following questions:

1. Was reunification a triumphant event or an unfortunate one in the history of Cameroon?
2. Was one party in the movement more enthusiastic than the other, and did it therefore strive harder for its realisation?
3. Who needed whom more in the reunification process?
4. Was the call for reunification genuine or was it a simple outburst of infatuated, naïve and adventurist nationalists?”

Evidently any engagement with these questions will highlight the degree of commitment of Anglophones and Francophones to reunification. But it is important to mention the fact that such questions are posed some forty years after the event is an indication of the seriousness of the controversy and the extent to which it lives in public consciousness.

As much as Awasom is in agreement with the idea that the two regions did not get together as equal partners, he has however refused to join the wagon that apportions blame for any reunification loop holes on some of its agents or activists. His position is a neutral one that suggests that Cameroonian leaders (Anglophones and Francophones alike) were simply not sufficiently ready for the plebiscite and reunification situation in which they found themselves in 1961 (Awasom, 2002). To support this stance and proof that there was no malicious intent from either group, he declares that “archives do not point to outstanding orators and wise men among the Francophones who have bequeathed quotable quotes to posterity or outright imbeciles and clowns among the Anglophones who have left us with memories of shame during the Francophone-Anglophone encounters” (Awasom, 2002, p. 427). This implies that from his perspective, both regions approached the reunification debacle with good intent.

The stance of Ambe (2004) attempts an explanation to some of the concerns highlighted in Awasom (2000) by highlighting other post-colonial forces at work in Cameroon’s reunification debacle. He suggests that reunification was a ploy to assimilate and integrate the English speaking minority populace of the country into a so called “black French Africa” (p. 1). This ploy has led to the establishment of systematic machinery supported by a neo colonial French expansionist agenda to completely eclipse the Anglophone reality in Cameroon and have the country as a French speaking state (Ambe, 2004, p. 1).

In contrast to the allegation of a French agenda, other scholars have raised concerns about the role of the main actors of reunification. In an interview granted to the *Summit Magazine* (No 16 of April to June 2011, p. 9-14), Victor Julius Ngo launched an attack on John Ngu Foncha (leader of the then pro reunification movement from the British Southern Cameroons) for putting personal interest before that of the region in the reunification negotiation with French Cameroon. Amongst other issues raised in the interview are claims that: the KNDP of Foncha decided to go to the reunification negotiation alone without legal/constitutional team and refused to take along the

British experts whom the colonial office had put at their disposal; that Foncha had received a draft constitution from Ahmadou Ahidjo (president of French Cameroun) which he refused to present to his Anglophone peers at the Bamenda Conference for discussion prior to the constitutional talks in Foumban. This led professor Ngoh to conclude that Foncha had already struck a deal with Ahidjo to the effect that should the federal constitution go through, he would be made vice president (Ngoh, 2011a, p. 56). Therefore his allegation is that Southern Cameroons politicians and Foncha in particular were more interested in promoting self-interest at the expense of the region and this kind of politics was responsible for the poor deal they got from the Foumban constitutional talks.

The severity of the claims and negative characterisation of John Ngu Foncha provoked many to react to the interview with Victor Julius Ngoh. One such reaction is an open letter by Verkijika Fanso published by Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group (2011, September). In this letter Fanso (2011) accuses Ngoh of writing “negative things” about Foncha’s role in the reunification process without proper evidence, the most striking being the one of hiding a draft constitution from *La Republique*⁸. According to Fanso, Ahidjo did give the Foncha Government (not Foncha alone in private) constitutional proposals in June 1961 after a tripartite meeting involving his government, Foncha’s government and the British administration. Fanso (2011) then claims that because these proposals favoured a much centralised system of federal government, they were later discussed by the Foncha cabinet in consultation with a certain Smith (British representative) and counter proposals were produced for the Bamenda conference which adhered to the form of federal constitution published by Foncha immediately prior to the plebiscite. He goes further to state that the British had supported this move because they suspected there would be ‘fireworks’ in Bamenda if the Ahidjo and Buea proposals were to be presented. According to Fanso (2011) the evidence for this claim is contained in a secret inward telegram after the tripartite meeting from the commissioner of Southern Cameroons to the secretary of state for the colonies (CO.554/2188) in the United Kingdom and dated 26th June 1961. The record is stored in the PRO (Public Records Office, now British National Archives) in Kew, London. This item of ‘clarity’ by Fanso (2011) is just one of many aspects where the two Cameroonian historians have disagreed

⁸ The name French Cameroon adopted at independence from France was *La Republique du Cameroun*. Meaning *The Republic of Cameroon*.

on aspects of Cameroon reunification. Notably, both historians are renowned authors of history textbooks used in Cameroonian secondary and high schools.

In conclusion, the effects of the arbitrary nature of the Anglo-French partition of German Cameroon on inhabitants triggered in some activists from both sides of the divide a strong desire to return to the German territorial frontiers as it was before the outbreak of WWI. The efforts and pressure on the part of these activists coupled with a gradual international change of view that favoured decolonisation eventually resulted in independence for French Cameroon as a sovereign state on 1st January 1960 and then independence for British Southern Cameroons by means of reunification with French Cameroon on 1st October 1961. However, reunification of the two trust territories of Cameroon was not a smooth process as has been discussed. It was the ultimate outcome of a series of political activities that had, at times, been characterised by diplomacy and dialogue but also by machinations and ultimately a succession of upheavals that had resulted in pressure on the colonial authorities of both sectors of Cameroon to grant sovereignty. Yet with full sovereignty achieved through independence and reunification the legacies of colonisation have made the much needed task of societal integration a rather challenging but also daunting one.

1.3 RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION BEHIND THE STUDY

My exposure to the discourses on reunification as outlined above may be traced back to my childhood. Born and raised in the Francophone part of Cameroon by Anglophone parents, I witnessed first-hand the interplay of the adopted French and English ways of life as well as the challenges and tensions that accompanied this interplay. I recall the extremely common sight of children from both sectors using derogatory words towards each other. For example, the French children would call the English children *Anglofou* (referring to Anglophones as fools) and the English children would retort with *Francofrog* (referring to Francophones as frogs). Being in a bilingual primary school and later bilingual secondary school, such behaviour and exchanges were not uncommon in the different school spaces such as the playgrounds, dining halls and even in the classrooms during and/or after lectures. From schools such behaviour continued in the neighbourhoods especially in public spaces where children always have time to play such as in the streets; the public taps (portable water facilities that were made available for free to members of the public); video clubs; and other recreational spaces. As children, although we understood very little or even nothing about the nature of our different colonial heritages, we did, at least, know

that the Anglophones were different from the Francophones and vice versa in the same community. It is worthy to note in line with the nature of this study that this aspect of our difference overshadowed other aspects such as ethnic origins and the social standings of our families. The colonial identity was always what defined us more and still does, more than any other factor in a pluralistic Cameroon society.

As I grew older and went through high school, university and even as a teacher, the Francophone versus Anglophone differences in Cameroon only grew deeper. By now I had started to understand the complexity of the Cameroonian society and was able to link the contemporary societal happenings to historical narratives. I recall enlisting for a public recruitment test into the police force at the age of eighteen. When I was not recruited, the outcry from my family and other Anglophones and even from some Francophones was that I did not make it for the simple fact that my names sound too Anglophone. The same reasons were advanced several years later when I made two unsuccessful attempts to enter the Teachers' Training Faculty of the University of Yaoundé 1 (Ecole Normale Supérieure Annexe de Bambili) through competitive public exams. It is true that this excuse alone might sound too lame to justify failures in competitive public exams where spaces were limited and other Anglophone candidates were declared successful. Yet the mere fact that it is advanced by the Anglophone community is an indication of the tensions that exist in the post reunification society of Cameroon. The evidence that most Anglophone families believe in the idea of limited opportunities for Anglophones in Cameroon is in the fact that most of the Anglophone families have resorted to giving their children Francophone names with the hope of countering their Anglophone origins and exposing these children to more opportunities within Cameroon.

These early experiences greatly aroused my interest in researching and critically understanding the history of the 'two Cameroons'. My endeavours brought me to the 1961 reunification as the historically most significant event that had brought together these former British and French colonial territories. Thus, from a personal point of view, a study on reunification of the two Cameroons may help to clarify the uncertainties that I have had and the role I have played since childhood on the Anglophone versus Francophone discourse in Cameroon.

I think the nature of this study demands that I clarify at an early stage my positionality Vis à Vis the topic and also other discourses that I will be engaging with in this study. This is informed by the argument that since all research is affected by the social and political position of the researcher, making this position clear is one way of avoiding bias (Griffith, 1998). The same author goes further to state that, “Bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them. Not only does such acknowledgment help to unmask any bias that is implicit in those views, but it helps to provide a way of responding critically and sensitively to the research” (p. 133).

I hail from the Anglophone part of Cameroon and consider myself very much part of the issues I am interrogating in this study. As an Anglophone Cameroonian I have always questioned my identity as a Cameroonian. It is common knowledge in Cameroon that Anglophones are never appointed as leaders in strategic government positions, such as the ministries of defence, territorial administrations, or economy and finance. These are positions that are well known to be the power houses of any nation. The fact that Anglophones are not good enough to occupy any of such positions in a contemporary context of supposed egalitarianism might be an insinuation that they are regarded as second class Cameroonians. By interrogating the reunification discourses in the selected textbooks, this study will hopefully also throw light on my personal identity as a Cameroonian. As a result, I am an insider in this study which evidently adds to its complexity and multifaceted nature. My insider status being from the fact that I share a common heritage (linguistic and cultural) with the Anglophone region of Cameroon and as mentioned earlier, I have personally lived and I am still living the negative fall out of the reunification of Cameroon from an Anglophone Cameroonian point of view. However, even with my positionality in this study so declared, I must reiterate the fact that this study is not and will not be in any way pushing a case of me or Anglophone/Francophone Cameroon as victim(s) or beneficiary of reunification. The reasons my position is declared here is to support my rationale for doing this study from a personal experience perspective but also to provide the reader with a narrative that can paint a picture of the post-reunification Cameroonian society from where I stand. Being a very controversial and highly politically sensitive topic, engaging in this study in a university outside Cameroon also gives me more freedom to exercise objectivity on the issues without fear of possible political victimisation that would have been involved had I chosen to do the study at home.

Another reason for doing this study is the fact that research into the encoding and transmission of knowledge in textbooks (Morgan, 2006; 2010) is not a popular research genre in Cameroon. In Cameroon, textbooks are naively still seen for their pedagogic importance only. Even though reunification as a phenomenon has been heavily investigated and academic literature abounds on the topic, there is no known study that has examined the phenomenon in relation to its representation in school history textbooks. This is in spite of the fact that, international research has revealed (more on this will follow under the literature review) that textbooks are not simply neutral pedagogic tools but are also powerful carriers of ideologies. Consequently, through this study, I hope to initiate and possibly stimulate the field of textbook research in Cameroon by analysing the textbooks used in Cameroonian schools in the hope of identifying certain master symbols and stereotypes that have, hitherto, been overlooked. The hope is that constant analysis of Cameroonian textbooks will promote checks and balances in the various sectors of the textbooks industry (from production to consumption) with the ultimate goal of bringing about a more credible Cameroonian educational system.

Moreover, this study is relevant in that it treats a very important event in the historiography of Cameroon that is also covered in the syllabi of the two sub systems of education in the country. The General Certificate of Education (GCE) syllabus of the Anglophone education sub system treats reunification at the Ordinary Level under the topic: *The concept of Reunification / Federal Republic of Cameroon, 1961-1972*. Under this topic, the syllabus lays emphasis on events leading to reunification such as the Bamenda, Fouban and Yaounde conferences. The Advanced Level section of the syllabus also covers reunification under the topic: *The Road to Independence in British Cameroons*. The emphasis at this level is to look at politics in British Cameroons prior to independence as well as the plebiscite, reunification and independence questions. The Francophone Cameroon history syllabus is less vocal compared to its Anglophone counterparts about reunification but covers it nonetheless. In this syllabus, reunification appears at the class of ‘Terminale’ (the class that prepares learners for higher education at university level) under the topic: *Le Cameroun de la Reunification à L’Etat Unitaire* (Cameroon from Reunification to Unitary State). The presence of this phenomenon in both syllabi and the disproportionate nature of its coverage in both sub systems of education, is a motivation for doing this study because of its relevance and significance

Moreover, I have also explained in the background the many variances in interpretations and views by famous Cameroonian historians such as VJ Ngoh and VG Fanso on the reunification of the two Cameroons including developments that preceded the event and its aftermath. These variances have sometimes taken the form of challenging and/or defending the role of its principal architects such as JN Foncha. As a result it is my view that their disagreement and contradictions over critical aspects of Cameroonian history such as the reunification process is an indication of the possibility of such tension permeating the textbooks, thereby, making it an absolute necessity to analyse these books so to expose stereotypes, prejudices, bias and contradictions as well as reveal the nature of historical knowledge espoused to Cameroonian learners as consumers of these official texts.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In light of the above background it is obvious that the reunification of the former British and French Cameroons is an issue which is fraught with controversy and tensions. Therefore, the purpose or aim of this study is as contained in the following statements:

- To analyse the nature of the representation of discourses on reunification in the selected history textbooks used in the Anglophone sub system of education in Cameroon
- To analyse the nature of the representation of discourses on reunification in the selected history textbooks used in the Francophone sub system of education in Cameroon
- To compare and contrast the representations of reunification discourses in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks used in this study
- To discuss and theorise the findings of this study using the research literature as well as the postcolonial theoretical lens adopted for this purpose in this study
- To make recommendations in line with the findings of this study for the pedagogic improvement of the quality of history textbooks used in the Anglophone and Francophone sub systems of education in Cameroon

1.5 FOCUS OF THE STUDY

In this section I clarify where the spotlight on this study falls. Hofstee (2006) notes that presenting a focus helps the researcher to delineate the study by stating very explicitly what falls inside and outside of the scope. As a result delineating a study cautions the researcher against possible criticism of “why didn’t you do x, y or z?” (p. 87). As a result of the above, By delineating this study the way I have done, I have attempted to achieve rigour by ensuring that the project is tightly framed. In line with the purpose of this study, the spotlight will be particularly on those discourses that in one way or the other capture the phenomenon of reunification in the textbooks being

analysed in this study. These discourses will be identified using the content analysis methodology explained under the methodology section of this thesis in chapter four. The discourses will then be compared and contrasted and the findings will be theorised to understand why the textbooks represent reunification in the way in which they do. The following statements clarify the boundaries that I have drawn around this topic to establish its focus:

- The study will be carried out only on the textbooks explained in the methodology section of this study. That is history textbooks from the Anglophone and Francophone sub systems of education. In this light, the findings cannot be seen as directly representing the general textbooks situation of Cameroon but would be understood solely in relation to the sample.
- The textbooks selected for this study will not be analysed in their entirety. Only those sections and chapters that cover the reunification will be analysed, as reunification is the phenomenon under investigation in this study. Therefore aspects related to other sections of the textbooks will not fall within the scope of this study.
- The study is conducted using the content analysis methods explained in chapter four. This is with the understanding that content analysis is a very broad methodology that entails many and varied methods of conducting it. There is also the understanding that the different content analysis methods will most likely lead to different results for the study. In light of this therefore the findings of this study can only be seen as an outcome of the use of the specific content analysis methods adopted and explained and not any other methods that could have been used but were not.

The delineations of this study explained above also reflect its limitations. However, a major limitation of this study is that not all the textbooks analysed in this study are approved and prescribed by the textbooks commission of the Ministry of Secondary education for use in schools. The rationale for selecting such books is because the official approved history textbooks for the Francophone sub system of education do not treat the theme of reunification even though this is a component of the syllabus. As a result, teachers who must teach the topic have to consult different textbooks available in the market. In relation to this study therefore, the challenge is that the nature of representation of reunification cannot directly be linked to government since some of the books are not government prescribed. This sampling predicament is explained in greater detail under the research design and methodology chapter of this thesis.

Moreover, it is not possible to generalise from the sampled textbooks in this study as they cannot represent the larger variety available. Furthermore the selection of the textbooks and the choice of a single chapter or section from the textbooks for analysis is seen as an act of aggregation which Weber (1990) in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) identify as a compromise in reliability. Moreover, it is important to note that the French textbooks will be translated to English prior to

analysis. Content analysis is a methodology whose emphasis is partly drawn on language used in text and the risk is that the translation might alter the meanings of the original text and jeopardise the quality, validity or trustworthiness of the findings. In this regard I have taken measures to make sure that the translation is as accurate as possible to the original. One of such measures will be to personally do the initial translation from French to English then ask another student of French Cameroon origin (French first language speaker) to do the translation back to French. This double translation will help in verifying that meanings are not lost in translation. Furthermore, I have taken the measure to return the analysed text back to another first language French language speaker to cross check that my analyses are representative of the French version of the text. Though this will improve trustworthiness, there is only so much that can be done in this regard as it is an obvious fact that meanings are sometimes lost or displaced in translations.

1.6 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Every research always commences with one or more key questions. According to De Vos (1998) a good research question is one that can be answered by collecting data and whose answers cannot be foreseen prior to the collection of data. The importance of having research questions in a study is further highlighted by Cohen, Manion and Morrision (2011) who caution researchers to always pause, generate and reflect on the kind of research question(s) required before they decide whether a particular investigation is worth pursuing. After the above consideration, specific elements must then be considered in determining the nature of research questions appropriate for a study and these include: their clarity, ease of answering, comprehensiveness, comprehensibility, specificity, concreteness, complexity, difficulty, contents, focus, purpose, kinds of data required to answer the questions and utility of the answers provided (Cohen et al., 2011). After a careful examination of the above criteria in relation to my study, the following critical research questions were then selected to guide this study:

1. How are reunification discourses presented in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?
2. What are the consistent and conflicting discourses from Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks on reunification?
3. Why are reunification discourses presented in the way they are in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?

All three questions emanate from the controversies around the reunification of Cameroon as has been lengthily discussed in the background to this study. Therefore by addressing these questions

through this study, the arguments advanced and literature consulted in the background will then be made even clearer. The emphasis however as seen in the questions is on Cameroonian history textbooks which is the unit of analysis in this study. Summarily these three questions were informed by a consideration of the rationale and motivation of this study, the purpose and focus as well as the major debates highlighted in the background. It was important to establish these links in order to give the study a very tight focus that runs throughout the study.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

According to Cohen et al. (2011), it is important that any topic identified for research is “original, significant, non-trivial, relevant, topical, [and] interesting to a wider audience and to advance the field” (p. 106). The concern here is mainly to avoid a situation of investing effort and resources in a research where even though the topic and the data might indeed be original, yet both are insignificant and maybe not worth knowing. In line with the above therefore, before embarking on this project this researcher has considered the significance and relevance of the study in terms of the following aspects: how it will advance the field forward – perhaps in only a small scale, not only in terms of the data generated but also conceptually, theoretically, substantively and methodologically. Moreover, the relevance of the study was also considered in relation to the anticipated impact that this study can have on the Cameroonian education landscape and the broader society. The aspects highlighted above are discussed in more detail below.

In terms of theoretical significance and relevance, I must mention that the post-colonial theory is very significant because it is a lens that has not been explored by other reunification scholars in Cameroon. Most scholarly works on reunification in Cameroon are usually heavily centred on the colonial activities that led to the event as well as the roles played by the major actors. The post-colonial theory will be instrumental in that it will provide a more holistic explanation of the findings from this study thereby giving a discourse of reunification in Cameroon a very new perspective.

This study is also significant because it can be used as a resource by the Cameroon Government through the Ministry of Education in the formulation of policies relating to the approval and use of textbooks in Cameroon schools. The findings from this project can encourage a need for the harmonisation of history textbooks used in the Francophone and Anglophone sub systems of

education in Cameroon so that these books that are all geared towards informing and exposing Cameroon learners about a very significant aspect of their history which cannot afford to carry mixed messages, divisive symbols and stereotypes.

1.8 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This study tackles a very complex and multi-levelled investigation of representation of reunification discourses in selected Francophone and Anglophone history textbooks in Cameroon. This complexity has had an impact on the structure of the thesis which is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction in which I present an overview of the entire study. A greater part of this chapter constitutes a description of the background to this study as it was necessary to situate the study within its proper context. This contextual framing of the study was done through a detailed historical overview of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras in Cameroon. The purpose of this background was to highlight from a historical perspective, the circumstances that led to reunification in 1961 and also of Cameroon inheriting and adopting an Anglo-French culture in education and other aspects of social, administrative and political life. Discourses around reunification of Cameroon formed a very important aspect of this overview due to it being the phenomenon under investigation in this study. Still in this chapter, I highlight my rationale and motivation for conducting this study. I then present the purpose of the study, the focus of the study, and the key research questions underpinning the investigation. Furthermore, I explain the significance and relevance of this study before outlining the organisation of the thesis. I then conclude the chapter with a brief summary.

In chapter two, I reviewed research literature related to the major phenomenon of this study being reunification and textbooks. The chapter is divided into two broad sections with each section dealing with each of the two phenomena. In the section on reunification, the argument is that the phenomenon is not unique to Cameroon. Many other countries around the world have either witnessed it e.g. Germany, or are considering it for their political future e.g. North and South Korea or Somalia and Somaliland. Review of literature around these countries, revealed important themes and discourses on reunification that can and will be used to mirror the Cameroon scenario in discussing the findings of this study. However, a greater part of the literature on reunification in the context of Cameroon was analysed as part of the background of the study presented in chapter one. The second section on textbooks reviewed literature around three main aspects: the nature

and use of textbooks in Cameroon; the pedagogic role of textbooks; and the politico-ideological role of textbooks. Embedded in the last section is also literature on the nature of textbooks in selected post-colonial African societies such as South Africa, Kenya and Ghana. These cases are then used to corroborate similar international textbook experiences like those in Germany. This chapter argues that even though history textbooks are vital pedagogical tools their ideological nature and political power cannot be underestimated. Hence the justifications of the relevance of this study being to investigate the nature of representation of the controversial and contested reunification phenomenon in Cameroonian schools' history textbooks as a post-colonial entity.

Chapter three looks at the theoretical literature and framework resulting from that literature as applied in this study. In this chapter, I review literature around postcolonialism and produce a framework on discursive postcolonialism as the particular form of postcolonialism that I employed. The literature reviewed in this chapter to create the framework constituted of certain concepts related to postcolonialism such as subalternism, Orientalism, hybridity and internal and external colonialism. These concepts were seen to reflect the ideas of leading postcolonial theorists the likes of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak. A bricolage of the ideas from these theorists was used to constitute the postcolonial theoretical framework that was vital in discussing and making greater sense of the findings that emerged from the analysis.

Chapter four covers the research design and methodology of this thesis. The research design reveals the paradigm choice and research approach adopted and presents arguments to motivate the choices made. The sampling strategy is also covered under the research design section with much emphasis being on the nature of the sampling adopted including the reasons for the chosen sampling technique, the sampling challenges and how I managed to overcome these challenges. I also address in this section the implications of the sampling choice for this study. The methodology section of this chapter unpacks the implications on the choice of the qualitative content analysis methodology as well as the use of its accompanying methods in this study.

Chapters five and six are where I present the findings from the analysis of the verbal and visual texts of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks respectively. These two chapters therefore constitute the first level of analysis. Each of the two chapters ends with a consolidation section wherein I pull the findings together in a holistic manner in order to have a clearly articulated set

of findings that addresses the first research question on how reunification discourses are represented in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks.

In the first part of chapter seven, I engage the findings of the previous two chapters in a comparative nature. The comparison is done first amongst the textbooks for the separate sub-systems, then between the two sub-systems. The purpose for this comparison is to expose the consistent and conflicting discourses that emerged from the analysis of all textbooks so that second level firm findings can be achieved to answer research question number two of the study. At the end of chapter seven, I provide findings from the comparative analysis of the findings from the two sets of textbooks. In the second part of chapter seven, I bring the components into an integrated whole by presenting an in-depth discussion of the findings in relation to the research/empirical literature reviewed in chapters one and two and the postcolonial theoretical framework explained in chapter three. Through the discussion of the findings, I was able to address the third research question on why reunification discourses are presented in the way they are in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks.

Finally in chapter eight, I reflectively conclude the thesis with a summary of the entire project. I also provide some of my reflections – personal, professional, and methodological on the study. This chapter shows how the parts of the thesis work in tandem to answer the research questions incrementally. It returns to the categories of each level of analysis and discusses how they contribute to the building of an understanding of the presentation of reunification in the textbooks. I then state my thesis statement, give concluding remarks on the analysis and the overall relevance of the study for policy, practice and further research.

1.9 CONCLUSION

In this introductory chapter, I gave an overview of the study. A greater part of the chapter was aimed at situating the study within its proper context in order to understand the basis for reunification. In this respect, the historical development of Cameroon was explained through the different eras of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial and was extensively elaborated. This was followed by explanations of the rationale and motivation for the study, the purpose and focus, the research questions as well as the significance and relevance of the study. Finally I explained the constitution of the different chapters making up this thesis. In the next chapter, I review literature

related to the study. The literature reviewed in this study for the themes of textbooks and reunification is presented in chapter two.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to contextualise the study within the existing relevant literature. Review of literature is not a practice that is viewed important by all researchers across the board. As Polit, Beck & Hungler (2001) submit, some researchers advise against conducting a literature review prior to data collection. The rationale for this position is the concern that the literature review might have significant influence over the researcher's conceptualisation of the study. Other views suggest that a literature review may mislead the researcher's ability to make accurate decisions in the study (Morse & Field, 1996). Therefore, critics of a literature review do not view the activity of foregrounding prior information as a condition sine-qua-non for rigorous research. Rather they suggest the importance of the phenomenon under investigation to be clarified based on the views of the participants involved in the project.

In spite of these claims, many other researchers have highlighted the relevance of the literature review in research. For example Cohen et al. (2011) and Hofstee (2006, p. 91) acknowledge the essence of reviewing literature especially when the research is a thesis or dissertation. These authors have presented the purpose of a literature review as follows: to avoid recycling existing material; to give credibility and legitimacy to the research; to ensure that the work has significance; to clarify the key concepts, issues and terms; to indicate the researcher's own critical judgement on prior research thereby establishing his/her credentials; to set the context for the research – that is how your work fits into what has already been done; that there is a theory base for the research; to make clear where new ground has to be broken in the field as well as how and why the proposed research will break that new ground and lead to new knowledge.

My position in this study is in favour of a literature review with the view that the literature review is necessary to identify gaps in the body of current knowledge so as to justify the study being under taken, provide guidance in identifying and highlighting or even interrogating elements of bias in previous studies, and generally providing a niche for the study.

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2008), the materials required for a literature review include books; chapters from books; articles; abstracts; reviews; monographs; dissertations; research reports and electronic media. Thus, these sources were systematically reviewed and analysed by identifying and categorising existing relevant knowledge on both reunification and on history textbooks. Within these categories, both local and international literature was reviewed and classified into prevalent themes with the intention of identifying possible gaps in the body of knowledge within the focus of this study and, thus, establishing a niche for this study.

The review in this chapter will focus on the literature pertaining to both reunification and textbooks, as the key phenomena that underpin this study. The first section on reunification is divided into two categories. I begin with a conceptual understanding or clarification of the phenomenon of reunification. This is important so that the variety of meanings associated with the term can be explored so that the context of its use in this study is then explicitly defined. The second category explores the historical significance of the reunification discourse. This is done through an examination of different contexts where reunification is a very popular discourse both in public and academic milieu. These selected contexts involve: In Europe – West and East Germany; In Asia – North and South Korea; In Africa – Somalia and Somaliland. These cases are only a selective representation of the many scenarios around the world where reunification is a highly significant discourse. The rationale for the selection of these cases is firstly geo-political in the sense that they represent three continents in the world thereby making a view that reunification is a historical significant discourse not only in Cameroon or Africa, but also internationally. Secondly the selected scenarios present the reunification phenomenon in different stages – Germany like Cameroon already achieved reunification in 1990; the two Koreas are still in the process of ‘negotiating the road to reunification’ while Somalia has been termed a ‘dysfunctional state’ that saw the breakaway of Somaliland and the international community hesitant on recognising the sovereignty of the breakaway Somaliland insisting on reunification of the ‘two countries’. It should be recalled that some of the great part of the literature on reunification was already reviewed in chapter one as part of the narrative on background of the study and the historical overview of Cameroon. The discourses and themes that emerged from that review in chapter one will together with the review in this chapter constitute the reunification related discourses and content considered in this thesis.

The second section of this chapter is on a review of literature pertaining to textbooks. The intention is to try as much as possible to limit the review on discourses related specifically to history textbooks which is the emphasis of the study. However, the reality is that there is a large extent to which discourses around history textbooks are not specifically unique to the discipline but common to textbooks in general. Therefore the review in this section will take cognisance of this extent and the literature on textbooks will be reviewed as history textbooks specifically but in some instances as textbooks in general. The following elements will be reviewed in this section: firstly I will start with a brief review on the nature of history textbooks in Cameroon; secondly I will look broadly at the pedagogic nature of history textbooks; thirdly I will engage the literature on the politico-ideological nature of history textbooks; then the last section will be on textbooks and issues of colonialism including postcolonialism and post-colonialism.

2.2 REUNIFICATION

2.2.1 CONCEPTUALISATION OF REUNIFICATION

It is possible to ascribe different meanings in different times and different contexts to reunification as a concept and, hence, the need to think carefully about what we mean when we use the word or we offer our own support for reunification. As Hart-Landsberg (2009, p. 501) states: “Different people mean different things when they talk about reunification.”

Tromble (2007, p. 4) used the word “reconnecting” in a social welfare context when he referred to reunification as a “process of reconnecting children in foster care (or substitute care) with their families”. This understanding is similar to the view of Jaraus (2010, p. 501) who examined reunification from a geo-political perspective and came to the conclusion that reunification refers to “a restoration of the natural state of things as they had been, before the division”. The implication in the above mentioned conceptualisation is twofold: Firstly, reunification may manifest in different forms, for example, social and/or political and, secondly, for it to occur there had to have been a union prior to the division, partition or separation of the entity in question. Thus, reunification may be understood as the reunion or reintegration of a family, a group of people, a nation or a state that had, as a result of certain circumstances in the past, been caused to split. In the context of this study, the notion of reunification refers to the reintegration into a nation

state of different political entities that had been united as a people at some point in the past but were later partitioned and caused to separate, either in accordance with their own free will as a result of internal factors or else involuntarily as a result of forces external to the country and imposed on the people. An example of such external force is colonialism. I have mentioned in chapter one of this study how colonialism worked according to the whims and caprices of the coloniser without consideration for the interest of the colonised people. The reunification of Cameroon which is the focus of this study falls in line with this latter understanding of the concept. In 1916, the German colony of Cameroon was simply divided between Britain and France into two unequal parts and this did not take into consideration the socio-cultural, political or even special realities of the Cameroonian people. Therefore the 1st October 1961 reunification of Cameroon was the undoing of the colonial injustices of the 1916 partition and the recreation of a Cameroon nation as the Germans had done in 1884 and had maintained up to 1916.

2.2.2 DISCOURSES ON REUNIFICATION

According to Hart-Landsberg (2009), it is not possible to view reunification as an unambiguously good process but, rather, it should be viewed as a highly contested process. This ambiguity and contestation, in turn, explains the many controversial discourses that often emerge in countries that have experienced reunification in their political pasts or are still experiencing it as a political process or event. These controversial and contested discourses are usually related to the processes and developments which preceded the reunification event and these developments include the role played by the different agents such as nationalists, activists, and other political stake holders in the forms of forces for and against reunification. Secondly, the controversial discourses also involve the conduct of the event itself. Lastly there are discourses related to post reunification activities. This last phase is important because it usually mirrors the assessment of the different stake holders on the merits of reunification. It is an examination of whether or not the event was worthwhile for the country in question. Based on this understanding, it is important to clarify here that reunification in the context of Cameroon and in this study, will not be limited to the immediate political and constitutional activities that brought together the two Cameroons in 1961, but as has been demonstrated in chapter one, the historical significance of the reunification of Cameroon lies as much in the 1961 reunion as in understanding the pre reunification and post reunification circumstances of the territory.

This view of historical significance to which I situate the Cameroonian phenomenon of reunification tallies with the model provided by Partington (1980) who qualifies the historical significance of an event as dependent on the factors of importance, profundity, quantity, durability, and relevance of the particular event. Within this framework, Partington goes further to attach the following understandings to the concepts cited: Importance – To people living at the time; Profundity – How deeply people’s lives were affected by it; Quantity – How many lives were affected; Durability – For how long people’s lives were affected; Relevance – The extent to which the event has contributed to an increased understanding of present life. It is these ideas that when put in to perspective makes the reunification of Cameroon a historically significant event in Cameroon. The different sections below are case studies of reunification scenarios in selected countries beginning with Germany.

1) GERMANY

The roots of the reunification of Germany in 1990 can be traced from the post WWII partition of the country between the USA, Great Britain, France and Russia. Prior to the partition, Germany had existed as a single political entity for less than a century, that is, from 1871 when the unification of Germany was accomplished to 1945 when the country’s defeat brought an end to WWII. The surrender of Germany in 1945 and the armistice that followed had far reaching consequences for the future developments of the country. One such consequence was a decision taken at the Teheran conference by the principal victors to the effect that defeated Germany be governed jointly by a four-power military commission, with Berlin as a separate but similarly administered entity (Ritter & Hajdu, 1989). It was in this light that the USA, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France each had a zone of military occupation in Germany whose boundaries were defined by the Potsdam Conference of 1945. This arrangement nonetheless was designed to be provisional rather than permanent. The idea was that the occupying powers would administer Germany as an integrated and united economic area rather than as divided and separate entities with the assumption that Germany’s economic recovery was a prerequisite for the revival of post war Europe (Leung, 1993; Ritter & Hajdu, 1989; Shlaim, 1985). Therefore whilst it was hoped that there be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout allied occupied Germany, it was suggested at the Potsdam conference of 1945 that certain essential German administrative departments shall be established with new political institutions that would lead to the eventual signing of a peace treaty with the German state (Leung, 1993). The fact that an Allied

Control Council, composed of military governors of the four occupied zones, was charged with exercising supreme power and authority over the entire country (Shlaim, 1985) was more indication of the allied intention to make the division of Germany a temporal one. German central administration under the auspices of the Allied Control Council was to exercise responsibility over such crucial departments as finance, railways and the post office.

However, the post war development of Germany turned out to be different from the settlement of the Potsdam Conference. The occupying powers failed to adhere to what they had decided in the conferences (Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam) and began to pursue their own interests in their occupation zones. Policies in the USA, British and French zones gradually diverged from those of the Soviet zone. Each occupying power tried to mould its zone in its own image. From the organization of the police force down to the choice of movie programs the various parts of Germany received their political institutions, press, cultural life and even ideals for bringing up their youth from the respective zonal authorities (Erler, 1956). The more the zones conformed to the ideals of the different occupying powers the more, of course, they became estranged from each other. According to Erler (1956); Ritter & Hajdu (1989) and Shlaim (1985) the following moves were taken from 1945-1949 that completely undermined the desire to keep the division of Germany temporal: there was the establishment of private businesses and creation of democratically elected local governments in the Western zones which contrasted sharply with the forced amalgamation of all political parties into a single socialist party in the Soviet zone and the nationalization of large private companies there; furthermore, the Soviet government ordered Eastern European countries and its occupation zone in Germany not to participate in the Marshall Plan, established in June 1947 to revive post-war European economic activities; Moreover, In June 1948 two currency areas were created on German territory, to accommodate the Western zones and Soviet zone. The final straw was the decision by the USA, Great Britain and France to amalgamate their zones into a Federal Republic of Germany – FRG (West Germany) in September 1949. This was followed in the next month by the establishment of the German Democratic Republic – GDR (East Germany) in the Soviet zone Germany. The establishment of the FRG and the GDR not only crystallized the inability of the victors of WWII to agree on a joint policy toward Germany but also signified the beginning of a permanent partition of Germany into two states with the result being an evolution from Germany of two countries with different political and ideological orientations (Ritter & Hajdu, 1989). In the context of the cold war, this partition seemed

to be the highlight, and the two German countries were simply its offspring. In August 1961, the partition between East and West Germany was consolidated or even reinforced with the erection of a Berlin Wall.

Some scholars such as Behrend (2011) and Erler (1956) have laid the blames for the partition of Germany squarely on the door steps of the West. Their arguments to this effect are that whilst reforms that were carried out by Moscow decisively separated the Soviet zone from the Western zones, Moscow's actions were more consistent with the agreement of the Potsdam conference and administratively, communists only followed Western decisions step by step. Evidence includes the fact that the Soviets introduced the Eastern German Mark as a currency in their zone only as a response to tough currency reforms carried out by the West. Furthermore, these authors note that the basic law for the FRG was launched in 1949 whereas the constitution for the GDR only dates from 1950 – indication that the West had more inclination towards partition than the Soviet Union. Moreover, it is noted that the military agreements concluded at Warsaw between the Soviets and their European satellites, including the GDR, came after the FRG joined NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). Therefore going by this argument, the Soviet activities leading to the establishment of the GDR were simply reactions to Western violation of the Potsdam agreement within the spirit of cold war manifestations. Russian systematic actions therefore suggest that it was not her policy but Western policy which split Germany into two.

In line with the circumstances of its partition as seen above, the reunification that happened in 1989/1990, after four and a half decades of division, manifested as a peaceful revolution, especially on the part of the East German citizens because the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED) dictatorship of the GDR had been overthrown (Jarausch, 2010). From the East German perspective, therefore, it was hoped that reunification would be the solution to their political and economic misery. In support of this view, Behrend (2011, p. 61) contends that many of the GDR citizens who had voted for German unity had done so with the expectation that, in a short time, their situation would match that of their West German brothers and sisters with regard to “comfortable living conditions, good wages, safe jobs, unrestricted travelling, over boarding supplies of all commodities that had been scarce in the GDR”. However, this was not to be. Two decades after reunification, reunified Germany is still a divided country, mainly along West and East Germany lines, with claims of discrimination towards the former GDR citizens as “second

rate” citizens (Behrend, 2011, p. 64) and bearing the “brunt of German reunification”(Scholz, 1994, p. 108).

The controversy inherent in the reunification of Germany may also be captured from a gendered perspective with Scholz (1994) describing East German women in post-reunified Germany as the losers and victims of German reunification. According to Scholz (1994), East German women are limited by the conceptions of female abilities in the reunified Germany to the extent that even those with adequate job qualifications find their skills partly devalued because of the new conditions imposed by political and labour market trends. For this reason Scholz (1994) notes that, despite the failure of East German socialism and the fact that its collapse radically changed the everyday existence of the East German women at every social echelon (intellectuals and lower-class women), there is, nevertheless, disappointment as regards the ideal of West Germany with the associated image of a “paradise of prosperity” that has kept increasing since reunification (Scholz, 1994, p. 110).

Thus, in view of the above, the experience of the reunification of Germany has been described in some circles as merely the one-sided and fast absorption of East Germany by West Germany (Hart-Landsberg, 2009; Liu, 1999). However, the fact that much effort was invested in preserving the reunion rather than otherwise is indicative of the reality that, in spite of the challenges, Germany is better off as a country which is united in the interests of the citizenry and the region.

2) SOMALIA AND SOMALILAND

The German example of believing in the dreams of reunification by remaining unified regardless of the political and ideological challenges that emanated from the period of partition is certainly not the ideal for other countries that have been through a similar experience. A case in point is the Somaliland versus Somalia crises. Somaliland is an autonomous region that is situated on the northern tip of the former greater Somalia. History reveals that the Somali Republic was formed on 1st July 1961 in a merger of the Italian Somalia and the former British Somaliland Protectorate (Adam, 1994; Ahmed & Green, 1999; Anonymous, 2002; Hansen & Bradbury, 2007; Henwood, 2006). However, with the claim that the 1960 union had brought enormous injustice and suffering to its people in the form of “discrimination, oppression and quasi-genocidal violence” (Bryden, 2004, p. 24), Somaliland proclaimed itself independent in 1991 after three years of civil war to the South had resulted in the collapse of any functioning state (Hurst, 2012). The following claims of

the injustices perpetrated on Somaliland while in the union with Somalia are expressed by Adam (1994, p. 24):

Right at the outset, the Somali sense of proportional balance was ignored. The South provided the capital city, the anthem, the flag and the constitution. The parliament elected a Southern president who nominated a Southern prime minister. His cabinet included four Northern ministers out of fourteen. Southerners occupied key ministries such as Foreign, Interior and Finance...the posts of Army Commander and Police Commander went to Southern officers...

The above quotation explains the situation of Somaliland in the *de facto* Somali Republic that had motivated its break-away. However, many years after this break-away, in spite of the acknowledgement by the international community of laudable achievements in terms of restoring a degree of stability and security in north western Somalia, ending clan violence and establishing a parliament, no country in the region or elsewhere has recognised Somaliland's sovereignty or established diplomatic relations with Somaliland (Anonymous, 2002; Hansen & Bradbury, 2007). Despite the fact that South Africa and the African Union (AU) have shown sympathy with its cause (Bryden, 2004; Hansen & Bradbury, 2007), Somaliland's quest for recognition has been vigorously opposed by the United Nation (UN); the League of Arab States; and the European Union (EU), all of which have, through successive resolutions, re-affirmed their recognition of the unity and territorial integrity of Somalia (Bryden, 2004). Thus, even as Somaliland has continued to lobby for formal recognition as an independent nation state (Anonymous, 2002), the international community has committed itself to the restoration of a Somali government that will exercise jurisdiction over Somaliland (Bryden, 2004). This, in turn, renders the possibility of peace and reunification between the two entities very unlikely.

Dowlo (2003) suggests the following reason for the international community's reluctance to recognise Somaliland and its insistence on reunification with Somalia - international recognition of Somaliland will set a precedent and encourage other African regions or provinces to make similar demands. Possible candidates that may take advantage and make similar requests include: Western Sahara; Southern Sudan⁹; the Ogaden and Oroma regions of Ethiopia; Caprivi in Namibia; the disputed Bakassi peninsula between Cameroon and Nigeria or the Former British Southern

⁹ This territory has since attained independence on 9 July 2011 by breaking away from Sudan to form the Republic of South Sudan.

Cameroon's population in Cameroon. As a member of the Somali Association of South Africa, Dowlo (2003, p. 28) disapproved of the South African government's sympathy for the Somaliland cause on the basis that: if quest for secession is based on claims of the "genocidal Union" Somaliland suffered with Somalia, then apartheid in South Africa should equally have resulted in two parallel South Africa's – one white and the other black. Dowlo (2003) therefore recommends forgiveness, reconciliation and ultimately, reunification for Somaliland and Somalia.

3) NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

The example of Somalia is neither unique nor isolated with literature featuring several instances of the way in which entities in similar circumstances are coping with separation and dealing with the prospects of future reunification. Authors such as Chamberlin (2004); Conforti (1999); Hart-Landsberg (2009); Hong (2002); Liu (1999); Wolf Jr (2006) have all analysed the division of Korea and its prospects and the possibilities for future reunification. The country of Korea lost its sovereignty to Japanese imperialism in 1910 and was tragically divided into two countries at the dawn of the Cold War in 1945 with North Korea integrating the Soviet Union while the USA claimed South Korea for the Western democracies (Chamberlin, 2004). The two Koreas uniquely represent the last vestiges of WWII as well as the conflicting interests of the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era (Conforti, 1999). Chamberlin (2004) and Hong (2002) both claim that the efforts and propaganda to reunify their ancient civilisation into one nation state have emanated primarily from South Korea. Such efforts may be traced back as far as the 1960 revolution that ushered in a more democratic era under the leadership of ChangMyon. Meanwhile, however, the North Korean political elite have been sceptical about the consequences of reunification and have either resisted such attempts or have simply presented a lacklustre commitment as compared to their counterparts to the south.

Chamberlin (2004) suggests that a major difficulty as regards Korea achieving reunification stems from tensions over the two different and divergent cultures and ideologies that have developed since 1945. However, whilst this may be seen as an impediment to reunification, Conforti (1999) highlights other factors that may be used as a framework with which to inspire reconciliation and, possibly, reunification. These include a long common history; a common culture; a common language; a common topography; and kinship ties between families in the two Koreas.

An interesting aspect of the Korean example is the models that have been suggested as being likely to produce reunification. Chamberlin (2004); Conforti (1999); Hart-Landsberg (2009); Liu (1999); and Wolf Jr (2006) all suggest the following model: A collapse of the North Korean political system that will result in the speedy absorption of North Korea by South Korea. This is also likened to the German model (Conforti, 1999) which referred to the fast absorption of East Germany by West Germany. However, this model is based on the widely held assertion that North Korea will collapse within the next few years. However, it is not possible to accept such an assertion without reservations if one considers the argument advanced by many South Korean scholars as well as some state department officials of the USA that there is little evidence of an imminent North Korean collapse (Liu, 1999). The second model proposed involves mutual assent as a result of inter-Korean reconciliation efforts. In terms of this model, which is also known as the system evolution and adaptation model, it is expected that “the economic systems in North and South Korea would begin to converge, and become mutually more compatible.” (Wolf Jr, 2006, p. 683). The third model refers to conflict or outright war with one Korea either attacking or being attacked by the other. In spite of all the efforts towards reunification, the two Koreas have since their separation in 1945 remained divided along the 38th parallel. Political, economic and ideological divergent orientations installed during the cold war era have lived on in the two Koreas to the extent that even their long history of being together as one nation has not sufficed to promote mutual understanding and reunification.

The case studies examined above have thrown more light on the phenomenon of reunification as it is experienced in different contexts. This is an indication that the discourses and challenges around reunification in Cameroon as expounded in this study are not unique to Cameroon. The three case studies presented in this section represent two different perspectives on reunification. The first perspective is the one where reunification has been attained and the new nation is facing the challenges of the reunion. This perspective is represented by Germany and is very relevant for this study because it depicts the exact scenario for Cameroon. The other perspective relates to former states that had separated, are still separated, but have reunification as one of the options for their political futures. Such a scenario was represented by the review on the Koreas and on Somalia versus Somaliland. In the next section, I present a review of literature on textbooks.

2.3 HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

This section reviews literature on the nature of textbooks in general but, in particular, history textbooks. In a context in which textbooks are deemed to constitute some of the most widely used educational media (Klerides, 2010) an understanding of their nature and, especially their production and consumption, is critical to this study. It is envisaged that this review will help to unpack the historical consciousness and understandings that have been constructed and disseminated in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks through their representation of the reunification discourses. As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, the review of literature in this section is divided into three parts. In spite of the fact that there is very scarce literature available on Cameroonian textbooks, it was important that the few be reviewed in order to accommodate the context of this study. In this regard, the first part of this section will be a review on literature pertaining to the nature of textbooks/history textbooks in Cameroon. Secondly in this section, I review the pedagogic nature and role of textbooks. This is followed by the political role of the textbooks. It is under this last section on textbooks and ideology that I bring in specific contexts of countries especially in post-colonial Africa where textbooks have been used or are still being used purposefully or incidentally to promote certain agendas thereby making those textbooks in those contexts everything but mere tools for pedagogy and instruction.

2.3.1 NATURE OF [HISTORY] TEXTBOOKS IN CAMEROON

The review of literature on textbooks started with the nature of textbooks and history textbooks in particular in Cameroon. It should be noted that textbook research is not a popular practice in Cameroon hence the lack of availability of literature in this domain. However, it was important to consider this aspect in order to properly situate the review within the geographic context of this study. Since textbooks are a function of the broader educational set up of any society, it was important that I start this review with a brief historical overview of the education developments in post-colonial Cameroon. Reviewing the developments of education in post-colonial Cameroon and linking these developments with the nature of textbooks industry from authorship, production, selection, and consumption in Cameroon, was also important as this tie with the postcolonial theoretical framing of my study.

The development of education in Cameroon and the contemporary educational system of the country could be defined as a perfect display of the colonial ramifications that the territory has witnessed. These ramifications have been discussed elaborately in chapter one of this study and include amongst others the reunification of the country. Ngome (2012) considers the political historical lanes of Cameroon such as missionary activities, colonialism, one party system democracy, and multiparty democracy as having a great effect on the educational reforms in Cameroon. Just like textbooks, education itself is never a neutral act and this was already evident in Cameroon as far back as during the colonial era. The introduction of the education law of April 1910 by the German colonial government indicated their willingness to use education as a tool to facilitate the spread of the German culture in Cameroon. This was because the fundamental principle of the law was the use of the German language as the only medium of instruction within schools (Ngoh, 1996; Ngome, 2012). More evidence for this was the fact that the provision of subventions to the mission schools in the country by the German authorities was on the condition that the schools would expand the language and culture of the Germans. A principle that Ngome (2012) has referred to as cultural colonisation.

With the defeat of Germany in Cameroon in 1916 and the eventual Anglo-French partition of the country, the education was bound to follow the system and policies of the new colonial masters. In this regard, the French system of assimilation informed her education policy in the French part of Cameroon whilst the policy of indirect rule was used as a tool to manage the education in the English section (Ngoh, 1996). Ngome (2012) posits that even though education was still largely managed by the missionaries in the French part of Cameroon, the structure of the system fell within a highly centralised administration directly controlled from France such that by 1924 the French language was imposed as the only language of instruction in line with the assimilation policy. On the other hand under the policy of indirect rule, education for the British sector of Cameroon was seen as a way of training temporary civil servants for colonial exploitation (Ngoh, 1996; Ngome, 2012). This was therefore a more decentralised system of education compared to that practiced by the French even though the missionaries also played an influential role in advancing the British education policies in British Cameroons.

Then came the reunification of the Anglophone and Francophone parts of Cameroon in 1961 with the challenges of amalgamating the two inherited colonial education systems. Gham (2015) notes

that despite the excitement and enthusiasm in the political scene post reunification for both systems to be united so as to create a single national educational system adaptable and responsive to Cameroonian needs, in terms of political, economic, social and cultural aspirations to present have been futile. He notes further that the failure of the harmonisation efforts was due to the reluctance of the Francophone authorities who under the guise of harmonisation instituted a systematic process of assimilation of the Anglophone system of education. Realising this bad faith, the Anglophone minority embarked on a series of resistance measures that mounted pressure on the Cameroon authorities to enact policies to protect their Anglo Saxon styled educational heritage. According to Gham (2015) and Ngome (2012) the efforts of the Anglophones to preserve their inherited education system after reunification culminated in the following: the introduction of the London General Certificate of Education (GCE) examination curriculum in 1963 to replace the West African School Certificate Examination; the return to the London GCE curriculum; the presence of the British volunteers in the Cameroon educational system; the West Cameroon Educational Reform of 1963, which was based on the Nigerian educational system; the creation of the Cameroon General Certificate of Education Board (CGCEB) in 1993. This Board is charged with the responsibility of designing the curriculum and decides on the kind of textbooks to be used in schools and colleges in Anglophone Cameroon in consultation with the Ministry of Secondary Education. The creation of the CGCEB for the Anglophone population was countered by the creation of a parallel structure for the Francophones – the Baccalaureate Board (BAC) to oversee the examination process of Probatoir and Baccalaureate examinations respectively – the equivalent of the Ordinary and Advanced levels for the Anglophone subsystem. The creation of these two parallel boards was the foundation for the institutionalisation of the dual English and French sub systems of education in Cameroon to cater for the educational needs of the respective Anglo-French populations in the post-colonial and reunified Cameroon.

The only available sources on the nature and use of textbooks in Cameroon are Gham (2015) and a report from a World Bank project in 2008. According to Gham (2015) the use of textbooks in schools in Cameroon varies from public (government) to denominational or private (mission) to lay private (sole proprietorship or limited liability) schools. These variances are in spite of the fact that the state through the Ministry of Education has an evaluation process that establishes and approves booklists in consultation with the respective education boards for use in schools all over the country (World Bank, 2008). The extent of the variances is that the textbooks lists are mostly

observed in public schools with the mission schools encouraging their teachers to write for use by their schools and the lay private schools oscillating between the official books, and those from the mission schools (Gham, 2015). The absence of strict coordination and implementation of a uniform system of textbooks use has therefore resulted in a phenomenon of pamphlet publications. These pamphlets are makeshift books by teachers to supplement the absence of the textbook by students caused either by scarcity, cost and are more simplified or focused towards examination and are less costly (Gham, 2015).

In terms of publication, the report by the World Bank (2008) noted that secondary textbooks in both the French and English systems in Cameroon are entirely parent funded and once books are on the booklist, it is up to the publishers to travel to every school in the country to promote and market their titles. There is equally the point that the prices of these books are beyond the reach of the vast majority of parents in Cameroon and as a result there has been a strong growth in the second-hand book market and pirated textbooks are not uncommon, particularly in the Anglophone part of the country.

The textbooks are often published by foreign publishing houses because local publishers not only lack the back list and the investment finance to compete head to head with multinationals, they also are often short of textbook publishing experience and basic publishing skills, at least in the early days of development. As an example, World Bank (2008) reports that in April 2005, a workshop was organized in Yaoundé by Cameroon educational publishers in order to think about the means they could use to improve their market share in their own domestic market. They concluded that their own lack of professionalism was partly to blame because: authors were not rigorous enough, the books were not professionally copy-edited and were full of typos and factual mistakes, there was little editorial supervision or quality control, binding, paper, and cover quality were poor, and prices were too high. The report goes further to mention that one publisher present at the meeting commented that “Cameroonian textbooks were so bad that teachers are ashamed to advise their students to refer to their textbooks.”

However, the issue of local publishers should not be seen as the same with the phenomenon of the pamphlets. Gham (2015) clarifies this difference by insisting that these pamphlets:

... Do not meet the requirements of international norms of textbooks. A textbook should consist of a registration number, a publishing and or printing house, editor(s), and the content and to an extent the quality of the paper. The books used in the school system in Cameroon do not meet these criteria more so, because publishing houses are scarce, editors are scarce and expensive to hire, and above all books that are specialised in the reconstruction of Cameroon, Africa and World histories are expensive. It would be preferable to say the books used in the secondary and high school levels in the teaching of history in Cameroon are co-supplementary textbooks (p. 270).

It can therefore be said that in Cameroon, the educational system and educational planners have failed to make the use of textbooks in the teaching of history mandatory to both teachers and learners due to several reasons that have been highlighted above. As such, there has been the rise of other resources such as makeshift books or pamphlets developed through the initiatives of individual teachers of schools to serve the purpose of preparing students for an examination oriented educational system.

2.3.2 TEXTBOOKS AND PEDAGOGY

According to Pingel (2010), the pedagogical implications of the textbook refer to the way in which textbooks are used by teachers and received by learners. There is a general consensus that textbooks frequently form the basis for the teaching of a subject. This view point is supported by Lin., Zhao., Ogawa., Hoge., and Kim, B.K. (2009), who argue that history textbooks in most countries remain the most powerful means with which to provide people with an understanding of their own history as well as that of the world. Thus, history textbooks remain a significant source of pedagogical content knowledge about the subject in most classrooms for both teachers and learners with these textbooks providing an organised system of ideas and information and, thereby, helping to structure the teaching and learning of history (Sewall, 2004). In addition Pingel (2010, p. 30) notes that “textbooks provides expertise, are time savers, and provide security for both teachers and students in outlining content, scope and sequence”. The indispensable nature of textbooks is seen in the fact that teachers in most instances just have to rely on the textbooks, making these textbooks to comprise the subject especially in places where they are the only or the central medium for teaching.

UNESCO (1949) years ago already reported that although teachers and those who make programmes of study to a large extent directly influence the attitudes of learners and the content

used in the classroom; it is from textbooks that most children obtain a connected view of human history and culture of the world in which they live. As emphasis to the above, the report states further that “[even] the best planned programme, carried out by the most able teachers, cannot achieve maximum effectiveness unless implemented by first-class textbooks and teaching materials” (UNESCO, 1949, p. 9). This declaration by the education organ of the UNO is recognition of the pedagogic importance of school textbooks and other materials.

Accordingly, still within the pedagogic frame, history textbooks may be said to define what is significant in a country’s history and they are the medium through which official history, as sanctioned by the government, is made public. Thus, the implication for this study is that the depiction of reunification in textbooks represents, to some extent, the official government position on that historical process. Romanowski (1996) supports this thinking by citing USA as an example of a nation that places great faith in textbooks as a means of providing USA children with an understanding of USA history. Thus, what the USA government prioritises as history (official history) is what is included in the history textbooks for school consumption.

In addition, a study conducted in schools in the USA by Wakefield (2006) established the role of the textbook as a vital teaching and learning resource. The study revealed that 94% of secondary school teachers who taught social studies had reported that their learners used textbooks in class at least once a week. The same study revealed that 66% of social studies teachers only used print material other than textbooks in the classroom.

In a different context, the importance which the South African government attaches to textbooks was made evident in the 2011 State of the Nation address in which the president of the Republic coined the four priorities of the government with one of these priorities being the “Triple T”, namely, “Teachers, Textbooks and Time” (Zuma, 2011). The president went on to emphasise that it was essential that the administration ensured that every child was given a textbook on time. Such a firm utterance from the highest authority in the land is clearly an indication of the seriousness of the role of the textbook in pedagogy.

Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that textbooks do not produce new knowledge. They reproduce already known knowledge only and expect the consumers (learners) to construct their own knowledge from the knowledge contained in the textbooks. This, in turn, makes the problem

of knowledge transmission extremely controversial in textbook discourses. This is especially true of history textbooks and the curricula to which they belong because it is here that the controversy over the selection, presentation and transmission of knowledge is particularly heated (see Foster & Crawford, 2006). This controversy also suggests that textbooks may also be ideological.

2.3.3 POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF TEXTBOOKS

However, in spite of the fact that, as discussed above, textbooks are vital instructional resources, some scholars have questioned the neutrality of textbooks stating, for example, that textbooks do not transmit facts and information or knowledge only but also norms, rules of societies and ideologies (Sakki, 2010) and that textbooks also “seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society” (Schissler, 1989-1990, p. 81). In support of this position, Apple and Christian-Smith submit that “texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3). This disturbing side of the role of history textbooks evokes the question of the underlying purpose of history education. Maric (2016) has problematised this question even more by teasing that if the purpose of history education is to build a critical, active, and responsible citizen, it chooses sensitive and controversial topics to develop critical thinking, acquire the concept of multiperspectivity, and foster dialogue. On the other hand, he continues that if history education serves simply to transfer certain preconceived, one-sided narratives, then it excludes the variety of experiences and dialogue on interpretations, and does not foster inquiry. This depiction of the dual face of history education speaks the same to the textbooks because it is through these resources that the goal of history education is fostered.

With the emergence of the nation states in the twentieth century the content of textbooks changed to favour the national narratives. Pingel (2010, p. 8) submits that textbooks during this era “contain statements glorifying their own nations and disparaging others, glorifying the ruling group within one nation or society and disparaging so-called minority groups [within the same society]”. In explaining this dimension of school textbooks further, Pingel (1999; 2010) presents an imaginary scenario of a collection of all the textbooks in use for one particular generation of compulsory school age learners, representing all the officially recognised knowledge a society wants to

transmit to its children. He concludes that the outcome of such an exercise will surely be that the textbooks will contain facts, fairy tales, stories, and fiction but also and more importantly, there will be “explicit references to a great number of rules, norms and patterns of behaviour that the adults believe in and wish to inculcate into the younger generation as well” (Pingel, 2010, p. 7). He therefore shares the view of many other authors who have argued against the simplistic view of seeing textbooks as only conveying facts. His submission is that textbooks also spread ideologies, follow political trends and ultimately tries to justify them by investing them with historical legitimacy.

Therefore, it can be deduced that knowledge contained in textbooks is only a constructed reality of society from the lens of the ‘elderly’ or more ‘powerful’ in society. The circumscription of power as used here is relative because it depends on the degree of agency of stake holders in the textbooks industry (authors, publishers, government departments, learners etc.) and this differs from one context to another. Therefore it seem fair to say reality in textbooks is not neutral – when this is meant to develop the self-esteem of individuals; or to define the borderlines of societies; or even to represent historical traditions, cultures and customs of societies as the specific cases below will justify.

Scholars such as Lin, et al. (2009); Polakow-Suransky (2002) have, in fact, acknowledged that the content and perspectives presented in textbooks are not neutral. They claim that history textbooks, in particular, and textbooks in the humanities and social sciences in general, incorporate certain attitudes and ways of looking at the world. In these textbooks, particular opinions and interpretations are presented (Schissler, 1989-1990). The above perspective suggests that textbooks do not deserve their reputation, as may have been assumed earlier in this review, as impartial tools that simply teach learners facts and skills. Rather the suggestion here is that textbooks are always politically sensitive. And as Schissler (1989-1990) points out that if examined in accord with these premises, then textbooks can be an excellent source with which to analyse social and historical consciousness. The political nature of textbooks is supported by Engelbrecht (2006, p. 3) who admits that “textbooks embody the selective tradition – it is always someone’s vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group’s cultural capital disenfranchises another’s”.

There will always be a debate around what constitutes as legitimate curriculum knowledge for textbooks as the content is so broad and only a certain amount of material can be selected. Textbooks seek to enforce and reinforce cultural homogeneity and promote shared attitudes and shared historical memories, therefore tensions in the construction of school textbooks involve a struggle over the manufacture and control of public memory (Crawford, 2000). In this process, school textbooks have been accused of allowing for attempts to be made in reinforcing the dominant cultural forms. Textbooks therefore face the criticism that they make learners believe that history is just agreed upon facts that need to be learned when the reality is that history is not a set of static facts but rather a dynamic process of understanding (Engelbrecht, 2006).

This ideological positioning of history textbooks has been illustrated through several studies conducted around the world. A number of such studies and reports are presented here: A report of the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) in Britain (no date) which reveals many examples of biased accounts in the textbooks, notably as regards the treatment of women as well as the attitudes of non-British states in international affairs. Similarly, a comparative content analysis of history textbooks from the USA, Japan, China and South Korea reveal gross inconsistencies and conflicting views on aspects of the Korean War including the causes of the war, USA and Chinese involvement as well as the results of the war (Lin et al., 2009). These inconsistencies suggest the role of power and agency in determining not only what should be included in a textbook but also in the way in which certain aspects of history are and must be represented even though the levels and degree of the power and agency mentioned above by the different stake holders of the industry are largely conflicted and contentious.

Hence there is a serious debate at the level of the specific authority responsible for deciding what should be included in such textbooks and what to study in the process. In this regard Romanowski (1996) is of the opinion that the writers of textbook have a significant role to play. Romanowski (1996) submits that, in making judgements about what should be included and excluded and how particular episodes in history should be summarised, the writers of textbooks assign either positive or negative interpretations to specific events, thus upholding a particular set of values. The fact that these values are not often declared explicitly (they remain implicit) does not make them any the less powerful.

However, the power wielded by the writers and producers of textbooks remains contentious when one considers the watertight nature of the process preceding the publication of textbooks in most countries. It would appear that the writers of textbooks are often bound by strict government policies on textbook production and publication and that, in most cases, these policies leave them with no other choice other than to appease the authorities in their books which are to be published and used in schools. In Cameroon the Ministry of Secondary Education has instituted the *National Textbook Commission* that selects the textbooks to be used in secondary schools every year in both the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems of education (MINEDUC, 2013). This government department also approves which publishing houses will be responsible for the publication of textbooks. Thus, in essence, this means that those writers who want their textbooks to be included in the official booklist for secondary schools have to comply with the requirements of the *National Textbook Commission* as the representative of the government's standpoint.

However, it should be noted that not all writers are prepared to comply with the dictates of such government commission. According to Odendaal and Galloway (2008), some writers have resorted to self-publishing as a means of maintaining control over the content without any interference from either the government or the government approved publishers. This practice is common in the publishing industry in Cameroon because such writers are able to find a ready market with the lay private and mission schools which do not necessarily have to comply with the official textbook list issued by the Ministry (Gham, 2015). It may, thus, be assumed that, despite the fact that the writers of textbooks do have some agency as regards making decisions on the textbook content, government interference in the form of the official textbook list based on some form of scrutiny for public schools renders writers vulnerable. In view of these constraints, Werner suggests that reference be made to the "authorship" instead of the "author" of a text because the term "authorship" does not focus narrowly on "de-contextualised individuals apart from the broader social/political/economic practices that are also a part of authorship" (Werner, 2000, p. 194). By implication, authorship acknowledges the complexity of the relationships and processes in terms of which texts are produced and positioned in specific times and places. Such processes involve for instance publishing, marketing, consuming and reading (Werner, 2000).

The power of the government in the making of decisions on textbooks suggests a link between history textbooks, power and politics (Rodden, 2009) with this link manifesting in various forms

and for different motives. Other proponents of this school of thought such as Nozaki (2002); Romanowski (1996); Salomon and Ket (2007) believe that history textbooks are used to propagate the ideals of the government and, thus, they are selective in terms of what learners are required to know. Accordingly, Crawford (2000) submits that the knowledge contained in history textbooks is coded and classified, placed within contexts, assigned spaces and ranked in terms of status and meaning in such a way that the entire process involved in the manufacture, dissemination and consumption of this knowledge is political. One reason for this government control may be identified as the promotion of a certain ideology, for example, communism, capitalism, apartheid, Nazism, democracy or, in the case of this study, reunification.

Having already explored the limited literature on textbooks from Cameroon in the previous section, I will resort to other African and international literature for illustration on the above described political and ideological role of the textbooks. This will be done by exploring the ways textbooks have been used in certain contexts in colonial but most especially in post-colonial, post-conflict situations to achieve certain agenda that are not purely pedagogic.

I begin with South Africa where I have already mentioned the fact that history in the apartheid era in South Africa was described in a way that justified Afrikaner domination and the Afrikaner struggle for self-determination and that this struggle had constituted the core of the South African history curriculum of the time with history textbooks reflecting this struggle (du Preez, 1983; Engelbrecht, 2008). In 1983, a qualitative content analysis of fifty-three school textbooks prescribed for both black and white secondary schools throughout the Republic of South Africa was conducted by du Preez. Amongst other findings of the study was the identification of twelve master symbols that were found to appear repeatedly and consistently in especially the history, geography and Afrikaans literature textbooks. The twelve master symbols are: Legitimate authority is not questioned; whites are superior; blacks are inferior; The Afrikaner has a special relationship with God; South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner; South Africa is an agricultural country; the Afrikaners are a farmer nation (Boerevolk); South Africa is an afflicted country; South Africa and the Afrikaner are isolated; The Afrikaner is militarily ingenious and strong; The Afrikaner is threatened; World opinion of South Africa is important; South Africa is the leader of Africa; The Afrikaner has a God given task in Africa (du Preez, 1983, p. 71).

The socio-political context of South Africa at the time explains the presence of such master symbols in the textbooks that obviously had as agenda the glorification of the white race and the superiority of the Afrikaner at the expense of the South African blacks but also the rest of the continent of Africa. Such textbooks discourses at the time therefore were intended to justify the implementation of apartheid policies. However, in the same way as the official apartheid legislations were resisted, so too were these master symbols. Resistance to these symbols appeared in the form of other symbols to counter master symbols listed above. Du Preez (1983, p. 71) notes that these counter-symbols apparent mostly in English literature and English language textbooks include the following: The government is neither above criticism, nor is it infallible; The Blacks are wronged; Black nationalism is an accomplished fact; South Africa is an industrialised country; The White is an intruder in South Africa; South Africa is a prosperous country; The African fights against isolation.

The implication of du Preez's study is an indication of the political and ideological role that the textbooks can play in a society. The presence of master symbols and counter-symbols in apartheid South African school textbooks highlights the desire by the different stake holders to use textbooks to either push forward and promote the philosophy that underpinned apartheid, one of justifying Afrikaner domination and Afrikaner struggles for self-determination and legitimising White settlement (Engelbrecht, 2006) or to counter the apartheid propaganda and promote empathy towards its victims.

The 1994 transformation to democracy in South Africa also saw a movement away from the apartheid curriculum. Msila (2007, p. 151) notes that the main goal of the new educational system was to create a "new South African identity that encompasses critical consciousness, to transform South African society, and to promote democracy". One would, therefore, expect that contemporary textbooks would adhere to these ideals. However, it would appear that this is not the case as studies on current South African history textbooks reveal a reversal of the racial identities that were characteristic of the apartheid era. Engelbrecht (2008) claims that these textbooks are characterised by silences and omissions regarding the Whites, their aspirations and their leaders, and that new stereotypes are deliberately presented in order to counter apartheid stereotypes. This evidence of role reversal in contemporary South African history textbooks gives more credence to the view of textbooks and history textbooks, in particular, as political and

ideological weapons which are at the disposal of the authorities of the time. Maric (2016) challenges such a trend as not what post conflict societies require for sustainable peace going forward. His argument is that in post-conflict societies in which the past has been abused to instil tension and conflict, using history as an obedient servant to politics and a channel through which one exclusive version of the past is transmitted not only fails to contribute to overcoming the legacy of the violent past, but can potentially preserve or deepen the tension and consequently contribute to new conflicts.

One example that can be used to further highlight the tensions over textbooks in South Africa is the history textbook burning case that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal in 2009. Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party demonstrated in protest to the depiction of their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who appeared in a cartoon in the Oxford grade 12 History textbooks to be sanctioning pre-1994 inter-party violence (Siebörger, 2008; Van Eeden, 2008; Wassermann, 2009). The argument from the protesters was that the ruling ANC party through the textbooks was propagating a history that projected itself in a favourable light at the expense of other parties who were projected as villains. In an effort to mitigate the crisis, the publishers reacted by removing the page on which the contentious cartoon appeared and replaced it with another (Wassermann, 2009). The hasty reaction by the publishers was meant as damage control against political and economic factors linked to textbooks. The implication of this incident was that it highlighted the gravity with which textbooks and history textbooks in particular are viewed and scrutinised by society as important tools in the inculcation of a particular kind of consciousness.

The complexity of the textbooks industry in South Africa has made the country a leading force in textbooks research at university level. Amongst the many studies that have been carried out on textbooks analysis in South Africa for degree purposes include: Fru (2012) on heritage in South African schools history textbooks; Koekomoer (2012) on the depiction of the holocaust in South African history textbooks; Maposa (2014) on the representation of the African in South African history textbooks; Nene (2014) on the representation of visual images of women in South African history textbooks; Atanga (2017) on representation of citizenship education in South African Social Science textbooks. These studies all illuminate the gravity of the textbooks tension in South Africa and the role of the academic community of the country in addressing it through scholarly research.

The situation in South Africa is not very different from Kenya that has witnessed persistent tensions with Somalia. In fact, Fould (2016) submits that Somali-dominated regions of Kenya tend to be less developed economically in terms of social services than the rest of the country. This coupled with the increasing tensions between Kenya and Somalia, as well as resentment toward Somalis in Kenya (refugees) and Kenyan Somalis have highlighted the Kenyan state's inability to address the "Somali question." Based on this background, Fould (2016) conducted a study to assess the historical and current status of Somalis in Kenya (refugees and Kenyan nationals) to determine how Kenya's curriculum positions the conflict within the classroom. The study which included primary level social studies textbooks demonstrated the fact that such textbooks were used to push forward an ideological agenda by the Kenyan government. Amongst other findings was the important point that "national textbooks thoroughly reflect government policy toward Somali refugees, complemented by a revisionist history that positions Kenya as a victim of regional instability rather than a contributor to that insecurity" (Fould, 2016, p. 45). Such representation is a deliberate attempt to exonerate Kenya as a possible contributor to the instability in the region by promoting a national narrative that views the Somalis (Kenyan born and refugees) as the problem environmental and security threat of Kenya. This could be termed nationalist propaganda served through the schools' textbooks perpetrating the concept of us (the good guys) versus them (the bad guys).

Another study conducted in Ghana analysed several social studies textbooks to explore their depiction of narratives on post-independence violence in the country. Such a study falls in line with the view of Podeh (2000) who argues that in history education, textbooks may play a dual role, of transmitting acceptable historical narratives from the past into the present and altering the past in order to suit contemporary needs. In the Ghanaian study, Sefa-Nyarko (2016) found that Nkrumah's legacy in Ghanaian history generates debate on how to interpret the violence that overshadowed Ghana's independence in the 1950s and 1960s. In the textbooks he analysed, the violence has been clearly justified and condemned from a range of perspectives, and formal narratives have been manipulated over the years to suit different political traditions. His blame on the politicians for this is evident when he declares that "the urge to influence narratives in schools appears to lead politicians to tamper with the syllabi of some courses of study" (Sefa-Nyarko, 2016). This blame definitely defines the role that politics plays in the textbooks' process of Ghana.

Similarly to the examples from South Africa, Kenya and Ghana, research carried out on German history textbooks has also revealed the manifestation of political power over the years. For example, Rodden (2009, p. 268) notes that, from 1945, the communist government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) used history textbooks in the same way as had the Nazi government before them, that is, for “propagandist purposes”. Strict mechanisms were instituted to ensure that the communist ideology was instilled in the GDR throughout its 44 years’ existence (1945-89). In elaborating further, Rodden (2009, p. 265) points out that in the GDR, the “the ministry of education controlled the content of history textbooks tightly, and the textbooks and teachers’ guidebooks kept, in turn, a tight rein on GDR teachers”. Thus, in the political transformation in post WWII Germany that had resulted in an ideological power shift from Nazism to communism, history textbooks played an influential role in perpetuating this shift. This strict control over history textbooks attests to their influence as government tools which may be used to create a specific brand of citizenship identity or merely to promote a particular ideology.

Thus, in view of the above, one would expect that the fall of a particular political or ideological system would result in the corresponding failure of the related textbook stake holders of that system. However, literature from Germany reveals otherwise. Elizabeth, McEneaney, and Nieswandt (2006) disclose that Volk and Wissen is a former GDR textbook publishing agency that succeeded in entering the post reunification Germany textbook market and that it successfully changed its publishing principles from the “regional, historical traditions of the ...vanquished socialist state” (Elizabeth et al., 2006, p. 338) to those of a competitor in a publishing industry that contains “many of the normative elements of a ‘world culture’ of schooling” (Boli & Thomas, 1999, cited in Elizabeth et al., 2006, p. 338). Thus, this example indicates that publishing houses, as active agents of the textbook sector, are neither natural ideological space nor are they neutral. Nevertheless, as a result of their compliance with the political system in place, they contribute to the promotion of a certain ideology. In other words, as seen in this example, marketability and not ideology is the main concern of publishers.

The scenarios above provide a strong rationale for an analysis of Cameroonian textbooks for similar reasons. While political power in Cameroon has shifted over the years from Germany to Britain and France and then independence and reunification in a federal framework, there have not been any studies conducted on Cameroonian textbooks in order to understand the way in which,

during the different phases of Cameroonian history, these various powers constructed Cameroonian textbooks in line with their ideological aspirations for the country. Thus, an analysis of Cameroonian history textbook discourses in the context of reunification, the objective of this study, would be a step in this direction.

While Olson (1989) emphasised the special place which history textbooks occupy in education by comparing them to the sacred books of traditional religion, LaSpina (1998, p. 1) has cautioned that, because history textbooks represent both the past and the cultural heritage that is transmitted to learners, the issue of whose story is told and whose left out is a delicate issue of critical importance. These reasons all contribute to the importance of researching these educational tools.

In short, it is evident that the discourses that emerge from the literature apply both to textbooks and to reunification as both are controlled by elements of power and ideology and are also masterminded by the political authority of a certain period.

It is equally evident from the literature review that, despite the fact that there has been much written about the reunification of Cameroon, there is a gap in the research as regards the issue of reunification as it is presented in Cameroonian history textbooks—the focus of this study. It is for this reason that the literature review focused on other contexts such as South Africa and Germany in order to gain clarity on the issue of textbooks. Thus, this gap in the literature enhances the relevance of this study as the study attempts to address the deficiency in knowledge.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In chapter two, I reviewed research literature related to the major phenomenon of this study being reunification and textbooks. The chapter is divided into two broad sections with each section dealing with each of the two phenomena. In the section on reunification, the argument is that the phenomenon is not unique to Cameroon. Many other countries around the world have either witnessed it e.g. Germany, or are considering it for their political future e.g. North and South Korea or Somalia and Somaliland. Review of literature around these; reveal themes and discourses on reunification that can and will be used to mirror the Cameroon scenario. However, a greater part of the literature on reunification in the context of Cameroon was reviewed as part of the background of the study presented in chapter one. The second section on textbooks reviewed literature around three main aspects: the nature of textbooks in Cameroon; the pedagogic role of

textbooks; and the politico-ideological role of textbooks. I make the argument in this section that as much as history textbooks are vital pedagogical tools yet their ideological nature and political power cannot be under estimated. This ideological nature of textbooks was then presented through specific case studies of post-colonial African countries whose history and other social studies textbooks are noted for promoting different anti-pedagogic agendas. Being a post-colonial country like those cited in the studies conducted and reviewed here, Cameroon is therefore no exception to the possibility of history textbooks portraying ideological, stereotypical or even master narratives and/or symbols to promote certain agendas. Such a possibility provides justification for the relevance of this study being to investigate the nature of representation of the controversial and contested reunification phenomenon in Cameroonian schools' history textbooks. In the next chapter I present literature on the postcolonial theory and explain how the tenets of that theory were brought together to constitute the theoretical framework of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a continuation of the literature review that I explored in chapter two. Whilst the previous chapter examined the research literature related to textbooks and reunification as the two main phenomena of this study, and other subsidiary sections such as the textbooks in post conflict and post-colonial African and other contexts, this chapter engages the literature from a theoretical perspective. Here, I explain the theory that underpins my study with the aim of creating a theoretical framework to conduct my research enquiry. In line with the objective of this study to examine and compare the nature of representation of reunification in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks, a theory that takes account of and accommodates the (post) reunification emerging discourses as fall-out of the historical process of colonisation and decolonisation was seen to be the most apposite to frame the enquiry. Therefore, postcolonial theory was deemed the most relevant theory to provide a theoretical lens for my study. The rationale for this choice will emerge as the chapter unfolds.

Broadly speaking, postcolonial theory explains the conditions (social, political, economic and cultural) of societies after the end of official colonisation as largely informed by the historical process of colonisation, a situation the theory refers to as the colonial condition (Hitchcock, 1997). The elements of the condition and the related time markers are consequently very important in this theory – which I have engaged with in more detail in the subsequent sections. However, postcolonial theory being a very broad theory with a wide range of ideological perspectives, I decided to delimit my engagement with the theory to discursive postcolonialism. The rationale for this choice is based on the emphasis that discursive postcolonialism places on discourses as a window to postcolonial theory. Viewing postcolonialism from a discursive perspective was important in this study as reunification discourses emerging from the representations in the textbooks is the focal element in this study. Hence the nature of the representations of reunification in the textbooks will produce certain discourses that will then be interrogated from a discursive postcolonial theoretical framework. The rationale for using this form of postcolonial theory is also informed by the understanding that discourses are forms of power and knowledge that can be used

to alienate suppress or subjugate certain groups while empowering others. The latter rationale as explained in chapter one, is one of the purposes of this study.

Five different sections constitute this chapter that begins with this introduction. In the second section, through a reflection on theory and theoretical framework, I make a case for the relevance of theory in a research endeavour which leads to a justification for the need of a theoretical framework in this particular study. In the third section, I explain the conundrums surrounding postcolonial theory. This section begins with a clarification of the difference between the terms postcolonialism and post-colonialism. This clarification is important as most often the words are used interchangeably. It is therefore vital that my study identifies the difference so that their usage is consistent and understood throughout the study and that the nuances of the theory in relation to the findings from the textbooks can be clear. Still in the third section of this chapter, a historical background of the theory is explored. Then I also deal with postcolonialism in the contexts of historiography; education, and textbooks. Apart from the fact that major postcolonial theorists and their different ideas are highlighted in this section, its value to this study is also that the main concepts of the theory that are used in analysing the data and discussing the findings are explored in this section. The fourth section unpacks discursive postcolonialism as the specific genre of the postcolonial theory adopted in this study. This section concludes with a presentation of the theoretical framework for this study based on the ideas from discursive postcolonialism and ideas and concepts from the previous chapter sections. In the last section I provide a conclusion to the chapter wherein I attempt to pull together in a succinct manner what has been achieved in the chapter while setting the scene for what will follow.

3.2 REFLECTIONS ON THEORY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The notion and concepts of theory and theoretical framework are essential in any discipline that perceives itself as scholarly or scientific. The value of theory in scholarship cannot be overemphasised. Yet in spite of this recognition, it is understood that the concept is very elusive to conceptualise and more often than not, it is not exactly clear what theory actually means (Klette, 2012; Punch, 2009). This fluidity in conceptualisation seem quite evident in educational research as in this context, it is not clear where the entities referred to as theories invoked come from, how they are used, what foundations they have or what roles they play in the field (Klette, 2012). Consequently, it seems problematic that a key entity for the advancement of research in education

is so ill-conceptualised and has an unclear status and function. Notwithstanding this situation, several meanings of theory as provided by different scholars in and outside of the field of educational research will be advanced here in order to explore their convergence and divergence. This is done with a clear understanding that in the social sciences, it is usually folly to try to create concrete definitions of terms.

Dillow (2009) opines that the word theory has various meanings depending on its context. I will add that this variance in meaning of theory can also be said to depend on the paradigmatic inclinations of the researcher. She goes further to elaborate on three of the contextual meanings as follows: in everyday language it means a speculation or opinion which is not necessarily factually based; in natural science it means something which can be tested and proven; while in social sciences it is associated with the paradigms and perspectives which organise research. The unscientific nature of the first context is exposed by Nealon and Giroux (2012) who state that all opinions come from somewhere and that an investigation into the origins of our opinions is by itself dealing with theory. The implication is that even the opinions we hold are not neutral, they are informed by certain theories or theorisations. Therefore it is cautioned that “unless we can ask theoretical questions – larger questions about the origins of knowledge, who holds them, and how such knowledge were formed and might be changed – we’re stuck in a go-nowhere exchange of opinions: he said, she said” (Nealon & Giroux, 2012, p. 4).

A more common and shared understanding of theory seems to be the one that puts concepts and variables at the forefront of its meaning making (Cohen et al., 2011; Kerlinger, 1970; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005). For instance, in explaining the nature and purpose of theory, Kerlinger (1970) states that theory is “a set of related concepts, definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena” (p. 9). The idea here is that these related concepts and ideas help in producing statements about particular types of actions, events or activities, so as to make analysis of their causes, consequences and processes with the ultimate aim of developing a systematic construction of knowledge of the social world. The social world in relation to my study signifies the reunified and post-colonial Cameroon that would be (re)constructed through the specific theoretical lens adopted.

Being a root word for the term theoretical framework, I submit then that the “theoretical” in theoretical framework implies a frame that shows that the researcher is knowledgeable about the key concepts, theories, ideas, and models that relate to the topic under investigation. This is on the premise that researchers base their work on certain philosophical perspectives – single or more theories depending on the kind of work they are doing. In other words, a theoretical framework is a web that holds together the different concepts of the theory or the different theories adopted for a study and clarifies the relationship amongst those concepts and/or theories applied. In clarifying the philosophical basis of the research, the theoretical framework creates a link between the theoretical aspects and the practical component of the study that is being conducted (Sinclair, 2007).

Punch (2009) highlights two important notions of theory in research being theory verification and theory generation, which he also refers to as “theory first” and “theory after” respectively (p. 16). He explains the former as typically more directed to quantitative research and entails starting with a theory, deducing hypotheses from it and then designing a study to test those hypotheses. This structure of knowledge seems also more akin to a positivistic perspective. The theory-after or theory generation on the other hand has typically been of a qualitative tradition and entails that researchers do not begin with a theory but rather a theory develops systematically from the data collected. The development of grounded theory for instance, in recent years as part of social science research would fit in to the theory-after category based on the explanation above. However, based on the peculiar nature of my study, I have to note that my application of theory does not comply completely with the categorisations or fall into the boxes explained above. My theoretical perspective lies in a grey area between the two extremes explained above. Whilst I have begun this study with an *a priori* theory, my paradigmatic inclinations are not in line with the positivist domain of deducing and testing hypothesis from the theory, nor is the purpose of my study to develop a theory through the data collected, as in grounded theory. Rather my decision is dependent “on the topic, on the context and practical circumstances of the research, and especially on how much prior theorising and knowledge exist in the area” (Punch, 2009, pp. 16-17).

It was important in this study that I take cognisance of the view that there are different types of theories. In fact, Morrison (as cited in Cohen et al., 2011, p. 9/10) refers to three types of theories being: grand theories (such as Marxism, structuralism, and functionalism); critical theories (such

as postcolonial, discourse, and feminism); and empirical theories emanating from specific empirical studies such as those of grounded theories or theory-after as explained in the previous paragraph. It is imperative to note that these categorisations are not as neat as suggested. For instance Maposa (2014) observes that Marxism can be part of the broader structuralism while critical theories such as those mentioned above have become grand theories themselves. Moreover, Wellington et al. (2005) regard structuralist Michel Foucault as a grand theorist similar to Karl Marx. The basis for the aforementioned argument as captured by Maposa (2014) is that while the poststructuralist theorists criticise other theorists of essentialism, they are similarly trapped in the essentialist thought when they identify themselves as poststructuralists. The implication of such entrapment is that all scholarly endeavours can always be viewed as being informed by one grand theory or another. This argument also evokes part of my rationale for employing theory to my study so as to explicate what was influencing my ways of thinking.

Searching for a theory that captures the entirety of the phenomenon in my study with all its concepts and variables was initially a very difficult task. In fact it did not have to because my efforts were vindicated by Cohen et al. (2011) who submit that by their nature, scientific theories are provisional and that a single theory can never be complete in the sense of encompassing all that can be known or understood about a given phenomenon. In addition, it is known that whilst theory captures the actual problem in the phenomena being studied and (hopefully) understand it more satisfactorily; on the other hand, some aspects of the problem are always omitted (Welman et al, 2005). This can be explained by the fact that human beings have limited cognitive capacity making it difficult to take everything into account at the same time. Still on the same idea, Maxwell (2010, p. 5) concurs and cautions that “every theory both reveals some aspects of that reality, and distorts or conceals other aspects.” In my view, the above arguments infer that no theory is complete, thereby, whatever theory I was going to adopt for this study, there was always going to be certain weaknesses and strengths.

In view of the above considerations and drawing from the notion that no theory is complete, I settled on a theory that seems to provide the necessary sparks that are relevant for my study. Even though I acknowledge that this theory, like any other theory, is not sufficient to quench my theoretical thirst, it nonetheless contains enough concepts and variables that constantly talks to the research I am conducting. The theory in question is postcolonial theory. In line with the challenges

of theory mentioned earlier, Hitchcock (1997) reminds us that theory still occupies an important place in “dissident and creativity” (p. 233) otherwise postcolonial theory in particular risks ending up being divorced from a practical presence in the struggle in which it wants to engage. With that said, my focus on the remainder of this chapter is on explaining the nature and conundrums of the postcolonial theory and the extent of its application to my study.

3.3 POSTCOLONIAL THEORY: ITS CONUNDRUMS

The root word colonialism is substantial to the understanding of postcolonial theory as well as the many other discourses related to it. In spite of this, there are a number of variances in the understandings of those concepts that constitute the discourses related to colonialism such as pre-colonial, neo-colonial, postcolonial, post-colonial, decolonisation, postcoloniality, and the postcolonial condition, just like there are with the term colonialism itself. These concepts mean different things for different scholars and sometimes even for the same scholar or proponent depending on the context and time period. Sometimes they have different alternatives and contradictory connotations. According to Hitchcock (1997), postcolonial theory is not monolithic: It is plural and many of its parts are signs of an intrinsic struggle over what the term might mean. So alarming are the variances that McLeod (2000) wonders if “we can ever really talk of a ‘postcolonialism’, with the entire coherency that this term implies” (p. 3). The distinction between postcolonial(ism) and post-colonial(ism) as provided below helps to throw more light on the volatility of the other constituent concepts.

The hyphenated term post-colonial has been used more often to denote a particular period in history or epoch (McLeod, 2000). This historical period is the period after the end of official European colonisation. It is a reality that colonial empires officially collapsed at different times in different parts of the world. Therefore, post-colonialism as a time marker refers to the aftermath of the end of colonisation in those different spaces. In relation to my study, the post-colonial refers to the period after independence of French Cameroon, independence of British Southern Cameroons, and then the reunification of the former Francophone and Anglophone territories of Cameroon up to the present moment. Still within this understanding, the history textbooks analysed for this study are post-colonial since they are textbooks that are written and published as well as used after the end of official colonisation of Cameroon. Similarly, these textbooks are written by post-colonial authors and intended for a post-colonial readership. Ironically, as I have mentioned

in chapter two, the textbooks are also constructs of an educational system introduced during Western colonisation. As Maposa (2014) points out, the fact that textbooks can possibly present discourses that fight to end the effects of colonisation, presents an epistemological paradox whereby the textbooks as an effect of the colonisation process becomes a tool that tries to fight the effects of decolonisation. Similarly, the African and in the case of this study the Cameroonian, in all ramifications – textbook author, textbook analyst/researcher, politician, teacher or learner -, is a product of the decolonisation process and a post-colonial being. Should he or she adopt a postcolonial stance, he will be fighting the effects of decolonisation, even as he is one of those effects himself. The implication is that the post-colonial scholar is a conflicted individual and with reference to this study, such conflicts project the kind of discourses on reunification that are represented in the textbooks or from a researcher point of view, it also relates to the manner in which those discourses are interpreted or analysed. Hence the fundamental role of postcolonial theory in this study is to serve as an analytic concept to explain reunification and other discourses that the post-colonial Cameroonian history textbooks might be bearing.

On the other hand, Hitchcock (1997) posits that the colonial idea does not end with independence, with a different flag, or in the context of Africa, when an African leads an African nation. Even in the new dispensation where independence has supposedly been won, anticolonial struggles are said to be continuing in and outside Africa. This is an insinuation that even though the political map of the world has drastically changed since decolonisation, the material realities and modes of representation common to colonialism are still active in a new form. As a result, Kumar (2000) has his reservations with the ‘clinical definition’ of postcolonialism by indicating that it covers up a dangerous period in the lives of people from once-colonised states. McLeod (2000) concurs with this view by arguing that “these material and imaginative legacies of colonialism and decolonisation remain fundamentally important constitutive elements in a variety of contemporary domains, such as anthropology, economics, art, global politics, international capitalism, [and] the mass media...” (p. 7).

In the context of this study, the Cameroon education system and schools’ textbooks can be added to the list above as societal elements that manifest the legacies of colonialism. Expressed differently, the post-colonial societies such as Cameroon, still observe to some and varying degrees the historical continuities and changes in the colonial condition albeit in different facets – a

condition that has also come to be known as neo-colonialism. The conditions described in this paragraph are the referents for postcolonialism without the hyphen. Within this context of postcolonialism being the aesthetic practices of post-colonialism (McLeod, 2000), I think that the post of postcolonial is woefully inadequate to reflect the realities of contemporary Africa, and in particular Cameroon where the signs of colonial continuity are noticeable in varied forms. If a goal of postcolonialism is a correction of the imbalances of power that have occurred and are still occurring between the former coloniser and the formerly colonised (Kumar, 2000) then I believe uncovering and un-layering the different conceptualisations is a necessary pre requisite for postcolonial based research.

To elucidate the difference between postcolonialism and post-colonialism even further, I have already mentioned that the textbooks in this study are post-colonial textbooks because they were written after the period of colonisation. However, being post-colonial does not guarantee that the textbooks are postcolonial in terms of the nature of the discourses on reunification and other discourses for that matter, that they provide. Consequently, for sake of practicality, I have used both post-colonial and postcolonial in this study, the former referring to present day Cameroon as a “temporal marker” and the latter in reference to the “analytical concept of greater range and ambition” (St-Pierre, 1997, p. 11) such as in the theory that is being discussed in this chapter.

Another area of debate amongst scholars in the conceptualisation of postcolonial theory has to do with the meaning of the prefix “post” as in postcolonial or even post-colonial. The problem here seems to be with the very simplistic sense of the ‘post’ to mean ‘after’ colonialism. A view that Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin (2007) finds as lacking limits on the “politically defined historical periods” (p. 269) and therefore “naïve, inadequate, or utopian (Moore & Young, 2001:182). Ashcroft et al. (2007) go on to complain for instance that “when the term ‘colonialism’ can be pushed back to the Incas and forward to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, then it becomes ‘a transhistorical thing, always present and always in process of dissolution in one part of the world or another’” (p. 269).

The above perspective is reinforced by McLeod (2000) who makes use of the imperial venture of the British Empire to portray three different epochs of decolonisation: the first period was the late 18th century with the loss of the USA colonies through the declaration of USA independence; the second period spans the end of the 19th century to the 1st decade of the 20th century and concerns

the creation of the dominions of Canada (1867), Australia (1900), New Zealand (1907), and South Africa (1910); finally, the third period occurred in the decade immediately after WWII and involved countries such as India and Pakistan (1947), Sri Lanka (1948), and a majority of African countries such as Ghana (1957), Nigeria (1960) and of course Cameroon as the context of this study in 1960/61. The argument therefore becomes whether the post-colonial conditions of Africa can be seen in the same light as those of say Australia, New Zealand or the USA bearing in mind that all these countries are post-colonial entities as explained above that have had different trajectories since decolonisation. How then would a postcolonial theory be applied in addressing conditions in these different epochs and post-colonial contexts?

Clearly, this overlap of the colonial and post-colonial and the identification of clearly distinct epochs of decolonisation complicate the use of the term post-colonialism as a temporal marker and gives credence to the “transhistorical” rhetoric of Ashcroft et al. (2007, p. 269). To nuance this even further, using the case of South Africa as a case in point, it could be argued that, if the post-colonial in Africa is marked by dates of independence from European colonisers, then a crucial debate would be whether the post-colonial started in 1931 when the country was granted dominion status by Britain or in 1961 when it became a republic, or even in 1994 when the system of apartheid was officially dismantled? The situation of South Africa is even more complex as the nature of the coloniser took various forms – firstly one can mention the British as colonisers over the dominions and secondly, the ‘settlers’ over the indigenous people through the system of apartheid, a situation that Said has referred to as “victims of victims”. Hence Rukundwa and van Aarde (2007) assess that the postcolonial theorists need to ask pertinent questions such as: When does a settler become coloniser, colonised and postcolonial? When does a race cease to be an oppressive agent and become a wealth of cultural diversities of a postcolonial setting? Or in the human history of migrations, when does the settler become native, indigenous, a primary citizen? And lastly, when does the native become truly postcolonial? The answers to these questions make postcolonial theory problematic.

A problem that is truly consistent with the view advanced by McClintock (1993) suggesting two forms of colonisation is: the internal and imperial colonisation. The former implying when a people are oppressed by a dominant group within the same country and the latter referring to when European countries colonised most non-European territories and even some European ones. The

elaborate literature that I have reviewed in chapters one and two on issues of marginalisation of Anglophone Cameroon by the Francophone counterparts ever since reunification can be equated to this viewpoint of internal colonialism similar to the South African apartheid example. Consequently the history textbooks themselves are involved in this complex web of colonial perspectives. Depending on which angle we look at them, the textbooks could be post-colonial, postcolonial or could represent discourses which purvey internal or imperial colonisation or even all of them in a hybrid manner through their constructions of the reunification of Cameroon. The literature reviewed in chapter two has indicated that such possibilities are largely dependent on factors related to the complex dynamics of the textbooks' industry such as the agency or not of the author including his/her biases, ideology and intentions of the publisher, as well as the government through the selection process of these textbooks to form part of the official school curriculum. Based on the rhetorical questions raised above, one can make the claim that the road from colonial to postcolonial never ends merely with "post" in a postcolonial concept. Instead it becomes a new form of influence through local agents. This vicious circle does not allow the world to be ever fully postcolonial – to be entirely free from colonialism.

It is important to highlight the theorists that have had a greater impact on postcolonialism. Tosh (2009) identifies Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha as the leading exponents of postcolonial theory. In fact, so overwhelming is the level of scholarship of these three in the field of postcolonialism that McLeod (2000) metaphorically referred to them as the "holy trinity of critics" (p. 24) working in the field. The predominance of the aforementioned trio should not be at the expense of other important voices that have equally made great contributions in postcolonial based research such as Frantz Fanon, Michael Foucault, and Achille Mbembe. The different perspectives of these scholars are fleshed out in the subsequent paragraphs in an integrated manner as the thematic development of the theory unfolds.

Another important phenomenon that postcolonial theory grapples with as a factor of the nature of the relationship between former coloniser and the formerly colonised is the concept of Orientalism. Propagated by Said, Orientalism examined how the Western imperial powers 'the Occident' formed certain forms of knowledge and representations of their colonies – 'the Orient' in order to justify the continual subjugation of the latter (Hamadi, 2014; McLeod, 2000; Tosh, 2009; Walia, 2001). Such representations of the Orient by the Occident that were held as scientific truths

involved portraying the Orient as the primitive uncivilised “other” (Hamadi, 2014) or as “a mythic place of exorcism, moral laxity, [and] sexual degeneration” (McLeod, 2000, p. 22) all in an attempt to create it as a contrast to the advanced civilised West. A view pushed further by Said who states that the texts produced by the Occident are highly biased, depicting the Orient as the irrational, strange, and weak, feminized "Other", contrasted with the rational, familiar, strong, masculine West (Hamadi, 2014). On the basis of the portrayal of such stereotypes and their internalisation even by the Orient, the coloniser could then justify and legalise the domination and subjugation of the superior "civilized" West over the inferior "primitive" East using the logic of a “civilising mission” or “a white man’s burden” (Walia, 2001 p. 40). Ashcroft et al. (2002) support Said's idea of the condescending view the West has always seen the Orient through, by showing how Africa and Africans, for example, appear in the eyes of Western writers and thinkers as not only the primitive and demonic "opposite to the angels of reason and culture" but even to the extent that "Hegel could define the continent as being 'outside history'" (159). Logically, Cameroon falls under the category of Orient. However, if the literature on the marginalisation of Anglophone Cameroon and their plight of a re-colonisation by the Francophone counterparts is anything to go by then they will fit as the Orient and while the Francophone Cameroon is the Occident in the context of Orientalism. That being the situation, the assumption then is that the kind of representations and discourses on reunification in Francophone history textbooks can be viewed as providing justifications for continued subjugation.

Said (1978) equally employs the term ‘subaltern’ to refer to the formerly colonised ‘Orient’ explained above. The subaltern as described by Tosh (2009) denotes a “disempowered social group” (292). Cameroon could thus be a subaltern in the same way as it is an ‘Orient’ of the ‘Occident’ British and French colonising missions. However, another perspective of the subaltern is that which relates to the idea of internal colonialism alluded to earlier. This can also be called internal disempowerment in reference to ‘subalternism’ being a disempowering mechanism. In this sense, the subaltern represents the silencing of the voices of the ordinary citizens through the chronicling of a “bourgeois-nationalist” and elitist historiography (Tosh, 2009). For example (Hamadi, 2014) notes that Said's criticism of Orientalism is not restricted to Western colonialism and Orientalism, but he equally and harshly attacks the practices of Arab elites who internalized the USA and British Orientalists' ideas of Arabic culture. He goes on to reflect on Gayatri Spivak’s essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" where she deals with the problem of the subaltern groups in the

Third World as being powerless and unable to express themselves and hence their experiences are inevitably distorted by the perspectives of the elite, such as academics, who are describing them. Edward Said claims that "Certain varieties of the Indian elite are at best native informants for first world intellectuals interested in the voice of the Other" (Hamadi, 2014). From this angle, Anglophone Cameroon could be seen as the subaltern within the reunified Cameroon, whose voices are silenced through an exclusive reunification master narrative. The political and ideological nature of history textbooks explained in chapter two supports the possibility of such subaltern and Oriental representations and discourses permeating the Cameroonian history textbooks. It is the role of the postcolonial (textbook) researcher to uncover ideological representations and exclusiveness and then find a voice for the silenced subaltern within the history textbooks.

Evidently, the arguments regarding the Orient and the Occident are premised on the notion that they were binary opposites with the powerful coloniser on the one hand subjugating and influencing a passive subaltern or colonised person. This line of reasoning implies that postcoloniality is a one-way process where the colonised people had no significant imprint on the Occident. Hence, St-Pierre (1997) has questioned whether the former colonisers did not also find themselves in a postcolonial condition? According to Tosh (2009) the portrayal of Orientalism as a unified West imposing a unified discourse on the East is an oversimplification of postcoloniality. The proposition advanced for this rebuttal is that the effects of decolonisation were not limited to the formerly colonised only but rather; the coloniser and the colonised were part of a single system with influences and experiences flowing in both directions (Tosh, 2009). Going by this view, the former colonial powers are post-colonial societies themselves.

In critique of the argument above, McClintock (1993) is of the view that postcolonialism fails to show the difference between "the beneficiaries of colonialism (the ex-colonisers) and the casualties of colonialism (the ex-colonised)" (p. 86). However, this view is countered by St-Pierre (1997) who states that neo-colonial conditions cannot exist in the absence of anti-colonial struggles. By implication, those who are not involved in anti-colonial struggles cannot claim to be in a postcolonial condition. In relation to internal colonisation alluded to earlier, this means that only the formerly dominated experience postcoloniality, even if they live in the same country as those who do not. This has significant bearing on the Cameroonian history textbooks. For instance

can the postcolonial experiences of an author who studies under the Western cultural system be the same as those of authors who studied under a post-colonial Cameroon system? And what will be the effects of these experiential differences on their historiography? Similarly, what kind of postcolonial history is expected of a publisher of contemporary Cameroonian textbooks who was also involved in the publishing of colonial textbooks? Still in line with internal colonisation, one can begin to raise questions on the writing of history meant for Anglophone Cameroonian schools (the colonised) by an author with a very strong and verifiable Francophone Cameroon (the coloniser) heritage. Going by the argument advanced by St-Pierre (1997) the history textbooks produced by such authors or publishers cannot be viewed as postcolonial because of the hybridity of the author and by virtue of them having been a producer of oppressive colonial discourses in the case of the producer.

3.4 POSTCOLONIALISM AND HISTORY/HISTORIOGRAPHY

History and historiography have always constituted contested spaces and terrains for biases and other expressions of ideology, prejudice and stereotype. This situation seems truer in the post-colonial context where different discourses of actors, events, and situations involved in colonisation and decolonisation are being captured in history textbooks for school studies and for posterity. Walia (2001) sees this confusion in terms of an erosion of the traditional analytical conceptual enlightenment structures of historical knowledge. Hence he concludes that facts of history no longer speak for themselves. An example to illustrate this is the concern that in India, the subaltern historiography arose as a result of the struggle between tendencies affiliated with imperialist biases in Indian history and a nationalist desire on the part of historians in India to decolonise the past (Chakrabarty, 2000; Tosh, 2009).

Chakrabarty (2000) highlights a threefold debate that surrounded this Indian example. Firstly that imperial history writing always portrayed colonial rule as being beneficial to India and applauded the British for bringing political unity, modern educational institutions, modern industries, modern nationalism, and a rule of law he calls this group of historiography the “colonialist”. Secondly, is the nationalist group that constituted the work of a “tiny elite reared in the educational institutions the British set up in India [and who] both competed and collaborated with the British in their search for power and privilege” (p. 12). The peculiarity about this second category lies in their elitist nature of historiography that excluded the representations of the roles of ordinary Indians in the

decolonisation process and history of India. This motivation ushered in the third group of historians who claimed that “there was little to choose between the nationalist politicians and the historians who chronicled their achievements [because] both belonged to the bourgeois elite” (Tosh, 2009, p. 292). This third group rated the involvement of Indian peasants and workers in historiography as an adequate response to the problems of postcolonial history writing because of the claim that “peasants do not speak directly in archival documents, which are usually produced by the ruling classes” (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.12). Their aim was to produce historical analyses in which the subaltern groups were viewed as the subjects of history. This was the emergence of the subaltern historiography which it could be said adopted a history from below or anti-elitist approach to history writing. These developments also makes stronger the concerns of Rukundwa and van Aarde (2007) who argued that the voice of people who are not in power, is ever “in danger of extinction or of co-optation”, not because the weak cannot theorise, but because they are “constantly limited by societal structures” which are the product of imperialism and colonialism.

Similar to India, the profound colonial ignorance of the African indigenous past (Tosh, 2009) equally necessitated a reaction by historians with the end of the colonial era in Africa. Tosh (2009) notes that the dawn of post-colonialism in Africa triggered an impressive output of scholarly works in African history written in part by African scholars trained in the West and also by young Western scholars who identified with the aspirations of African independence. The hybrid nature of the former group of scholars is worth highlighting in relation to the scope of Orientalism mentioned earlier in this chapter that sought to change the mind sets of the Orient. This could also serve as a counter argument in the Cameroonian textbooks’ situation that the Western education status of the author(s) might not necessarily be a pivotal influence in their perspectives on reunification of Cameroon as earlier argued. Moreover, the post-colonial actions of the latter group also suggest a turnaround discourse on Orientalism by its very protagonists. Be it as it may, this new group of post-colonial African historians were confronted with two related assumptions: firstly that Africa had no history apart from the activities of outsiders; and secondly that there was no evidence to support any such a history. These assumptions were definitely not an insinuation that African colonial history was never studied; rather it is a revelation of a history that was studied from the perspective of the colonisers – the Occident. Tosh (2009) notes that a major outcome of this generation of African historiography was the unpacking of documentary resources that proved much richer than anyone had hitherto supposed. Sourced from European trading companies and

missionary societies who had been in contact with Africa since the fifteenth century, these resources and records contained amongst others, descriptions of African culture and society, close observations of local chiefdoms, chronicles revealing the depth of literacy into Africa, as well as administrative records of African states such as the Sokoto caliphate (Tosh, 2009).

Another concern on post-colonial historiography or even postmodernism has been the influence of language in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of the truth about the past. Postcolonial postmodern writers such as Michael Foucault, Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida have written extensively on the subject of truth and the power systems which shape and determine it (Walia, 2001). In this quest for historical truth, they have argued that language has played a vital role in the determination of reality. This argument lends credence to the claim that historical truth is not necessarily inherent in the evidence of the events since history will be taken for a constructed narrative. Language produces discourses and through different kinds of representations, discourses are explicitly or implicitly infused within texts that have the effect of empowering some at the expense of others. Foucault explains this clearly when he regards all discourses as forms of power/knowledge which serves to confine people within specific ways of understanding the world and their place therein (Tosh, 2009). This is the way language was used in the colonial construct - a certain kind of historical knowledge for different reasons. Postcolonialism therefore seeks to ensure that the power of language and discourses are not used in the post-colonial era for the selfless purpose of constraining people historically.

3.5 DISCURSIVE POSTCOLONIALISM

In the previous section I explained postcolonial theory in relation to certain discourses on history and historiography. In the last paragraph in particular of the previous section I identified the role of language as source of power and knowledge in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of events of the past implying that to some extent, there is always a place for language in the analysis. If the conditions of colonialism were instilled through language and representation such as in Orientalism, then language can also be a vital tool in achieving the aims of postcolonialism. This makes language and discourses a vital component of postcolonial theory. In his explanations on postcolonial theory, Hamadi (2014) presents three referents as follows: a literal description of conditions in formerly colonial societies; a description of a global condition after the period of colonialism; and a description of discourse informed by an epistemological

orientation. Similarly, Hitchcock (1997) claims three outstanding postcolonialisms amongst a plethora of others. These three are the experiential postcolonialism, the materialist postcolonialism and the discursive postcolonialism.

In the interest of not being overwhelmed by theory as suggested by Wellington (2005), I will not go beyond a surface description of the first two kinds of postcolonialisms presented respectively by Hamadi (2014) and Hitchcock (1997) as they are not directly relevant to my study. Summarily, Hitchcock (1997) views experiential postcolonialism as “firmly grounded in the wake of the great decolonization movements that flourished earlier in this century and that encompasses both works of theory ... and a huge body of heterogeneous culture ... including names that have defined both the difference and the danger of postcoloniality ...” (p. 233) while materialist postcolonialism refer to “theoretical approaches that seek to understand the relationship between the experience of postcoloniality and the socioeconomic restructuring of the globe” (p. 233). The third form of postcolonialism which Hitchcock advocates – discursive postcolonialism is what I chose to use in this study to frame my theoretical lens. Discursive postcolonialism is also linked to Hamadi’s (2014) third category of postcolonial theory which is a description of discourse informed by an epistemological orientation. However, even as I try to fit my study within a category of postcolonial theory, it is largely for the sake of giving my study a clear orientation and focus because Hitchcock (1997) reminds that “as soon as one begins to specify postcolonialism within individual examples, however, the general category begins to fold in on itself leading some to question whether there is integrity in the moniker at all” (p. 235). This implies that different categories are hardly-inclusive but rather loose and only serve to indicate and highlight some of the range of postcolonial debates. In other words, Hitchcock’s (1997) framework should be understood as “prospective rather than prescriptive” (p. 235).

According to Hitchcock (1997), discursive postcolonialism assesses the condition of postcoloniality as a discursive construction – that is something constructed through discourse. Through discourse analysis, discursive postcolonialism reveals power/knowledge conditions as well as how information, knowledge, belief and value systems are codified discursively to create meaning in a world emerging from empire or in a post-colonial society. It is important to note that this study will not invoke discourse theory as is done in some other studies to complement the exploration of discursive practices in postcolonialism. Rather, the idea is to understand through

analysis of content, representations and discourses in the selected/sampled history textbooks, the persistence of colonialism (internal and external) in relation to the effects of decolonisation, in this case through the representation of reunification. In spite of this hesitation to align my discursive approach to those of other fields including discourse theory, I must acknowledge that my use of the concept is not entirely divorced from the rest. In fact Nikander (2006) explains that:

what discursive approaches in different disciplinary locations share, however, is a strong social constructionist epistemology – the idea of language as much more than a mere mirror of the world and a phenomena ‘out-there’, and the conviction that discourse is of central importance in constructing the ideas, social processes, and the phenomena that make up our social world (p. 1)

The excerpt above relates the discursive approach of postcolonialism to my social constructionist epistemological philosophical world view as I will explain in chapter 4. This is the extent to which my use of the discursive approach is similar to other approaches of the discourse tradition. Moreover, the interpretivist paradigm in which this study is aligned also means that issues of power relations/dynamics as a function of discourse (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001) are not a preoccupation in the sense that interpretivism “fails to acknowledge the institutional structures, particularly divisions or interest and relations of power” in their presentation of social behaviour and thereby neglect the political and ideological contexts of research (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 24) which is the hallmark of critical research. Consequently, whilst I regard Foucault’s view of language as the most important kind of power because users of language are usually unconscious of how language constraints them (Tosh, 2009) to be valid, the orientation of my study in terms of the social constructionist epistemology, the interpretivist paradigm, the qualitative approach, and even the content analysis methodology mean that the power element of language and discourse is not focal to my study as much as it is important. Rather the focus is on the discourses purviewed in the content of the text. By nuancing my theoretical considerations as such, I adhered to Norval’s (1996) advice that a theoretical framework should not make the study redundant by predetermining the results of the research before it is conducted. In trying to be rigorous, I attempted to make sure that the philosophical principles of the different sections of the research design did not contradict each other. I therefore made efforts to incorporate theory into the logic of my study so as to deepen the research process (Maxwell, 2010).

Within the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework are concepts listed such as Orientalism, subalternism, internal colonialism, external colonialism and hybridity. The relationship between these concepts can be explained as follows: Orientalism seen as a form of external colonisation because it involved the portrayal of the colonised people in certain undignified ways in order to justify their colonisation and subjugation. In this case, there is the presence of the external force. Subaltern on the other hand represents internal colonialism because it implies marginalisation, subjugation of one group over another within the same space or amongst former colonised people. In other words, it is the deprivation of a voice by the underprivileged in a former colonised society by the 'new' élites group. Both these categories involve the challenges of identity hybridity in terms of the struggle by the different parties to identify themselves within the colonial project as either coloniser or colonised internally or externally. Hence the discursive postcolonial concepts reviewed and applied in this study do not necessarily represent separate entities. Rather they represent an interrelation of the main tenets of the postcolonial theory seen through a discursive perspective. Applied together with the analytical tool for the analysis of the text explained in chapter four, the nature of the representation of reunification and the kind of discourses that will emerge from such representations from a postcolonial theoretical perspective will then be understood.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed postcolonial theory as the theory which informed my study. The conundrums of postcolonialism were clearly articulated before I explained the discursive brand of the postcolonial theory as the specific genre I adopted within the postcolonial 'umbrella'. However since this theory is complex, I concentrated my attention on certain key concepts that constitute the theory namely Orientalism, subalternism, internal and external colonialism and lastly hybridity. These concepts from the literature reviewed were the main concepts constituting and underpinning the complexities of the theory. In the next chapter, I explain the nature of the analytical tool as part of the methodology and the general research design for this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I explained the theoretical constructs that combined to inform the postcolonial theoretical framework adopted for this study. The nature of postcolonial theory, what it seeks to address including its role and relevance in this research were all discussed in the previous chapter. The purpose of this present chapter is to explain the research design and methodology of my study. The design and methodology will constitute the two broad sections of this study. It is also imperative that clarity be made in relation to their meanings as I have applied them in this study. The necessity for such clarification derives from the fact that there is much confusion between ‘research design’ and ‘methodology’ to the extent that it is not unusual to find the two concepts used interchangeably (Hofstee, 2006). In a general sense though, the research design and methodology in my study will serve as a strategic framework or road map for action and will cover all the philosophical assumptions that I apply to bridge the research questions and the execution or implementation of the study right to the report.

As I have mentioned, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section on research design will discuss the design strategies for this study. These strategies will include the specific research design adopted as well as other design techniques such as the research approach; research paradigm; the ontological and epistemological orientations; and the sampling considerations. In the second section, I begin by explaining the nature of qualitative content analysis as the methodology of choice for this study. I then continue with a discussion on the specific related data generation and analysis strategies adopted for my study. Still in the second section, I explain measures taken to ensure and enhance trustworthiness of my study and the ethical considerations I observed.

4.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Creswell (2003), the last two decades have witnessed a multiplicity of research approaches to the point that researchers now have many choices. As a result, he recommends that each research endeavour should adopt a framework that will provide guidance about all facets of

the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry to the detailed data generation and analysis procedures. The embodiment of the research process highlighted above constitutes a research design. Therefore a research design is a description of the choices made and the procedures for conducting the study, including when, from whom and under what conditions the data will be obtained (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In other words, the role of a research design is to indicate the general plan of the study that is, how the research is set up, how the participants are selected and what happens to them in the course of the study (in the case of my study, the non-human selected history textbooks will serve as my participants), what methods of data generation and analysis are used. This plan is also important as it forms the basis for generating empirical evidence that will be used in the execution or implementation of the study to address the research questions. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006) the importance of the research design to any investigation can be explained by the facts that: certain limitations and cautions in interpreting research results are related to each design; and also because the research design determines how the data should be analysed.

Durrheim (2006) has used the analogy of designing a building to explain the concept of research design. Going by this analogy, one of the reasons why it is a good idea to plan a house before actually building it is so that the builders will avoid making ad hoc decisions as they build. Such decisions may involve forgetting to include a toilet or windows or even starting to construct a very large house, only to run out of funds and be forced to abandon the project. The link between this analogy and a research design are two- fold: Firstly, like building plans the research design ensures that the study fulfils a particular purpose; secondly it ensures that the research can be completed within the available resources – material and time (Durrheim, 2006).

The conceptualisation above insinuates that the design process begins at the start of the research with the research question(s) and continues right to the report at the end. But between these two extreme phases, are a series of activities that are developed with the intention of answering the foregrounded research questions. These activities include: the research approach; the research paradigm; the ontology and epistemology orientataion; the sampling; and the research methodology including the methods; issues of ethics; trustworthiness.

As I have demonstrated in chapter one, this study has its roots in the historical processes of colonisation and decolonisation of Africa and Cameroon in particular. From a postcolonial lens, this study challenges the nature of representation of the colonial legacy of reunification in Cameroonian Anglophone and Francophone school history textbooks. The focus of this study and its underlying problem was then translated into research questions that will guide the study and serve as the starting point of my research design (Durrheim, 2006). The rest of this chapter will therefore explain the “architectural blueprint” devised to answer the research questions stated as in chapter one.

It must be noted that the nature of qualitative studies which this study adheres to, requires that a research design cannot be straight forward and systematic as explained in the preceding paragraph. Durrheim (2006) and Cohen et al. (2011) note that design in qualitative studies follow an iterative and recursive process. Meaning they are more open, fluid, flexible, non-sequential and not defined purely on technical terms. The nature of qualitative studies allow for backwards-and-forwards movement between the several stages over the conduct of the research because different elements will come into focus and interact with each other in different ways at different times (Cohen et al., 2011). This flexible nature of qualitative design is supported by Maxwell (1998, p. 70) who identified the key criteria for a qualitative approach as follows:

In a qualitative study, the activities of collecting and analysing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating or refocusing the research question, and identifying and dealing with validity threats are usually going on more or less simultaneously, each influencing all of the others. In addition, the researcher may need to consider or modify any design decision during the study in response to new developments or to changes in some other aspects of the design.

In spite of this flexible and pragmatic nature of qualitative research design, Durrheim (2006) cautions that it cannot be an excuse for not providing a detailed strategic framework that will help in producing valid and sound conclusions. The implication of this for my study is that the design produced will not be adhered to in a sense of linearity or observed in a sacred manner. Rather I will allow myself the flexibility to adapt the design based on pragmatic considerations as they arise in the course of my study. Nevertheless, this should not be construed as a weakness in my study since “the research process is rarely neat, linear, coherent or straightforward” (Wellington et al., 2005, p. 95).

In my quest to create a research design appropriate for my study, I took into consideration the view by Nieuwenhuis (2007) that the choice of research design is based on the researcher's assumptions, research skills and research practices and influences the way he or she constructs data. He consequently suggests six types of research designs used in the qualitative research tradition. Amongst these six, the one that is most congruent with my philosophical assumptions and most appropriate for generating the kind of data required to answer my research questions is the comparative research form of a historical research design. Nieuwenhuis (2007) sees this form of research design as involving an attempt to understanding the past by exploring past trends and applying them to current and future trends with an intention of offering an understanding and perspective for judging current events and trends. The reason this design is most plausible for this study therefore is due to the historical nature of the reunification phenomenon that is under the spotlight in this study. Even though my interest is not to understand the reunification of Cameroon in its historical context, still the discourses on reunification in contemporary Cameroonian history textbooks and the Cameroonian society are all fruits of and cannot be divorced from the historical processes of colonisation and decolonisation of Cameroon, particularly the partition of German Cameroon in 1916 and the 1961 reunification of the British and French Trusteeship territories of Cameroon. Reunification discourses of Cameroon are as a result strongly embedded in historical developments of Cameroon hence the choice of a historical research design to understand such discourses with a view of their historical context. Moreover, the comparative element of this design is in line with the comparative nature of this study that seeks to compare the reunification discourses as they are represented in textbooks of the Francophone and Anglophone sub systems of education in Cameroon. In this kind of research, the researcher investigates in a focused and systematic manner two or more items in depth and compares them with each other to find reasons for similarities and/or differences between the cases under consideration (Hofstee, 2006; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The emphasis on the 'depth' in the comparison is an important factor for the qualitative orientation of this study.

The main limitation of this research design for this study is that the study does not involve primary sources. Welman et al., (2005) submit that the first basic principle of a historical research design is that wherever possible preference should be given to primary rather than secondary sources. The reason advanced for this is that data or evidence may be inadvertently or deliberately distorted with each transfer of information from one source to another. However, the need for primary

sources was not necessary considering the focus of the study as explained in chapter one. Secondary sources in the form of textbooks were considered ideal since the purpose is not to analyse people's perspectives on reunification but rather to understand the nature of representation of discourses related to this historical phenomenon in the textbooks and the implications thereof on a postcolonial Cameroonian society. Furthermore, a historical approach is not used in this study in the sense of analysing the causal factors of a historical event. In other words the analysis is not centred on the historical event (reunification) per se in its historical context. Rather the study is on contemporary history textbooks' representation of this historical phenomenon. However, the fact that these books are history textbooks is a plausible justification for the historical approach.

I have explained the nature of the research design for this study. I have contended that the design signifies the strategic framework for action that specifies a series of activities that will be conducted in the course of the study in order to answer the stipulated research questions and arrive at valid conclusions. I have also indicated that the qualitative bearing of this study demands that the research design will not be observed in a very rigid manner but rather in a flexible and pragmatic manner as the circumstances encountered in the course of the study demands. I have then explained the rationale for my choice of a historical research design in line with the historical nature of the phenomenon being investigated in my study. I will then proceed with a discussion on other elements of the design process considered in this study.

4.2.1 THE RESEARCH APPROACH

This section presents an overview of the research approach adopted in this thesis. Creswell (2007) asserts the importance of illustrating the research approach as an effective strategy to increase the trustworthiness and rigour of social research. In line with the research design explained above, I adopted a qualitative approach to this study.

Hancock (2002) explains that qualitative research developed as a result of researchers who found it difficult in trying to explain human behaviour in measurable terms. These researchers were interested in studying social and cultural phenomena including human behaviour and the social world inhabited by human beings. Therefore, whilst quantitative research measures how often or how many people behave in a certain way, qualitative research on the other hand attempts to

increase our understanding of why things are the way they are in the social world and why people act the way they do.

Further insights into qualitative research reveal that it involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter by attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). According to Myers (2009), qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people, and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Such studies allow the complexities and differences of worlds-under-study to be explored and represented (Philip, 1998, p. 267).

The importance of depth in qualitative studies as opposed to breadth in quantitative studies cannot be over emphasized. Nieuwenhuis (2007) submits that, the qualitative research approach attempts to collect rich descriptive data in respect of a particular phenomenon or context with the intention of developing an understanding about what is being observed or studied. Domegan and Fleming (2007) concur with this thinking when they state that qualitative research uses “soft” data and gets “rich” data” (p. 24). By implication, qualitative research is concerned with the in-depth, intricate and detailed understanding of meanings, actions, attitudes, intentions and behaviours (Gonzales et al., 2008 cited in Cohen et al., 2011).

A major weakness of qualitative research identified is that of researcher bias. This bias may be informed by many factors such as the socio-cultural and other experiences of the researcher and can be manifested in many and varied ways in the course of the study such as in the design and in the data collection, analysis or even in the reporting. In response to this challenge, Lincoln and Guba (1985) caution that qualitative research, which is an approach that acknowledges the researcher’s subjectivity, requires that the “biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer” are identified and made explicit throughout the study (p. 290). Moreover, in defence of qualitative research, Merriam (1985) states that most writers suggest that judgement should focus on whether the research is credible and confirmable rather than imposing statistical, quantitative ideas of generalizability.

In addressing this stated weakness of qualitative research, I have explained my positionality in chapter one as being an insider in this study. As a result, I do not claim objectivity in the research process as does positivist or quantitative researchers. I admit that my experiences in relation to the

research phenomenon of reunification discourses have a major influence not only in my decision to carry out the study but also on the design choices I adopted to answer the research questions. In supporting my acknowledgement, I borrow from Carl Ratner who states that qualitative methodology recognises that the subjectivity of the researcher is intimately involved in scientific research and guides every aspect of the research process from the choice of topic to design and methodology including interpreting data (Ratner, 2002). Therefore, as much as I endeavour to follow the research blue print of this study as I have explained in the design, I cannot deny the fact that my subjectivity and bias as an insider to this study will have an impact on both the process and the outcome. However, this major concern with qualitative studies can be mitigated through the application of certain research processes. Through a process of researcher reflexivity and other measures to ensure trustworthiness, I tried to engage with my subjectivity, to understand its role and impact rather than pretend it is not there. Nonetheless, other measures I adopted in this study to counter the effects of researcher subjectivity and claim more academic rigour in this qualitative study are discussed under the relevant section in this chapter dealing with issues of trustworthiness.

Another reason for adopting a qualitative approach to this study lies in its links with my ontological (nature of reality) and epistemological (nature of knowledge) assumptions. As I explain later in this chapter, this study assumes a social constructionist notion of reality and an intersubjective epistemology. Both these assumptions imply that reality is not a given but is constructed in different times and social contexts based on people's ideas and concepts and our knowledge of this reality is possible by an exploration of others in their specific cultural contexts regarding a specific phenomenon (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Such ontological and epistemological assumptions tally with the purpose of qualitative research that views research as an interactive process between researcher and participants in the construction of reality. In the case of my study, it implies my interaction as the researcher with my unit of analysis which is the history textbooks. A more detailed explanation of these views with their link to this study is provided under the relevant section below.

4.2.2 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM

Paradigms are systems of interrelated ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. They act as perspectives that provide a rationale for the research and commit the researcher to particular methods of data collection, observation and interpretation. Paradigms are

thus central to research design because they impact both on the nature of the research question and on the manner in which it is to be studied (Durrheim, 2006).

The qualitative approach lends itself to the interpretive paradigm which was adopted for this study. The link between the qualitative research approach and the interpretive paradigm is highlighted by Stevens et al. (1993) who suggests that research carried out in the interpretive paradigm is called qualitative research though Hart (2003) cautions against taking interpretive research as wholly qualitative. Terry Blanche and Durrheim (2006) describe interpretivist research as dealing with methods that try to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements. The implication here is that the interpretive paradigm relates to the qualitative rather than quantitative research approach due to the emphasis on depth as opposed to breadth data. This paradigm assumes that people have authentic subjective experiences that must be taken seriously, and the ultimate method to understand these experiences is by engaging and interpreting them. Terry Blanche and Durrheim (2006) believe that qualitative research techniques are the most appropriate for completion of such tasks.

The focus of this research is to gain an in-depth understanding in relation to the representation of reunification in Cameroonian history textbooks. This merges with the interpretive paradigm, especially considering Henning's view that the core of the interpretive paradigm is not about the search for broadly applicable laws and rules (as is done with positivist research), but rather it seeks to produce descriptive analysis that emphasises deep, interpretive understanding of social phenomena (Henning, 2004). Consequently, this study aims to produce rich descriptions of the characteristics, processes, transactions and contexts that constitute reunification in the selected history textbooks as the phenomena being studied.

Three important descriptions of this paradigm are proposed by Stevens et al. (1993). Firstly, that knowledge is produced inductively and concepts and theories emerge from the interpretation of phenomena. Secondly that data collected are interpreted by the researcher and have a high degree of subjectivity. Finally, that research within this paradigm is carried out in the contexts or situations in which phenomena occur. With respect to the above descriptions, my choice of a qualitative approach and social constructionist ontological assumptions in this study are strong indications of

my philosophical views that acknowledges my own subjectivity in the research process, and views as a means of understanding the phenomenon within its specified contexts.

Critics of interpretivism suggest that its major weakness is that it cannot address the factors and conditions from which meanings and interpretations, actions, rules and beliefs are deduced. Moreover, they believe that this paradigm “fails to acknowledge the institutional structures, particularly divisions of interest and relations to power” and as a result presents incomplete accounts of social behaviour by their neglect of the political and ideological contexts of much educational research (Cohen et al., 2011; Sarantakos, 2005, p. 24). However, as the researcher, I acknowledge that the issues of power, politics and ideology have enormous influence on the textbook industry. I have demonstrated this in the review of literature in chapter two as well as in the background to the study in chapter one. In chapter one for instance, ideology and politics are seen as role players in shaping the present political dispensation of Cameroon through historical developments such as the German colonisation of 1884, the Anglo-French partition of 1916, the era of political consciousness such as the actions of the UPC, KNDP and CPNC political parties, the granting of independence for French Cameroon in 1960; the organisation of a plebiscite for British Cameroons on February 11th 1961 followed by granting of independence by reunification with French Cameroon on October 1st 1961. The culmination of all these processes of reunification did not produce the intended result of harmonious existence between the different factions of the colonial divide resulting in a ‘false sense of unity’. Evidence is the dominance of discourses of marginalisation, secession, and recolonisation, second and first class citizens that all speak to the negative spill over of reunification. In chapter two I have discussed the nature of textbooks and history textbooks in particular as not simply pedagogic tools but also instruments that can be used as strong political weapons designed to socialise and construct its consumers into a certain ideology. Examples of the GDR and the Apartheid regimes of Germany and South Africa respectively as well as other post-colonial African contexts such as Kenya and Ghana were used to illustrate such an extreme ideological role of textbooks.

In spite of all these strong pointers for a critical approach to this study, I should clarify that my intention of this study was not a transformative one. The purpose was not to change the phenomena or society as is the main concern of critical research. But rather through diffuse descriptions, the scope of this study was limited to the acquisition of an in-depth understanding of the phenomena

and the factors responsible for its representation in a particular way in selected history textbooks. Terry Blanche and Durrheim (2006, p. 124) disclosed that it is possible to describe a phenomena in “rich detail and present its findings in engaging and sometimes evocative language” and still be an interpretive researcher. This therefore justifies my choice to work with the interpretivist paradigm in spite of the outlined short comings as this paradigm will best accommodate the purpose and focus of my study.

4.2.3 ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The choice of research approach, paradigm and methodology for this study are principally informed by my ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontological and epistemological assumptions refer to explicit and implicit philosophical assumptions underpinning a researcher’s conceptions of the social world (Terry Blanche & Durrheim, 2006; Terry Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006; Cohen et al., 2011; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The major difference between the two assumptions is that while ontology refers to the nature and form of reality, epistemology on the other hand relates to the basis of knowledge or the relationship between the researcher and what can be known (Terry Blanche & Durrheim, 2006).

According to Cohen et al., (2011), three basic questions must guide a researcher’s consideration of ontology. These are: is social reality external to individuals or is it a product of personal consciousness? Is reality of an objective nature or it is result of individual cognition? Is reality a given or is it created by one’s own mind? The answers to these fundamental questions draws a line between researchers in the scientific method (positivists, rationalists or objectivists) to those of the what Nieuwenhuis (2007, p. 53) termed the “emergent world-view”. This second category of researchers link reality to qualitative research and contend that the researcher cannot be separated from the research and the findings of the research are created rather than discovered (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

In line with the above explanation, this study is conducted from the ontological premise of social constructionism which views reality and social life as human-constructed entities. Therefore, I assume that the discourses attributed to reunification in the textbooks are not absolute. They are constructed by the different stake holders in the textbooks’ process from production to consumption. I have showed in chapter two how power dynamics amongst the said stakeholders

may sometimes mean that the textbook authors experience limited agency in terms of ideological positioning and crucial contentions within the content. I further argue that the textbook users are not always passive agents in the construction of reality. All these different stake holders and their different levels of agency in the textbooks' industry contribute to the nuances that have been seen in the conceptualisation of reunification. My position as a subjective researcher also implies that from an ontological perspective, my human mind will to an extent be a purposive source or origin of meaning as I analyse the discourses in the book. This factor on subjectivity has been explained under the section on a qualitative research approach. Since I positioned myself as a social constructionist, I also acknowledge that I practiced my own agency as I analysed the way textbooks construct discourses on reunification. Therefore my experiences as I noted in chapter one together with my world view, had a huge influence on my analysis of the discourses in this study.

On the other hand, epistemology looks at the method for knowing the nature of reality. This therefore has to do with our grounds for basis of knowledge – its nature and forms, how it can be acquired and how it can be communicated to other human beings (Cohen et al., 2011). Just as with ontological assumptions, assumptions of an epistemological nature also have different implications for positivists and qualitative researchers. As such, how one aligns oneself in this debate will profoundly affect how one will go about uncovering knowledge about social behaviour. For instance the way of knowing reality from a qualitative point of view where there is the belief that the world is made up of people with their own assumptions, intentions, attitudes, beliefs and values, is by exploring the experiences of others regarding a specific phenomenon and probably attempt to see how others have constructed reality by asking about it (Cohen et al., 2011).

In this study therefore I view epistemology from a qualitative vantage point. Even though this study is not related to human participants, the reality that meanings are socially constructed and can be understood only by interaction with participants also implies that the textbooks are a big reservoir of such constructed knowledge. In Crawford's (2003) view, textbooks should be viewed as social constructions and thus be analysed from a social constructionist perspective. He supports this argument by pointing out that "Exploring the social construction of textbooks provides an important context from within which to investigate critically the dynamics underlying the cultural politics of education and the social movements that form it and which are formed by it" (p. 6).

The literature review chapter has already demonstrated that textbooks are sites of construction and contestation of knowledge and ideology. A perspective into this is revealed by Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) who declare that:

...textbooks are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power (p. 3).

It is important to note that this reality is constructed in the textbooks in the form of language. Language therefore becomes the basic tool through which notions of reunification are constructed in textbooks. Thereby making the process of interaction with the textbooks and analysing the meanings (overt and implicit) embedded in language, is a very important way of knowing reality. Cohen et al. (2011) refer to this form of knowing reality as intersubjective or interactional epistemology because of its reliance on a subjective relationship between researcher and subject.

4.2.4 THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

A sample can be referred to as a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985). Mugo (2002) adds that with reference to people, a sample could be understood as a set of respondents selected from a large population for the purpose of a survey. A population in research terms being a group of individuals, items, or objects from which samples are drawn for the purpose of investigation or measurement. In line with the understanding of the sample above, Mugo (2002, p.1) submits that sampling will be “the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population”. By implication sampling will refer to the process of selecting a sample for a particular study.

The suitability of the sampling strategy is as important in determining the quality of a piece of research in the same line with the appropriateness of the research methodology and methods (Cohen, et al. 2007; 2011). Therefore it is important that sampling decisions are made early in the research planning as this becomes a vital component of the research design.

This thesis adopts the purposive and quota sampling approaches which both constitute non-probability sampling. Cohen, et al. (2011) note that non-probability sampling is free from generalisation "... it only represents itself or instances of itself in a similar population, rather than attempting to represent the whole, undifferentiated population" (p.155). Therefore by my choice of this sampling technique, I acknowledge that I engaged this study with full knowledge that the history textbooks selected for this study do not represent the views of all history textbooks used in Cameroonian schools in relation to reunification discourses. Due to the non-representativeness of this sampling technique, I therefore have no intention of generalising the findings of this thesis beyond the sample in question. This view of sampling relates to other methods of my design already explained such as the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm that all encourage a perspective of research interpretations in the context of the research.

Purposive sampling means subjects are selected or in the case of this study, textbooks were handpicked on the basis of my "judgement of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 156). Therefore in purposive sampling the reason for selection is tied heavily to the purposes of the research. In this regard I made a rational decision to the effect that each of the textbooks to be analysed contain a section or chapter on reunification so as to meet the specific needs of this study. However, since discourses can also be explained in terms of silences or absences, I also selected for the Francophone section one textbook that chose not to cover reunification at all. The reason for this selection is that this textbook is the only textbook officially prescribed in the official textbook list for Francophone schools. The fact that this book carries the backing of the authorities but does not treat reunification which in itself is a requirement of the Francophone schools' curriculum justifies the need for its inclusion in the sample for analysis. As the name suggests, purposive sampling is used to achieve a particular purpose – in the case of this study the purpose is the (none) representation of reunification discourses.

As regards quota sampling, Cohen, et al. (2011) submit that it tries to represent significant characteristics of the wider population and sets out to do this in the proportions in which they can be found in the wider population. However, the nature of this study does not allow for selection of samples based on proportion in relation to population. Therefore the sample size for this study is six history textbooks in a ratio of 50-50 implying, three textbooks each from both sub systems of

education in Cameroon. Even as it has been argued that there is no expectation of generalisation in non-probability sampling, the rationale for a large sample size for this study is actually to increase that possibility.

Table 4.1: Table showing sampling of Anglophone Cameroonian history textbooks

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	PLACE/ PUBLISHER
Fanso, V. G	1989	<i>Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods</i>	London, Macmillan
Victor Julius Ngoh	1996	<i>History of Cameroon since 1800</i>	Limbe, Presprint
Tazifor Tajoche	2003	<i>Cameroon history in the 19th and 20th centuries</i>	Buea, Education Book Centre

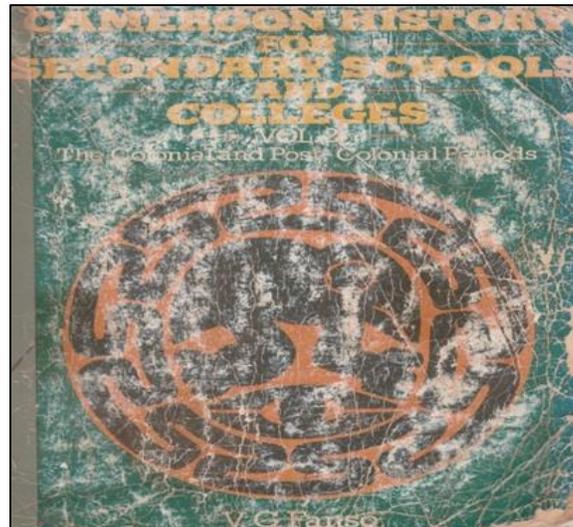
In this study, I have attributed colour codes to the three textbooks mentioned above. These codes will be used for the analysis and for the reporting for the sake of convenience. I refer to *Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods*, as the Green Book, *History of Cameroon since 1800* as the Red Book, and *Cameroon history in the 19th and 20th centuries* as the Blue Book. Apart from the convenience factor in the coding, these colours are representative of the original colours on the cover pages of the books.

All the textbooks indicated in Table 4.1 were approved in the official textbooks list for the 2014/2015 academic year. The document from the ministry of Secondary Education that contain this information is: No 0614/MINESEC/CAB. In this list, the textbooks are prescribed for preparing learners for the General Certificate of Education – Ordinary Level Examinations. It is also important to note that all three textbooks indicated above have been selected at least once in the official textbooks lists for Anglophone Cameroonian schools over the past five academic years. Moreover, the GCE syllabus also officially recommends these textbooks amongst others in the syllabus document for the teaching of history in Anglophone schools.

Furthermore, sampling was done within the textbooks. In this case relevant sections or chapters within the books that cover the reunification phenomenon were identified for analysis. In the sections that follow, I present images of the different Anglophone books selected. These images

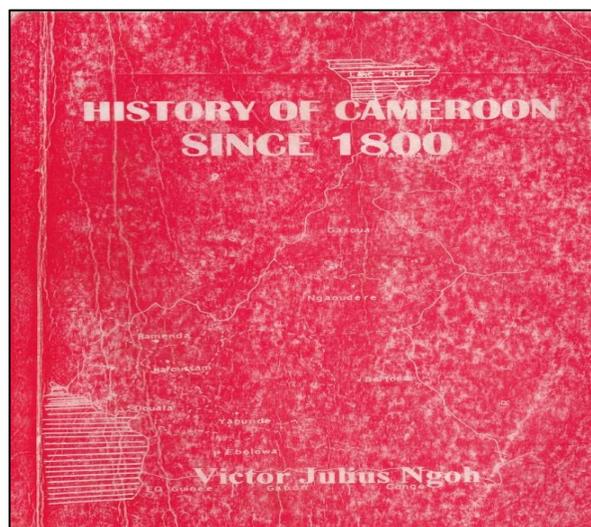
are followed by very brief descriptions of the sections of the books that were analysed for this study. More detailed descriptions of those sections of the books considered for analysis is presented under the genre section of the analytical tool for this study.

Figure 4.1 *Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges. Vol. 2: The colonial and post-colonial periods (Green Book)*



The first Anglophone textbook analysed is the Green Book. The reunification narrative in the text of the Green Book runs across two chapters. The section analysed for this study starts on page 152 on chapter eleven and continues up to page 163 in chapter twelve.

Figure 4.2 *History of Cameroon since 1800 (Red Book)*



The second book constituting the sample of the Anglophone books is the Red Book. The reunification theme is covered in chapter ten of the book from page 215-233.

Figure 4.3 *Cameroon history in the 19th & 20th centuries (Blue Book)*



The Blue Book was the third and last book that formed part of the Anglophone sample. In this book the topic of reunification is covered as part of a broader historical theme on the growth of nationalism in the British Cameroons. However, the analysis focused on the section of that theme that related to reunification which is found on pages 202 up to 215.

Concerning the sampling of French textbooks, the circumstances were different from the English scenario. Firstly it should be noted that just as with the Anglophone GCE History syllabus, the Francophone syllabus also covers the theme of reunification. This syllabus is contained in a Ministerial circular no 53/D/64/MINEDUC/IGP/ESG/IPN/HG on the reorganisation of history, geography and citizenship education in the French sub-system of education in Cameroon. Under the history section of this syllabus, reunification is covered at the *Classe de Terminale* which prepares learners for the *Baccalauréat* (BAC) examinations¹⁰. The syllabus allocates four broad topics for the *Classe de Terminale*. The last of the four topics is: *Le Cameroun: Du regime de tutelle a L'Etat Unitaire (1946-1972)*, Meaning: Cameroon: From Trusteeship to Unitary State (1946-1972). It is within this historical time frame that the reunification of the United Nations trust territories of French and English Cameroons occurred.

¹⁰ Under the French sub system of education, the BAC exams qualify learners to proceed to university education. It is the equivalent of the GCE Advanced level Exams in the Anglophone system and the Matric in the South African system.

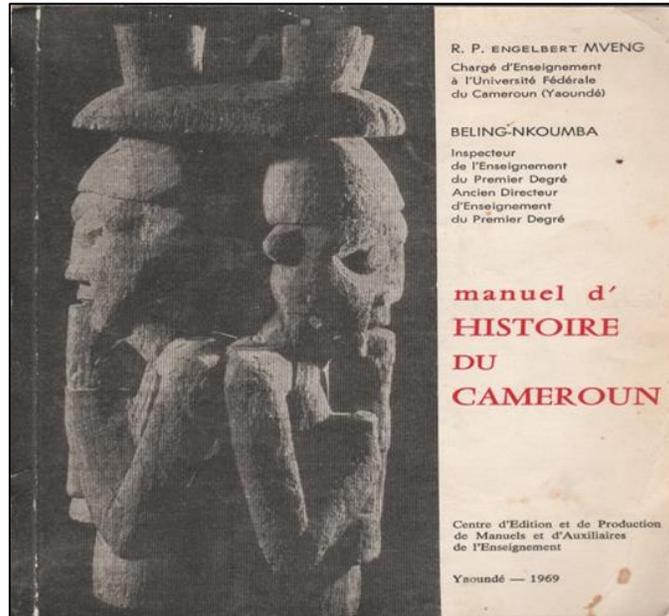
However, it should be noted that unlike in the Anglophone sub system where the textbooks were selected based on the provision of the official textbooks list from the Ministry of Secondary Education, the technique was different with the sampling of French textbooks. Ironically, even though reunification is prescribed in the Francophone schools' history syllabus at the *classe de Terminale* as previously mentioned, the official history textbooks for the *Classe de Terminale (Décolonisation et problèmes de l'Afrique indépendant: Histoire classes terminales)* covers very little on reunification. The obvious question at that point therefore was: Where are these teachers expected to get the materials to teach a topic that is well prescribed in the syllabus but ignored at the level of prescribed textbooks? This fundamental question caused me to question some colleagues from Cameroon and their responses were directly responsible for the selection of the textbooks shown on Table. 4.1. This notwithstanding, the officially prescribed textbook still features as part of my sample even though it does not cover the theme of reunification. This is done for the main reason that silences and absences are also discursive (Huckin, 1997; McGregor, 2003) and need to be analysed using the same framework as with more explicit features of the text.

Table 4.2: Table showing sampling of Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks

AUTHOR(S)	YEAR	TITLE	PLACE: PUBLISHER
Engelbert Mveng and Beling-Nkoumba	1969	<i>Manuel d'Histoire du Cameroun</i>	Yaounde: Centre d'Édition et de Production de Manuels et d'Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement
Delaveau, B., Mongnet, C., & Salifou, A.	1991	<i>Décolonisation et problèmes de l'Afrique indépendant : Histoire classes terminales</i>	Paris: Edicef
Christian-Tobie Kuoh	1990	<i>Mon témoignage: Le Cameroun de l'indépendance (1958-1970)</i>	Paris: Karthala

Similar to the Anglophone books, the Francophone books were coded for convenience of reporting and discussing the findings. However, unlike the Anglophone books, the Francophone coding did not follow the colours of the books. This was because of a lack of distinct colour for the different books. I therefore decided to use the letter “F” representing Francophone and the numbers 1, 2, and 3 for the different books. In that respect, *Manuel d'Histoire du Cameroun* is Book F1, *Décolonisation et problèmes de l'Afrique indépendant : Histoire classes terminales* is Book F2, and *Mon témoignage: Le Cameroun de l'indépendance (1958-1970)* is Book F3.

Figure 4.4 *Manuel d'Histoire du Cameroun (Book F1)*



This book is divided into sections and units or lessons under the different sections. The theme on reunification is found in section 17 and is covered under lesson 48 (*La reunification du Cameroun*) and lesson 49 (*Les artisans de la reunification*). These two sections follow each other and run from page 247-255. This is therefore the section of this book that was sampled for analysis.

Figure 4.5 *Décolonisation et problèmes de l'Afrique indépendante : Histoire classes terminales (Book F 2)*



This book covers very little aspect of the reunification of Cameroon. The sampled section within the book is the third section of chapter three. This section captures narratives on colonial developments of British and French Cameroons and briefly mentions reunification. This is the closest relevant section to this study that runs from pages 84-86 and is therefore the sample within the book.

Figure 4.6 *Mon Temoignage: Le Cameroun de l'indépendance (1958-1970)* (Book F3)



This book is an autobiography or a testimony by the author on his experiences on key aspects on the history of Cameroon. The chapter relevant to this study and used for analysis is chapter six that runs from page 120 to 145. The chapter in question is titled: *On the reunification of Cameroon*.

In this short section that follows, I narrate my experiences in presenting the sampling for this study. This will include the challenges encountered (some of which have been explained in passing already) as well as the measures I took to address those challenges. It is important to do this because of the paramount implications of every sampling decision on the outcome of a thesis.

This journey started only a couple of months into my PhD programme when I made contact with the GEI – George Eckert Institute for International textbooks research at Braunschweig, Germany. Having learnt the mission of the GEI, I then made contact with them to find out what history textbooks they have in stock from Cameroon. The GEI reliably returned to me with a list of Cameroonian history textbooks in their library. Unfortunately I was not impressed with the list

because it contained mostly primary school history textbooks which were outside the scope of my study. My hopes that the GEI was going to greatly facilitate my sampling process seemed ruined.

After consultation with my supervisor, we agreed to try the social media. I then proceeded to set up a Facebook page on Cameroonian history textbooks. The intention was to use the forum to share ideas with contacts (friends, colleagues, learners, publishers, textbooks vendors) with the hope of establishing the history textbooks that are most popular in Cameroonian schools. Unfortunately, the response to this initiative was very sparse and it eventually failed to fulfil its intended objective.

The reason this exercise was tricky was because I did not just need any history textbooks used or in circulation in Cameroon, but the nature of my study meant that I needed history textbooks that had been prescribed in the official textbooks' list from the Ministry of Education in at least any of the past five academic years (2009/2010-2014/2015) or that are popularly used by learners and teachers even if not on the official list. Moreover, if the books were on the official list, the sample had to be a book that was popularly used on that list. Therefore in addition to them being official, these textbooks also needed to be those popularly used in secondary schools since the custom is that the ministry prescribes a number of books from which the individual schools through their different specialisation departments are expected to make choices.

With the failure of the Facebook initiative, I turned to the internet where I was able to source official textbooks lists for both education sub-systems of Cameroon from the official web page of the Ministry of Secondary Education of Cameroon (www.minesec.gov.cm). I then relied once more on colleagues from Cameroon who were able to provide me with the official history syllabi for both sectors of education. The reason I needed the official history syllabi was to establish that the phenomenon under investigation in this study is officially prescribed as a topic in Cameroonian secondary schools. Fortunately for me, both curricula recommend the teaching of reunification in Cameroonian schools albeit at different levels. This meant that so far my study was taking the right direction and I had no cause to change any aspect of my design. I had justification that the topic I was working on was not only politically relevant in the history of Cameroon but also it had educational relevance as exemplified by its place in the syllabi of the two educational systems of Cameroon.

Little did I know that at this juncture, a ‘set back’ and a major decision that would affect the design of this study was about to be taken. In June 2014, I spent three weeks working on my thesis from the GEI library after successfully applying for a fellowship funded by the institute. It was during my stay there that I was able to first confirm the fact that Cameroon textbooks were not sufficiently represented in this library that is otherwise well equipped with social studies textbooks and other didactic materials from every part of the world. Secondly, I found out that the official history textbooks for French Cameroon, which I was lucky to find at the GEI library, do not treat reunification as a topic – it is not even mentioned at all. This realisation left me confused because it meant I had to do some major changes on my sampling. After explaining this to my supervisor, we then agreed on two major changes that needed to be done: the Francophone sampling was not going to be textbooks on the official textbooks list but would only include other popular textbooks used by teachers to teach reunification in Francophone schools; the “contemporary textbooks” in my thesis title had to be removed because of the possibility that Francophone teachers will use books that cannot be explained under the contemporary category. These are all normal in a qualitative design tradition that gives room for flexibility and changes to be made in the process of conducting the study for pragmatic reasons.

Upon my return from the GEI, I then embarked on the sampling of opinions from Francophone history teachers on the history textbooks that they consult in order to teach reunification. It was based on their feedback that I was able to produce the Francophone textbooks’ sample for this study. This explains why the list contains a textbook that was published in 1969. There were no such constraints with the sampling of Anglophone history textbooks since the textbooks prescribed in the official list actually contain reunification which is also a major component of the Anglophone history syllabus. The only technique used here was to sample opinions of Anglophone teachers in order to come out with the list of textbooks that are popular-in-use in Anglophone schools from the ministerial list.

Up to this point, I have justified the different design techniques and choices for this study. I have explained that this study adopts a broader historical design structure informed by the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm. In line with the paradigm, the study is situated within social constructivist ontology and the intersubjective or interactional epistemology. Also as part of the research design, I explained the sample choices and procedure. The research sample is

generally non probability and specifically purposive and quota. Through the purposive sampling, I selected books that contained the phenomenon of reunification being investigated. For the sake of uniformity of sample; I selected three books each from the Anglophone and Francophone systems thereby subscribing to the quota sampling technique. I ended this section with an explanation of the challenges I endured trying to come up with a suitable and appropriate textbooks' sample for the study. In the next section, I continue the chapter by presenting and justifying the methodology and specific methods that were applied in this study for the purpose of the analysis and to answer the research questions.

4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In this section, I continue the explanation of the design of this study with an exploration of the following elements. Firstly I unpack the nature of qualitative content analysis as the methodology that was adopted for this study. Then I describe and motivate the data analysis procedure that was systematically employed in this study. Finally I address issues of credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability of the study which are fundamental principles enhancing trustworthiness in qualitative research. The methods that I used for the analysis of the books were based on the premise that qualitative researchers who use written texts such as textbooks as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Rather, such researchers try to pin down their themes by reading and rereading the textual materials thereby drawing a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen. In the same way, the analysis in this study did not follow any cut-and-paste predefined procedure. This is not to insinuate that the method I used is informal. As Denzin and Lincoln (2008) postulate, there are indeed many methods of textual analysis from which the researcher can choose and the degree to which these different methods involve predefined procedures varies. That said, the procedures used for the analysis of the books in this study involved a bricolage of different content analysis methods that were determined in advance to suit the qualitative purpose of the study and provide possible answers to the research questions. My intention for such bricolage was also to be mindful of the caution that collecting information using a variety of methods reduces the risk of conclusions reflecting only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method and allows the researcher to gain a broader and more secured understanding of the issues being investigated (Maxwell, 2013).

4.3.1 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In line with my explanations above, research into the methodology of qualitative content analysis of textbooks produced varied analytic tools that could simply be replicated. This means content analysis could be done in various ways and data can be accessed and described in equally creative ways. However, Nicholls (2005) purports that while the analysis of textbooks is based on registering differences, identifying patterns and making comparisons, the critical analysis of information will differ according to the philosophical underpinnings of the researcher implying that what one researcher may regard as significant knowledge can very well be deemed worthless to another. Researching a sample of history textbooks involves competing definitions of what constitutes 'history', and the analysis would be driven by epistemological and ontological claims on what 'knowledge' and 'reality' are. Content analysis has been used interchangeably by different scholars as methodology and as methods. In this study I use it as a broad methodology with ideas that were relevant in my selection of the specific methods for analysing the data in the text.

Nieuwehuis (2007) conceptualises content analysis as “a systematic approach to qualitative data analysis that identifies and summarises message content” (p. 101). He adds that the process involves looking at data from different angles with a view to identifying keys in the text that will help us to make meaning of the raw data. Still as a method, Cohen et al. (2007, p. 197) define content analysis as a “multi-purpose research method developed specifically for investigating a broad spectrum of problems in which the content of communication serves as a basis of inference, from counts to categorisation”. Stemler (2001, p. 1) notes that content analysis is defined as a “systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories, based on explicit rules of coding”. Holsti (1968, cited in Cohen et al., 2007) identifies an entire range of purposes for content analysis from describing patterns in trends in communication to techniques in persuasion. Analysis of textbooks at certain points in recent history was a means to indicate cultural differences, cultural censorship and cultural change (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 197).

My approach to the content analysis of the textbooks in this study was informed by the nature of these textbooks selected from the two subsystems of education in Cameroon as well as the purpose of the research and the research questions posed. These considerations had specific bearings on the choice of content analytical instruments that I adopted. For this study, I identified appropriate

units of analysis which would later form the basis for analysis of the phenomenon across all six textbooks including the comparison of relevant findings.

I generated specific data from the relevant chapters and sections in the textbooks that dealt with reunification and analysed the data in a manner that it produced certain discourses on reunification in line with the purpose of the investigation. The units of analysis comprised of the visual and verbal texts. Visual and verbal texts in this study are taken as features that play complementary and collaborative rather than exclusive roles in a text (Hagan, 2017; LaSpina; 1998; Wu, 2014). Wu (2014) specifically notes that in picture books, for example, as part of this complementary relationship, words and pictures invite readers to create literal realities in the world to correspond with them. In agreement with this kind of thinking Hagan (2017) relates three fundamental assumptions characterising the visual-verbal text relationship: Firstly, that image and text are potentially equal contributors to meaning, even though specific examples might emphasize one or the other modality. Secondly, visual and verbal information contain structural and functional elements that produce complementary differences in what each modality concretely communicates. Finally, these differences affect what the audience imagines and what will be communicated in a more concrete fashion when either modality is presented without the other. However, in spite of this collaboration and convergence, we are cautioned that there is a degree of divergence between the two forms of texts. This divergence connotes to the idea that “the visual component of a text is an independently organized and structured message – connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it: and similarly the other way around” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 17). In line with this degree of divergence, Wu (2014) then advanced three fundamental roles performed by the visual text in collaboration to the verbal text. These roles include elaboration, extension, enhancement and projection of the verbal text. Therefore the visual and verbal texts in this study will be analysed as a function of the intertextuality of the texts in the forms of narrations, explanations, headings, images, maps, tables and activities.

All these different units of analysis were coded using specific methods that allowed me to observe certain patterns and produce the discourses. This entire process was done in light of the questions on how reunification discourses were presented in the textbooks and the consistent and conflicting discourses in them. The specific methods mentioned were: the identification of the genre type of

the text; the knowledge type; and lastly the discourses in the text. The explanation and justification of these methods in relation to the rest of the study are presented below.

THE HISTORICAL GENRE TYPE

Coffin (2006) submits that history, like other school subjects, has a specific language and that each piece of writing in history has a distinct purpose relating to wider disciplinary practices, which she titles as ‘genre’ (p. 1). The genre here signifies the manner in which the text is written for the purpose of communicating its message to its audience. This could be in the form of style, structure, choice and placement of content such as headings, visuals, tables etc. The identification of the text genre served as a springboard for the analysis by situating the text generally within a certain category of historical writing from where it was possible to then understand the historical knowledge types propagated and also the permeating historical discourses. This implies that the historical genre type was not considered in isolation from the historical knowledge types and the historical discourses but rather was seen as the building blocks of this threesome relationship of historical genre, historical knowledge type and historical discourses. The process of identification of the historical genre types of the text involved a combination of the typology of history genres as seen in Table 4.3 below. The table is an adaptation of Martin’s (2007, p. 57) learning pathway in factoring modernist history as genre. This adapted model allowed genres to be classified according to the type that appeared in the textbooks.

Table 4.3 Historical genres – An adaptation from (Martin, 2007, p. 57)

Genre type	Sub-genre	Description
Autobiographical recount: One sided narrative	Recording or explaining genre	The story of my life (oral history)
Biographical narrative: Third person/Alternative side		The story of someone else’s life
Historical Account: Explaining/Argumentative/ Interpretation genre Many people One-sided and multi-sided perspective	Factorial explanation	Complexifying the notion of what leads on to what
	Consequential explanation	Complexifying the notion of what leads on from what
	Exposition	Problematic interpretation that needs justification
	Multi-sided perspective	Evaluating conflicting viewpoints

The coding and categorisation of the text within one of the historical genre types shown in Table 4.3 above, was then followed by its explanation in line with the classification seen in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Summary of historical genre type and description in the text

	Historical genre description in the text
Genre type	
Sub-genre types	
Chronology	
Narrative	
Nature of participants	Specific participants:
	Generalised participants:
Event description	

Situating the text within a specific genre of historical text types served as the basis for which the analysis then continued in terms of identifying the kind of historical knowledge that the text promoted through the specific historical genre. The substantive and procedural forms of historical knowledge were used as benchmark for the coding and identification of the historical knowledge type of the text and were also condensed from the structure provided by Martin (2012).

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT

It is a fact that one of the aims of history education is to promote historical knowledge. But the idea of what constitutes historical knowledge has been a bone of contention for historians over the years. Hammarlund, (2012) notes that over the last 30 years, school history teaching and learning has undergone a change that has often been described as a shifting of balance from content to skills. He posits further that knowledge of past events or having as it were, a database of information ready at hand, is a very valuable asset but it does not transform itself into historical knowledge on its own implying that for historical knowledge to be achieved, certain processes are needed to complement the simple factual understanding of past events. In light of the above Lévesque (2008) has conceptualised historical knowledge is dependent on two intertwined, interdependent and complementary (not conflicting) strands of knowledge: the substantive and procedural knowledge. In his view, while substantive knowledge of history refers to factual, narrative and descriptive content of historical events, procedural knowledge on the other hand

deals with the systematic, methodical processes involved in understanding history. Typically, substantive knowledge of history focuses on certain historical themes or actors. This form of historical knowledge is typically found in expectations of students' learning, such as the students' understanding of certain terms, events, phenomena, or personages while procedural knowledge concentrates on the concepts and vocabulary that provide the structural basis for the discipline (Lévesque 2008). Procedural concepts are not what history is about, the substance. They are the conceptual tools needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of the content of historical knowledge. Without these concepts, it would be impossible to make sense of the substance of the past, as they shape the way we go about doing history (Hammarlund, 2012; Lévesque, 2008; Neumann, 2012). This is also what Lee and Shemilt (2003) refer to as the first order and the second order concepts, where the former refer to history as substance and the latter to the study of history as procedure.

The training that teachers of history receive together with aspects such as availability or not of resources and their personal views about the purpose of history are very influential factors that explain what kind of historical knowledge they promote through the manner in which they teach history. As with the teachers, history textbooks also promote one or both of these forms of historical knowledge. Amongst other factors that determine the type of historical knowledge promoted by a history text, is the historical genre in which the text is situated, thus a link is created between the historical text genre and the historical knowledge type. It was for this reason that after determining the historical genre type of the text, the next step in the analysis was to establish the type of historical knowledge that the text promotes. The type of historical knowledge of the text in conjunction with the historical genre type of the text served as basis for the revelation of the historical discourses permeating the text. Table 4.5 below represents the nature of these two types of historical knowledge types explained by Martin (2012).

Table 4.5 Substantive and Procedural historical concepts (adapted from Martin, 2012, p. 8)

Substantive historical concepts	Procedural historical concepts
-Substantive concepts refer to subject matter and content knowledge of -history in the form of key terms, themes, actors and events	-Procedural concepts are specific methods and procedures that give disciplinary structure -They contribute to the construction of substantive knowledge

-Also known as propositional knowledge or first order concepts of history -It is the content or substance of history -It represents the statements of facts of history -It focuses on historical themes, actors	-They consist of skills for structuring and giving sense and coherence to events in history -Also known as Know how history or second order concepts -They are the conceptual tool needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of the content of historical knowledge
--	---

In line with the distinction between the substantive and procedural forms of historical knowledge provided above, the following procedural (second order) concepts have been identified by some authors as concepts that need to be foregrounded in the teaching of history. These concepts include: historical causation (cause and effect); patterns of continuity and change; historical time; historical contextualisation; historical evidence or sourcing; historical interpretation; multiperspectivity; and empathy; historical significance. The analysis in this category was to identify which of these concepts was implicitly or explicitly used in the text and in what manner and purpose in relation to the representation of reunification genre, knowledge and discourses in the textbooks.

In relation to substantive concepts, Martin (2012) evoked three different dimensions namely, unique concepts, thematic concepts and organisational concepts. These three concepts together constitute the nature of the substantive knowledge of history and were used as part of the analysis in that domain. Table 4.6 that follows is a tabular presentation of the substantive mapping as culled from Martin (2012).

Table 4.6 Conceptual mapping of substantive historical concepts (Martin, 2012)

Unique substantive	Thematic substantive	Organisational substantive
These are concepts that apply singularly to specific people, places and events and apply to one specific historical phenomenon, e.g. Foncha, Fouban conference	These transcend different periods and time which can collect ideas that can be applied in multiple historical contexts, e.g. reunification, referendum, communism	These group a series of historical phenomena into periods that have intrinsic relationships and their grouping elaborates their historical meaning e.g. cold war or industrial revolution

The unique substantive concepts identified substantive concepts linked to unique People/movements; unique Places; unique Events; and unique Time present in the text. While the thematic substantive concepts identified the different themes present in the text that support the

substantive structure of the text. These different domains have been briefly categorised in Table 4.6.

Summarily, the analysis of these concepts involved identification and tabulation of all the unique substantive concepts in relation to people, movements, events and places with the view of establishing the manner portrayed of historical knowledge in the textbooks on reunification and the possible historical discourses on reunification that such representation projected. The identification and tabulation exercise was then replicated for the thematic and organisational substantive concepts for the same purpose.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSES FROM TEXT

The third phase of the analysis consisted of identifying the discourses permeating the text. These discourses were drawn from the nature of the genre and knowledge types of the text already established implying the three levels of analysis operated in an intertwined manner with each set of findings explained against the findings of the different levels of analysis. The template used for the analysis of the discourses is an adaptation of McGregor (2003).

Table 4.7 Analytical construct for identification of historical discourses in the text (Condensed from McGregor, 2003).

Construct	Conceptualisation
Backgrounding and foregrounding	Using headings and key words to emphasise certain concepts by giving them textual prominence. Foregrounding if the text is emphasised and backgrounding if the text is there but de-emphasised or minimized.
Silences	What is missing? The Said and the Not-Said
Agency	Sentences that convey information about power relations. Who is depicted as in power and over whom? Who is depicted as powerless and passive? Who is exerting power and why?
Gaze	What are the textbooks' authors'/creators attitudes on reunification?
Intertextuality	How are various sub texts such as pictures labels, questions, or charts presented?
Nature of school history	What kind of school history is promoted as a result of the representations established in the genre and knowledge types?

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The method described in the previous sections above in terms of the historical genre type, historical knowledge type, and historical discourse were relevant in determining the nature of representation

of reunification discourses in the selected Anglophone and Francophone textbooks. This was therefore seen as the first level of analysis that produced the first level findings on how reunification discourses are represented in the different textbooks. But by virtue of being a comparative study, it was therefore important to engage those findings on a comparative level. The comparative level is what I refer to as the second level of analysis that had as a purpose to produce second level findings. The rationale here was in order to answer the second research question underpinning this study that talked of the consistent and conflicting discourses from the textbooks. The process of doing the comparative analysis involved different stages performed in a systematic and consistent manner as explained below. Table 4.8 below captures the procedure in which the comparative analysis was conducted. The table is then explained further below.

Table 4.8 Procedure for conducting comparative analysis of the texts on reunification

CATEGORY	ANGLOPHONE	FRANCOPHONE	BOTH
Historical Genre	Historical genre comparison for Anglophone books	Historical genre comparison for Francophone books	Historical genre comparison for both sets of books
Historical Knowledge	Historical knowledge comparison for Anglophone books	Historical knowledge comparison for Francophone books	Historical knowledge comparison for both sets of books
Historical Discourses	Historical discourses comparison for Anglophone books	Historical discourses comparison for Francophone books	Historical discourses comparison for both sets of books

I started by identifying and stating very briefly but succinctly, the main findings in relation to the historical genre type from each of the Anglophone textbooks. With this identification I was then able to compare those findings between the textbooks to get a firm finding of what I will call the nature of the historical genre of the Anglophone textbooks – an outcome of the historical genre comparison conducted among all the Anglophone textbooks. This comparison included my arguments and debates or discussions around the historical genre type of the different books, their convergence and divergences and their implications for postcolonial theory. After achieving this for the Anglophone textbooks, I immediately replicated the same process for the Francophone textbooks. This took me to a situation where I now had two sets of findings being findings from

the comparative analysis of the historical genre in the Anglophone textbooks on the one hand and from the Francophone books on the other hand. My rationale for comparing across Anglophone and Francophone textbooks for each category before proceeding to the next category was so that the comparative analysis methods just done with the Anglophone books will easily be replicated for the Francophone books for the purpose of obtaining rigour and consistency of analysis. After achieving results from the comparative analysis of historical genre for the Francophone textbooks, I then did a comparison between the findings of the historical genre type of the Anglophone and the Francophone books. This last aspect of analysis then produced the findings in terms of a more holistic nature of the representation of historical genre in all the Cameroonian textbooks combined.

The process explained above for the comparative analysis of historical genre was then replicated for the two other categories of analysis, that is, the findings on the historical knowledge types and then the findings on the historical discourses of the text. This involved comparison of the Anglophone books first, then the Francophone books, and lastly a comparison of the findings from the two sub systems. Therefore, as a result of this exercise of comparison, I was able to produce firm second level findings on the three categories of the historical genre types, the historical knowledge types, and the historical discourses from all text analysed. These findings were useful in answering the second research question of this study on consistent and conflicting discourses on the reunification in Cameroonian textbooks. The third research question on the reasons for such representations on reunification was determined by relating the findings from the study to the postcolonial theoretical framework and the research literature that I reviewed in chapter three and two respectively. This process for answering research question three was then achieved in the second part of chapter seven where I discussed and theorised the findings of the study.

4.4 ETHICAL ISSUES

Issues of ethics are important considerations in any study and researchers are obliged to adhere to ethical standards (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Ethical issues concern the morality in the way the research is conducted that the researcher has to consider in the process of the study (Cohen et al., 2011; McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Therefore, regardless of what type of study one chooses to conduct, research ethics is an important consideration for the success of the study, and security and image of the researcher, participants and other stakeholders (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtler, 2006).

Bearing in mind that the study does not involve human beings but textbooks as public documents in the public domain, issues of ethics were not a major concern. Notwithstanding this, as most professional organisations, colleges, universities and other institutions have their own codes of ethics and institutional review boards which review research proposals for their consideration of ethical issues (Lodico et al., 2006; Mitchell & Jolley, 2007), I had to keep to the research policy of the university within which this study was conducted and I applied for ethical clearance on the 29th November 2013. The application was granted full approval by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on 23rd December 2013 with protocol reference number: HSS/1528/013D. Refer to Appendix A for ethical clearance letter permitting this study.

4.5 GRAPPLING WITH ISSUES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS

In qualitative research the term trustworthiness is used instead of reliability and validity. Qualitative research is by nature subjective and thus needs to be trustworthy for it to be considered to have academic rigour. Mouton (2001) argues that this subjectivity opens doors for interpretive bias. It was therefore important that I consider ways to make this study trustworthy.

Firstly, I declared my positionality vis-à-vis the study in chapter 1. The purpose for this move was to indicate and accept that my role in the study is not neutral. In fact being an Anglophone Cameroonian and born and raised in the French part of the country makes me an insider in the study as I have witnessed first-hand some of the reunification discourses and complexities discussed in this study. For the sake of trustworthiness therefore, it was important that I declare this position.

Moreover, with reference to sampling, I ensured trustworthiness by sampling opinions of history teachers in Cameroon in order to select textbooks that are popularly used by history teachers for teaching of history generally and the reunification in particular. Additionally, to achieve trustworthiness in relation to my translation of the French texts, the analysis of the French books was submitted to a French language user who checked for slippages or errors in translation.

Furthermore, stating my paradigmatic orientation and theoretical framing was important so that my findings and arguments would be understood within those frameworks. It is important to note

that other theoretical perspectives would raise different arguments and similarly produce different findings and conclusions.

Strydom and Delport (2011) observe that another way of increasing trustworthiness is by sharing your thoughts with other people besides your supervisor. This was achieved in this study through several means. Firstly, as a member of the university PhD cohort seminar system where we presented our work to the cohort once every three months for critique. These cohorts also encouraged us to make critical friends and work with critical readers who would provide critique of our work on a one-on-one basis. Through this and with the permission from my supervisor, I was able to seek and obtain valuable support and insights from experienced staff of the university and other mentors. In addition I belonged to the History Education postgraduate seminar series where I also presented my work to peers and staff with valuable input. I was also privileged to attend two conferences in South Africa (the South African Educational Research Association – SAERA 2015 and the 2015 International Conference on History Education in Africa) during the period of my PhD. In both conferences, I presented aspects of my methodology, theoretical constraints, analytical tool and preliminary findings and received very constructive feedback. Finally as previously mentioned I also visited the Georg Eckert Institute in the course of the PhD and was exposed to international textbook research literature and scholars and got a chance to make a presentation on the nature of my study. Through these different fora and opportunities of sharing my work, I believe I was able to increase the trustworthiness of this study.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explained the research design, the methodology and methods that I used in conducting this enquiry. I discussed and justified the process of the research because I wanted to indicate the route I followed to propose answers to my research questions. This study is a qualitative study informed by the interpretivist paradigm. It draws inspiration from social constructionism ontology and an intersubjective epistemology. The sample consisted of a purposive selection of three history textbooks each from the Anglophone and Francophone systems of education in Cameroon on their representation of reunification discourses. The data generated from the relevant sections in the books was analysed using content analysis methods. Through these methods, I open coded the visual and verbal text in three levels to identify the genre type and knowledge types, and the discourses in the text. I also explained the procedure for the

comparative analysis before outlining the measures that I undertook to increase the trustworthiness of the study. In the next chapter, I begin the presentation of the findings from the visual and verbal texts with the Anglophone textbooks as starting point in chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I explained the research design, methodology, methods and the analytical framework for this study. This chapter is a continuation of the research process whereby I present the first part of the findings from the analysis of the textbooks. The reason I say first ‘part of the findings’ is because in this chapter I only present the findings in relation to the Anglophone textbooks. The findings from the analysis of the Francophone textbooks are presented in chapter six. This chapter is also the first part in terms of providing answers to the research question. Answers to the first two questions underpinning this study in relation to the Anglophone textbooks are offered in this chapter. The questions to recap are on how reunification discourses are presented in the textbooks analysed and what consistent and conflicting discourses appear in the textbooks.

The presentation in this chapter constitutes the results of the analysis of both the verbal and the visual texts of the reunification chapters of the Anglophone textbooks. The constitution and circumscription of these different forms of texts has been explained in the methodology chapter. Very briefly, the verbal or written and visual analysis was done in compliance with LaSpina’s (1998) argument that text consists of both the visual and verbal material and they are complementary rather than contradictory. Therefore, both sets of texts were analysed together and this is reflected in the intertwined manner in which I have presented the findings. In addition, the analysis of the text was done as explained in chapter four in three main stages: firstly, I identified the text historical genre; then I established the historical knowledge type; and lastly I expounded on the historical discourses permeating the text. Postcolonial theory was used throughout as a frame of analysis and therefore constitutes part of the nuances of this chapter.

Overall, this chapter is divided into four broad sections with the first three sections representing findings from the analysis of each one of the three Anglophone books used in this study. The fourth section is a consolidation of the findings of all three textbooks in which the consistent and conflicting discourses are expressed in a comparative outlook. For each book, coded as green, red

and blue, I present the findings under the sub sections of the historical genre, the historical knowledge type and the historical discourses. Each book section ends with a consolidation and conclusion that brings together all the findings from that book in a holistic manner as per the way they were analysed. Overlaying the findings for each book was helpful in facilitating the presentation of a final conclusion for the chapter about the findings on the Anglophone textbooks and reunification. The conclusion of the chapter also briefly explains what was done in the chapter and presents a road map for the next chapter.

5.2 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE GREEN BOOK

The starting point of the analysis of the Green Book was to establish the historical genre of the verbal text in the reunification chapter. Coffin (2006) submits that history, as with other school subjects, has a specific language and that each piece of writing in history has a distinct purpose relating to wider disciplinary practices, which she titles as ‘genre’ (p. 1). The identification of the text historical genre served as a springboard for the analysis by situating the text generally within a certain category of historical writing from where it was possible to then understand the historical knowledge types propagated and also the permeating historical discourses. This implies that the historical genre type was not considered in isolation from the historical knowledge types and the historical discourses but rather was seen as the building blocks of this threesome relationship of historical genre, historical knowledge type and historical discourses. The following section captures the findings on the historical genre of the verbal text beginning with a description of the text.

5.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN THE GREEN BOOK

Before identifying the historical genre type of the text, it was important that I provide a description of the text so as to provide evidence in the form of textual content from which the relevant historical genre types and genre discourses were identified. As I explained in chapter four, the section analysed in the Green Book for this study cuts across two chapters as captured in Table 5.1 and the write up below it. These chapters were further divided in to various reunification related sub topics. The description of the verbal text here follows those sub topics.

The main title of chapter eleven which is one of the chapters dealing with reunification is: “Nationalism, independence and reunification” (p. 141). The chapter is divided into sub topics and the different sub topics that fall under the scope of this analysis are:

Table 5.1 Sub topics covered in chapter eleven of the Green Book

Sub topic	Page number
<i>1. The plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons</i>	<i>152-154</i>
<i>2. The situation in Northern Cameroons</i>	<i>154-156</i>
<i>3. The reunification of Cameroon</i>	<i>156-157</i>

Three broad themes can be identified in chapter eleven: the pre-plebiscite; plebiscite; and reunification narratives. The pre-plebiscite narrative explains negotiations between the principal political parties and the UN from 1955 on the future of the British Southern and Northern Cameroons, especially as the adjacent trust territories of Nigeria and French Cameroon were already due independence. The principal political parties for Southern Cameroons included the KNDP of Foncha and the CPNC (KNC-KPP) alliance of Enderley. Northern Cameroons, on the other hand, is treated as a collective in the pre-plebiscite arrangements as no political party is identified as representing any of the programs in the interest of the political future of that territory. The pre-plebiscite talks are shown to culminate in the drafting of two questions to be presented to voters at the plebiscite. The questions being: do you wish to achieve your independence by joining a) the independent Federation of Nigeria? Or b) the independent Republic of Cameroon? (p. 153). Moreover, by means of citing Williard R. Johnson, the text goes further to state five “controversial realities” (p. 153) that emerged in the Southern Cameroons in the lead-up to the plebiscite. These were:

1. A deep-seated antipathy towards Nigerians and particularly the Ibo ethnic group by most Southern Cameroonians
2. A general attachment to British ways
3. A feeling of community with certain groups in either Nigeria or Cameroon Republic
4. A general antipathy against French ways
5. A fear of terrorism in the Cameroon Republic

The next theme covered in chapter eleven is the plebiscite itself. Here the emphasis is on the conduct, the outcome and the significance of that outcome. In the Southern Cameroons, the total number of registered possible voters is presented. This is followed closely by Table 11.1 in the

Green Book which presents a breakdown of the results of the plebiscite in the different districts of the territory. The table indicates an overall victory for the option of independence by reunification with the Republic of Cameroon. Meanwhile, the state of affairs in Northern Cameroons involved two elections. The first one on 7 November 1959 required Northern Cameroonians to decide whether they wanted to be part of the Northern region of Nigeria when that country attained its independence on 1 October 1960 or if they wanted to decide the future at a later date (p. 155). The results of this first election were, to the disappointment of the Northern Regional Government that had taken for granted that the vote will be in favour of the former, in favour of the latter option. With this outcome, the territory was thus separated from Nigeria and restructured as a Trust Territory province pending the final plebiscite to be held simultaneously with the same questions as the Southern Cameroons. A detailed outcome of this final plebiscite by district is shown in Table 11.2 on page 115 in the Green Book and indicates a 60.4% vote in favour of integration with Nigeria.

The last theme in the chapter is on reunification. This theme omits Northern Nigeria as that region is officially lost to Nigeria based on the outcome of the plebiscite in that territory of British Cameroons. It highlights preliminary talks held between Ahidjo and Foncha (explained in chapter one as the political leaders of French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons respectively) before and after the conduct of the plebiscite on the nature of reunification. It also briefly touches on the Fouban Constitutional Conference and the birth of a Federal Republic of Cameroon. The text mentions Ahidjo as President of this new reunified state and Foncha in a dual capacity of Vice President of the Federal Republic and Prime Minister of West Cameroon (the former Southern Cameroons).

Chapter ten also makes use of two visual images to support the verbal narrative. The images refer to the Southern Cameroons' delegation to the UN talks in 1960 and a farewell ceremony to the British administration hosted by Ahidjo and Foncha. Both images are captured below as Figures 5.1 and 5.2 respectively.



Figure 5.1 The Southern Cameroons delegation to the UN talks in 1960, led by J.N. Foncha and E.M.L. Enderley.

AND



Figure 5.2 Ahidjo and Foncha bid farewell to the British administration, October 1961.

In chapter twelve, the main topic is: “The Cameroon Federation” (p. 158). In this chapter, the only issue that pertains to the scope of this study is “The Constitution of the Federal Republic” (pp. 158-163). Here the emphasis is on the Foumban Constitutional Conference and the Federal constitution born out of that conference. The text highlights the different articles of the Federal constitution and its implications for the new country of Cameroon. There is emphasis placed on the role played by the two delegations – the Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) delegation and the delegation from La République (Francophone), at the conference in terms of passivity and lack of experience by the Anglophone delegation as opposed to the power and influence of their

Francophone counterparts. This difference is shown to reflect in the final document produced by the conference that followed the model presented by the Francophone Ahidjo delegation.

It is in this part of the text that the remaining three visual images are presented. Two of the three refer to the Fouban constitutional conference while the third one is a simple portrait of Foncha. The three visuals are presented below.



Figure 5.3 President Ahidjo and Prime Minister Foncha arriving for the opening of the Fouban conference.



Figure 5.4 The Southern Cameroons' delegation to the Fouban constitutional conference, 1961.

AND



Figure 5.5 Dr John Ngu Foncha, vice president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

In the previous sections, I have presented a detailed summary of the section of the text of the Green Book that was analysed. As I mentioned at the beginning of this section 5.2.1, the purpose of the description was to lay a foundation for the analysis to follow and determine the historical genre type of the texts. Following on the detailed description of the texts presented, Table 5.2 below presents a summary of the genre types in the text of the Green Book. This is followed by capturing of the manner of representation of people, events and places as a means of facilitating the analysis of the discourses emanating from the nature of historical genre in the text of the Green Book. Therefore, the illustrative explanation of the tables below will serve to further add narrative clarity on the historical genre type of the text.

Table 5.2 Summary of historical genre type in the text of the Green Book

Historical genre type	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre
Historical sub-genre types	Factorial explanation
	Consequential explanation
Chronology	Clear chronological framework. Purposive chronological description of events
Narrative	Clear narrative text structure
	Specific participants: Foncha; Enderley; Ahidjo; Willard R. Johnson

Nature of participants and places	Generalised participants and places: UN; British Southern Cameroons; British Northern Cameroons; French Cameroon; KNDP; KNC; KPP: CPNC; African states; Southern Cameroons traditional authorities; British and French Trust Territories, New York, Victoria, Kumba, Nkambe, Northern Nigeria, Bornu, Adamawa, Benue, Kaduna, Lagos, Yaounde, Sarduna province, Buea, Nkongsamba, Foumban, West Cameroon, East Cameroon, Cameroon Republic
Historical event description	Reunification, plebiscite, visiting mission, independence, polling day, campaign, day of national mourning, Constitutional conference. Clear narrative description of many events – abridged and summarised with illustrative tables for easy reference

As seen in Table 5.2, the two dominant historical sub-genre types in the verbal text are factorial explanation and consequential explanations. The table further captures the historical genre type as represented through an analysis of the nature of unique and generalised participants, as well as the different reunification related events. The representation as depicted by the table mostly implies an attempt by the authors and producers of the text to write factually and narratively as opposed to promoting critical thinking through for instance multiple perspectives or sourcing. In the explanations that follow, I provide a more detailed analysis of the table above in terms of the evidence provided by the text of the Green Book to support the situated historical genre type and the related historical discourses that are deduced from that historical genre. The first factorial explanations in the text are those that explain the circumstances that led to the plebiscite of 1961. The following two citations exemplify this:

Between 1956 and 1958, the gap between the political programmes advocated by the integrationists, secessionists and reunificationists widened so much that the idea of consulting the people to determine the future political status of the territory became an important and lively issue for discussion (p. 152).

When the UN visiting mission came to the territory towards the end of that year, and again when the political leaders were at the UN in early 1959 to explain their programmes, the notion of a plebiscite as the best form of consultation was fully endorsed (p. 152).

In both cases, the explanation contains factors that argue about the necessity for the plebiscite. Another set of factorial explanations relate to the outcome of the plebiscite and the reasons why certain groups voted in certain ways. The two citations that follow are illustrative of this in the context of British Southern Cameroons.:

Some people from the ethnic groups along the Southern Cameroons frontiers voted for the one or the other proposition on the basis of cultural, linguistic and ethnic affinities... (p. 153).

Many who voted against reunification said that they abhorred the idea and dreaded the thought of uniting with a people whose customs, education, language, systems of government and way of life differed from anything they had known (p. 154).

In the British Northern Cameroons, the factorial and consequential explanation for the plebiscite is revealed as follows:

But an all-out campaign by the Kaduna Government, coupled with all sorts of intimidations and unequivocal warnings to those who voted against Nigeria, produced a vote in favour of integration with Nigeria (p. 155).

The preceding excerpts clearly foreground the British Southern and Northern Cameroons as leading players in the pre reunification endeavours. In doing so, the text is silent on activities that happened in other parts of Cameroon, specifically the French Cameroon around the same time as the momentum on reunification of Cameroon was mounting. What this implies in the context of the pre reunification activities is that the historical genre of the Green Book assumes a narrative that is very pro-British Cameroons and undertakes that there were no parallel efforts in French Cameroon to obtain reunification. Such historical genre narrative of foregrounding British Cameroons' effort preceding reunification at the expense of other efforts relate to a historical discourse promoting Anglophone Cameroon nationalism.

The last set of factorial and consequential explanations in the verbal text has to do with explanations relating to the post plebiscite reunification negotiations between the Southern Cameroons and La République. More specifically, these explanations speak to the circumstances that led to the Southern Cameroons' delegation obtaining an unfavourable deal with their Francophone counterparts at the Foumban constitutional conference. The citations below throw light:

Once the opening formalities were through and the delegations got down to business, it became clear that the Southern Cameroons delegation was not in a position to deal intelligently with the comprehensive and unfamiliar set of propositions advanced by the Cameroun Republic delegation (p. 159).

The Foncha delegation was therefore forced to hold long discussions in camera to consider the Ahidjo proposals point by point and to attempt to form a position on them (p. 159).

... Most of the efforts of the Southern Cameroons delegation were devoted to obtaining alterations which would lessen the impact of the extremely centralised administration on the existing institutions on the future federal state of west Cameroon (p. 160).

The excerpts cited above are factorial explanations of the unequal nature of the constitutional talks involving the Anglophone and Francophone delegations at the Foumban conference. The consequential explanation for these factors as captured in the text is that: “The overall framework of the federal constitution followed the model presented by the Ahidjo [Francophone?] delegation” (p. 160). Moreover, by giving more voice and agency to Foncha and Ahidjo as well as to their respective delegations in negotiating a post plebiscite reunification deal, the narrative historical genre of this text is also silencing the contributions of ordinary Cameroonians and in the process promoting a view that elitism or “Big Men” was a driving force in the reunification of Cameroon and maligning the contributions of other groups. The historical genre does not accommodate narratives on the efforts of the Cameroonian subaltern in the advancement of Cameroonian history through reunification as these categories of Cameroonians are absent from the narrations that speak to the pivotal moments of the reunification effort.

In terms of chronology as can be gleaned from Table 5.2 a clear chronological framework is employed. This is illustrated by a very chronological timeline presentation of the factorial and consequential events explained in the text. This chronological factual order appears to be used purposively and has the effect of providing the reader with a logical and orderly presentation of the activities and events around reunification and also results in the promotion of the second order concepts of cause (factorial) and effect (consequential) in relation to reunification. It is also seen in the text that the timeframes of the different activities and events related to reunification follow the different topics and sub topics. For instance, under “The plebiscite in Southern Cameroons” (p. 152), the timeline of events starts in 1955 when “Southern Cameroons political leaders who supported the reunification urged the UN to go ahead and effect the policy of reunification without consulting the people” (p. 152). From here the activities are presented in an organised chronological fashion up to the political campaigns that started on 30 September 1960 and the polling of 11 February 1961. The trend is similar with sub topic two on “the situation in Northern

Cameroons” (p. 154) which begins in 1948 as “Northern Cameroons qualified for representation in the bicameral Northern Regional Council” (p. 154) and continues to 1 June 1960 when “The British trusteeship of Northern Cameroons was terminated as the territory definitely became part of Nigeria” (p. 156) following the outcome of the plebiscite in that region. In sub topic three on “The reunification of Cameroon” (p. 156) the events time marker starts in 1959 when “Ahidjo and Foncha began talks concerning the reunification of Cameroon” (p. 156) and captures all the other meetings between the two figures in a chronological manner up to the last one of December 1960. Finally, under the last topic on “The Cameroon Federation” (p. 158), the text captures three major events in the chronological order even though only two of those events are allocated time markers. The first event is the Bamenda convention of June 1961, followed by the Fouban Constitutional conference of 17-21 July 1961. The last event that is represented in this category but silent on its date is the Yaounde Tripartite conference. Summarily, in terms of chronology, the verbal text follows a very clear and systematic time line of events from the pre-plebiscite, to the plebiscite, and then the reunification arrangements.

The analysis also reveals that the verbal text uses a narrative structure to present the factorial and consequential details of the reunification events. This narration is punctuated by the use of illustrative tables such as Table 11.1 on the results of the Southern Cameroons plebiscite (p. 154) and Table 11.2 on the combined results of the 1959 and 1961 plebiscites in Northern Cameroons (p. 155). The narrative text structure could be said to complement the explanatory genre type of the text.

Lastly, the analysis narrating the nature of participants in the text reveals two categories as listed in Table 5.2: the specific and generalised participants. The nature of the representation of participants in the text is unpacked further in section 5.2.2 below under the caption of knowledge type of text in the Green Book. However, it is safe at this stage to say that the representation of specific participants in the verbal text indicate the notion that only influential people and especially big men such as Ahidjo, Foncha and Enderley were instrumental for achieving reunification of Cameroon as these are the only three personalities that are mentioned and foregrounded as specific participants in the reunification process. Although the verbal text also mentioned that these figures were supported in different ways by other participants such as the UN, the British and their respective political parties as seen in Table 5.2, indicate that the emphasis is on the clearly

identifiable big men who drove the reunification process. Moreover, it must be stated that the foregrounding of these big men at the expense of other ordinary players is a suggestion that the text historical genre favours a type of representation of Cameroon history that is understood through the narration of the actions and experiences of influential people only. It is also important to note that together with the absence of representation of ordinary people in the representation, is also a backgrounding of Cameroonian elites of French Cameroon origin which also reveals an element of the text on the promotion of Anglophone nationalism through this narrative genre.

In relation to the visual text, the core findings here are that all five images in the Green Book serve predominantly informative and explanatory functions, but also decorative functions to break the very traditional layout of text thereby corroborating the substantive nature of the historical genre of the verbal text. They are used as alternative forms of explanations and means of visual information about reunification to complement and support those of the verbal text. Accordingly, these findings, of the visual text, support that of the verbal text in relation to the narrative, descriptive and explanatory (factorial and consequential) genre type. Most importantly with the visual text is that it too, just like the verbal text, portrays big and important men whilst silencing other actors of the reunification process.

Conclusively, the text of the Green Book adopts a historical genre type that falls under the category of explaining and narrative historical genre. The use of the explanatory genre was seen to incorporate factorial and consequential explanations to support the reunification narrative and a clear absence of argumentative or interpretive explanations. This historical genre style was also seen to be achieved in the text through a narrative text structure that impedes possibilities for engagement with the textual narrative. Moreover, the narrative and explanatory process of the text involved the use of a clear chronological time marker of events and activities related to reunification. It was seen that the timeline of events described and explained in the text started from an earlier date and progressed systematically through later dates. The fact that these dates are included in the topics and sub topics covered in the text indicates that their application is purposive rather than by chance. Lastly, an analysis of the nature of participants expressed within the explanatory genre indicates the use of specific and generalised participants. Through the foregrounding of three high profile politicians throughout the verbal text, there is a sense of an acknowledgement of the role of big men as the driving force of the reunification process to the

exclusion of ordinary men. This finding is corroborated by the visual text whereby only Cameroonians of the elite class are depicted in the various reunification linked initiatives depicted in the visuals. However, these big men worked within specific established structures such as the UN that were identified in the text as generalised participants. On the basis of this historical genre structure, the analysis proceeded to the examination of the nature of historical knowledge propagated by the text through the established historical genre identified.

5.2.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE GREEN BOOK

Now that an understanding of the historical genre type for the Green Book has been achieved it is necessary to turn to the kind of historical knowledge that is used in the text. The importance of this is twofold: firstly, to understand the kind of historical knowledge present in the text as a result of the historical genre type of the text, but also to serve as benchmark for the identification of the discourses emerging in the text. As much as the historical knowledge type of the text serves as a bridge between the historical genre types and the historical discourses from the text, the nature of its representation was also seen to produce discourses of its own that were then carried forward to the next level of the analysis on historical discourses. From the postcolonial theoretical stance, the type of historical knowledge propagated by a text is relevant in revealing its position on the conditions of coloniality.

The analysis of the verbal text revealed a strong inclination on the use of substantive historical knowledge type or the first order concepts as opposed to the procedural historical knowledge type or second order concepts in the representation of reunification. First order concepts in the text have been used to organize the factual content knowledge through narration, describing, comparing, and/or explaining the historical phenomenon of reunification. More specifically, first order concepts are used to name the historical phenomenon and events such as reunification, plebiscite or federation; to name historical actors such as Foncha and Ahidjo; to situate the different places where those historical events occurred; and to explain the different historical periods for the different reunification related activities and events. Therefore the emphasis on substantive knowledge implies the Green Book's focus on the substantive factual content knowledge of history in this case reunification. The first task here was to analyse all the substantive concepts used in the text. It should be noted that for the sake of avoiding unnecessary repetition and duplication, these concepts are listed just once even though they may appear several times within the text. The

substantive concepts used in the book were further analysed in terms of their unique, thematic and organisational nature where these were applicable in the text. Below is a list of all the historical substantive concepts (unique, thematic and organisational) used in the verbal text of the Green Book on reunification. A further breakdown of this list into the different categories of historical substantive concepts is presented further below.

Historical Substantive concepts extracted from the Green Book

- Southern Cameroons, political leaders, reunification, British and French Trust Territories, UN, KNC, KPP, KNDP, elected representatives, political programmes, integrationists, secessionists, reunificationists, plebiscite, Cameroon, visiting mission, voters, political parties, Nigeria, self-government, independence, association, Foncha, Enderley, New York, representatives of the African states, 30 September 1960, March 1961, polling day, 11 February 1961, campaign, CPNC, opposition, bribery, hooliganism, corruption, violent intimidations, Willard R. Johnson, Ibo, terrorism, traitors, nation, ethnic groups, Victoria, Kumba, Nkambe, customs, education, language, system of government, British Northern Cameroons, Northern Nigeria, Bornu, Adamawa, Benue, 1948, 1955, Kaduna, 1 October 1961, 7 November 1959, Lagos, Ahmadou Ahidjo, intimidations, unequivocal warnings, Yaounde, Sarduna province, 1 June, day of national mourning, Buea, Republic, Nkongsamba, French community, British Commonwealth, foreign affairs, defence, public liberties, nationality, higher education, immigration, post and telecommunications, federal budget, federal institutions, April 1961, Constitutional conference, Fouban, 17-21 July, Constitution, Federal republic of Cameroon, west Cameroon, east Cameroon, union, traditional authorities, Bamenda, Cameroon Republic, loose federation, ST Muna.

Having identified all the historical substantive concepts found in the text, I then continued the analysis by breaking them further into unique, thematic and organisational historical substantive concepts. Notwithstanding these categories, I also realised that the line of divide for some of the concepts are blurred rather than rigid meaning that, some concepts can conveniently be placed in two or more categories. An example could be reunification and plebiscite that are both historical substantive concepts in both the unique and thematic domains.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book

Table 5.3 below is a reflection of the unique historical substantive concepts captured from the text under unique people/movements; unique events; and unique places.

Table 5.3. Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book

Unique People/movements	Unique Events	Unique Places
UN, KNC, KPP, KNDP, CPNC, integrationists, secessionists, reunificationists, Cameroon, voters, Nigeria, Foncha, Enderley, ST Muna, Willard R. Johnson, Ahmadou Ahidjo, traditional authorities,	Reunification, plebiscite, visiting mission, independence, polling day, campaign, day of national mourning, Constitutional conference	Southern Cameroons, British and French Trust Territories, New York, Victoria, Kumba, Nkambe, British Northern Cameroons, Northern Nigeria, Bornu, Adamawa, Benue, Kaduna, Lagos, Yaounde, Sarduna province, Buea, Nkongsamba, Fouban, West Cameroon, East Cameroon, Cameroon Republic

The breakdown of the historical substantive concepts as shown in the Table 5.3 above, throws more light on the texts’ presentation of the historical knowledge related to reunification through the lens of substantive concepts. In terms of historical people, the nature of participants represented concurs with the claim made under the explanation of the historical genre category that reunification was achieved through the efforts of big men. The big men listed in that category are mostly the politicians from Southern Cameroons. But there is also the mentioning of Ahidjo representing French Cameroon and another actor representing the colonial master – the UK. That the Southern Cameroons’ politicians are more represented in this category in comparison to the other politicians implies that they were the main actors driving the process of reunification and the roles of the other political actors cited such as Ahidjo of French Cameroon and Willard R. Johnson of the UK were simply complementary. Therefore, the foregrounding of Southern Cameroons’ politicians and the backgrounding of the others is a reflection of the historical significance of the former over the latter in the reunification process. Another category of people mentioned from a non-political class but could be seen as big men are the traditional rulers. However, it can also be argued that the mentioning of other first order concepts in the events category like the campaigns and the plebiscite is an insinuation of the role of the ordinary people in the reunification process albeit not as major actors.

The significance of the unique events listed in the text of this book is that they reflect the generic role of the ordinary citizens in the developments of reunification, a role that does not portray any agency in the crucial stages of the process. I have already mentioned the claim that reunification was achieved by the actions of big men either politically or traditionally because of their representations under unique substantive concepts. This claim also means that ordinary people are not important in driving the process because of their corresponding omission within the text. What the events listed here do is clarify the role of these ordinary people in the form of certain activities such as voting in the plebiscite and participating in the political campaigns as receivers of the political information. There is therefore the confirmation that the role of the ordinary Cameroonians was passive which is reflected in the text by the textual silencing of this category of people.

In terms of unique places, the analysis indicates a representation of places mostly in Southern Cameroons, French Cameroon, and a single mention of New York being the headquarters of the UN where reunification activities occurred. This is despite the fact that the actors themselves as presented in the text are mostly Southern Cameroonians (politicians and traditional rulers). This paradox suggests that the agents of reunification did not consider the nature of the place for the different events as significant for the developments on reunification. Probably therefore what was important was the people that played front role not the place itself. This argument explains the overwhelming Southern Cameroons' participation in terms of people but an inclusive representation of places across Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons as well as Nigeria and America. This spread of political activities related to reunification across Cameroon such as in Bamenda, Foumban, Yaounde and Buea, but also in Nigeria and in the headquarters of the UN in New York signifies that according to the Green Book, the process of reunification was not an affair of Cameroonians only and limited to the geographical space of Cameroon, but also largely involving the colonial masters (Britain and France) as well as the UN as the supervisory authority of the Trusteeship arrangement.

Organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book

Organisational substantive concepts (Haenen & Schrijnemakers, 2000) are a series of historical phenomena grouped into periods in which the historical phenomenon has relationships and the

grouping gives this relationship meaning. Still in line with the breaking down of the list of historical substantive concepts identified in the Green Book, the following organisational concepts were revealed as presented in Table 5.4 below:

Table 5.4 Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of the Green Book related to reunification

Organisational Concept	Nature of presentation in text
Reunification	This organisational concept runs throughout the text. It starts at the beginning of the text as one of the three options for the future of the Southern Cameroons (p. 152). With the outcome of the plebiscite being in favour of reunification in the case of Southern Cameroons, the concept then takes central focus of the text going forward with different activities and events initiated to ensure its implementation.
Plebiscite	Used in the text as a UN endorsed initiative to determine the future of British Cameroons after political leaders could not agree on a single option for the region. The text presents the outcome of the plebiscite as being in favour of integration for Northern Cameroons and reunification for Southern Cameroons. The result of the plebiscite for Southern Cameroons is then seen as the basis for the constitutional negotiations between Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) and La République (Francophone).
Independence	This concept is applied in the text to refer to the plebiscite options. The questions gave two options through which the people of British Cameroons chose to have their independence – by integration with Nigeria or by reunification with French Cameroon

It should be noted from the outset that the text is very sketchy on the use of the organisational form of historical substantive concepts. Notwithstanding, the list of historical organisational substantive concepts shown in Table 5.4 above and the accompanying explanation on their nature of presentation in the verbal text of the Green Book reinforces the texts’ explanatory, narrative, and descriptive historical genre style. Gleaned from the table, there is no attempt in the text to use any of the three identified organisational concepts as avenues to provoke critical thinking on reunification. Therefore, the nature of use of these concepts in the text supports and promotes a highly substantive historical knowledge of reunification.

The section above has presented the nature of historical substantive concepts used in the text as a prelude to the determination of the form of historical knowledge advanced and promoted by the

text. That determination was achieved to the effect that the text advances a highly substantive form of historical knowledge. In order to explain this claim, the substantive concepts were broken down into unique and organisational substantive concepts. The idea was also to identify the presence of thematic substantive concepts which are seen as concepts which transcend time and serve to collect ideas that can be applied in multiple historical contexts (Haenen & Schrijnemakers, 2000). But this latter category of substantive concepts was found to be absent from the text. The absence of thematic substantive concepts in the text, considering its definition above, was seen as an attempt by the text to limit the proximity of the understanding of reunification within the immediate events and the actors that anchored those events and avoid concepts that could give learners room to think beyond the focus of the topic.

The unique substantive concepts which were seen to dominate the text were then analysed in terms of unique people, events, places, and time while the organisational substantive concepts captured and reviewed three such concepts used in the text and the nature of their use. The analysis of the unique substantive concepts in terms of people revealed a strong inclination of the text towards the representation of political and religious authorities which was then seen as a promotion of historical elitism or classism by insinuating that the ordinary people had no significant role to play in the reunification process. Such insinuation aligns with the already established narrative genre of the text where by the emphasis was seen to be on the narration of the activities of these big people. All of these pointed to the same conclusion that the text promotes a highly substantive view of knowledge of reunification and therefore concurs with the explicitly explanatory genre type of the text hitherto identified. The continuation of the analyses on historical knowledge type was to determine the nature of the use of procedural knowledge or lack thereof in the text.

Historical procedural concepts extracted from the Green Book related to reunification

It should also be highlighted that the verbal text steers clear of the overt use of procedural or methodological concepts. There is no explicit use of second order concepts to provoke and engage historical critique of the events and processes explained. However, in some rare situations, certain concepts seem to be implied in the text to the extent that I needed to deduce them in the course of line by line reading. The section that follows explains the different procedural concepts that are embedded or hinted at in the verbal text but not explicitly explained.

Historical procedural knowledge implicit in the verbal text of the Green Book

- **Cause and effect:**

One of the incidental concepts employed as part of the incidental procedural knowledge used in the text is the concept of cause and effect or causation. The coding of the text identified a number of implicit uses of this concept such as in the excerpt below:

Between 1956 and 1958, the gap between the political programmes advocated by the integrationists, secessionists and reunificationists widened so much that the idea of consulting the people to determine the future political status of the territory became an important and lively issue for discussion (p. 152).

The example above demonstrates the cause of the plebiscite as being due to the gap between the different political programmes. Therefore the different political programmes are seen as the cause while the plebiscite is the effect though these concepts are not overtly mentioned in the text.

The next example relates to the idea that the Southern Cameroons delegation was ill prepared for the Foumban Constitutional talks. It states that:

The Bamenda proposals advocated a loose federation and upheld the principle of each future federated state preserving its local autonomy and political power. In contrast to those of the Southern Cameroons, the draft proposals of the Ahidjo government were in the form of a complete constitution which advocated a clear preponderance of federal over state institutions. Unfortunately, these two conflicting documents were not available for scrutiny before the two parties assembled in Foumban (p. 159).

This statement identifies the cause of why the reunification negotiations if at all, went against the interest of the Anglophone delegation and in favour of the Francophones. The effects of this cause presented above are manifold and are reflected in the following examples garnered from the text:

once the opening formalities were through and the delegations got down to business, it became clear that the Southern Cameroons delegation was not in a position to deal intelligently with the comprehensive and unfamiliar set of propositions advanced by the Cameroon Republic delegation (p. 159).

The Foncha delegation was therefore forced to hold long discussions in camera to consider the Ahidjo proposals point by point and to attempt to form position on them (p. 159).

... Most of the efforts of the Southern Cameroons delegation were devoted to obtaining alterations which will lessen the impact of the extremely centralised administration on the existing institutions of the future federated state of West Cameroon (p. 160).

The overall framework of the federal constitution followed the model presented by the Ahidjo government (p. 160).

All four examples above gleaned from the text are implicit and incidental presentations of the effects of the ill preparedness of the Southern Cameroons delegation meeting at the Foumban conference. The cause of this ill preparedness has already been identified in another excerpt above as being due to the fact that these two conflicting documents from both delegations were only made available for discussion during the conference and not prior to it.

- **Historical time**

The concept of historical time is applied in the text albeit in a chronological manner of the occurrence of the events. As a starting point, the topics covered do not have time markers attributed to them. However the narratives and explanations have some elements of historical time mentioned even though this is done in a manner that does not reflect any intention to foreground time as important in relation to the narrative espoused. The following are examples of time mentioned in the body of the narrative text: “in fact campaigning began in earnest even before the 30 September 1960” (p. 153). This example does not state exactly when the campaigns began and does not link that time frame to other issues around reunification outside of the campaign mentioned. This implies the time is only used as a convenient tool rather than a concept with substantial meaning to the reunification narrative. The scenario is no different with the verbal text. The different images provided in the text have captions which mention the dates of the events exposed. However, those dates are not explained in very specific terms. For instance Figure 5.1 simply states “1960”; Figure 5.2 mentions “October 1961”; Figure 5.3 is completely silent on a date for the event in question; while Figure 5.4 simply states “1961”. I recall that the pictures cited in these images represent events which occurred on specific dates. The absence of the dates in which they occur is an indication of verbal texts’ lack of value given to the procedural concept of historical time.

- **Historical significance**

There is clear understanding in the text of the Green Book of some events being significant in the reunification process though not overtly expressed as such. The plebiscite for example is one such

event whose manner of presentation indicates its significance for the political futures of British Northern and Southern Cameroons. For the Northern Cameroons, the outcome of the plebiscite means the loss of that territory to Nigeria. The action that followed that loss depicts its significance. The text mentions that:

Nigeria was delighted with the results which shocked the Cameroon government in Yaounde. Ahidjo's government was furious at Nigeria's intervention in the conduct of the Northern Cameroons' plebiscite, and doubted the accuracy of the results. Ahidjo carried his protest to the UN, which rejected it. (p. 155).

The reactions from both French Cameroon and Nigeria to the outcome of the plebiscite in Northern Cameroons indicate the stakes each of these countries had in securing that territory on their side. The results mean that Northern Cameroons' political future would follow a different direction from the people she had been together with as one nation under German rule (French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons) from 1884-1916, but also from the people she had been ruled with by the British as part of the League of Nations mandate system from 1916-1945 and the UN trusteeship system from 1945-1961. The text sums this up by stating that: "on 1 June 1961, the British trusteeship of northern Cameroons was terminated as the territory definitely became part of Nigeria" (p. 156). The plebiscite marked a turning point for their political future thereby making the event and the manner of its presentation in the text very significant. The significance of the plebiscite also applies to the presentation of the Southern Cameroons and its political future. In the case of Southern Cameroons, the plebiscite kick started the discussions on the nature of the reunion with French Cameroon, a process that involved serial meetings between the two delegations and would eventually culminate in reunification under a federal constitution. The impact is that the political nature of present day post-colonial Cameroon is still largely a reflection of the decision from that plebiscite as both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians are still coexisting within the same national space even though the original terms of union have greatly shifted.

Another event deemed historically significant as presented in the text is the Foumban constitutional conference. In presenting the events of this conference, the text clearly depicts the fact that the Southern Cameroons' delegation was not on par with the French Cameroon delegation in terms of the negotiations. This resulted in them emerging from the conference with a constitution that was not in their sustainable interest within the union. In light of contemporary claims of marginalisation of the Anglophone community by the Francophones within Cameroon, the Foumban conference

could be traced as the origin where the Anglophones failed to secure a negotiation that gave them equal powers with the Francophones within the reunified nation. Therefore, the Green Books' narrative on the developments of the Foumban conference makes it very significant in understanding the political reality of post-colonial Cameroon.

Summarily, the text fails to expressly identify and make use of procedural concepts of history in its presentation of reunification. It could therefore be said that the text of the Green Book does not promote procedural historical knowledge. This absence is an indication that the text promotes rote learning and in the context of reunification it was seen that such knowledge type is purposive with the aim of grooming submissive learners and citizens who will uncritically submit to the master narrative on reunification rather than challenging it. The view is that any form of challenge will cause chaos in the school system and disrupt social harmony. The Green textbook in this case is therefore not a neutral disseminator of knowledge on reunification but rather an active accomplice to the agenda of the government to create a certain kind of citizenry. Notwithstanding this lack of overt promotion of procedural knowledge, the analysis of the text reveals a certain incidental use of procedural concepts that were only possible to understand through an analysis of their implied use within the text narrative. It was through this process that procedural concepts such as cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance were analysed within the context of their implied use in the text. However, because their use is seen as incidental rather than purposive, supports the earlier claim that the text promotes a substantive form of historical knowledge rather than its procedural opposite. This is coupled with the fact that the other more critical procedural concepts such as use of sources/evidence, change and continuity, historical empathy or perspective taking could not be found in the text even through the analysis of their implied use. There is therefore a visible link between the historical narrative and explanatory genre type and the historical substantive knowledge types used in the text in that the explanatory genre supports and is in turn supported by the use of substantive concepts. This historical genre-knowledge type link and consistency also has implications for the nature of school history in Cameroon and the role of textbooks and reunification. There is an evident presence of a chauvinistic discourse established through the domination of male characters and the complete silencing of female historical figures. In line with the previous point, there is also a discourse of exclusion seen through the silencing of the subaltern and the domination of political and traditional elites in the reunification process. These discourses that emerged from the analysis of the historical genre and knowledge type of the

text will be elaborated further together with others in the next part of the analysis reserved for that purpose.

5.2.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE GREEN BOOK

The analysis in the previous sections established the historical genre type and historical knowledge types evident in the representation of reunification in the text of the Green Book where it was realised that there is a great correlation between the type of historical genre the text is situated within and the form of historical knowledge promoted by the text. The analysis continued at this third stage by examining and engaging the historical discourses that can be drawn from the representations of reunification in the text and how these discourses relate to the expressed or divulged genre and knowledge types of the text. I applied the principle of intertextuality in the explanation of the discourses that emerged from the text. This is because it was realised that the different discourses build on one another and are so interlinked and intertwined that they can only be understood in relation to related discourses. Intertextuality was also informed by the fact that the discourses were understood through the genre and knowledge analysis of the text. These discourses are nuanced with the tenets of postcolonial theory especially the element of discursive postcolonialism that I explained in the theoretical framing of this study in chapter three. The following discourses emerged from the analysis of the text.

- **Nature of School history and reunification as per the Green Book**

The first discourse that I picked is that of the nature of school history in relation to reunification in the Green Book. The evidence of the presence of this discourse lies in the findings of the historical genre type and the historical knowledge types. The realisation in this respect is that school history in Cameroon is not about procedural concepts and historical enquiry skills. The indication for this is the fact that the text has been proven to promote a largely substantive form of historical knowledge through the use of first order concepts at the expense of second order concepts that would require learners to engage more critically with the text, form opinions and perspectives using historical sources provided. Aligned to this kind of historical knowledge is the explanatory, descriptive and narrative historical genre of the text. This historical genre type promotes a common sense kind of knowledge due to the fact that the factorial and consequential explanations are void of argumentative and interpretation techniques or exposition and multi-sided

perspective techniques which are all elements constituting an uncommon sense historical approach. This expressed nature of school history presented by the verbal text is also supported by the presentation of the visual text. The manner in which the images in the text are presented suggests that their role is only to support the substantive content of the verbal text. This is because, just like in the verbal text, the images are not linked to any thought provoking, or enquiry skills based procedural activities. Therefore the images also perform explanatory roles and to some extent a mere decorative role to decongest the heavy verbal textual material.

There is also a sense from the text that school history in Cameroon is a story of big men, written by big men. This discourse emanates from the influential role and agency that the author/producers of the Green Book attribute to certain actors (individual and generic) as being decisive in the reunification process. In the individual category, throughout the text, there is a sense that the only individuals who were important in the reunification process were certain politicians. In particular, three politicians are highly foregrounded and dominate the representations and proceedings of reunification, that is Ahidjo and Foncha, and to a lesser extent Enderley. These individuals are presented as responsible for the negotiations with the generic actors like the UN, colonial masters Britain and France. They are also responsible for leading the campaign in the territory and for facilitating the post plebiscite discussions that culminated in the formal proclamation of reunification. The insinuation here is that without these big men, the reunification of Cameroon would not have been achieved. The implications of foregrounding these big men in the reunification process at the expense of other stakeholders is that the voices and actions of the ordinary citizens are silenced and the latter are not given the credit they too deserve for the reunification process such as through voting at the plebiscite.

Such agreed upon narrative punctuated by big men is in line with the postcolonial idea of the subaltern as explained in the theoretical chapter. The subaltern in this instance is with reference to the elites of Cameroon who have replaced the hegemony of the colonial masters over the territory. In this case, Cameroon is seen as having a history in terms of reunification but a history that has been hijacked by the elite class at the expense of the ordinary people or an inclusive citizenry. This also speaks to the idea of internal colonisation wherein the colonial masters are no longer physically in charge but have been replaced within the same territory by an elite group of citizens espoused here through the lens of the author /publisher of the book and his choice of actors to

depict the reunification process. Consequently, the text portrays internal colonisation of the elite class over the ordinary people within the same national territorial space. Therefore, the manner in which reunification is presented in this text portrays that school history in Cameroon is an uncritical discipline that is written by big men (academic historians) to advance the stories of other historical big men. To achieve this agenda, school history has to be taught as a memory discipline and this is seen in the high substantive form of historical knowledge promoted in the text.

- **Discourse of textbooks and school history in Cameroon as per Green Book**

In line with the discourse on the nature of school history explained above, there is also in the text, a discourse relating to the nature of history textbooks and school history in Cameroon as seen through the manner in which the text presents the reunification. , The manner in which textbooks are written is vital as they are influential and indispensable resources for teaching and learning and dissemination of information in promoting a certain kind of history. Therefore textbooks and school history inform each other in nature. The explanatory and narrative historical genre of the text together with its focus on historical first order concepts at the expense of second order procedural concepts imply that this textbook is not meant to be critical but rather to agree around a master narrative advanced by the authorship of the text. Some of the master narratives advanced by the text are discussed below in the form of another discourse.

- **Discourse of master narrative**

In addition to the narrative on big men already explained above, the master narrative also revolves around the important representation of the colonial masters (Britain and France) as well as the UN being the trusteeship supervisory authority for Cameroon, towards the reunification process. As much as the text highlights the active role played by the Cameroonian elite in the process, there is also a sense in the text that their role was largely secondary to that of the former colonial authorities and the UN. Evidence from the verbal text to support this comes in different forms. Firstly the settings of most of the important meetings appear to be in the UN headquarters in New York in the presence of British and French delegations justifying their master status. The following extract serves as example:

A compromise agreement was at last arrived at by Foncha and Enderley at New York in the presence of the British representative and the representative of the African states at the UN (p. 153).

Secondly the text highlights the fact that the UN had to send several visiting missions to Cameroon to ensure that it was ready for some form of independence. Realising that it was due to the report and suggestions of these visiting missions that the option of plebiscite was endorsed justifies my claim of a master colonial narrative in the text. The UN is seen clearly performing the role of an ‘honest broker’ in dealing with the nuances around the political future of the Cameroons. The two extracts below support this claim:

When the UN visiting mission came to the territory towards the end of that year ... the notion of a plebiscite as the best form of consultation was fully endorsed (p. 152).

Following the recommendations of the UN visiting mission to Cameroon in 1958, the idea of a plebiscite to decide the future of British Cameroon was adopted by the UN (p. 154).

The master narrative explained demonstrates a single agreed-upon dominant narrative of certain historical figures in the Cameroons especially of the political elite class given more credit for the reunification process at the expense of the ordinary people whose roles are simply depicted in the form of generic activities. At this level, I have referred to it using the postcolonial concepts of internal colonisation. The second level of master narrative highlighted was on the roles and agency of the UN and the colonial powers of Britain and France towards reunification. This I have related to the postcolonial concept of external colonisation. Ultimately, the representation of this master narrative discourse at both internal and external levels as demonstrated reflects the complexity and hybrid nature of the postcolonial Cameroon society that is trapped between the history depicting the identity and influences of the former colonial master and that which valorises the identity of the former colonised state. In this case I argue that the text attempts to achieve both.

- **Discourse of purposive exclusion**

The next discourse that I picked from the analysis of the text of the Green Book is that pertaining to the exclusion of certain significant issues relating to reunification. Unlike the other discourses where I used evidence from the text to substantiate, the discourse on exclusion is informed by literature reviewed on reunification in chapters one and two, in the sense that certain aspects of the reunification process seen as significant in the literature are not covered in the text. This analysis was made through the application of the tool on silences. The analysis of this discourse stemmed from the premise that what is absent from the text is as important as that which is present (Huckin,

2002). Whether the silences are deliberate or unintentional is inconsequential as it reveals certain perspectives, biases and positions about the author and the text in relation to reunification that was in the interest of this study to understand.

One aspect of silence worth mentioning is the controversial issue around Ahidjo's draft constitution and 'secret deal' 'with Foncha prior to the Bamenda conference. According to the section of literature on reunification in chapter one, this issue has been dominated and propagated by two prominent Cameroonian historians – Victor Julius Ngo and Verkijika Fanso, albeit with different interpretations. I have reviewed this debacle in the relevant section in chapter one. I will, however, briefly highlight it here so that the purpose of its identification as a discourse of 'silence' in the Green Book can be understood. Both authors agree that Foncha had received a draft constitution from Ahidjo in Buea that was meant to be discussed at the Bamenda Conference which was never done. The contention is at the level of the motives behind Foncha not discussing the draft constitution with his peers in the Bamenda preparatory conference. At this level, Ngo (2011) is of the view that Foncha had struck a deal with Ahidjo to become Vice-President of a reunified Cameroon and was therefore not interested in discussing Ahidjo's draft constitution that would have been challenged by his peers in the Bamenda Conference and thwarted his 'deal' with Ahidjo. Favouring this view, Foncha's greed for power had the better of him and superseded his obligations towards Southern Cameroons. This is used to explain why his delegation did not achieve much at the Fouban Conference. Fanso's (2011) stance on the other hand, is more defensive of Foncha. His view is that Foncha's decision not to present the draft constitution to his peers was based on advice from the British who suspected "fireworks in Bamenda over the Ahidjo and the Buea proposals" (p. 4). He even goes further to elucidate that the proposals were given to Foncha's government not Foncha in private, and this was done after a tripartite meeting that involved the Ahidjo government, Foncha's government (not Foncha alone) and the British government. This account of the event by Fanso attempts to exonerate Foncha of the claims made by Ngo with regard to a secret deal entered with Ahidjo.

The finding here in relation to this study is that, as significant as this scenario is, the text fails to mention it as part of the reunification process despite it being part of the historiography of reunification of Cameroon as seen through extensive engagement on it from leading scholars in the form of open debates and academic literature . The implication is that the learner is deprived

of significant historical knowledge and a broader multiperspective picture on the controversies that surrounded the failure of the Southern Cameroons’ delegation at the Founban Conference to secure a better constitution for their people.

It should be noted that the author of the Green Book being analysed (Fanso) is the same person cited in the debacle presented above in defence of Foncha. However, the concern here is not his perspective on the question, but rather the fact that he chose not to mention it at all in his school history textbook. This I take as an attempt by the author to present a sanitised history on the reunification by avoiding controversy. With the potential to mess with the historical master narrative on reunification, or disrupt the national discourse on reunification, the author takes a ‘safe’ position to ignore such controversies through a veil of silence brought on them. Hence on the one hand the master narrative and discourse on reunification continues to be propagated in schools through the history textbook while intricacies surrounding the reunification discourses are dealt within the academic space in the form of journal articles or through interactive academic discussions and even social network platforms.

Another element of exclusion in the verbal text is the silence of other key players in the reunification process. The text treats reunification of Cameroon as if it was a process that was accomplished only through the efforts of Foncha and Ahidjo supported by the colonial authorities. These two authors are not only largely foregrounded; they are also given substantial agency and voice in the reunification process through the actions alluded to them. As much as these actors were instrumental and played on the front line, the role of other political figures and their different political opinions cannot be underestimated. Their ideas and positions on the future of the Southern Cameroons especially in the lead up to the plebiscite animated the many debates and contributed to the events that culminated in reunification. Below is a list of some of the political figures that have been completely omitted from the text but who as per the literature shown in chapter one played a key role in the reunification dynamics at the different stages.

Table 5.5 Influential Political figures and parties not referred to in the verbal text of the Green Book

Political figure	Political party
------------------	-----------------

Ndeh Ntumazah	OK (One Kamerun)
P.M. Kale	KUP (Kamerun United Party)
Chief Nyenti	CCC (Cameroon Commoners Congress)

In addition to the above, there were also some pressure groups that made their opinions heard about reunification. These included: The Kamerun Society; Traditional rulers; and the National Union of Kamerun Students. Simply put, reunification of Cameroon was therefore not achieved in a straightforward manner as the verbal text of the Green Book seems to suggest. It was a complexity of ideas and agendas propagated by different political leaders under the banner of different political parties and political pressure groups including civil society and traditional authority. That the option of reunification succeeded at the end of the day cannot be taken to mean there were no other options that were on the table and contested strongly. This silence unfortunately deprives the Anglophone learner using the Green Book of the understanding of such complexity and presents the reunification of Cameroon as a smooth process that was hardly strongly contested and hardly had other alternatives. It should be recalled that some of these political parties whose position had been defeated at the plebiscite of 1961, were still very active in the mainstream politics of Southern Cameroons even after the plebiscite. The CPNC for example and the OK were official opposition political parties in the Southern Cameroons' government and played an active role in the Bamenda All Party Conference that prepared the draft constitutional proposals in view of the constitutional deliberations between the Anglophone and Francophone delegations to take place in Foumban.

- **Discourse of significant people and events**

As I have already intimated in the methods section of chapter four, backgrounding implies omitting relevant information from the text whilst foregrounding means projecting some information at the expense of others – whether due to ideology or deliberate (Remlinger, 2002). In terms of foregrounding, several parts of the text have been given importance either through their physical placement or size or by the emphasis given them through word choice or syntactic structure (Foucault, 2000). The analysis of the historical knowledge in the category of unique people has already identified Ahidjo and Foncha as the key personalities shown in the text as leading the reunification agenda from French and Southern Cameroons' respective interests. This has also been seen in the context of the nature of school history and big men. However, the discourse explained here has to do with a finding that was arrived at as a result of analysing the

representations of these two leaders using the tools of foregrounding and backgrounding. A major element of foregrounding in the text is when there is mention of Ahidjo and Foncha together. In all such instances in the text, Ahidjo is foregrounded while Foncha is backgrounded. It should be recalled that both these leaders were heads of their respective territories prior to reunification. That is, Ahidjo for Francophone Cameroon and Foncha for Anglophone Cameroons. Therefore, continuous foregrounding one over the other in their presentation promotes the idea of a powerful leader or territory over the other as opposed to two equal territories going into a union on what was supposed to be equal terms. There are altogether eight instances of this aspect of foregrounding and backgrounding related to the two leaders as provided below:

Prime Minister Ahidjo and Prime Minister Foncha began to hold talks concerning the reunification of Cameroon in 1959 (p. 156)

Ahidjo and Foncha were able to agree that their territories will join neither the French community nor the British Commonwealth (p. 156)

Ahidjo and Foncha resumed their talks on a note of self-satisfaction (p. 156)

... Ahidjo and Foncha conceptions of the nature of the forthcoming federation (p. 157)

Ahmadou Ahidjo became the President of the Federal Republic and John Ngu Foncha... (p. 157)

President Ahidjo and Prime Minister Foncha met on several occasions before the plebiscite... (p. 158)

Ahidjo and Foncha opened the conference on notes of caution, realism, and family spirit (p. 159)

... Ahmadou Ahidjo, who was President of Cameroon Republic, and Prime Minister John Ngu Foncha, who was Prime Minister of Southern Cameroons, where to hold the positions of President and Vice-President of the Federal Republic respectively (p. 160).

The different excerpts from the text demonstrate the foregrounding and backgrounding of Ahidjo, leader of Francophone Cameroon and Foncha leader of Anglophone Cameroons respectively. In relation to postcolonialism, the foregrounding of Ahidjo, leader of the French Cameroon while backgrounding Foncha, leader of Anglophone Cameroons in the reunification process supports the idea of internal colonisation. In this sense, the former and his territory are given the status of the new coloniser over the territory of the latter and therefore more superior and significant.

Another example from the text justifying the presence of this discourse is related to the post plebiscite reunification related meetings. Even though the text has mentioned several one-on-one meetings between Ahidjo and Foncha as individuals in which they shared views on their conceptions of the union; it is the meetings that involved huge delegations that were most significant in the reunification process. I have identified in chapter one, three such meetings to be: the Bamenda All party Conference, the Foumban Constitutional Conference; and the Yaounde Tripartite Conference. The manner in which these different meetings are covered in the text reveals backgrounding of some and foregrounding of others and with certain effect and implications. The nature of the coverage is explained below to justify backgrounding or foregrounding.

The analysis on the representation of the Bamenda Conference reveals that the meeting is clearly backgrounded and treated as a less important event. Chapter eleven of the Green Book makes no mention of the Bamenda Conference even though the Foumban Conference that came at a later date is highlighted (pp. 157-158). Where the Bamenda Conference is mentioned in chapter twelve, it is treated simply as a background to introduce the ‘more important’ Foumban Conference and in a very shallow or sketchy manner. Below is the excerpt of its passive representation:

In preparation for this very important meeting [Foumban], the Southern Cameroons’ political leaders and traditional authorities held a convention at Bamenda in June at the instance of Prime Minister Foncha to draft a comprehensive set of proposals as a basis for negotiation with the delegation from the Cameroon Republic. The Bamenda proposals advocated a loose federation and upheld the principle of each future Federated State preserving its local autonomy and political power (p. 159)

The above excerpt is all the text mentions about the Bamenda Conference. The absence of vital information such as the participants, challenges and most importantly an outline of the resolutions arrived at is a clear indication of the marginalisation in the coverage of this historic event in the reunification representation in the Green Book. This passivity of coverage through backgrounding implies several things. Firstly, it means that the voice of the Anglophone delegation was not important in the reunification process. This conclusion is relevant when one considers the fact that the Bamenda Conference was supposed to prepare the Anglophone delegation for reunification negotiations with their Francophone counterparts in Foumban. Secondly, the part of information provided about the Bamenda Conference reveals that the Southern Cameroonians were conscious of the stakes at Foumban and had a plan on how they expected the union to function and they were

united behind that plan. Hence the event is said to have brought together stakeholders such as “Southern Cameroons political leaders and traditional authorities” (p. 158). The highlighted section of the excerpt above is an indication of the plan that the Southern Cameroons’ delegation had for the future union. Thirdly, the fact that the event is called a ‘convention’ and not a conference as with Foumban does not resonate with its importance. My understanding is therefore that through backgrounding this meeting and lack of profundity in its representation, the Green Book treats the pre reunification Bamenda meeting as less important in the reunification process and the Anglophone efforts towards reunification as less significant.

In contrast to the nature in which the Bamenda conference is presented, the Foumban Constitutional conference can be seen as the main reunification event in the textbook. This is due to the large amount of verbal and visual space accorded the event in the text as well as the profundity of its coverage. The event is first mentioned passively in the closing paragraph of chapter eleven (p. 157). However, that passive highlight is only a background to its detailed representation in chapter twelve. With the exception of the brief mention of the Bamenda convention, the entire section considered for analysis in chapter twelve is directly linked to the Foumban conference. So detailed is the coverage that there is even mention of the number of delegates in attendance: “twenty five delegates from the Southern Cameroons and twelve from the Cameroon Republic” (p. 159) as well as the exact timing of the official joint discussions between the two delegations: “as a result, the official joint conference of both delegations extraordinarily lasted only 95 minutes” (p. 159). Moreover, two of the five images used in the text are directly linked to the Foumban Conference that is Figures 5.3 and 5.4 shown in section 5.2.1 of this chapter.

Just as the backgrounding of the Bamenda Conference, the Yaounde Conference is also given very shallow and passive coverage in the text. It is largely backgrounded as an event that contributed significantly in the reunification process. The evidence for this is seen in the fact that the event is mentioned only twice in the verbal text and in both instances, it is linked to the Foumban Conference as if its representation is aimed at supporting the work and importance of the Foumban Conference and not as a conference on its own merit. The two instances are as follows:

The Foumban conference was followed by another meeting in August in Yaounde. The outcome was a draft federal constitution (p. 157).

During the five days at Fouban and the subsequent meeting at Yaounde which produced the final content of the federal constitution... (p. 160).

No mention is made about the participants, the deliberations, the challenges, and the specific issues dealt with at the conference, and there is no visual image used to complement the narration.

Moreover, the textual reference to the event as a “meeting” and not a conference signifies a less important gathering than that which was held at Fouban and supports the claim that the event is largely backgrounded and not represented as important.

The backgrounded manner of the presentation of the Bamenda and Yaounde conferences as seen in the explanations and evidence above indicate that though the author acknowledges that these conferences were part of the reunification constitutional process, they nevertheless played no significant role worth giving profundity. This is not the same with the Fouban Conference that is highly foregrounded and given significance.

- **Discourse of male chauvinism**

The analysis also reveals that the text is dominated by strong men who drive the master narratives in the text thereby promoting a sense of male chauvinism. There is a clear tendency of portraying male figures as being powerful and influential in contrast to female characters. All the characters explicitly mentioned in the verbal text are largely masculine characters. And this includes their different roles or lack thereof on the events surrounding the reunification. Table 5.5 is an illustration of the representation of different political characters and roles played in the reunification process from the pre plebiscite negotiations right up to the drafting of the Federal Constitution. For the sake of paradigmatic consistency, I decided not to make use of numerical statistics.

Table 5.6 The representation of male hegemonic characters in the verbal text of the Green Book

Character	Role
J.N Foncha	-Leader of the KNDP and advocated for reunification with French Cameroon -Prime Minister of Southern Cameroons from 1959

	-Prime Minister of West Cameroon and Vice President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon after reunification
Ahmadou Ahidjo	-First President of French Cameroon -First President of the reunified Cameroon
E.M.L Enderley	-Leader of government business in Southern Cameroons when the territory gained quasi federal status in the Nigerian legislature -Leader of the CPNC -Advocated for integration with Nigeria during the plebiscite
S.T Muna	-The text portrays him as the character that will later occupy the cumulative positions of Vice President of the Federal Republic and Prime Minister of the state of West Cameroon from 1970-1972 in contravention of article 9 of the Federal constitution.

Table 5.6 shows all very influential political figures that are represented as leading the debates around the political future of Southern Cameroons in particular and to a greater extent all Cameroons with regard to reunification. This total disregard of the representation of the role of women and other men on a very significant historical moment in the history of the nation is as much a clear act of bias against women and ordinary men as it is a justification of patriarchy. Putting this into perspective, this is not to insinuate that women should have been represented in roles where they were not involved – that would have been tantamount to historical fallacy. Rather the implication is two-fold: firstly that the societal culture and other similar constructions of that moment in history discouraged women from participating in active politics and secondly, that the author’s failure to represent women even in the menial roles they played during the reunification process does not exonerate him from patriarchal tendencies.

- **Anglophone nationalism discourse**

Through the nature of historical substantive concepts used in the text as I have explained in section 5.2.2 on historical knowledge type, reveals a penchant towards a general Cameroonian narrative on the reunification of Cameroon. This is in line with the fact that the unique substantive concepts of people and places contain information from both Anglophone and Francophone sections of Cameroon. However, this narrative is portrayed largely through an Anglophone Cameroonian lens, hence my claim of the presence of a discourse on Anglophone nationalism. The entire text of the Green Book related to reunification, through the different activities could be summarised as a struggle for British Cameroonians to secure an identity. This identity was threatened in the plebiscite options that did not offer them any chance of having independence as a sovereign power. Their political futures had to be decided on the basis of joining other countries (French Cameroon

or Nigeria). With the outcome of the plebiscite, the level of negotiations that followed between the French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons indicated a continuation of that struggle to secure a good and sustainable status within the new union. Even though the text presents the Anglophone delegation as having secured a bad deal at Fouban, the efforts of the politicians (in power and in opposition), traditional authority, civil society towards the political developments that culminated in the reunification as presented is overwhelming. An indication that the people in spite of the unfavourable plebiscite conditions imposed on them by the colonial authorities, still listened to their nationalist feelings that directed them to carry the struggle through to its ultimate end. Moreover, the identification of Anglophone nationalism discourse was made possible in the text through the overwhelming domination of Anglophone related people and events as part of the substantive knowledge of the text as well as the related agency with which these personalities were given in driving the process.

5.2.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE GREEN BOOK

Several conclusions could be drawn from the analysis of the representation of reunification in the Green textbook. Having already discussed the findings in greater detail, the aim of this conclusion is to draw the findings out in a very succinct but abstract manner so as to have a clear set of findings that will then serve as basis for the comparative analysis of the presentation of reunification in the different history textbooks analysed in this study.

In relation to the text genre, it was revealed that the text displayed a clear explanatory, narrative and descriptive genre. This is evident by the overwhelming use of factorial and consequential explanations to narrate and describe the different people, events and the places involved in the reunification. This narrative made use of a purposive chronological format that assists in presenting the events and actors in a logical manner for clear understanding. This historical genre type does not give room for critical enquiry of the content thereby promoting a view of a master narrative on reunification that should simply be taught by teachers and completely memorised by students.

Such a historical genre type that does not give room for text critique or engagement of students' enquiry skills has implications on the historical knowledge type of the text. The explanatory genre of the text was made possible through the use of substantive concepts hence promoting substantive

knowledge type of history with regard to reunification. By making use of substantive knowledge, the text fails to promote critical historical thinking through historical procedures and supporting the explanatory genre type of the text. Therefore the type of reunification knowledge presented in the text is a sanitised master narrative that does not need critique. This substantive form of knowledge is adapted in the text through the use of different unique and organisational substantive concepts. As I have provided in Table 5.3, the unique concepts were used to present the kinds of individuals and actors in the reunification, the places where reunification activities occurred, the time frames attributed to reunification and the reunification activities proper. The overall observation with the unique concepts was that it portrays reunification through the actions of big men who are the ones highlighted in the text as being the driving force in the reunification process, a suggestion of an elitist historiography in terms of reunification that excludes the ordinary Cameroonian citizens. In Table 5.4, I have presented a list of organisational substantive concepts used in the text and explanations on the manner in which they have been used. The impression from the analysis of these concepts is that they merely enhance the substantive nature of the text as well as support the explanatory genre because the concepts are all linked to factorial and consequential explanations rather than multiperspectivity or other forms of historical enquiry. Even the nature of presentation of visual text supports the substantive form of knowledge. All the five images are presented with allusions to the verbal substantive content insinuating that their presence is either to illuminate the substantive content or to simply perform decorative functions.

In spite of the fact that the text takes a very overt stance on promoting substantive knowledge, the analysis also revealed the incidental or covert unintended use of second order concepts that reflect on procedural knowledge. Procedural concepts such as cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance were all analysed in relation to their implicit presence in the text. I also analysed the presence of multiperspectivity and found that the text does not give room for students to adopt other perspectives in understanding the narrative. Multiperspectivity is discouraged in the text through the textual silence on activities that could bring out the voices of the students as they engage with the text. Absence of multiperspectivity clarifies the texts' alignment to an explanatory genre and a substantive form of knowledge.

Based on the findings on the text historical genre and the type of knowledge that is promoted in the text, I was then able to analyse for different discourses that the text reveals or promotes.

Moreover, the discourses are interrelated and the discussions in this chapter have attempted to present them as such. The following discourses were found to be present in the narrative of the text.

Firstly, there is a discourse related to the nature of school history and reunification. Through the findings on the genre and knowledge types, I concluded that the Green Book presents school history as a one sided narrative or an agreed upon discourse that should be taught by all teachers and should be consumed by learners without questioning. The evidence for the claim that this kind of school history is being promoted in the text rests in the lack of overt procedural concepts of history within the text that would promote engagement with the text through enquiry and multiperspectivity. Rather the reunification is treated in the text through the use of substantive concepts in a genre that is highly explanatory and narrative. Also, school history as per this book is not a disciplinary discipline; it is rather a story of big and influential men written by big men in the form of academic historians. It is not a critical discipline and the contributions of ordinary people are not important. School history should serve national goals.

Secondly, the textbooks are vital resources for the realisation of the kind of school history explained above. Therefore the textbook as seen in the genre of the text and the knowledge type is not meant to be critical but rather to promote an agreed upon narrative on the reunification. These textbooks contribute to school history and reunification being taught as factual and memory discipline.

Thirdly, the nature of school history explained in the previous paragraph above is also linked to the discourse of a master narrative that is promoted in the text. The master narrative refers to the one sided story or message that the text attempts to send out. The main master narrative I found in the Green Book is that reunification was achieved through the actions of the big men. Men are used here not in direct reference to gender but as a generic term to refer to people. This is because only people with important societal status are portrayed in the text as having influence in the processes of reunification. They include politicians and traditional leaders and they are given substantial coverage in both verbal and visual text.

Fourthly, due to concern of not interfering with the master narrative which could in turn spell chaos in the schools, the text therefore chose to be silent on certain key reunification elements. Exclusion

therefore is one of the discourses from the text of the Green Book. The main reunification related discourse that is silenced in the text is the issue around the draft constitution that was handed over to Foncha by Ahidjo prior to the Bamenda conference. I submit that the silence over this issue in the text of the Green Book is purposive and by design rather than coincidental. This is because the literature that I have reviewed on reunification in chapters one and two highlight this reunification phenomenon clearly as one of the reunification controversies. Moreover, the literature further presents debates on different positions on the matter by leading scholars amongst whom is the author of the Green textbook implying that he is aware of the controversies around the topic and by dropping a veil of silence on it, he is possibly trying to comply with the national discourse on reunification.

Fifthly, there is a discourse of significance of people and events in the text seen through the element of foregrounding and backgrounding. Linking this discourse to those already mentioned above, it could be said that the master narrative of big men for instance is a foregrounded element within the text. Moreover, the aspects of reunification that the text is silent about such as the case cited above, can also be said to be backgrounded in the text. More particularly, there is evidence of backgrounding and foregrounding in the text when it comes to the representation of Ahidjo and Foncha together. The text in every such situation mentions Ahidjo before Foncha thereby claiming some sort of superiority of the former over the latter. Such a presentation of the leaders of the two territories coming into reunification is problematic because it gives credence to the post-colonial claims of a Francophone marginalisation of the Anglophones and a re-colonisation of the Anglophones this time by the Cameroon Francophones. These claims have been reviewed extensively as part of the literature for this study in chapter one.

Sixthly, there is also a discourse on male chauvinism in the text of the Green Book. This discourse speaks to not only the unequal representation of gender in the text, but also the agency that is associated with the male representation. The master narrative is about the activities of male actors. Male actors are also the foregrounded people in the text. All the major events leading up to the reunification expressed in the text are spear headed by powerful male figures. This is the same for the visual text which is almost exclusively made up of male characters. Therefore the text presents the male gender in a very powerful position from the perspective of them being the drivers on reunification. This could however be explained as the contextual trend of the time where men

dominated the traditional and political circle of society. It is therefore understandable that these domains were occupied by men who therefore by virtue of their positions found themselves driving the reunification agenda.

Lastly, there is the presence of an Anglophone nationalism discourse. This discourse was seen to emanate from the greater representation and agency of Anglophones (people, events and places) vis a vis the Francophones in the text and the presentation of the Anglophones as collective victims of reunification

This conclusion has highlighted major findings on the analysis of the representation of reunification in the verbal and visual text of the Green Book. In the next section, I present the findings from the analysis of the reunification in the text of the Red Book. The presentation for the Red Book follows the same marker as just concluded with the Green Book.

5.3 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE RED BOOK

The second book of the Anglophone category analysed in this chapter was the Red Book in light of its representation of reunification discourses. The same procedure of analysis was observed, that is the description of the historical genre, the nature of historical knowledge, and the discourses espoused. This was followed by a consolidation of the findings from the different sections of analysis in the book that took the form of a conclusion of the section.

5.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN THE RED BOOK

As with the analysis of the Green Book, the process of identification of the historical genre type in this book started with a description of the verbal and visual text. In this book, the content of reunification is captured in chapter ten running from page 215 up to page 233. The title of the chapter reads thus: “Independence and reunification of British Southern Cameroons” (p. 215). Even though the title of the chapter does not mention the situation in the Northern Cameroons, the narrative of events in that part of the British Cameroons is nonetheless evoked in the course of the chapter. It is my understanding that the implication of this is that as much as Northern Cameroons was not directly involved in the reunification arrangements and is not part of the Cameroon of today, the histories of the two territories especially in relation to the activities related to the build

up to reunification are so inextricably linked such that the one cannot be completely narrated without mentioning the activities and role played by the other. This is in spite of the fact that Northern Cameroons was lost to Nigeria as part of the independence and reunification process. However, the same cannot be said for French Cameroon whose illustrations in the text are highly passive. Reference to French Cameroon is only made in the text in situations where the actions of the British Cameroons had to cross paths with them as a pre requisite to achieving independence for the former and reunification for the two Cameroons. This implies therefore that the reunification notion in the Red Book is perceived as a largely Southern Cameroons' affair with other parties (British Northern Cameroons and French Cameroon for instance) only playing auxiliary roles for that achievement. Table 5.7 is a visual breakdown of the topics and sub topics of this chapter.

Table 5.7 Breakdown of topics and sub topics in chapter ten of the Red Book

Topics and sub topics		Page no
Topic	Factors that favoured reunification	215-218
Sub topics	Factors that favoured the reunification drive	215-218
	Attempts by Britain to discourage reunification	218-220
Topic	The British Northern Cameroons – 1922-1961	220-225
Sub topics	British administration of the Northern Cameroons	220-221
	The UN visiting missions	221-222
	Party-politics in Northern Cameroons	222-223
	British reaction to the results	223
	The 1961 plebiscite in Northern Cameroon	223-224
	The February 1961 plebiscite	224-225
	Some criticisms of the 1961 plebiscite in Northern Cameroons	225
Topic	The 1961 campaign in British Southern Cameroons	226-227
Sub topics	The CPNC strategy	226
	The KNDP strategy	226
	The intrigues of the KNDP	226-227
	The CPNC intrigues	227
	The plebiscite results	227
Topic	The road to the Foumban Conference and reunification	227-233
Sub topics	Interpretation of the KNDP victory	227-228
	The Bamenda Conference, 26 – 28 June 1961	228-229
	The Foumban Conference, 17 – 21 July 1961	230-232
	The Yaounde Tripartite Conference, August 1961	232-233

As has been summarised in Table 5.7 above, the verbal text of this chapter comprises four main topics with each topic further broken down in to sub topics. The content presented in the verbal text can be conveniently grouped in to three broad categories as follows: the politics in British Southern Cameroons leading to the plebiscite; the politics of British Northern Cameroons leading to the plebiscite; and finally the post plebiscite reunification negotiations between British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon. Within these categories is embedded the activities of other equally significant stake holders of the reunification drive such as the UN and Britain. What this description of the text immediately brings to light is the idea of the highly significant role of the plebiscite as a land mark event and turning point in the decolonisation politics of British Cameroons and the seed for reunification. As part of the reunification discourse, the plebiscite is shown to have determined the fate of British Northern Cameroons to integrate with Nigeria whilst sealing that of Southern Cameroons to reunify with French Cameroon.

The chapter does not make use of any visual material to support the verbal text. This implies that in terms of visual text, there is no description to report on. The Red Book therefore presents history in a very archaic manner that emphasises only ‘words’ that learners need to digest. However, due to the fact that in this study I considered ‘silence’ as an important discourse that constituted part of the analytical framing for this study, the silence on visual text was equally analysed and the findings and implications are presented in the relevant sections covering the historical genre type and discourses, the historical knowledge type and discourses, and other historical discourses in the text of Red Book.

Having fully described the verbal textual representation of reunification, the analysis then proceeded with an identification and examination of the historical genre(s) of the text and related discourses emanating from that genre type. Table 5.8 below presents a summary of the findings on the historical genre types of the verbal text in the Red Book.

Table 5.8 summary of historical genre types in the text of the Red Book

Historical genre type	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre
Historical sub-genre types	Factorial explanation
	Consequential explanation
Chronology	Implicate but clear chronological framework. Purposive chronological description of events

Narrative	Clear narrative text structure
Nature of participants and places	<p>Specific participants: E.J. Gibbons; Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe; Robert J.K Dibongue; Ndeh Ntumazah; Albert Mukong; EML Enderley; Foncha; J.H Beeley; B.G Smith; J. Dixon; N.N. Mbile; Montomy Woleta; Fon of Bali; Chief Dipoko; Chief Oben; L. Bonmoyong; F.N.M Ikome; J.L.M. Molombe; Ahidjo; A.N. Jua; S.T. Muna; Kemcha; Fon of Bafut; Fon of Bali; Fon of Mankon; Fon of Nso; Chief Kimbongsi; Chief Buh; Chief Oben; Chief Ebanja; Chief Dipoko; Mbinkar; Fontem; Tamfu; Kini; Kime; Carri; N.N Mbile; Motomby-Woleta; Rev Ando She; John Macpherson; Bamun Sultanate</p> <p>Generalised participants and places: Chief secretary to British Government in Lagos; Secretary of Northern province, Kaduna; Secretary of Eastern province, Enugu; British administration in Southern Cameroons; KUNC; KNDP; CPNC; Tikar chiefdoms; Balong people; Mbo people; Bakossi people; Nigerians; Ibos; Ijaws; Ibibios; British Cameroonians; supporters of reunification; UPC; British colonial authorities; French colonial authorities; Ewe; British Southern Cameroonians; French Cameroonians; Eastern Nigerians; National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC); One Kamerun (O.K); UN Trusteeship Council; Cameroons politicians; UN visiting mission to British Cameroons; Southern Cameroons politicians; British Government; Southern Cameroons legislators; Nigerian Government; ; Ejagham; Ekoi; Ekwe; CCC; CIP; KUP; Ibos; European settlers; House of Chiefs; Native Authorities; UN; Northern People’s Congress; NKDP; UN Trusteeship council Britain; France; Central African Republic; Gabon; Germany; Togoland; Congo; Nigeria; Mbo; Bakossi; Ibo; Ijaw; Ibibio; Ewe; Ejagham; Ekoi; Ekwe; Southern Cameroons; British Cameroon; French Cameroon; Nigeria; German Cameroon; United Kingdom; French Central African Republic; Germany; British Northern Cameroons; the Republic of Cameroon; Mamfe over side.</p>
Historical event description	UN visiting missions to Northern Cameroons (1949 and 1952); the 1959 and 1961 plebiscites in Northern Cameroons; The 1961 plebiscite in Southern Cameroons; the Bamenda conference (26-28 June 1961); the Fouban conference (17-21 July 1961); The Yaounde tripartite conference (August 1961). Clear narrative description of many events – abridged and summarised in list structure

Going by the template adopted for capturing and analysing the historical genre type for this study as seen in the Table 5.8 above, the text in the Red Book falls under the category of explaining historical genre. Within this category, the text could be seen to situate well within the factorial and consequential explanations historical sub-genre categories that are comprised of simplistic

narrative and descriptive causal and consequential explanations of the actions of certain historical actors, historical events, and places, all linked to the reunification of Cameroon.

From a very superficial level, this type of historical genre text that gives a lot of agency and voice to the author and publisher of the book depicts an attempt to present an authoritative history. That is a history that silences the role of the learners in historical construction by not giving them the opportunity to engage the content through multiple perspectives and sources. Pedagogically, it promotes a highly teacher centred approach of teaching about the past, in this case, the reunification of Cameroon. But what this historical genre type represents in terms of reunification, is a fallacious impression of reunification as being a neat and straight forward process characterised by simple narrative and descriptive explanations of causes and consequences about certain people, events and places. The following paragraphs present excerpts from the text that support the historical genre type explained in the previous paragraph. These evidences from the text are presented in accordance with the different categories in Table 5.8 being: the historical sub-genre types; the nature of chronology; the narrative type, the nature of participants and events, as well as the places. All these categories are analysed through the analytical tool adopted for this purpose in this study in order to evoke certain historical genre related discourses for the text of the Red Book.

As already mentioned, the text presents a purposively clear chronology of the reunification events even though this chronology is not explicit. It is very easy for the reader to pick up how one event is naturally preceded by another and logically is followed by the next. By beginning with the factors that favoured and discouraged the reunification drive in the British Cameroons, the author lays a foundation for the background to the plebiscite and reunification developments that will follow. The subsequent explanations of the plebiscite in Southern Cameroons and the reunification processes are simply presented as a follow up to the background already presented on the factors that favoured and discouraged reunification. The same is true for the situation in the Northern Cameroons where the author begins with a background of Northern Cameroons' politics from as far back as the mandate period of 1922 right up to the plebiscite of 1961. There is therefore a chronological foregrounding and backgrounding of historical events on the reunification in the text in a strict order of logical occurrence and as explained earlier, such chronological explanations of the historical events of the reunification support the text historical genre as being narrative, explanatory, and factorial.

In terms of the narrative type, the text is a clear narrative of the reunification events. My finding here is that this narrative is aimed at facilitating and supporting the idea of promoting a factorial explanation of the events. The evidence for this from the text is that all topics and sub topics constitute factors written in numbered or lettered format to explain and provide material content to the issue raised under the different topics and sub topics. The absence of visual text further illuminates this clear narrative structure in that such absence is seen as an attempt by the author to not present other non-verbal forms of text that could be interpreted differently from what is clearly written and explained in the verbal explanations. It is therefore a single narrative historical genre presented in a single verbal narrative format.

It is at the level of the presentation of participants that the text is somewhat nuanced. The finding here indicates a more inclusive level of participation of both individual participants and generalised participants towards the reunification process. The representation of participants shown in Table 5.8 can be further categorised as follows to portray the inclusive nature explained earlier.

Table 5.9 Presentation of specific participants in the text of the Red Book

Category	Participants
Southern Cameroons politicians	Robert J.K Dibongue; Ndeh Ntumazah; Albert Mukong; Dr. Enderley; Foncha; A.N. Jua; S.T. Muna; EML Enderley; N.N Mbile; Motomby-Woleta; Montomy Woleta; Ando She; N.N. Mbile; Rev Ando She; Mbinkar; Fontem; Tamfu; Kini; Kime; Carri.
Traditional authority	Bamun Sultanate; Fon of Bali; Chief Dipoko; Chief Oben; L. Bonmoyong; F.N.M Ikome; J.L.M. Molombe; Kemcha; Fon of Bafut; Fon of Bali; Fon of Mankon; Fon of Nso; Chief Kimbongsi; Chief Buh; Chief Ebanja; Chief Dipoko
British authority	E.J. Gibbons; Chief secretary to British Government in Lagos; John Macpherson; J.H Beeley; B.G Smith; J. Dixon
French Cameroon politicians	Ahidjo
Nigerian authority	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

The breakdown of the specific participants represented in the text as seen in Table 5.9 above is an indication of an attempt at portraying an inclusive nature of specific participant representation in the reunification process. It should also be noted that the analysis however indicates a heavy representation of Southern Cameroons' political representation as well as that of the traditional authority categories. Therefore, the essence of the explanatory narrative genre of the text of the Red Book is to portray an inclusive agency and multiple voices towards the reunification efforts.

An inclusion which comprises the representation of the British Cameroons’ politicians, the British Cameroons’ traditional leadership, a French Cameroon politician, and of other personalities from Nigeria and Britain. In spite of this inclusive effort, it was also seen that the explanatory narrative of the reunification depicted more representation of the Anglophone, specifically the Southern Cameroons’ authorities than those of the other places represented. This implies that within this inclusive narrative genre, the text still holds that the reunification was more of an Anglophone affair, orchestrated and managed by the Anglophone leadership for the Anglophone population of Cameroon than a general Cameroonian phenomenon.

This historical genre of inclusive participation is also seen at the level of the representation of generalised participants. Under this category, it was found that the text includes several generalised stake holders in its explanation of the reunification process. The list in this regard was further broken down into separate categories as follows and for ease of analysis.

Table 5.10 Presentation of generalised participants in the text of the Red Book

Categories	Participants
Southern Cameroons political parties	KUNC; KNDP; CPNC; UPC; NCNC; OK; CCC; CIP; KUP; NPC; NKDP
Allusions to other countries	Britain; France; Central African Republic; Gabon; Germany; Togoland; Congo; Nigeria
Representations of ethnic groups	Mbo; Bakossi; Ibo; Ijaw; Ibibio; Ewe; Ejagham; Ekoi; Ekwe
Allusions to International Organisations	UN
Allusions to Traditional authority	House of Chiefs

The breakdown on Table 5.10 above indicates a very inclusive representation of generalised participants in the reunification process as explained in the verbal text of this Red Book. The implication is that within this explanatory historical genre, the text in this book promotes an idea that the reunification process was achieved as a result of inclusive efforts from different specific individuals as well as of different generalised participants.

Also important to highlight in this historical genre analysis is the implication of the absence of visual text on reunification. Since visual texts are expected to support verbal texts and provide opportunities for engagement with the content through multiple perspectives, the absence of such

text in this book was seen as a means of promoting a historical genre that imposes the content on the learners without possibilities of them having a voice.

Moreover, the emphasis on traditional leaders and politicians as forerunners in the reunification narrative, be they from Anglophone or Francophone Cameroons or even from Britain or Nigeria, is an insinuation that the texts side line the efforts of the ordinary people in major historical developments and thereby views history as an elitist endeavour constituting the stories and actions of “Big Men” and recounted by “Big Men”.

Summarily, the text of the Red Book is situated within the explanatory historical genre category. It is characterised by mainly factorial and consequential explanations presented in narrative points and bullets format. The narrations and explanation of the text were seen as largely descriptive and void of opportunities for textual argument and/or interpretation. The text however was seen to adopt a more inclusive approach to the presentation of historical participants on the reunification process. The analysis revealed that both specific and generalised participants on reunification presented in the text were largely inclusive in nature. This position was taken to imply that reunification was obtained through the activities of several specific and generic actors that worked in their different capacities to achieve the master narrative explained in the text. However, within the inclusive efforts of the text, was the realisation that the Anglophone participants were foregrounded whilst those from Francophone Cameroon and other places were backgrounded or simply minimally represented thereby undermining their role and significance in the reunification process. It is with these findings on the historical genre type of the text that the analysis progressed to the identification of the historical knowledge types. The findings of the historical knowledge type are presented in the section that follows.

5.3.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE RED BOOK

The findings from the analysis of the Red Book reveal the use of the two forms of historical knowledge in substantive and procedural knowledge. The difference however lies in the manner in which these two forms of historical knowledge are used in the text. The text is very explicit in its use of the substantive historical knowledge through the substantive or first order concepts that are overtly applied. This is not the case with the procedural historical knowledge that is also used but on a very implied manner. In the sections that follow, I explain the nature of representations of both forms of historical knowledge in the text starting with the substantive historical knowledge.

It should be recalled that the list of specific participants and generalised participants in the text that I have provided in Tables 5.9 and 5.10 respectively as part of the historical genre structure, also constitute substantive concepts that make up the substantive historical knowledge structure of the text. However, for the purpose of analysing and explaining the nature of these substantive concepts, I had to break them down into categories of unique, thematic and organisational historical concepts. The breakdown is presented below and is followed by its implications for understanding the substantive historical knowledge presentation in the text. However I should state from the outset that the analysis of these historical substantive concepts reflected an exclusive absence of the thematic substantive concepts from the text leaving my focus of analysis on the unique and organisational concepts.

Historical substantive concepts extracted from the Red Book

- E.J. Gibbons; Chief secretary to British Government in Lagos; John Macpherson; J.H Beeley; B.G Smith; J. Dixon; Robert J.K Dibongue; Ndeh Ntumazah; Albert Mukong; Dr Enderley; Foncha; A.N. Jua; S.T. Muna; EML Enderley; N.N Mbile; Motomby-Woleta; Montomy Woleta; Ando She; N.N. Mbile; Rev Ando She; Mbinkar; Fontem; Tamfu; Kini; Kime; Carri; Bamun Sultanate; Fon of Bali; Chief Dipoko; Chief Oben; L. Bonmoyong; F.N.M Ikome; J.L.M. Molombe; Kemcha; Fon of Bafut; Fon of Bali; Fon of Mankon; Fon of Nso; Chief Kimbongsi; Chief Buh; Chief Ebanja; Chief Dipoko; Ahidjo; Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe; UN visiting missions to Northern Cameroons (1949 and 1952); the 1959 and 1961 plebiscites in Northern Cameroons; The 1961 plebiscite in Southern Cameroons; the Bamenda conference (26-28 June 1961); the Foumban conference (17-21 July 1961); The Yaounde tripartite conference (August 1961); Britain; France; Central African Republic; Gabon; Germany; Togoland; Congo; Nigeria; Mbo; Bakossi; Ibo; Ijaw; Ibibio; Ewe; Ejagham; Ekoi; Ekwe.

The above concepts constitute all the substantive historical concepts captured from the text of the Red Book. Table 5.11 below is a list of the unique substantive concepts captured from the list above and their further breakdown into unique people, events and places.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the Red Book

The table below is a reflection of the unique historical substantive concepts captured from the text under unique people; unique events; and unique places.

Table 5.11 Breakdown of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Red Book related to reunification

Unique People	Unique Events	Unique Places
E.J. Gibbons; Chief secretary to British Government in Lagos; John Macpherson; J.H Beeley; B.G Smith; J. Dixon; Robert J.K Dibongue; Ndeh Ntumazah; Albert Mukong; Dr. Enderley; Foncha; A.N. Jua; S.T. Muna; EML Enderley; N.N Mbile; Motomby-Woleta; Montomy Woleta; Ando She; N.N. Mbile; Rev Ando She; Mbinkar; Fontem; Tamfu; Kini; Kime; Carri; Bamun Sultanate; Fon of Bali; Chief Dipoko; Chief Oben; L. Bonmoyong; F.N.M Ikome; J.L.M. Molombe; Kemcha; Fon of Bafut; Fon of Bali; Fon of Mankon; Fon of Nso; Chief Kimbongsi; Chief Buh; Chief Ebanja; Chief Dipoko; Ahidjo; Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	UN visiting missions to Northern Cameroons (1949 and 1952); the 1959 and 1961 plebiscites in Northern Cameroons; The 1961 plebiscite in Southern Cameroons; the Bamenda conference (26-28 June 1961); the Foumban conference (17-21 July 1961); The Yaounde tripartite conference (August 1961)	Britain; France; Central African Republic; Gabon; Germany; Togoland; Congo; Nigeria Mbo; Bakossi; Ibo; Ijaw; Ibibio; Ewe; Ejagham; Ekoi; Ekwe.

The analysis reveals that the text makes great use of unique historical substantive concepts especially in the category of people. The unique people presented in the text fall under two main categories of active politicians and traditional rulers. The politicians are mainly from Southern Cameroons with two representing the colonial master, Britain. On the other hand, the traditional rulers represented all hail from the Southern Cameroons. The implications of foregrounding Anglophone Cameroon politicians and traditional rulers in the representation of unique people in this book are enormous. Firstly, the book wants history learners in Anglophone Cameroon to understand the reunification through the actions of their direct ancestors from Southern Cameroons. In this way, the historical knowledge type of the text is seen to be promoting Anglophone nationalism through reunification. Anglophone learners are therefore expected after reading this book to develop a sense of identity as Anglophone Cameroonians with a realisation that the reunification process was for them and about them. It is Anglophone knowledge for Anglophone learners from an Anglophone perspective by Anglophone authors. Such sentiments contribute to drive the Anglophone struggle in Cameroon and defeat any initiative by the government to portray a unified Cameroon by blurring the Anglo-French divide. Through promoting this form of historical knowledge, the textbook is therefore an active agent in shaping ideological inclinations in Cameroon within the context of post-colonial and post-reunification

crises. Secondly, the foregrounding of political and traditional elites from wherever is a factor implying that the Cameroonian ordinary people had no role to play in the reunification process. This form of historical knowledge is a promotion of elitism that deprives the history learners of the holistic peoples' contributions towards reunification. The situation is compounded by the narrative historical genre of the text that mean the learners are not provided any opportunities to question and challenge this form of historical knowledge presentation.

The above analysis is also true of the representation of unique events wherein, the events depicted are events that were all constituted by the elite class of Southern Cameroon (politicians and traditional rulers) such as the Bamenda, the Foumban and the Yaounde conferences, and to a less extent some French and British politicians. Therefore the events mentioned in the text have the same effect as has been explained with the analysis of the representation of unique people. However, at the level of the representation of places, there is seen to be more inclusivity with places spread across the country and even beyond. This is however not enough to claim inclusive historical knowledge as it was the people who drove the events and the nature of the events that really mattered and not the places where the events occurred – and it has already been seen that these people were Anglophone Cameroonian elites or big men.

Organisational historical substantive concepts

The overarching organisational concept applied in the text is reunification being the focus of this study. This concept is seen to run throughout the text in exploring the different substantive content covered under the subject. Moving forward, the text then employs several other historical substantive concepts of an organisational nature that are seen to align and complement the reunification theme/concept. These other organisational concepts are: unification; independence; conflicts; integration; partition; entity. The following excerpts from the text are examples of statements that employ such concepts:

In 1950, the British administration in Southern Cameroons was astonished with the calls for **unification** by the Kamerun United National Congress (p. 215)

Another exemplary statement is this one where the two concepts of reunification and unification are used in one statement in the form of antonyms:

The 1955 UN visiting mission realised that the population had become apolitical and there was no longer any demand for either **reunification** between British

Northern and Southern Cameroons with French Cameroon or **unification** between British Northern Cameroons and British Southern Cameroons (p. 222).

The importance of the latter excerpt is the role it plays in clarifying the difference between these two concepts of reunification and unification in the context of the reunification developments of Cameroon. Another realisation from the application of organisational concepts in the text of the Red Book is that these concepts are not used in isolation. They are intricately intertwined with the unique concepts in the sense that they are given meaning by the unique concepts of people, events and place used. It should be indicated that there are no signs of the use of substantive concepts of a thematic nature in the text.

Historical procedural concepts extracted from the Red Book

Unlike the historical substantive knowledge that is the main form of historical knowledge used in this text as seen through the elaborate and explicit use of first order concepts in the form of unique and organisational historical concepts, the case for the procedural historical knowledge is not very evident. The analysis of the procedural form of historical knowledge in the text of the Red Book reveals a very implicit and covert use of procedural or second order concepts. The following procedural concepts were therefore teased out from the narrative to form the implicit procedural historical knowledge hitherto explained.

- **Historical time**

This is one of the procedural forms of knowledge that is implicitly used in the text. The usage can be explained in two ways. First by the fact that reunification events and topics explored are presented in a logical timeline of occurrence though without explicitly stating so. From the beginning of the chapter, the reader is exposed to the background information on reunification in the form of “factors that encouraged the reunification drive” (pp. 215-218) and “attempts by Britain to discourage reunification” (pp. 218-220). This is followed by the political developments in the two sections of British Cameroons starting with the British Northern Cameroons (pp. 220-225) and then the British Southern Cameroons (pp. 226-232) leading up to the campaigns and the plebiscite including its outcomes for both territories. The narrative on the Southern Cameroons takes the discourse further into the post plebiscite reunification negotiations with French Cameroon (pp. 227-233) considering the outcome of the plebiscite for this side indicated such a desire for reunification. The point here is that even without explicitly mentioning it in the text, the

selection of these topics and sub topics and their presentation in the text thereof follow a systematic, logical and sequential historical time in terms of the occurrence of the events. The second element of the use of historical time in the text relates to the use of dates itself. In light of this, it can be seen that the text clearly makes use of dates to demonstrate a certain accuracy or time frame of certain events. The following examples from the text show this inclusion of dates:

In 1950, the British administration in Cameroon was astonished... (p. 215)

In November 1949, the United Nations visiting Mission visited northern Cameroons (p. 221)

In 1952, a second UN visiting Mission went to the Cameroons... (p. 222);

The plebiscite of 11 February 1961 of whether British Southern and Northern Cameroons should gain independence by joining either the republic of Cameroon or Nigeria took place at the same time in the two areas but the votes were counted separately (p. 227)

The Bamenda conference, 26-28 June 1961 (p. 228)

The Foumban conference, 17-21 July 1961 (p. 230)

The Yaoundé tripartite conference, August 1961 (p. 232)

These are excerpts of dates used in the text. However, their use is implicit in the sense that they are used in a disjointed manner in reference to very specific events and not in terms of the broader picture of the historical timelines on reunification.

- **Historical causation**

In terms of cause and effect, the text employs certain events whose manner of presentations implicitly portrays their causes and effects in the historical context and therefore portray a use of procedural knowledge and concepts in understanding the narrative around the reunification of Cameroon. The following excerpts exemplify this view:

the commissioner of British Cameroons in 1951, E.J. Gibbons sent a secret report to the Chief Secretary to the government in Lagos expressing his worry (p. 215)

The report clearly outlined the factors that favoured unification (p. 215)

He went further to suggest proposals which could hinder the movement for the unification of the Cameroons and which the British authorities should adopt (p. 215).

Within the text also lies the cause of such actions by the British administration even though that cause is not explicitly stipulated as such. As a background to these concerns, the text states that:

In 1950, the British administration in the Southern Cameroons was astonished with the calls for unification by the Kamerun United national Congress (p. 215).

It is therefore this astonishment that led to the measures cited above by the British administration to discourage unification. What this also tells us implicitly is that the British administration as a trusteeship supervisory authority for Cameroon had a visible interest in the political future of the territory in the sense that they were against the attempt of reunification by their territory with the territory of French Cameroon and rather supported integration with Nigeria. More evidence in the text that supports this British agenda is found in the following examples:

To make sure that the results of the plebiscite reflected British aspirations, the British proposed the following to the UN trusteeship council (p. 223).

It was an indication that the British had failed to improve upon the political social and economic backwardness of Northern Cameroons. This worked against their support for integration with Northern Nigeria (p. 223).

The implicit effects in this case are that certain measures were then actually adopted by the British in an attempt at discouraging the idea of reunification. These measures are outlined in the text on pages 218 to 220 and clearly headlined as such.

Another use of causation in the text is the implicit explanation of the causes and effects of the February 1961 elections in Northern British Cameroons and the outcome of the vote in favour of integration with Nigeria. The text highlights that prior to the plebiscite, certain reforms were carried out in the territory that empowered the native authority in their respective divisions and...

...gave the natives the conception that the reforms were aimed at separating them from Nigeria and that they would be administered as a British trusteeship for an indefinite time (p. 224).

The point the text is raising here is that the outcome of the vote did not reflect the true aspirations of the people as they voted on flawed assumptions. It further states that...

...some of them voted for this option thinking that the 1960 local administrative reforms had separated them from northern Nigeria (p. 224).

This is the text's version of the cause of the particular outcome of the 1961 plebiscite in Northern Cameroons that is implicitly given within the narrative. A similar trend of causal explanation is seen in the outcome of the plebiscite for Southern Cameroons that went in favour of the reunification option. Here the text states that:

Some people complained that they voted for reunification thinking that it was secession as advocated by the KUP, CCC and the CIP. Others thought that reunification meant a long lasting alliance between states and not a political union. They were thinking of something even less than a true confederation and more like a commonwealth (pp. 227-228).

The insinuation here is the same that the causes for the outcomes of the plebiscite for both Northern and Southern Cameroons were due to deceitful and/or flawed understandings of the plebiscite implications. These causes are however not explicitly stated in the text but can be extracted through careful analysis of the presentation of the narrative. For both cases, the effect is that the plebiscite outcome determined the political futures of both trust territories of British Cameroons, the former becoming "an integral part of Nigeria"(p. 225) while the latter "was internationally recognised as having decided to reunite the Republic of Cameroon" (p. 228).

- **Historical significance**

Certain events used in the text are construed as being historically significant as per Partington's criteria for assessing historical significance of events of the past. Two events in the text can be mentioned in this regard: the Milner-Simon agreement of 1919 [that] finalised the Anglo-French partition of former German Kamerun (p. 220) and the February 1916 plebiscites in Northern and Southern British Cameroons. Both examples contain elements of importance, profundity, quantity, durability and relevance expounded by Partington and exposed implicitly in the verbal textual narrative of reunification. For the first example, the text states that "the adoption of a boundary between the two zones ... gave Britain a disjointed area" (p. 220). The importance and relevance of this partition is that the British then made a decision to "regard the northern portion of British Cameroons as an extension of the Nigerian frontier and as a natural part of the Fulani-dominated Northern Nigeria" (p. 220). This form of British administration that resulted from the manner of partition had the effect of disassociating the people of Northern Cameroons from their counterparts in Southern Cameroons while creating strong ties between Northern Cameroons and Northern Nigeria. This will eventually play out in the outcome of the plebiscite where Northern Cameroons

would vote in favour of integration with Nigeria and officially leave Southern Cameroons with whom they had shared common political entity during the German colonial era. The profundity of the event is that Northern Cameroons since then is forever lost as part of the Cameroon narrative while the quantity of lives affected include all the entire population of Northern Cameroons but also Southern and French Cameroons who believed they had lost part of their own and the reason why it is mentioned that:

The Republic of Cameroon protested against the results and accused the British government of both rigging the elections and condoning election malpractice (p. 225).

The major significance of the second example on the plebiscites is that it directly influenced the political destinies of both Northern and Southern Cameroons. While Northern Cameroons became “an integral part of Nigeria” (p. 225) Southern Cameroons on the other hand “was internationally recognised as having decided to reunite [with] the Republic of Cameroon” (p. 228). It is interesting to note that these were people who had constituted a single nation for three decades under German colonial rule (1884-1916).

- **Change and continuity**

Also implicit in the text as part of the procedural knowledge is the use of the second order concepts of historical change and continuity. Many of the events represented in the text are shown to depict change in a historical sense even though this change is not explicitly mentioned in the text. The analysis of this concept revealed a link between the concept of historical causation in the sense that causes and effects of the events presented constitute change in itself. The most significant being the 1961 plebiscite in Northern Cameroons which constituted a change in the political landscape of that territory as they became an integral part of Nigeria going forward while the same can be said for Southern Cameroons whose change involved the reunification with British Cameroons. Both plebiscite decisions and their implementations thereof have continued over time and reflect the status quo of post-colonial Cameroon and Nigeria.

Conclusively for the analysis of the historical knowledge for the Red Book, it was realised that the text adopts a purely substantive form of historical knowledge. This kind of knowledge was dominated by the presence of unique people who were all seen to be politicians and traditional rulers for Southern Cameroon origin. The analysis uncovered that the reason for this was to

encourage Anglophone nationalism in the context of reunification rather than seeing the reunification as a holistic Cameroon phenomenon. In the process of doing so, the text largely backgrounded and even silenced the voice and contributions of the ordinary Cameroonians from other sections of the Cameroon divide thereby promoting a view of history as knowledge of big men. The largely and explicitly substantive knowledge promoted by the text means rote learning of history is encouraged. This kind of historical knowledge aligns with the situated narrative and explanatory genre of the text whereby learners are not provided opportunities to engage the content through critical enquiry and multiperspectivity. What is true is therefore what is in the book and learners can only memorise then as facts, the purpose for which is not to give learners a kind of historical knowledge that will require them to develop and use skills that would be detrimental to the master narrative the text seeks to promote. From here, the analysis proceeded to the discussion of the historical discourses that the historical genre status as well as the historical knowledge type of the text evokes.

5.3.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE RED BOOK

Having established the historical genre and knowledge types of the text in the preceding sections, the section that follows discusses the findings on the historical discourses that emanate from the text. These discourses were taken from the analysis of the genre and knowledge types but also the general narrative of reunification in the text together with the discursive postcolonial theoretical frame adopted. The following discourses were revealed from the analysis of the text.

- **Nature of School history and reunification as per the Red Book**

Judging by the analysis of the Red Book, it is seen that school history is not a disciplinary discipline. It is not intended to empower critical learners who can engage with the content through different sources and multiperspective thinking. School history is therefore supposed to produce learners who are obedient to the status quo of a single narrative promoted in the content of the book. The evidence of this is in the narrative and explanatory genre of the text as well as in the substantive form of historical knowledge on which the text of the Red Book grounds its historical knowledge. School history in Cameroon is also supposed to encourage learners to master the actions of influential people of the past and celebrate those actions as a way of creating and maintaining a national identity around them. This is seen in the manner in which the book

represents the big men in the form of politicians and traditional elites as forerunners of the reunification process and the silencing in the text of the contributions of the ordinary people. The analysis therefore concluded that school history in Cameroon is a discipline of facts about big men, written by big men of today and about big men of the past and learners are entitled to memorise these actions in a way that will not taint the single master narrative and jeopardise peace in the schools and in the nation as a whole. School history in this case is factual and sanitised rather than a record of messy accounts of the past that need weaving together from different sources with different perspective and outcomes.

- **Discourse of textbooks and school history as per the Red Book**

In line with the nature of school history and reunification explained above is the connection with the discourse on history textbooks in Cameroon seen through the lens of the Red Book. Since school history is about a single narrative and an avoidance of critical enquiry skills promotion, it means the history textbook is the avenue through which this form of school history is dispensed. Therefore the textbooks dictated the kind of school history that should be dispensed as it is a significant way through which learners learn the history of the reunification. The history textbook is therefore meant to unite students around single agreed upon facts and truths on the reunification. Through backgrounding, foregrounding, silencing, and topicalising some historical people and events over others as well as the application of other forms of intertextuality, the Red textbook is seen as operating beyond a pedagogic agenda to promoting the political and ideological initiative of the elitist authors and publishers for their own interest and for the government.

- **Conspicuous British agenda or interest and agency**

One of the discourses emerging from the analysis of the verbal text is that of a conspicuous British agenda or interest in the reunification developments and a glaring agency to promote that agenda. Several instances in the text make reference to the idea that the British authorities took several actions under the guise of discouraging any reunification attempt between the British Cameroons and French Cameroon. They preferred a political solution to the question of the future of their trust territory in Cameroon to come in the form of integration with Nigeria. The following excerpts from the text support this position:

He [the commissioner of the British Cameroons] went further to suggest proposals which could hinder the movement for the unification of the Cameroons and which the British authorities should adopt (p. 215)

In an endeavour to ease their administration, the British never hesitated to depose tyrannical Fulani rulers who opposed the British policy of integrating Northern Cameroons with northern Nigeria (p. 220)

The Habib-Enderley agreement did not materialise because the British colonial authorities reacted swiftly by either coaxing or intimidating those who pro reunificationists (p. 222)

The reforms were aimed at making the electorate much more willing to support the British goal of promoting the integration of the Northern Cameroons with northern Nigeria (p. 224).

The excerpts cited above point to the fact that the British did not only have an agenda of any discouraging reunification attempts, they also had sufficient agency to promote that agenda. This is especially evident in the second quotation where it is mentioned that the British would go the extra mile to depose traditional rulers who opposed their integration agenda. This also insinuates that such deposed rulers were then replaced by puppet rulers whom the British were able to manipulate to their advantage.

From a postcolonial perspective, the actions of the British reflect on the dynamics of imperial colonisation whereby the interest of the colonial master superseded every other interest including those of the colonised people themselves. In order to promote these interests, the colonial powers employed different strategies: hard handed strategies such as outright military actions or more subtle ones such as intimidation. This also speaks to and supports the idea of Orientalism which originated from colonial interests and agency. In this case we see the Orient in the form of the different colonial territories of Cameroons (British Northern and Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon) as contested terrain for the luxury of the Occident being Britain. It is arguable that interest by the British over a particular political future for the Cameroons was in order to create an enabling environment for the perpetration of colonial tendencies in the post-colonial era implying that the British were prepared to promote 'flag independence' while ensuring that their influence would be continuously felt in their former colonial territory.

- **Discourse of exclusion**

Certain reunification events are evidently overlooked in the presentation of the reunification narrative in this text. Very significantly is the same event that I highlighted in the findings from the Green Book, which is on the draft constitution that was purportedly handed over to Foncha in Buea by Ahidjo but which Foncha was accused of hiding and not showing to his delegation when they met at the Bamenda preparatory conference for Foumban. This is an issue that I have reviewed extensively in chapter one as part of the literature for this study. The curious and ironical element in this silence is the fact that the author of this book in the person of Victor Julius Ngo is also the author of the accusations on Foncha in the matter of the alleged hidden constitution in which he even accused Foncha of having received bribes from the Ahidjo government. The texts' silence on this crucial element begs the question on why would an author that believes so much in a certain position on a controversial issue around the reunification process not include it in his textbook for that purpose? This silence has all the hallmarks of the manipulative form of silence that is characterised by deception, intentionality and advantage (Huckin, 2002). It is manipulative because the author is aware of the debates around the theme as is an active voice in this debate but yet chooses not to invoke it in a textbook narrative on the topic. This implies a purposive intention to deceive the readership by keeping them away from controversial reunification discourses thereby manipulating their understanding of the circumstances around reunification. This also reflects the challenges of the hybrid nature of post-colonial historiography in which authorship of historical narratives in fear of being accused of subalternism, tend to mask pertinent historical yet controversial narratives so as to present a sanitised narrative.

- **Elitist historiography and male chauvinism**

Linked to the postcolonial idea of subaltern, the nature of school history on reunification, the nature of the textbook, and the notion of representative exclusion or silence is that the text seemingly presents reunification from an elitist lens. As Table 5.2 demonstrates, all the events and personalities presented in the reunification narrative have highly elitist connotations. These include: the British colonial authority, the UN, the politicians of the Cameroons (British and French) and Nigeria, the other leaders of the different political parties, and the traditional authority. These persons are presented as the forerunners of the political developments in the territory and major stake holders for or against the reunification process. The subaltern of Cameroon is not given a voice in the reunification text of the Red Book and is therefore shown as unimportant in the reunification of Cameroon. Their unimportance is also highlighted through the kind of platform

that the text uses to describe the activities of these ‘important’ personalities. Platforms used in the text such as UN general assembly, the parliaments or legislatures, and conferences (e.g. the Bamenda, Foumban and Yaounde Conferences) are platforms that do not identify with activities of subaltern but elitism. Through this kind of representation, the author and the textbook could be seen as post-colonial and not postcolonial for failing to capture the historical actions and activities of the subaltern in the representation of reunification. Linked to this discourse was also the realisation that all the elite characters in the text with influential roles on the reunification are of the male gender. There is therefore an attempt at portraying the male gender as more significant and important in history than the female. The insinuation is that women had no active role worth documenting in so far as the reunification is concerned. This is a patriarchal tendency and a promotion of male chauvinism

- **Western hegemonic influence discourse**

There is also a discourse of Western hegemonic influence prevailing in the text. The tone in the text of the Red Book and the authorial gaze suggests that the colonial forces of the West yielded sufficient influence over the activities in the territory and had a shielded determination to impact the political future of the territory towards a pre conceived end. The case of a British conspicuous agenda and agency has been highlighted already. But there is also the significant influence of the UN that is presented in the text as often siding and supporting the interest of the British instead of playing its supposed role as a neutral player. The statement that follows supports this claim:

The UN accepted the British proposal despite their one-sided approach. For instance, by asking that the plebiscite be held between November 1960 and March 1961, the northern Cameroons voters who had just voted in mid-1960 for candidates to run the administrative divisions which were to be created in 1960 following the anticipated local administrative reforms had to vote again in February 1961 for the political future of their territory (p. 225).

The above excerpt intimates a British shady interest in the outcome of the plebiscite in the British Northern Cameroons that disfavoured reunification. But more to that British interest is the unrestricted and unchecked support of the UN in the process thereby giving a projected malicious British intent a covert UN mandate. In a postcolonial sense, this UN support demonstrates the solidarity of the Occident in their actions with the Orient dubbed Orientalism.

5.3.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE RED BOOK

The first finding from the Red Book is that the text falls within a purely explanatory historical genre category, void of possibilities for argumentation and interpretation. The text is largely narrative and descriptive and characterised by explanations that are factorial and consequential in nature. This is in addition to the fact that the text is wholly comprised of verbal material with a complete absence of visual text. The nature of presentation of the narrative text is done in very simplistic bullet, list and numbered format which supports and strengthens the argument of its focus on factorial and consequential explanations. Such genre type was seen as an attempt to promote factual historiography on the reunification with the implication that it denies the learner of opportunities for engaging critically with the text and various historical possibilities. The content must be accepted as the truth without contestation. It is therefore intended for memorisation rather than disciplinary discipline.

The domino effect of the nature of historical genre type in the text is that it implies a concentration on substantive knowledge of history at the expense of the procedural knowledge. This second finding means the text makes explicit and elaborate usage of first order concepts in its factorial and consequential narrative of the activities around reunification such as the actions of the main protagonists, the use of historical events and places. In employing substantive concepts, the text makes use of specific and generalised participants but also unique and organisation concepts and does so in a purposively narrative and clear chronological frame to avoid nuancing the representation. By foregrounding influential people such as traditional rulers and politicians in the text and giving them agency, there is an effort to expose the learners to knowledge on the reunification that is centred on the actions of these big men.

However, in spite of this clear and explicit substantive knowledge focus of the text, the findings also uncovered certain elements of procedural historical knowledge implicitly embedded within the narrative. The following procedural knowledge types were uncovered in the text: the idea of historical time; historical causation; historical significance; and change and continuity. Without being explicitly expressed, these procedural concepts were seen to contribute in a covert manner to advancing the understanding of the reunification narrative in the text of the Red Book. But because their usage is not identified and clearly spelled out, I take it that the intention of the author was not to highlight their importance but rather to simply advance the factual information through

substantive knowledge. It was found that the text follows a clear chronology of events that is supported with the use of relevant dates. Even though these dates and time are not directly linked to the broader picture on reunification, it is still easy to implicitly pick out that the events follow each other in a systematic manner as they occurred. In terms of causation, the style of the textual narrative in the light of factorial and consequential explanations implies causes and effects of the different events and activities that are captured in the text. Moreover, using Partington's idea of historical significance, certain events were seen to be represented as being more highly significant than others in the process of reunification. Analysed in terms of importance, profundity, quantity, durability and relevance, the Milner-Simon agreement to partition former German Kamerun and the February 1961 were the two historical moments presented in the text as highly historically significant. Furthermore there was evidence of the second order historical concept of change and continuity. The one example used to demonstrate this concept is the 1961 plebiscite in British Cameroons whose outcome served as a statement of intent for British Southern Cameroons to reunify with French Cameroon and for the Northern Cameroons to integrate with Nigeria with the termination of the British trusteeship over the territory. The implementation of the statement of intent through political negotiations overseen by the UN changed the political future of these territories and took their destinies in different directions. The fact that this situation has survived post-colonial turbulences makes it very relevant as an example to describe the covert use of the concept of change and continuity in the text. Conclusively, the knowledge type of the text was analysed as highly substantive but with the implicit use of some second order procedural concepts.

Certain discourses emerged from the analyses that were seen in the light of postcolonial theory. Firstly I discussed the discourse of the nature of school history and reunification. This discourse was analysed through the implications of the narrative genre type of the text and the substantive knowledge form to mean that school history is not meant to be critical but to promote certain single master narratives on for example, big men. Linked to this discourse, was another one on the nature of history textbooks seen through the lens of the representation of reunification in the Red Book. Accordingly, it was seen that school textbooks are not critical resources that promote learner enquiry skills but encourage learners to memorise an accepted content as facts and truth.

Another discourse expressed in the analysis was that of a conspicuous British agenda or interest and agency. The interest was clearly seen through their efforts to discourage reunification and

rather encourage integration for their territory with Nigeria. From a postcolonial perspective, such interest falls in line with the idea that the colonial authorities worked to secure a political future for their colonies that will not interfere with their ambitions in those territories even after the territory gained political independence. Therefore the best interest for the British was a form of independence for their trust territory by integration with their own former colony of Nigeria rather than the former French colony of French Cameroon.

Another finding in terms of discourse is exclusion. This had to do with the silencing of certain important reunification related developments from the text in relation to reviewed literature. The main narrative considered to be purposively silenced from the text is the aspect of a draft constitution that was purportedly given to Foncha as leader of the Southern Cameroons government which he was later accused of not sharing with his delegation when they met at the Bamenda preparatory conference for reunification talks with their French counterparts. The interesting revelation with this silence is the author of this Red Book is the propagator of these claims in literature. His pushing forwards a scholarly debate using evidence whilst simultaneously shielding the information from the school pupils through the textbooks qualifies the silence as manipulative. This also speaks to the nature of subalternism where the elites who have taken over from the colonial masters now determine the historical narrative to achieve their own agendas

A presentation of elitist historiography was another discursive finding from the text. This is seen in terms of the presentation of actors with high status such as politicians, traditional authority as well as different places such as the UN assembly, the legislatures, and the different conferences. Otherwise known as “Big Men”, these elites are presented at the expense of the ordinary citizens who are therefore denied textual and historical space in the reunification narrative. Therefore the text gives no voice to the subaltern. This discourse was linked to the idea of male chauvinism in the sense that the elites presented in the text and given the agency in the reunification process are all male. Women are therefore side-lined as if they played no part in the entire process.

In this section, I presented findings from the analysis of reunification in the Red Book in the same manner and format as with the presentation for the Green Book. I continued the analysis with the last Anglophone textbook which is the Blue Book. The section that follows is a presentation of the findings from the analysis of the third and last Anglophone book for this study – the Blue Book.

5.4 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF THE BLUE BOOK

The last book analysed for the Anglophone category of textbooks is the Blue Book. Again the process involved in the analysis is the same as the other books already analysed and presented in the previous sections.

5.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK

This section begins with a description of the presentation of the verbal and visual text in the Blue Book as prelude to the identification of the historical genre type of the text.

The reunification content in this book is captured as a sub topic in chapter eighteen. The title of the chapter is: “The growth of nationalism in British Southern Cameroons (1945-1961)” (p. 183) and it is a chapter that runs from pages 183-224. However, the chapter covers many other topics that are not directly linked to reunification as the focus of this study. Hence the analysis centred on the section of the chapter that concerned the reunification of Cameroon. The section in question runs from pages 202 up to page 213 and has as main topic: “the plebiscite and reunification – 1961” (p. 202). It is therefore a relatively shorter coverage of reunification in comparison to the other books analysed for this study. Table 5.12 below shows a breakdown of the different topics and sub topics covered under the reunification section of the chapter.

Table 5.12 Table showing breakdown of topics and sub topics of the reunification section in the Blue Book

Topics and sub topics		Page number
Main Topic	The plebiscite and reunification – 1961	202-213
Topic	Factors that led to the holding of a plebiscite in Southern Cameroons	202-203
Topic	The plebiscite, 11 February 1961	203-206
Topic	Reunification and the Federal Constitution	206-210
Sub topics	The Bamenda All Party Conference – June 1961	206-207
	The Fouban Constitutional Conference, July 1961	207-209
	The Yaounde Tripartite Conference - August 1961	210
	Reunification , 1 October, 1961	210
Topic	Advocates of reunification	211-212
Topic	Anti-reunificationists	212-213

Topic	Why the reunificationists won the plebiscite	213
--------------	--	-----

The eleven pages that make up this section are divided further in to six equally short topics as shown on Table 5.12 above. The first topic merely lists the factors which prompted the holding of a plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons. A total of ten factors are advanced in this topic. The second topic discusses the dynamics surrounding the plebiscite. It reflects on the state of the Southern Cameroons’ government prior to the plebiscite, the campaigns leading up to the plebiscite, the plebiscite questions and qualifications of voters, the results of the plebiscite and reactions of different stake holders, and finally the role of the UN in the plebiscite. The next topic explains the reunification constitutional arrangements brought about as a result of the outcome of the plebiscite in favour of reunification for Southern Cameroons. These arrangements are depicted in the form of three conferences: the Bamenda All Party Conference; the Foumban Constitutional Conference and the Yaounde Tripartite Conference culminating in the reunification per se. The first conference is shown as a uniting of the Southern Cameroons politicians and traditional authority to discuss constitutional proposals in view of a meeting with their Francophone counterparts for a deliberation on the constitution. The text clearly enumerates the constitutional proposals that resulted from this conference. The second conference relates to the meeting of the joint delegations from Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon to discuss a constitution for their reunion. The text divides the activities of this second conference in to the following themes: Why the conference? Delegates; The deliberations and decisions; why was a federal system adopted? Why did Southern Cameroons’ delegation fail in Foumban?

The narrative text covering this second conference is supported by two visual images. The first image captioned as “The Foumban constitutional conference” (p. 207), shows the cross section of the delegates at the plenary in a deliberation mode. The following words are seen inscribed on the image and I presume are words written on the wall of the conference venue. – *How nice it is to meet our brothers!* And the French words of *Vive le Cameroun unifié* that I translate loosely as long live a united Cameroon.



Figure 5.6 The Foumban Constitutional Conference

The second image in the text still speaks to the Foumban Conference and contains the caption: “Ahmadou Ahidjo and Foncha, at the Foumban Conference” (p. 209).



Figure 5.7 Ahmadou Ahidjo and Foncha at the Foumban Conference

The image in Figure 5.7 above shows the leaders of both Francophone and Anglophone delegations standing side by side in what appears to be a protocol observing moment of probably respecting the guard of honour. These two images were analysed further together with the verbal text and findings are presented in the later stages of this chapter section. The third conference as presented in this Blue Book is seen to “complete the work of Foumban and determine some other details” (p. 210). These other details are then presented in a five point accomplished agenda for the conference clearly stated as follows:

- Definition or consideration of federal services such as customs, police, public works, meteorology, civil aviation, post and telecommunications, security, transport, stamp duty.
- The problem of civil servants in the trust territory were solved
- The problem of those serving in the Nigerian army and police was transferred
- The problem of currency – the pound sterling – the Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA) was adopted from 2 April 1962
- The introduction of the national gendarmerie (p. 210)

Therefore the Yaounde Tripartite Conference could be seen as a continuation of the reunification negotiations between the two delegations that started at Foumban but also as a meeting to drop the curtains on these negotiations. However, the presence of a British delegation at this conference is also noted hence the “tripartite” nomenclature. The text then ends the narrative on the reunification arrangements with a final and very short section of four lines that explain the official proclamation of independence for Southern Cameroons through reunifications with French Cameroon on 1st October 1961 and the official handing over of the sovereignty of the Southern Cameroons by the British authorities to Ahidjo in his capacity as president of the reunified Cameroon. This last development representing the reunification negotiations is supported by a visual text as shown below:



Figure 5.8 Handing over of Southern Cameroons, 30 September 1961

Even though the image in Figure 5.8 is blurred and it is difficult to make out the participants, information from the verbal text was used to identify three major parties that is the President

Ahidjo of French Cameroon, Prime Minister Foncha of Southern Cameroons, and British officials in charge of the handing over of sovereignty. I should note that in order to avoid duplication of texts, these images are simply referred to in the rest of this presentation where necessary. The next three topics are presented under a broad caption of: “brief notes on reunification” (p. 211) implying a summary of all the reunification developments discussed in the text. This is done in the form of presentation of factors categorised under three themes: ten factors for representing the theme “advocates of reunification” (p. 211); five factors for the theme “anti-reunificationists” (p. 212); and lastly nine factors explaining “why the reunificationists won the plebiscite” (p. 213).

Continuing from the description of the text above, the analysis then progressed to the intertextual components of the text to identify the historical genre type(s) and the historical discourses espoused through those genres. Table 5.13 below provides a summary of the historical genre structure of the text.

Table 5.13 Summary of historical genre types in the text of the Blue Book

Historical genre type	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre
Historical sub-genre types	Factorial explanation
	Consequential explanation
Chronology	Purposive chronology with sequenced events description
Narrative	Absence of narrative text structure
Nature of participants and places	Specific participants: Foncha, J.M Boja, Enderley, Mbile, Ahidjo, Jua, Muna, Nkemcha, Fon of Bali, Fon of Bafut, Fon of Mankon, Fon of Nso, Fon Achirimbi, Chief Kimbongsi, Chief Buh, Chief Oben, Chief Ebanja, Chief Dipoko, Mbinka, Fontem, Tamfu, Kome, Carr, Motomby-Woleta, Rev. Ando-Seh, Albert Mukong, Bernard Fonlong, R.J.K. Dibongue, S.A. George, P.M. Kale, Alexandre Manga Bell, King Rudolf Manga Bell, Leonard Bouly, Felix Moumie, Um Nyobe, Ernest Ouandie, Albert Kingue, Takala Celestine,
	Generalised participants and places: Southern Cameroons political elite, Nigerian political class, Political leaders, Traditional rulers, KNDP, UN, KNC, KPP, CPNC, UPC, KUNC, CFU, CNF, KUP, Southern Cameroons state, French Cameroon, House of chiefs, Native authorities, Bamenda Improvement Union, Bangwa native Authority, National Union of Kamerun Students, Ibos Southern Cameroons, UN, Britain, London, Nkambe North, Nkambe East, Nkambe Central, Nkambe South, Wum North, Wum Central, Wum east, Wum west, Nso, Ndop, Bafut, Ngemba, Menemo, Ngie-nguo, Bali Nyonga, Moghamo, Mamfe West, Mamfe North, Mamfe South, Mamfe East, Kumba

	North East, Kumba North West, Kumba South East, Kumba South West, Victoria South West, Victoria South east, Victoria North West, Victoria North east, Bamenda, Fouban, Yaounde.
Event description	World war II, UN visiting mission to Southern Cameroons in 1949, Mamfe conference of August 1959, London Conference of November 1960, 11 February 1961 plebiscite, Bamenda All party Conference – June 1961, Fouban Constitutional Conference – July 1961, Yaoundé Tripartite Conference – August 1961, British transfer of Southern Cameroons sovereignty – 1 October 1961 Clear description of many events – abridged, summarised and bulleted for ease reference on turning points

As shown in Table 5.13, the text falls under the category of Explaining historical genre. The text is exclusively explanatory rather than argumentative or interpretation implying there are no attempts to provide other forms of explanations such as argumentations and interpretations. Within this explanatory historical genre, the text is further situated in the category of factorial and consequential historical explanations. The text presents two forms of factorial and consequential explanations: those that are explicitly explained through the topics or topic sentences, and those that are embedded within the text. The explicit factorial explanations are evident from the topics and topic sentences that precede the explanations. This implies that an analysis of topicalisation of the text was necessary in this case in exposing the historical genre positioning of the text of this book. The following topics and topic sentences as used in the text are by their nature reflective of explicit factorial historical explanations: “factors that led to the holding of a plebiscite in Southern Cameroons” (p. 202); why the [Fouban] Conference? (p. 207); why was a federal system of government adopted? (p. 209); why Southern Cameroons’ delegation failed at Fouban? (p. 209); advocates for reunification (p. 211); why the reunificationists won the plebiscite (p. 213). The above excerpts are explicitly articulated factorial historical explanations on reunification evident from the topics that introduce their explanations. What follow those topics are just the factors or explanations justifying and supporting the topic(s). Embedded in these topics is a single master narrative pinning the reunification to particular ‘big events’ such as the plebiscite and the Fouban conference, side-lining and backgrounding in the process other equally relevant events that contributed to the reunification outcome. This master narrative is given authority through this historical genre choice of presenting the content as strict factors rather than possibilities requiring learner engagement. It is also important to highlight the notion that through the topical choices of the text, the idea that the Southern Cameroons delegation failed at Fouban is exposed hence the

texts' efforts to provide reasons for the failure. This enhances the position reviewed in the literature that the post-colonial Anglo-French crisis in Cameroon has its roots in the failures of the 1961 reunification negotiations. However, not all the factorial explanations are explicitly expressed. Some of the explanations are embedded within the textual narratives that support those topics. The following examples were analysed as implicit textual factorial explanations:

By 1961 there was no consensus as to the political future of Southern Cameroons because the politicians were deeply divided and opposed to each other (p. 203).

This example explains the factor that led to the lack of political consensus for the political future of Southern Cameroons. The consequence for this lack of political consensus is explained as follows:

...for this reason the future of the territory could only be determined by a plebiscite... (p. 203)

Another example of an implicit textual factorial explanation lies in this statement that:

In June 1961 Foncha organised an All Party Conference to discuss the territory's constitutional proposals before they left for Foumban to meet the Government of the Republic of Cameroon for constitutional talks (p. 206).

Here the explanation is on the reasons for the summoning of a conference in Bamenda prior to the constitutional conference of Foumban. Still in line with the textual evidence of this historical factorial explanatory genre, the following two excerpts illustrate consequential explanations:

Some rejoiced their victory while others looked for ways of reverting the results. The CPNC discontented with the results suggested that the results should be considered on ethnic lines and that the ethnic groups that voted in favour of either Nigeria or Cameroon should be allowed to take their choice. A delegation was sent to the UNO with representatives of major ethnic groups that supported the party to foster this opinion. (p. 205)

Trusteeship would end over southern Cameroons and the union between the two sectors of Cameroon came into being (p. 205).

The consequential explanation in the former example above speaks to the actions taken by a particular group as a consequence of the 'unfavourable' outcome of the plebiscite. Meanwhile the latter example is linked to the former in the context of the outcome of the plebiscite whereby explanation is on the implication of the plebiscite results for the future of the Southern Cameroons.

The examples quoted above support the largely factorial and consequential explanatory historical genre of the text. Not only does this genre make for easy reading, it also denies the reader the opportunity to interact with the text through exposition or a multi sided perspective. The explanations of the other elements of historical genre types analysed and expressed in Table 5.12 are all part of the broader genre category of explanatory historical genre and the sub category of factorial and consequential explanations that I have indicated in the previous paragraphs. I add clarity to them in the paragraphs that follow.

The findings on the historical genre type in terms of chronology indicate that the text employs a purposive chronology with sequenced events description. There is a deliberate sequencing of the events in terms of their occurrence and such time sequencing is clearly identified in the different events explained. The dates attached to the different topics covered in the text are evidence to this systematic time sequencing as follows: The plebiscite and reunification – 1961; the plebiscite, 11 February 1961; The Bamenda All Party Conference – June 1961; The Foumban Constitutional Conference – July 1961; The Yaounde Tripartite Conference – August 1961; Reunification, 1 October 1961. The listing and coverage of these topics in terms of foregrounding some and backgrounding others is seen as starting from the earliest to the latest and presented in a chronological order of their occurrence. This gives the text an orderly presentation and allows for a less complex understanding of the historical facts expressed about reunification. But more importantly, this orderly chronological presentation supports the procedural historical genre of change and continue in history which states that historical developments created changes in the past (positive and/or negative) that then continued in different ways over time and space.

With regard to narration, the analysis found out that the text is scarcely narrative in structure. With the exception of very few portions, almost the entire text on reunification as in the rest of the Blue Book is exclusively expressed in point form justifying the different factorial and consequential explanations. As I have mentioned earlier this form of presentation makes for very simplistic reading by avoiding textual noise. This absence of narration was also seen to have a bearing on the description of the events in the text. In this light the analysis found out that many events are described clearly though in abridged, summarised and bulleted format for ease of reference on turning points. Most crucial is the view that such an historical genre of points and bullet narration of the text promotes a kind of history that is overtly factual with the intention that its recipients

receive it as it is intended and not challenged. This historical genre type has implications on the form of historical knowledge that the Blue Book encourages as will be explored under the section provided for that purpose in this chapter.

Finally, the presentation of participants in this historical explanatory genre reveals the presence of specific and generalised participants. The specific participants referring to personalities whose contributions impacted in one way or the other to the reunification development presented. In this regard, a further breakdown of the specific participants revealed the following categories as shown in Table 5.14

Table 5.14 Presentation of specific participants in the text of the Blue Book

Category	Participants
Southern Cameroons political elite	Foncha, J.M Boja, Enderley, Mbile, Jua, Muna, Nkemcha, Mbinka, Fontem, Tamfu, Kome, Carr, Motomby-Woleta, Albert Mukong, Bernard Fonlong, R.J.K. Dibongue, S.A. George, P.M. Kale
Southern Cameroons traditional authority	Fon of Bali, Fon of Bafut, Fon of Mankon, Fon of Nso, Fon Achirimbi, Chief Kimbongsi, Chief Buh, Chief Oben, Chief Ebanja, Chief Dipoko
Southern Cameroons religious authority	Rev. Ando-Seh
French Cameroon political elite	Ahidjo, Alexandre Manga Bell, King Rudolf Manga Bell, Leonard Bouly, Felix Moumie, Um Nyobe, Ernest Ouandie, Albert Kingue, Takala Celestine

This breakdown in Table 5.14 reveals that in terms of specific participants, the reunification activities were largely dominated by the elite class from Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon. Whilst this elite class from Southern Cameroon is more diverse and inclusive such as with the representation of political elites, traditional elites and religious elites, that from the French is exclusively political in nature. However, this elitist representation of reunification participants has several implications for the historical genre of this text: firstly, by side-lining the efforts of ordinary Cameroonians, the gaze of the text is in favour of the promotion of a “Big men” ideology of history that gives voice and agency only to influential people in society and creates a subaltern group that it then side-lines. This means that the readers of this book are expected to celebrate the achievements of these people as their heroes. Secondly, the effort by the text to include a considerable representation of elites from French Cameroon could be seen as an indication to

encourage a Cameroonian history around reunification as opposed to a Southern Cameroonian view. This effort could also be analysed in terms of efforts by the text at promoting national unity and social integration through the reunification. The above claims made from the analysis of the verbal text are also corroborated by the visual text that not only presents all three images as representing Anglophone and Francophone authorities, but also ensured that none of those images represented the subalterns' voice. In fact, Figure 5.6 of Southern Cameroons' politicians and traditional leaders together with French Cameroon's politicians and Figure 5.7 showing the leaders of the two Cameroons are all supportive of the verbal representation of specific and generalised participants as highly dominated by Cameroonian political elites and traditional authorities in an inclusive manner. I equally noted here the fact that though Britain is frequently mentioned in the text, its presence is limited to generic representation with no British official mentioned as an individual. Another breakdown was done for the other category of generalised participants and revealed the following categories as presented in Table 5.15 below:

Table 5.15 Presentation of generalised participants in text of Blue Book

Category	Participants
Southern Cameroons political parties	KNDP, KNC, KPP, CPNC, UPC, KUNC, CFU, CNF, KUP
Other allusions to Southern Cameroons	Southern Cameroons state, Southern Cameroons political elite, House of chiefs, Native authorities, Bamenda Improvement Union, Bangwa native Authority, National Union of Kamerun Students, Traditional rulers
Allusions to French Cameroon	French Cameroon
Allusions to Nigeria	Nigerian political class, Ibos
International Organisations	UN
Allusion to Trusteeship supervisory authority	Britain

The breakdown of the generalised participants on Table 5.15 reflects a similar pattern to that of the specific participants explained earlier. The first trend is that of active representation of political parties which could be taken to align with the actions of the political elites mentioned under the specific participants. The category of "other allusions to Southern Cameroons" also highlights native authorities and house of chiefs that align with the actions of the different specific Fons and Chiefs mentioned as part of the analysis of the specific participants. The text shows a limited presentation of forces outside of Cameroon in the reunification developments giving the feeling

that Southern Cameroons' political, traditional and to a less extent their religious institutions were the masterminds behind the reunification of Cameroon in collaboration with considerably French Cameroon support. This claim is supported by the choice of visual texts used. Out of the three visuals only one captured in this report as Figure 5.8, shows a non-Cameroonian participant. In fact that particular image shows British representatives only in the context of the handing over of sovereignty and not necessarily to demonstrate their role.

Conclusively for the historical genre type of this book, it could be said that the book promotes a highly explanatory and narrative type of historical genre on reunification. In the presentation of this type of historical genre, the nature of the representation of specific and generalised participants reveals efforts to provide an inclusive Anglo-French Cameroon agency towards reunification but also in the process there is a promotion of elitism and classism in the sense that the voice of the Cameroonian subaltern is largely silenced in the reunification process. With this genre identification, the analysis for this book progressed to the manner in which it presents historical knowledge on reunification.

5.4.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK

Having established the historical genre type of the book, the next task was to identify the types of historical knowledge. Based on the analysis, it was seen that the text makes use of both substantive and procedural types of historical knowledge. However, the difference in the usage of these two lies in the fact that the substantive historical knowledge is explicit while the procedural knowledge is implicit in the text. In the sections that follow, I present findings on the use of historical substantive and procedural knowledge forms in the text.

Historical substantive concepts extracted from the Blue Book

- Foncha, J.M Boja, Enderley, Mbile, Ahidjo, Jua, Muna, Nkemcha, Fon of Bali, Fon of Bafut, Fon of Mankon, Fon of Nso, Fon Achirimbi, Chief Kimbongsi, Chief Buh, Chief Oben, Chief Ebanja, Chief Dipoko, Mbinka, Fontem, Tamfu, Kome, Carr, Motomby-Woleta, Rev. Ando-Seh, Albert Mukong, Bernard Fonlong, R.J.K. Dibongue, S.A. George, P.M. Kale, Alexandre Manga Bell, King Rudolf Manga Bell, Leonard Bouly, Felix

Moumie, Um Nyobe, Ernest Ouandie, Albert Kingue, Takala Celestine, World war II, UN visiting mission to Southern Cameroons in 1949, Mamfe conference of August 1959, London Conference of November 1960, 11 February 1961 plebiscite, Bamenda All party Conference – June 1961, Foumban Constitutional Conference – July 1961, Yaoundé Tripartite Conference – August 1961, British transfer of Southern Cameroons sovereignty – 1 October 1961, Southern Cameroons, UN, London, Nkambe North, Nkambe East, Nkambe Central, Nkambe South, Wum North, Wum Central, Wum east, Wum west, Nso, Ndop, Bafut, Ngemba, Menemo, Ngie-nguo, Bali Nyonga, Moghamo, Mamfe West, Mamfe North, Mamfe South, Mamfe East, Kumba North East, Kumba North West, Kumba South East, Kumba South West, Victoria South West, Victoria South east, Victoria North West, Victoria North east, Bamenda, Foumban, Yaounde.

As I have already mentioned, the text makes overt and explicit use of the substantive form of historical knowledge. This is evident in terms of the manner in which first order concepts are used. By virtue of its narrative and explanatory historical genre type, the text promotes a substantive form of historical knowledge through a presentation of overt historical facts and substance of reunification in the form of representation of people, events, and places. This nature of presentation alludes to two kinds of historical substantive knowledge forms used: the unique substantive concepts and the organisational substantive concepts. The unique concepts refer to the use of specific names of people, events and places whilst the organisational refer to the representation of different historical phenomena grouped in to periods. There is no mention of concepts which transcend time and serve to collect ideas which could be used in different historical context, such as in thematic substantive concepts.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Blue Book

Below is a tabulation of unique historical substantive concepts used in the text in the different categories of people, events and places.

Table 5.16 Breakdown of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of the Blue Book related to reunification.

Unique People	Unique Events	Unique Places
Foncha, J.M Boja, Enderley, Mbile, Ahidjo, Jua, Muna,	World war II, UN visiting mission to Southern	Southern Cameroons, UN, London, Nkambe North,

<p>Nkemcha, Fon of Bali, Fon of Bafut, Fon of Mankon, Fon of Nso, Fon Achirimbi, Chief Kimbongsi, Chief Buh, Chief Oben, Chief Ebanja, Chief Dipoko, Mbinka, Fontem, Tamfu, Kome, Carr, Motomby-Woleta, Rev. Ando-Seh, Albert Mukong, Bernard Fonlong, R.J.K. Dibongue, S.A. George, P.M. Kale, Alexandre Manga Bell, King Rudolf Manga Bell, Leonard Bouly, Felix Moumie, Um Nyobe, Ernest Ouandie, Albert Kingue, Takala Celestine,</p>	<p>Cameroons in 1949, Mamfe conference of August 1959, London Conference of November 1960, 11 February 1961 plebiscite, Bamenda All party Conference – June 1961, Fouban Constitutional Conference – July 1961, Yaoundé Tripartite Conference – August 1961, British transfer of Southern Cameroons sovereignty – 1 October 1961</p>	<p>Nkambe East, Nkambe Central, Nkambe South, Wum North, Wum Central, Wum east, Wum west, Nso, Ndop, Bafut, Ngemba, Menemo, Ngie-nguo, Bali Nyonga, Moghamo, Mamfe West, Mamfe North, Mamfe South, Mamfe East, Kumba North East, Kumba North West, Kumba South East, Kumba South West, Victoria South West, Victoria South east, Victoria North West, Victoria North east, Bamenda, Fouban, Yaounde,</p>
---	--	--

The table presented above represents the use of unique substantive concepts as used in the text. The quantity of usage of these concepts in the different categories of people, events and places reinforce the nature of the book as promoting an explanatory and narrative or factual genre of historical knowledge on reunification. An analysis of the unique people mentioned in the text reveals a representation of people in the following categories: politicians from Southern Cameroons; traditional rulers from Southern Cameroons; religious authority from Southern Cameroons; and politicians from French Cameroon. The representation of people from Francophone Cameroon almost equalled that of Anglophone Cameroon in the text especially in the sub category of political actors. There is therefore a shared and balanced Anglo-French Cameroon agency in the actions that led to reunification. With this inclusive kind of representation, the authorial gaze of the text was seen as an attempt to portray the legacy of reunification as belonging to all Cameroonians and not to a particular section of the country. Such knowledge would then contribute to promote a ‘one Cameroon’ agenda as a form of mitigating the post-colonial and post reunification controversies and tensions in the country. Through studying this book therefore, learners are expected to identify themselves more with a single Cameroon narrative which is part of efforts to achieve societal inclusion and harmony especially between the Anglophone and Francophone populations. The overriding message in this is that it is Cameroonian leaders who fought for and achieved reunification and not leaders from a particular

section of Cameroon. Such a message could then be used as a springboard for the celebration of Cameroon unity and mask societal differences on reunification.

Apart from that, the representation of people also exposes a high penchant towards the view that the reunification was achieved thanks to the efforts of certain influential people. This is because politicians, traditional rulers and religious rulers all constitute the elite class of society. By portraying the reunification as solely the effort of this category of people, the text is undermining the efforts and contributions of the ordinary men and women in advancing the course of history, in this case, reunification of Cameroon. The silencing of their voices is allusion to the subaltern notion of postcolonialism wherein the elite class in a post-colonial society create domineering conditions over their fellow citizens with the aim of maintaining their status and privileges. The historical knowledge therefore from this perspective is that reunification was achieved through the actions of Cameroonian big men who are supposed to be celebrated as symbols of the nation.

These claims made on the representation of unique people are also true for the events and places mentioned in the text. The diversity of the events around reunification and the places that these events occurred around the territories of Southern and French Cameroons, as well as in the UN and London, are all attempts at portraying this inclusive aspect of reunification and a knowledge that the efforts were holistic in terms of the people who anchored the process (elites) as well as the events and places themselves.

The second form of historical substantive concepts was identified as the organisational concepts. A description on the nature of the organisational substantive concepts used in the text is presented below.

Organisational historical substantive concepts used in the text of the Blue Book

The explanatory and narrative presentation of the text also implied the use of certain substantive concepts of an organisational nature. The overarching concept in this category used in the text is definitely reunification which as the focus of this study as well as the chapter under consideration, is seen to run throughout the text. However, in the course of the explanation of events around reunification, other similar concepts are highlighted and emphasised. These latter concepts could therefore be said to add value to the broad concept of reunification. The following are organisational concepts employed in the text: plebiscite; independence; self-determination;

elections; opposition; campaigns; constitutional arrangements; citizenship; legislature; Federal republic; unification; pressure groups; political parties; autonomy; Quasi region. The following excerpts are examples of the use of these organisational concepts within the text. “For this reason the future of the territory could only be determined by a plebiscite” (p. 203). In this example the concept plebiscite is used to illustrate the only option in determining the political future for Southern Cameroons. The next concept identified is nationalism in the statement “the growth of the spirit of nationalism after World War II” (p. 202). This statement is used to help advance the explanation on the surge of political activities after WWII that culminated in reunification. Other organisational substantive concepts used in the text can be found in the following extracts: “a majority of Afro-Asian members of the UN opposed the independence of a small Southern Cameroons’ state” (p. 203); there was an iota of hope however when Foncha won the 1959 elections by 14:12 seats” (p. 203); “the two parties consequently entered the elections or plebiscite on very high gear” (p. 203); “by late 1960 the campaign had started” (p. 203); “Also, the acquisition of the Quasi region gave him hope of greater regional autonomy within Nigeria’ (p. 212); “for example, in 1948/49 he was in favour of unification and even sponsored conferences of political parties from both territories” (p. 212). I should highlight that these concepts are used in several aspects of the text even though I chose just one extract to explain their presence. Moreover, the concepts are not used in isolation. Rather I realised that their usage is intertwined to the extent that their meanings support each other in understanding the reunification explanations and also to give more meaning to the unique substantive concepts used.

Historical procedural concepts extracted from the Blue Book

Unlike the substantive knowledge that is very visible in the text and clearly used as means to promote the explanatory and narrative historical genre, the case for the application of procedural concepts is different. In fact the procedural knowledge in the text involved the implicit use of certain second order concepts. This mean the texts’ promotion of procedural knowledge is not a result of its purposive use as with the substantive knowledge, but rather through a critical study of its implied usage within the textual narrative. The analysis therefore revealed the following implicit procedural concepts that promote a procedural understanding of reunification in the text.

- **Historical causation**

This refers to elements of cause and effect. Even though the text in the course of explaining the reunification developments does not explicitly cite causes and effects of certain events; these concepts were visible through the analysis of the text. The following examples support this claim of the implied usage of this concept. The very first topic states ‘factors that led to the holding of a plebiscite in Southern Cameroons’ (p. 202) and is followed by a list of ten corresponding factors. The interpretation of these factors presented could therefore be seen as the causes for the holding of the plebiscite while conversely, the holding of the plebiscite could be seen as the effects of the ten factors listed in the text. The fact that this is all done without the mention of the terms causes or effects, justifies their implicit use in the text. Still within the discourse of the plebiscite, the following example could be seen as stating the effects of it:

The results were forwarded to the United Nations and having considered them, the General Assembly through resolution No. 1601 (xv) of 21 April 1961 fixed October 1, as the date on which U.N. Trusteeship would end over Southern Cameroons and the union of the two sectors of Cameroon came into being (p. 205).

This is definitely seen as a direct effect of the outcome of the plebiscite. Either way the plebiscite results went, certain actions had to be taken to ensure its implementation. In this case the effects were steps to end the Trusteeship followed by measures to implement reunification. Even the next line that states that “Foncha and Ahidjo had to set the agenda through constitutional arrangements” (p. 205) is also an introduction to a meeting between these two political leaders of French and Southern Cameroons in view of reunification as an effect of the plebiscite outcome.

Another element of causation relates to the topic “why Southern Cameroons’ delegation failed in Foumban” (p. 209). The text provides eight bulleted points justifying the assertion. In this regard, the claim itself that Southern Cameroons’ delegation failed in Foumban is an effect of the causes of the failure provided in the bulleted points. Moreover, different sections of the text also provide information viewed as causation in terms of the failure hitherto mentioned. For instance it is stated that:

There were no serious deliberations as the Southern Cameroons delegation had prepared itself. Rather, Ahidjo tabled the Republic of Cameroon constitutional draft, said to have been sent to Foncha before the Bamenda Conference but was not circulated to Southern Cameroonians. They spent three days studying that draft while Ahidjo and his delegation idled and waited outside the conference hall (p. 208).

In the case above, the cause of the failure of the Southern Cameroons' delegation is attributed to them being unprepared for the deliberations on the basis of allegations that Foncha had failed to present to his peers a draft constitution earlier presented to him by Ahidjo. The effect was definitely the Southern Cameroons' failure at the conference and a lack of serious deliberations hence the idling of the Ahidjo delegation in the course of the proceedings.

- **Historical time**

The procedural concept of historical time was also visible within the text. Unlike the other procedural concepts that are implicitly used, the concept of time used in the text is not all together implicit. The text demonstrates a visible use of time sometimes in a very overt manner but also in a systematic and chronological manner. The importance of this concept in the text is seen in a reminder under the topic of *Reunification and the Federal Constitution* that says; "in studying the above, it is important to know the time and duration of the conference" (P. 206) thereby placing value on time as a worthy factor in understanding the development of historical phenomena. Further to this is also the fact that the different topics in the text as shown on Table 5.6 have dates allocated them to give a clear picture of a historical timeline picture of the events. Lastly, that these events and dates are not presented haphazardly but rather in a chronological order of occurrence also demonstrates the texts' stance of time as important in historical understanding.

- **Change and continuity**

Some instances of the application of the procedural concept of change and continuity were seen in the text. The most pronounced element of this concept is linked to the plebiscite in Southern Cameroons. The change that resulted from the outcome of this plebiscite is profound. The text states that after the conclusion of the plebiscite:

The results were forwarded to the United Nations and having considered them, the General Assembly through resolution No. 1601 (xv) of 21 April 1961 fixed October 1, as the date on which U.N. Trusteeship would end over Southern Cameroons and the union of the two sectors of Cameroon came into being (p. 205).

This implies that the outcome of the plebiscite had the effect of changing the political situation of Cameroon beginning with an end to the British Trusteeship and followed by the implementation of reunification. It is this political solution that resulted from the outcome of the plebiscite that is still the prevailing status quo of the Cameroonian nation today. Therefore the plebiscite created

change and that change has continued ever since providing a greater understanding of the present state of the country. Other aspects of the concept used in the text include “the growth of the spirit of nationalism after World War II” (p. 202) which made many individuals and pressure groups to want self-determination for the territory. This is presented as a turning point in the sense that the war created a nationalist environment that resulted in moves towards decolonisation of the continent. The change in Southern Cameroons came in the form of improved political representations and initiatives that the text presents in the form of pressure groups, political parties and elections, resulting in independence and reunification.

In a conclusive note for the representation of historical knowledge in the text of the Blue Book, it could be said the text of this book adopts a form of historical knowledge that is highly and explicitly substantive as seen through the presence of many and varied first order concepts. However, as has been seen in the previous section, some aspects of procedural knowledge were evident in the text albeit not purposively used. The manner in which the substantive knowledge was employed in the text was analysed to reveal an effort by the text to promote a historical knowledge that shows inclusion. This was evident in the balanced representation of people from both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons in the actions that led to reunification. This was seen as an attempt to use the textbook and school history as a tool for the promotion of a unified and one Cameroon ideology for the sake of societal harmony and social cohesion. In the process of doing the aforementioned, the text was also seen to promote an elitist and chauvinist form of historical knowledge by silencing the voices of the ordinary Cameroonians, a process also referred to in postcolonial terms as internal colonisation.

5.4.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF THE BLUE BOOK

As in the Green and Red Books, at this stage I present the historical discourses on reunification that emerged from the analysis of the Blue Book using the same logic as with the other books already analysed.

- **Nature of school history and reunification as per the Blue Book**

Just as I have done with the other books, I start by unpacking the discourse which speaks to the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon from the perspective of the Blue Book. From the explanation of the historical genre type which was seen as explanatory and narrative, it

was already clear that the purpose of school history in this book is not to achieve critical thinking and to make students produce different narratives on the topic. This claim was made even more obvious with the establishment of the substantive knowledge focus of the text at the expense of methodological and procedural ways of studying history. Just like the other books therefore, this book shows that school history in Cameroon is meant to expose learners to a single historical narrative that they are then expected to simply memorise. This narrative is carefully designed by the author of the book with a pre conceived agenda. Amongst the narratives in this book is the idea of history being a story about big and influential or powerful people of the past. In this book, this idea is seen through the dominant manner in which unique concepts of people are presented. Ordinary people are totally silenced in the representation. Moreover, with a seeming agenda to achieve societal harmony, the book also endeavours to present a balanced representation of people from Francophone and Anglophone origins. This is agenda is intended at portraying the reunification as a national legacy that should be cherished and celebrated by all Cameroonians because of the efforts of Cameroonians from both sides of the divide. Such a narrative will therefore undermine the claim that reunification was initiated and carried out by Anglophones only and is therefore an Anglophone issue in Cameroon. The fact that the knowledge type of the book is such that opportunities for multiple views are not presented means learners are simply expected to take these narratives as they are and that is what school history as per the book is meant to be for.

- **Discourse of textbooks and school history**

The nature of school history explained above has implications on the nature of textbooks too. Just as we have seen with the earlier books, the analysis of this book also indicates that textbooks in Cameroon are not neutral resources for transmission of historical knowledge. Rather the textbooks are loaded with pre conceived narratives aimed at defining a certain kind of citizen ship through using the books for studying history. This is evident in the narrative and explanatory genre type of the book and the substantive historical knowledge type. The textbook is therefrom not meant to be critical but to be read as uncontested and as incontestable facts and truths about the past.

- **Colonial hegemony**

By colonial hegemony here I am referring to the power, agency and influence that the text wields on colonial powers and their exertion of such powers. Within the context of the analysis of this

text, colonial powers refer to the UN and Britain being the Trusteeship supervisory power over British Southern Cameroons. In relation to the UN, it can be seen in the text of the Blue Book that the body is highly involved in all major and minor developments linked to reunification as cited in the following excerpts: “majority of Afro-Asian members of the UN opposed the independence of a small Southern Cameroons’ state” (p. 203). Here the UN through a block in its membership is portrayed as being an obstacle to the possibility of Southern Cameroons achieving its independence as a sovereign state. The next statement is:

The UN officials, British government officials, the political parties all criss-crossed the territory to either explain the rules of the game or to convince the illiterate electorate (p. 203).

In this other example the UN is mentioned in the same respect with other stake holders of the plebiscite in serious political reunification related activities. To top this all up, the text specifically foregrounds through enumeration, the role of the UN in the plebiscite in seven numbered points on page 206 as follows:

1. By resolution 1354 xiv of October 1959 it approved the two questions
2. It fixed the date of the plebiscite and qualification of the electorate
3. It strictly supervised the elections by being involved with the registration process and general conduct of the plebiscite
4. It proclaimed the results
5. And fixed October 1 as the date on which the trusteeship agreement was to end
6. It provided voting materials, transport facilities, etc.
7. It ensured peace and security

The above points reflect the verbatim verbal textual representation of the role of the UN before, during and after the plebiscite. All seven points allude to the power and influence of the UN in determining the political future of the Southern Cameroons. Presented as an honest broker, the UN’s role in this case could also be seen in a postcolonial lens to reflect the broader power and influence that the colonial masters wielded in dictating the terms of reference for decolonisation. The wind of decolonisation came as a result of nationalist efforts through pressure groups and political parties. But as can be seen here, the colonial masters did not just give in to decolonisation efforts. Rather they ensured that their role in decolonisation was also very influential so as to create postcolonial conditions that still favoured them.

- **The Anglophone problem**

Another discourse that emerged from the analysis of the text is an exposition to what has come to be known in Cameroon as the Anglophone problem. The Anglophone problem refers to the purported marginalisation of the former Southern British Cameroonians within the reunified Cameroon by their majority Francophone counterparts. The text explains this problem as being rooted in the limitations of the Southern Cameroons' delegation during the reunification negotiations that made them emerge from the negotiations not as equal partners. By clearly providing a topic captioned "why Southern Cameroons' delegation failed in Fouban" (p. 209), the text is already acknowledging that the conference that was meant to discuss the constitution of the union went in favour of the Francophone Cameroon delegation. Even more glaring are the factors listed under the topic stated above. The factors clearly show a lacklustre Southern Cameroons' delegation and a conference that was far from being a negotiation or deliberation. At the end as presented, it was clear that Southern Cameroons had achieved a very bad deal and had therefore without knowing it, sold their sovereignty to the Francophone Cameroon. This will be the background of the post-colonial Anglophone problem in Cameroon. Notable amongst the factors presented in the text to support this view are the claims that "there was more feasting and merry-making than real business" and that "Foncha's delegation spent 3 days reading Ahidjo's draft constitution" (p. 209). Both excerpts explain the lack of deliberation and a limitation of the Southern Cameroons' delegation.

- **Negative representation of Foncha**

This book presents a very negative picture of Foncha as the leader of the Southern Cameroons going in to the reunification. Being the leader of the Southern Cameroons, the negative attributes given Foncha in the text directly or indirectly gives him responsibility for the poor reunification arrangements cited in the previous paragraph and therefore makes him the source of the post-colonial Anglophone problems in Cameroon. The following examples from the text depict this negative representation of Foncha:

Rather, Ahidjo tabled the Republic of Cameroon constitutional draft, said to have been sent to Foncha before the Bamenda conference, but was not circulated to Southern Cameroonians (p. 208).

The fact that Foncha did not present the draft constitution for discussion at the Bamenda consultative conference was one of the greatest reasons for failure at Fouban (p. 209).

The two excerpts cited above gives Foncha a very negative connotation and links him directly to the failures of the Southern Cameroons in their negotiations with French Cameroon by stressing the point of him having received an earlier constitution from Ahidjo but had not bothered to share with his peers. An even more damaging remark on Foncha is presented in the statement that “it was probably due to greed, fear or suspicion of the opposition parties” (p. 208) that reunification related meetings subsequent to the Fouban Conference were held without the presence of the Southern Cameroons’ opposition. The implication here is a sense that Foncha was arrogant, greedy and power hungry. His inability to use the opposition constructively deprived him of their much needed input that resulted in the bad reunification deal.

It should be noted that this is the only book of the three analysed that clearly articulates the controversial issue of the draft constitution that was purportedly given Foncha by Ahidjo. The other two books are silent on the issue even though it is evident from the literature reviewed that their authors are well aware of the discourse. From this perspective, it could be implied that the Blue Book attempts to portray a bias free reunification narrative.

- **Elitist and chauvinist historiography**

It was also found that the text promotes a clear elitist version of reunification. This finding was a result of the analysis of the unique substantive concepts and the specific and generalised participants in the reunification developments. Both categories of participants are of the elite class and portrayed as very active players in the entire process. For instance, the major players mentioned in the text are politicians and traditional rulers. There is no mention of the role of ordinary citizens and their influence in the reunification process. Apart from the kind of participants chosen, there are also the places of the events. The text shows that most of the important events were held in major cities and towns such as in New York, Bamenda, Fouban, Yaounde, which were all places of elitist status and not in rural areas where the ordinary citizens reside. The backgrounding or silencing of ordinary citizens through an under-representation of participants or persons falling within that category and the choice of presentation of places for events represents a form of internal colonisation or a marginalisation of the subaltern in post-colonial Cameroon by denying it a voice. This is a postcolonial dilemma in the text where on the one hand there is that attempt of presenting factual and biased free account as seen for example with the Foncha discourse, and on the other hand there is the presentation of a history that is not

inclusive in its representation of all stake holders of reunification. This view is also supported by the visual text. The three visuals seen in Figures 5.4, 5.4, and 5.6 are all reflective of elite personalities in action.

- **Exclusion on Northern British Cameroons**

Normally, the histories of British Northern and Southern Cameroons are inextricably linked such that one cannot be explained in its entirety without the mentioning of the other. This has been seen in the Green and Red Books. However, the exception is true with this Blue Book in that the Northern Cameroons is not mentioned at all in the narration of reunification events. They were not part of reunification arrangements because the outcome of the plebiscite for them went in favour of integration with Nigeria as opposed to reunification. Nonetheless, by virtue of the fact that they both had the same trusteeship supervisor in the name of Britain, and that the two sectors both went into the same plebiscite with the same questions to determine their political future, one would expect a section of the text at least to cover the Northern Cameroons in relation to pre reunification activities such as the plebiscite or other political developments. The absence of such representations was read as the text promoting nationalist historiography by focusing on events and developments that have a direct bearing on the reunification only.

5.4.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN THE BLUE BOOK

In this section, I present a synthesis of the main findings that arose from the analysis of the text on reunification from the Blue Book. The intention here is not to repeat all the findings discussed in the text but rather to bring them together in a more abstract manner so as to present a clear list of findings that could be useful for the Anglo-French textbooks' comparative analysis later.

The first finding in terms of genre is that the text is written in a factorial and consequential explanatory genre category. This historical genre promotes common sense understanding of reunification that is for the effect presented in factual, numbered and bulleted explanations.

The historical genre type has implications for the form of historical knowledge used in the text. A factorial and consequential explanatory genre is most likely to promote substantive knowledge. The text was seen to promote a substantive knowledge of history through a presentation of reunification in the form of facts and other first order concepts. The substantive knowledge was analysed in terms of unique and organisational concepts, with the absence of substantive concepts

in the thematic category. The unique concepts revealed the names of individual persons used in the text. These persons were seen to be of the categories of politicians and traditional elites therefore raising the point that these people were the role players in reunification. The unique concepts were also considered in terms of the places mentioned in the text and the events highlighted. The majority of the places mentioned in the text were linked to the polling station for the plebiscite that was also important in presenting a breakdown of the plebiscite results. This added to the importance of the plebiscite as an event as per the quantity of its representation. Apart from the substantive concepts that were explicitly used in the text to contribute to the substantive knowledge, certain procedural concepts were also deduced from the text albeit implicitly. Second order procedural concepts such as causation, time, and change and continuity were seen to be applicable in the text. Summarily, in terms of the text historical genre and knowledge type it could be said that the findings for the two are interrelated such that one contributes to the other and the other helps explain and understand the one. To be more specific, the factorial and consequential explanatory text genre relates to a substantive version of knowledge as the factors and consequences or explanations constitute in themselves second order unique and organisational concepts.

The next category for analysis had to do with the discourses that emerged out of the analysis of the text. The first two discourses that I explained are closely related. They speak to the nature of school history and reunification and the nature of textbooks. Both discourses were explained in light of the findings from the historical genre analysis and those of the historical knowledge. Briefly, it was revealed that school history in Cameroon as seen through the representation of reunification in the Blue Book, is not a disciplinary discipline but is seen as a means of providing learners with pre conceived narratives for the purpose of realising certain agendas. The textbooks being a major resource for the teaching of history are therefore used as the tool through which these agendas are disseminated in the form of history. Textbooks are therefore not expected to be critical or to encourage multiple views from learners but are to provide learners with facts that only need memorisation. This is the case of the Blue Book and its presentation of reunification.

The next discourse was that of colonial hegemony. The presence of this discourse was informed by the textual presentation of a very influential role of colonial powers and structures such as the UN and Britain in pursuing the political development of Southern Cameroons.

Then there is the next discourse on the Anglophone problem that has been much talked and written about in post-colonial Cameroon. The text articulates the point very clearly that the Southern Cameroons got a poor deal from their reunification negotiations with their French counterparts. Several instances are used in the text to support this claim of poor deal including even a section that provides seven reasons justifying the failure.

Linked to the discourse on the Anglophone problem is also the negative representation of Foncha in the text. The link between the negative representation of Foncha and the Anglophone problem is that the actions of Foncha or lack thereof are shown to be directly responsible for the failure of the Southern Cameroons' reunification negotiations with French Cameroons. Obviously, it is this failure at Foumban which is responsible for the post-colonial constitutional challenges that have come to be known as the Anglophone problem in Cameroon. Standing out in these criticisms of Foncha is the texts' claim that Foncha had received a draft constitution from Ahidjo even prior to the Bamenda conference but had not presented it to his peers. I also highlight the fact that this claim is frequently reviewed in the literature but concerning the three books analysed, it is only the Blue Book that mentioned the issue. However when one considers the genre type and knowledge structure promoted in the Blue Book, then the openness of the Foncha incident is understandable as the book tries to present the reunification facts in an unbiased way as much as it is possible.

As was seen with the other books, the Blue Book too presents the reunification from an elitist perspective thereby promoting elitist historiography at the expense of the ordinary citizens. In this book elitism was promoted in the form of the kind of participants recorded as being instrumental for the reunification process. These participants who are either political figures or traditional authority for the Cameroon side or UN and Great Britain officials for the side of the colonial masters, all belong to the elite class of society. Elitist historiography entails depriving the subaltern of a place in their own history which is a major concern in postcolonialism.

Finally, there is the discourse of exclusion in the form of textual silence on Northern British Cameroons. Unlike the other books that cover developments of Northern Cameroons parallel to Southern Cameroons up to the outcome of the plebiscite, the Blue Book is completely silent on the events in that part of Cameroon. This was seen as a textual promotion of nationalist

historiography. In this case the promotion of nationalism by the text consisted of it not diverting and digressing from main stream events on reunification.

These conclusions and consolidation of the findings from the Blue Book bring to an end the analysis and presentation of findings from the Anglophone textbooks. The next chapter presents findings from the analysis of the Francophone textbooks whilst the comparative analysis of the different findings is done in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, I presented findings from the analysis of the representation of reunification discourses in the verbal and visual text of three Anglophone Cameroonian history textbooks selected for this study. This chapter is a continuation of the presentation of findings from this study with particular focus on the presentation of the findings from the analysis of the Francophone textbooks. Therefore, the findings presented in the previous chapter together with those presented in this chapter will provide a holistic picture on the nature of representation of reunification in Cameroonian history textbooks including the consistent and conflicting discourses.

The presentation of the findings in this chapter follows the same manner as in chapter five. Being a user of the French language, I analysed the textbooks in this chapter in their original version without translating them. However, the findings presented in this chapter are done in English except for instances where direct citations from the text were necessary. Even in such circumstances, I provide the English translation of the cited text in this report. The findings are presented in a chronological order from Book F1 to Book F3. The analysis for the verbal and visual text was done in an integrated manner and the presentation of findings is done in like manner. For each one of these books, I present findings on the analysis of the historical genre type of the text. This is followed by an identification of the type of historical knowledge promoted in the text. Then I present on the historical discourses emanating in the text from the analysis of the historical genre and knowledge types. I end each textbook with a section that concludes the analysis of the textbook by means of consolidating the findings for that particular textbook.

6.2 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F1

I begin the presentation of the findings in this book with a description of the historical genre type of the text. This is because situating the text within a particular historical genre type will serve as

a base for the identification and interrogation of the type of historical knowledge permeating the text and consequently the nature of the discourses embedded therein, in the process making a case for the nature of school history promoted by the textbook through reunification.

6.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F1

The starting point of the analysis of the historical genre in the text was to provide a description of the verbal and visual text covering reunification in Book F1. This was important as it would provide an idea of the structure and style of the text being important elements in the identification of the genre.

As I mentioned in chapter four, Book F1 is comprised of seven broad sections with different chapters making up those sections. I should clarify here that even though the chapters are referred to in the book as “lessons” I chose to refer to them in this study as chapters for the sake of consistency with the other books. The reunification content in the book is covered in section seven (pp. 213-262) and is titled “vers l’indépendance” (towards independence). Within this broad section, the content concerned with reunification is covered in two specific consecutive chapters. Chapter forty eight (pp. 247-249) is titled “La réunification des deux Cameroun” (The reunification of the two Cameroons) and chapter forty nine (pp. 251-255) which is titled “Les artisans de l’Indépendance et de la réunification” (the architects of independence and reunification). Table 6.1 below shows the different sub topic in chapter forty eight.

Table 6.1 Sub topics covered in chapter forty eight of Book F1

Sub topic	Page numbers
La Republique du Cameroun (The Republic of Cameroon)	247
Le Cameroun sous-tutelle Britannique (Cameroon under British trusteeship)	247-248
La Réunification (The Reunification)	248

As Table 6.1 shows, the chapter is comprised of three main topics. The first topic covers developments in French Cameroon up to independence. The second topic deals with developments in British Cameroons and is explained in the contexts of the Northern and Southern Cameroons. The last topic explains the reunification events of the British Southern Cameroons with French Cameroon. There is a very brief summary of the content of the chapter that is presented at the end

of the chapter coverage. Moreover, the chapter ends with a presentation of seven questions related to the content covered. The entire chapter is made up of verbal text with no visual text content. As explained earlier, the coverage of the reunification content continues with chapter forty nine that focuses on the architects of the reunification. This chapter highlights only two protagonists, which are Ahmadou Ahidjo (pp. 251-252), and John Ngu Foncha (p. 252) representing respectively French Cameroon and the British Southern Cameroons. As with all other chapters in the book, this chapter ends with a summary of the content covered in the chapter and six questions for reflection. Unlike the previous chapter – forty eight, this chapter makes use of visual text to complement the verbal narration. The images are those of the two reunification architects focused in the text. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 are the two images depicted in this lesson.



Figure 6.1 Le Président de la République Fédérale du Cameroun S. E. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo (p. 254) – (The president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon His Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo).

AND



Figure 6.2 Le Vice-Président de la République Fédérale du Cameroun S. H. John Ngu Foncha (255) – (The vice president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon His Honourable John Ngu Foncha).

As seen in the two figures above, the images are portraits of the leading political figures of French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons. Worthy of note is the fact that the images do not represent them in any reunification related event or activity, an indication of the visual textual passivity and silencing of their actions and efforts towards reunification.

In the previous sections, I have presented a detailed summary of the verbal and visual text of Book F1. As I mentioned at the beginning of this section 6.2.1, the purpose of the description was to lay a foundation for the analysis to follow and determine the historical genre type of the texts. Following on the detailed description of the texts presented, Table 6.2 below presents a summary of the historical genre types and corresponding sub genres in the text of Book F1. This is followed by an illustrative explanation of the table to further add narrative clarity on the genre type presented in the table.

Table 6.2 Summary of historical genre type in text of Book F1

		Sub-genre
Historical genre type	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre	Factorial explanation
		Consequential explanation
	Biographical narrative: Third person/Alternative side	Recording or explaining genre

Chronology	Clear chronological framework. Purposive chronological description of events
Narrative	Clear narrative text structure
Nature of participants and places	Specific participants: Ahmadou Ahidjo; John Ngu Foncha; Charles Assale; Enderley; Peulh; Mbida; Ntumazah
	Generalised participants and places: Republique du Cameroun (Republic of Cameroon); Union Camerounaise (Cameroonian Union); Great Britain; Northern Cameroons; Southern Cameroons; Lagos; Nigeria; UN; Germany; CDC; Bamenda; Buea; K.N.C; K.P.P; KNDP; O.K; Yaounde; Fouban; ARCAM; ATCAM; ALCAM; Union Camerounaise - UC (Cameroonian Union); KNC Cameroon, France, Garoua, Paris, Buguma, Onitsha
Historical event description	Referendum, elections, annexation, national day of mourning, conference, independence, reunification Clear narrative description of many events – abridged and summarised

As can be gleaned from Table 6.2 above, the reunification text in Book F1 is situated within two historical genre types, the historical account genre and the biographical narrative. Through the historical account genre, the text makes use of factorial and consequential explanations. This historical genre is predominantly used in chapter forty eight where the emphasis is on the political developments of the French and Southern Cameroons and the reunifications of the two Cameroons. The first use of factorial and consequential explanations relate to the presentation of events about the political developments of French Cameroon. The following excerpts reflect such nature of explanations:

La constitution du nouvelle Etat élaborée par un comité consultatif, est adoptée par référendum le 21 février 1960. Elle prévoit un régime présidentiel, avec une Assemblée nationale et un premier ministre (p. 247) – (The constitution of the new state is drafted by a consultative commission and is adopted by a referendum on the 21st February 1960. It called for a presidential system with a national assembly and a prime minister).

Le 5 mai 1960, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo est élu à l’unanimité première président de la République. Il charge M. Charles Assalé de former le premier Gouvernement du Cameroun indépendant (p. 247) – (On 5th May 1960, Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo is unanimously elected first president of the Republic. He assigns Mr Charles Assalé to form the first government of independent Cameroon).

The two excerpts above are examples of the use of factorial and consequential explanations in the text at the level of the explanations of political developments in French Cameroon. The first excerpt is a factor that explains the independence of French Cameroon and the system of

government adopted whilst the second excerpt follows the first by explaining the consequence of the system adopted with reference to the election of the president and the formation of a government. The next example refers to explanations related to British Cameroons.

... Les dirigeants avaient toujours manifesté leur volonté de voir le Cameroun septentrional rattache au Nigéria. Telle fut leur position à l'assemblée générale de Nations Unies en 1959... Aussi l'ONU a-t-elle demandé un premier plébiscite le 7 novembre 1959. La majorité s'est prononcée contre le rattachement (p. 247) – (the authorities had always indicated their willingness for Northern Cameroons to integrate Nigeria. That was their position on the question to the UN in 1959... then the UN demanded a first plebiscite on 7 November 1959. The majority of voters rejected the integration).

The excerpt above explains the factors that led to the holding of the first UN plebiscite in Northern Cameroons in 1959. This is explained as due to a desire by British colonial authorities to press for integration with Nigeria against the wishes of the people and the UN who then decide on the organisation of a plebiscite. The last set of examples supporting factorial and consequential explanations from the text come from the section in the chapter on “the reunification”.

L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, au cours de sa session de Mars 1959, avait adopté sur le Cameroun britannique une résolution qui recommandait à la Grande Bretagne d'organiser, sous la surveillance des Nations Unies, des plébiscites séparés dans la partie septentrionale et dans la partie méridionale du Cameroun britannique pour connaître le désir des populations sur leur avenir (p. 248) – (The general assembly of the UN in its session of March 1959, had adopted a resolution on British Cameroons which called on Great Britain to organise separate plebiscites in Northern and Southern British Cameroons under the supervision of the UN, to ascertain the wishes of the people regarding their future)

Un premier plébiscite a lieu le 7 novembre 1959 au Cameroun septentrionale... (p. 248) – (a first plebiscite took place on 7th November 1959 in Northern Cameroons).

Un autre plébiscite intéressant les deux parties du Cameroun a lieu le 11 Février 1961 (p. 248) – (Another plebiscite involving the two sections of Cameroon took place on 11th February 1961).

The last two examples cited above both explain consequences of the UN decision advising Britain to organise UN supervised plebiscites in British Cameroons as seen in the first excerpt. Therefore, example one is a factorial explanation while examples two and three are both consequential explanations of the factors explained in example one.

The second historical genre type used in the text is the recording or explaining form of the biographical narrative genre. This genre type basically means the recording and explaining of the story of someone's life. This genre is mostly applicable to chapter forty nine where the focus is on the main architects of the reunification. There is an elaborate biographical narration of the lives of the leaders of French and Southern Cameroons (Ahidjo and Foncha) from their birth to education and then their political activism. For Ahmadou Ahidjo, the text mentions that:

Il est né à Garoua au mois d'août 1924, d'une famille Peulh ouverte aux idées nouvelles. Il fait ses études à l'école régionale de Garoua, puis, après le certificat d'études primaires, à l'école Supérieure de Yaounde où se retrouvait l'élite scolaire de toutes les régions du Cameroun... (p. 251) – (He was born in August 1924 in Garoua of a Peulh family opened to new ideas. He studied at the regional school in Garoua, and after obtaining the primary school certificate, he moved to the higher school in Yaoundé which was where could be found the elite scholars from all the regions in Cameroon).

The above excerpt is part of the biographical explanations of Ahidjo. The second biographical explanation of the text is on Foncha and an excerpt is presented below:

Né à Bafreng, Bamenda, le 21 Juin 1916, John Ngu Foncha a fait ses études à l'école primaire de Bamenda, puis à Baguma. Il exerce les fonctions d'instituteur de 1933 à 1936, avant d'entreprendre de nouvelles études à Saint-Charles Training College, à Onitsha (Nigeria) (p. 252) – (Born in Bafren, Bamenda on 21 June 1916, John Ngu Foncha attended school at the Bamenda primary school and later at Baguma. Between 1933 and 1936, he served as teacher before taking up studies again at the Saint-Charles Training College in Onitsha (Nigeria).

By foregrounding the biography of only Ahidjo and Foncha as part of the biographical narrative genre of this book, the text portrays these two figures as the main and only architects of the reunification at the expense of other historical figures that may also have contributed in different ways. In this manner, the genre of this text favours an elitist history on reunification with the purpose of creating a reunification identity for Cameroon around these two personalities. Because these two big personalities constituting the biographical narrative are selected from French and British Cameroons is an indication that the text intends to use the reunification as a tool to promote a unified Cameroonian nationalism and blur the Anglophone/Francophone lines. However, in the process of presenting these two figures, it was noted that Ahidjo was foregrounded whilst Foncha was backgrounded in both the verbal and the visual texts of the biographical genre. This placement was not seen as incidental but rather a purposive effort by the text to ensure that even within the

unified Cameroon narrative, the French section is portrayed to be more important than the Anglophone section. By presenting these biographies through descriptive narratives and factorial explanations, the text ensures that learners are not given opportunities to question the historical genre type or to suggest any alternatives. The explanatory historical genre therefore ensures that the purpose of the text which is to make and celebrate heroes of the reunification remains as intended. This nature of historical genre has very serious implications for the kind of historical knowledge that learners get from studying the reunification of Cameroon through this book as certain discourses are obviously revealed that either support or defeat the purpose of the textbook authors on reunification.

All the excerpts presented above have clarified the historical genre structure of the text as being factorially and consequentially/chronologically explanatory but also as being biographical with the examples of the biographical details of Ahidjo and Foncha presented. Other elements that were analysed as part of the genre of the text included the use of chronology, type of text narrative, nature of participants and the description of the events. The analysis of these different elements was useful in coming to the conclusion of the text being a historical explanatory genre and a biographical genre. However because these elements were also important for the analysis of the knowledge type of the text, a more detailed description and critical overview is provided under the next section on historical knowledge types.

6.2.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F1

The analysis of the text of Book F1 reveals a strong and explicit penchant towards a substantive form of historical knowledge. The first order concepts were seen to be used to describe the people involved in the reunification including their respective actions, to explain the factors and consequences of the different political events in the two Cameroons leading to reunification as well as the places where these events and actions occurred. Being partly a biographical historical genre, the biographies of the two leaders of French and Southern Cameroons are presented in the text substantively through the application of first order concepts. I started the analysis of the substantive concepts by first identifying all the substantive or first order concepts used in the text of this book. Below is a list of all the substantive concepts obtained from the text.

Historical substantive concepts extracted from text in Book F1

- State, Cameroon, Republic, constitution, referendum, 21 February 1960, presidential system, national assembly, prime minister, elections, 10 April 1960, Ahidjo, parliamentarians, 5 May 1960, Charles Assalé, government, France, ambassadors, UN, 20 September 1960, British, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Nigeria, Lagos, 1959, plebiscite, 7 November 1959, integration, Germans, Cameroon Development Corporation, Bamenda, Buea, 1945, 1957, House of Chiefs, 15 May 1958, reunification, Kamerun National Congress – KNC, annexation, Kamerun People’s Party – KPP, Kamerun National Democratic Party – KNDP, One Kamerun – OK, Ntumazah, March 1959, 11 February 1961, national day of mourning, Yaounde, August 1960, 9 July 1961, conference, Foumban, federation, 1 October 1961, independence, Ahidjo, Garoua, August 1924, ARCAM (Representative assembly), ATCAM (Territorial assembly), ALCAM (legislative assembly), Paris, French Union, 1955, 23 December 1956, 9 May, 1957, Mbida, vice president, 18 February, 1958, 1st January 1960, Cameroon Union (UC), 12 March 1959, 10 April 1960, 5 May 1960, 21 June 1916, John Ngu Foncha, Buguma, Teaching, 1933-1936, Saint-Charles Training College, Onitsha, 1940-1945, politics, Bamenda Cameroon League, Bamenda Teachers Union, 1946-1951, Bamenda Development Union, Cameroon National Federation – CNF, Cameroon National Congress – CNC, Enderley, Cameroon, 11 February 1961, Federal Republic of Cameroon.

With the historical substantive concepts in Book F1 all identified, I continued the analysis by categorising these concepts into unique, thematic, or organisational. These categories are fluid rather than rigid, implying that some of the concepts could conveniently be placed under two or more of the categories. But for the sake of organisation of this work, I had to choose the category that best suits the meaning of the concept. I began with the identification of unique substantive concepts in the text.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F1

Table 6.3 below is a representation of the unique historical substantive concepts captured from the text under the categories of unique people; unique events; and unique places

Table 6.3 Break down of unique substantive concepts in the text of Book F1

Unique People/movements	Unique Events	Unique Places
UC, KNC, KPP, KNDP, OK, CNF, CNC, ARCAM, ATCAM, ALCAM, Bamenda Development Union, House of Chiefs, Bamenda Cameroon League, Bamenda Teachers Union, French Union, Cameroon Development Corporation, Charles	Referendum, elections, annexation, national day of mourning, conference,	Cameroon, France, UN, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Nigeria, Lagos, Bamenda, Buea, Yaounde, Foumban, Garoua, Paris,

Assalé, Enderley, Foncha, Ahidjo, Ntumazah	independence, reunification	Buguma, Onitsha, Great Britain
--	-----------------------------	--------------------------------

Table 6.3 describes the type of historical knowledge presented in the text through the lens of unique substantive concepts. In terms of unique persons and movements, it is evident from the breakdown that reunification was characterised by the actions of high profile politicians under the banner of their respective political parties. The fact that the political parties both represent French and Southern Cameroons, indicates similar efforts from both sections of the Cameroons to achieve reunification. This is similar to the representation of political figures that are almost equally representative of the two sections of the reunified Cameroons. It is however interesting to note that such representation of unique people is also elitist in nature with the implication being that the contributions of the common people are not recognised as important in the entire process. Therefore it could be said that the inclusiveness of the representation of people is limited to French and Southern Cameroons to the exception of ordinary citizens and even women – an indication of not only historical elitism, but also of male chauvinism or patriarchy in history. Inclusiveness is also seen in terms of the representation of unique places. In this regard, Table 6.3 shows the representation of places in Southern Cameroons, French Cameroon, and Nigeria but also in colonial spaces such as the UN, France and Great Britain. It was therefore in these places that the ideas and developments around reunification were nurtured and executed implying an active colonial presence in the reunification achievement. In relation to the substantive events mentioned, the analysis revealed that the events depict the passive role of the ordinary Cameroonians who are ignored and silenced in the text in the reunification process. Even though the representation of people shows elitism, certain events mentioned such as elections and the referendum involved the ordinary people thereby portraying their role albeit as incidental and with no voice and agency.

Organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F1

The meaning of organisational substantive concepts is explained in the methodology chapter. Still in line with the breaking down of the list of substantive concepts identified in the text of Book F1, the following organisational substantive concepts were revealed as presented in Table 6.4 below:

Table 6.4 Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F1

Organisational concept	Nature of presentation in text
Reunification	This concept runs through the entire verbal text. The two images of Foncha and Ahidjo constituting the visual text also implicitly speaks to this theme. The first feature of reunification in the text is when it is mentioned that Enderley’s government in Southern Cameroons was replaced by the pro reunification government of Foncha (p. 248). Again it is used to refer to the outcome of the plebiscite for Southern Cameroons which voted in favour of reunification with French Cameroon (p. 248). The last illustration of the theme in lesson forty eight is the mention of 1 st October 1961 as reunification of the two Cameroons after adoption of the federal constitution (p. 248). Lesson forty nine which is largely biographical contains efforts of Ahidjo and Foncha towards reunification.
Referendum	Not much used as a concept in the text. Also not used in a context directly linked to reunification. The referendum mentioned in the text is in the context of political developments in French Cameroon. Specifically, it speaks to the fact of after the attainment of independence, the constitution of Le Republic (French Cameroon) a draft constitution was prepared by a consultative committee and adopted on 21 February 1960 (p. 247)
Plebiscite	In lesson forty eight, the text makes use of this concept to refer to political developments in British Cameroons, precisely in relation to the theme of independence. It was noted that the text view the concept as applicable to Southern Cameroons, where it is indicated that the UN organised a plebiscite on 7 November 1959 in which the majority of the electorate voted against integration with Nigeria (p. 247). Under the sub topic of “reunification” in the same lesson, the plebiscite is highlighted in two instances: the first one of 7 November 1959 in Northern Cameroons which culminated in a vote to postpone the decision on the future of that territory (p. 248); and the second plebiscite of 11 February 1961 conducted simultaneously in Northern and Southern Cameroons which ended with votes in favour of integration with Nigeria and reunification with French Cameroon respectively. The plebiscite is mentioned just once in lesson forty nine to explain the fact that Foncha’s position on reunification for Southern Cameroons with French Cameroon won the plebiscite (p. 252)
Integration	The concept of integration is used in three instances in the text. Firstly to indicate that the British authorities were in favour of Northern Cameroons integrating Nigeria (p. 247); then to highlight the outcome of the UN organised plebiscite of 1959 in Northern Cameroons in which the voters rejected integration with Nigeria (p. 247); and finally to explain the outcome of the 11 February 1961 plesbicite in both sections of British Cameroons which saw victory for the integrationists in Northern Cameroons (p. 248).

Annexation	This concept is mentioned only once in the text in reference to the position of the KNC party of Enderley as being in favour of the annexation of Southern Cameroons by Nigeria (p. 248). This is a rather loose use of the theme as in other parts of the text; the position of joining Nigeria is referred to as integration.
Independence	This concept is mentioned five times in the text and all in the context of French Cameroon and its attainment of independence from France on 1 st January 1960 to become the Republic of Cameroon. It is interesting that the text does not mention independence in the context of British Cameroons. Implying that according to this text the British territories did not gain independence but rather reunified French Cameroon and Integrated Nigeria. This would be inaccurate as officially, reunification and integration were forms of independence for British Cameroons at the plebiscite.

Summarily, the use of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F1 concurs with the claim that the book promotes a highly substantive form of historical knowledge in the sense that none of those concepts are presented in a way as to promote historical thinking and methods or procedures. They are all used in an explanatory historical genre to foster the historical narrative on reunification in the text. The main ideas gleaned from the nature of the organisational concepts used are that reunification was a straight forward process achieved through certain very important activities such as the plebiscite, the attainment of independence, annexation and referendum as seen in Table 6.4 above. In relation to independence, it was noted that the text only views the concept as relevant to French Cameroon and not British Cameroons. This finding is important as it relates to discourses that suggest that French Cameroon is not responsible for the post-colonial and post reunification predicaments of Southern Cameroons because it was the latter who decided to join the former without first obtaining its independence. This is a discourse prevailing in the public domain in Cameroon and I have also captured it in the literature in chapter one. However, such a claim is misplaced because according to the plebiscite questions, Southern Cameroons was expected to achieve its independence by joining either Nigeria or French Cameroon, and there was not a third option for sovereignty. This means that reunification which was the outcome of the plebiscite was implicitly independence for Southern Cameroons. The next aspect of the analysis of historical knowledge type in the text involved the use of historical procedural concepts. This is explored in the section below.

Historical procedural concepts extracted from the text of Book F1 related to reunification

The analysis revealed a complete lack of overt historical procedural concepts in the text. This means that the book, through its representation on reunification does not support and promote

procedural knowledge of history. However, I did find from the analysis, certain historical procedural concepts that were incidental or implicit in the representation. These incidental concepts were analysed accordingly and the findings are presented below.

Procedural knowledge implicit in the verbal text of Book F1

- **Cause and effect**

The text in presenting the explanations and narratives around reunification, does not state outright the application of cause and effect. This does not mean that the concepts were not used at all. In my analysis of Book F1, I was able to deduce the presence of this first order concept of history used in an incidental manner. The factorial and consequential types of the explanatory genre of the text already suggested the use of cause and effect. The only difference is that it is not stated outright as one of the processes through which the reunification information is passed on in the text. The following excerpts reflect the incidental use of the concept of cause and effect in Book F1.

L'Assemblée generale des Nations Unies, au cours de sa session de mars 1959, avait adopte sur le Cameroun Britanique une resolution qui recommandait a la Grande Bretagne d'organiser, sous la surveillance des Nations Unies, des plebiscites separees dans la partie septentrionale et dans la partie meridionale du Cameroun britannique pour connaitre le desire des populations sur leur avenir (p. 248) – (The general assembly of the UN in its session of March 1959, had adopted a resolution on British Cameroons which called on Great Britain to organise separate plebiscites in Northern and Southern British Cameroons under the supervision of the UN, to ascertain the wishes of the people regarding their future).

The citation above highlights the background which could also be taken as the cause of the plebiscites organised in British Cameroons. It is seen that the cause was a decision by the UN general assembly requesting Britain to organise separate plebiscites in her trust territories of Cameroon in order for the people to determine their political future. The consequence of this UN decision was the organisation of the plebiscite proper by Britain under the supervision of the UN. The consequence is also captured in the text as follows:

Un premier plébiscite a lieu le 7 novembre 1959 au Cameroun septentrionale... (p. 248) – (A first plebiscite took place on 7th November 1959 in Northern Cameroons).

Un autre plébiscite intéressant les deux parties du Cameroun a lieu le 11 février 1961 (p. 248) – (Another plebiscite involving the two sections of Cameroon took place on 11th February 1961).

A further implicit consequence could be seen in the context of the outcome of the plebiscite and its implications on the future of the British Cameroons. In this regard the text states that:

Le Cameroun septentrional se prononce pour le rattachement au Nigeria; le 1^{er} Juin 1961, la partie septentrionale de notre pays est rattachée au Nigeria (p. 248) – (Northern Cameroons voted in favour of integration with Nigeria; on 1st June 1961, the Northern part of our country was integrated with Nigeria).

This was the effect of the plebiscite for Northern Cameroons. The text even goes further to state as a domino effect still within the context of the plebiscite in Northern Cameroons that: “Ce jour est considéré au Cameroun comme un jour de deuil national” (p. 248) – (that day is considered in Cameroon as a day of national mourning). On the other hand, the effect of the plebiscite for Southern Cameroons is captured as: “le Cameroun meridional se prononce pour la reunification avec la Republique du Cameroun” (p. 248) – (Southern Cameroons voted for reunification with the Republic of Cameroon). The text then proceeds to present other domino effects of the plebiscite in Southern Cameroons as well as the implications of the outcome which include the different steps taken by the stake holders to then make reunification a reality. These steps include:

Le 9 Juillet 1961, une conférence réunit à Foumban les délégués de deux parties du pays pour jeter les bases constitutionnelles de la future Fédération. La réunification est fixée au 1^{er} Octobre 1961 (p. 248) – (on 9 July 1961, a conference in Foumban brought together the two parties to lay the constitutional framework for the future federation. Reunification is then fixed for 1st October 1961).

Another element of cause and effect used implicitly in the text of Book F1 relates to the circumstances leading to Foncha’s creation of the KNDP. In light of this, the text states that:

En 1955, à cause des dissensions survenues au siens du parti, il quitte le Kamerun National Congress présidé par le Docteur Enderley, favorable au rattachement du Cameroun a la Nigeria. Il fonde le Kamerun National Democratic Party, parti d’opposition au Gouvernement Enderley. Devenu président général du KNDP, il mène une campagne active pour la réunification du Cameroun (p. 252) – (In 1955, due to disagreements within the party, he left the KNC of Dr Enderley which was in favour of integration with Nigeria. He then formed the KNDP that became opposition to the Government of Enderley. On becoming the general president of KNDP, he then led an active campaign for the reunification of Cameroon).

What the excerpt above does in terms of presentation of cause and effect is that it explains the formation of the KNDP as caused by disagreements within the KNC. The consequence of this disagreement however does not end with the formation of the KNDP but to the launch of the reunification agenda which the KNDP propagated. The next incidental procedural concept used in the text was identified as historical time.

- **Historical time**

The text of Book F1 duly makes use of historical time to date the events explained. However, the use of time is only incidental as it is not spelled out as a procedure to be taken in to consideration in studying the text. Moreover, the lack of foregrounding of time is also evident in the fact that the topics and sub topics are not allocated time markers. Therefore it could be said that the time used in the text is only expressed as part of the substantive presentation and not intended to be procedural. There is also a lack of chronology in the expression of time in the text. It is rather the events that are foregrounded and then the time presented as support to those events. However, the analysis of the implicit use of time in the text reveals a focus on the period of post WWII decolonisation of Africa. This implies that the reunification was a product of the decolonisation process. Notwithstanding, there are a few elements of representation of historical time that fall outside of the decolonisation era mentioned above. These exceptions however can be explained in the context of the biographical genre of the text that accommodates the biographical information of the two statesmen that are used in the text for that purpose. There is equally a lack of notion of historical time in the visual text of Book F1. The two images as I said earlier are portraits of politicians with no dates attached to them to give them any time significance. Significant indications of historical time linked to specific events in the text are presented in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 Significant historical time captured in the text of Book F1

Historical time	English translation
Le 5 Mai 1960, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo est élu à l'unanimité première président de las Republique (p. 247)	on 5th May Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo was unanimously elected first president of the Republic [French Cameroon]
un premier plébiscite a lieu le 7 Novembre 1959 au Cameroun septentrional (p. 248)	a first plebiscite is held in Northern Cameroons on the 7th November 1959
Un autre plébiscite, intéressant les deux parties du Cameroun à lieu le 11 Février 1961 (p. 248)	another plebiscite involving the two sections of Cameroon took place on 11 February 1961);

Le 9 Juillet 1961, une conférence réunit à Foumban les délégués des deux parties du pays	On 9 July 1961, a conference in Foumban brings together delegates from the two sections of the country
Le 1 ^{er} Janvier 1960, Ahmadou Ahidjo proclame Solennement l'Indépendance du Cameroun	On 1st January 1960, Ahmadou Ahidjo solemnly declares the independence of Cameroon [French Cameroon]
La réunification est fixée au 1 ^{er} Octobre 1961	Reunification was slated for 1st October 1961

- **Historical significance**

The analysis of the text of Book F1 also reveals that certain aspects of the reunification are significant although they are not explicitly presented as such. Some of the ways in which such events are presented as historically significant are through a greater textual coverage and repetition. The plebiscites for instance are given very extensive textual coverage and repeated in different sections of the text to qualify it as historically significant. As a start, the text mentions the 7 November 1959 plebiscites as part of presentation on the political developments of Northern Cameroons (p. 247). Then under the subtopic on “reunification” the text highlights the plebiscites as an instruction by the UN on Great Britain to determine the political future of the people (p. 248). Following on the UN decision, the text repeats the 7 November 1959 plebiscite in Northern Cameroons (p. 248) to show its significance. It further mentions the 11 February 1961 plebiscites in both Northern and Southern Cameroons (p. 248) as fall over of the UN instruction on Britain to conduct elections. Finally, under the presentation of the biography of Foncha, the text still highlights the outcome of the February 1961 plebiscites in Southern Cameroons as a turning point on the reunification project (p. 252). Therefore, the texts’ narrative on the plebiscite makes the event very significant in the reunification process and also significant in the understanding of reunification through Book F1.

Summarily, Book F1 does not make use of historical procedural concepts as an overt intention or purpose of the text. This finding was taken to imply that the purpose of the book is not to promote history as a methodological or disciplinary discipline. The procedural concepts that I analysed were used in an incidental and implied manner rather than explicitly. On the other hand, there is the intense use of substantive concepts which I analysed through the lenses of unique and organisation historical substantive concepts. Unique substantive concepts involved the textual use of people and movements such as political parties, specific events, and places. In this category, it

was realised that very few people of especially the political elite class of Cameroon were involved in the reunification process with origin from both French and Southern Cameroons. These people mentioned in the text operated both at personal capacities but also under the banner of political movements. These people were therefore seen to wield much power and agency in directing the reunification process, hence their foregrounding at the expense of ordinary Cameroonians or Cameroonians outside of the political sphere. What the analysis of the knowledge type did was to confirm the historical genre nature of the text in the sense that a highly substantive historical knowledge was made possible through a historical genre in the category of factorial and consequential explanatory genre as well as a biographical genre that has already been seen to accommodate the text of Book F1. The substantive historical knowledge was done in order that the learners can memorise the biographies of the two elite politicians foregrounded in the text without questioning or offering other positions that could disrupt the intended single master narrative. The last level of the analysis then involved a determination of the kind of discourses emerging from the text as a result of its historical genre and knowledge types.

6.2.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F1

The analysis of the historical discourses from the text of Book F1 observed the same procedure as with the other books. The discourses were largely informed by the analysis and findings on the text historical genre and the knowledge types. Where relevant, I explained the discourses within the context of the postcolonial theoretical frame of this study.

- **Nature of school history and reunification as per Book F1**

From the analysis of historical genre types and knowledge type of the text, the first concern that comes to mind is the nature of school history and its depiction of reunification in Cameroon. This is because the kind of historical knowledge propagated through the representation of reunification in the text has implications on what constitutes school history in Cameroon. From the analysis, I found that, seen through the lens of Book F1, school history in Cameroon promotes first order concepts at the expense of second order concepts. First order concepts are aligned to substantive knowledge of history meaning that learners are not provided with opportunities to engage the text and form opinions and perspectives. This form of historical knowledge thereby promotes a master narrative of reunification and of history in general that aims at discouraging multiperspectivity in especially controversial historical issues that can create conflict such as the reunification of

Cameroon. Learners are therefore forced to accept the narrative without question. More evidence for this form of school history is revealed through the genre of the text on reunification. This genre has been seen to be mainly historical characterised by factorial and consequential explanations as well as a biographical genre. Going by this analysis, it could be seen that school history in Cameroon seen through this book, encourages and promotes the learning of the actions of historically influential people or big men at the expense of ordinary people. In the case of this book, with the big men drawn from both sections of Cameroon, it could be concluded that school history in Cameroon is aimed at promoting national unity by presenting reunification as the collective efforts of people from both sides. Both genre types are known to fall within a common sense framework of history that does not support critical thinking. It could therefore be concluded from the text that in an attempt to promote national peace, the history that is taught through the Book F1 must avoid controversies by promoting a certain narrative that learners are expected to simply consume.

In a postcolonial theoretical perspective, this nature of school history supports the idea of internal colonialism. This is in the sense that in a post-colonial era, the people are seen to still be trapped in the colonial mind-set that discouraged historiography from being critical of the actions of the coloniser. The difference this time is that the colonial master is now the elite class of the country in the form of government, textbook authors and producers who now have adopted the colonial mandate of producing Oriental historical discourses to impose a certain historical form of knowledge on the ordinary Cameroonians.

- **Discourse of textbooks and school history in Cameroon as per Book F1**

Aligned to the discourse on the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon, is the nature of textbooks. The textbooks are consequently seen as promoters of the kind of school history explained above. The textbook is not meant to be critical so that its single narrative will achieve the purpose of the school history by causing learners to memorise its content and not question or even oppose it. History textbooks in Cameroon are therefore reservoirs of agreed upon truths with the intention of pushing forward a national agenda and narrative.

- **Discourse of master narrative**

The interrelated nature of the discourses emerging from the analysis of the text made it possible that the master narrative discourse be explained within the discourse of the nature of school history

evoked in the text and the corresponding nature of school history textbooks explained in the preceding paragraph. Master narrative refers to a broad narrative explicitly or implicitly promoted by the text through design or by chance. The master narrative that runs in the text of Book F1 is therefore that history education should unite people around a collective memory for patriotic aims. The collective memory propagated in the text of this book is one that celebrates Ahidjo and Foncha as torch bearers of reunification as both personalities are given all the agency of reunification as per the established gaze of the text. The evidence of this example of master narrative is seen in the amount of substantive textual coverage accorded these two figures as main protagonists of reunification. As I demonstrated in the analysis of unique substantive persons seen in Table 6.3, and the explanations that follow the table, other historical characters are highlighted in the text in a very passive and limited manner to imply their lack of agency and importance. This position is supported by the visual text that is made of only two images of Ahidjo and Foncha (Figures 6.1 and 6.2 respectively). This master narrative reflects the postcolonial idea of subalternism. Through this concept, we can explain the notion that the common citizens representing the subalterns have no voice in the history of Cameroon that has been hijacked by elites through this master narrative in a post-colonial era.

- **Discourse of French Cameroon superiority over British Cameroon**

One of the ways of achieving the kind of school history and promoting the master narrative explained in the previous sections was through the textual technique of backgrounding and foregrounding certain elements of the text. Foregrounding gives textual prominence to certain ideas, events, and personalities thereby rendering them more important than the backgrounded opposite. The analysis of the text of Book F1 revealed that in narratives related to French Cameroon and British Cameroons, the text consistently foregrounded the former whilst backgrounding the latter. The following examples support this claim. Firstly, in chapter forty eight which contains three topics, the text begins with a narration on French Cameroon – “La Republique du Cameroun” (p. 247), then British Cameroons (Northern and Southern Cameroons) – “Le Cameroun sous-tutelle Britanique” (pp. 247-248), and lastly, the reunification – “la reunification” (p. 248), in that order. In this first example, French Cameroon is given textual priority over British Cameroons. The second example refers to the presentation of Ahidjo and Foncha as leading reunification figures from French and English Cameroons. The presentation of the biographies and activities of these personalities start with Ahmadou Ahidjo of French

Cameroon (pp. 251-252) followed by John Ngu Foncha of the Southern Cameroons (p. 252). Even the presentation of the visual images of the two political figures follows the order of Ahidjo (p. 253) before Foncha (p. 254). Such representation of French Cameroon before Southern Cameroons including a similar kind of representation of politicians linked to these territories cannot be seen as accidental. Rather it reflects the inequality of the two parts of reunified Cameroon and a deliberate attempt by the text to expose and support that inequality. Most significantly, it relates to the idea of a superior Francophone Cameroon over Anglophone Cameroon within the reunified and supposedly unified Cameroon. In postcolonial terms, this is seen as an example of internal colonisation where by French Cameroon, herself a previously colonised territory is being portrayed as a colonial power of sorts over another previously colonised territory within the same space.

- **Elitist Historiography or history of big men**

The nature of school history promoted by the text of Book F1 and the kind of master narrative ascertained also reveals an element of elitism in historical representation. Elitism in this sense refers to the idea of portraying historical events through the actions of big or powerful men at the expense of ordinary people. In Table 6.3, I have provided a list of people used in the text of Book F1 as part of the substantive knowledge. These people are all influential figures with most of them representing political parties. There is also the mention of the House of Chiefs from the Southern Cameroons which is another institution of power. Therefore, Book F1 explicitly denotes that reunification was an achievement of big men in society through the agency with which such characters are represented. Conversely, the actions of the ordinary Cameroonians towards reunification are neglected or at best are represented in an incidental or generalised manner that does not reveal any sense of agency. Such implicit representation of the ordinary people includes the mentioning of activities like the plebiscite and referendum that speak to more generalised participation. In postcolonial terms, this historiographical elitism alludes to the idea of the subaltern. The elites in this case being the big men represented in the text as well as the author and publishers while the subaltern represents the ordinary people who are being denied a voice in history and historiography because of their own post-colonial compatriots.

- **Male chauvinist discourse**

The master narrative evoked and the foregrounding of big and powerful men in the text of Book F1 also depicts a discourse of male hegemony and male chauvinism. Viewed from a gendered perspective, it could be said that the text is all about the actions of men in general and powerful men in particular. This implies that from the viewpoint of the text, women were not involved in any way worth documenting in the reunification process. The evidence in the visual text is that Figures 6.1 and 6.2 being the only two images used in the text are both male characters. In the verbal text, apart from the two prominent characters mentioned throughout the text who are both men, the rest of the characters (Ntumaza, Enderley and Assalé) that I captured in Table 6.3 under unique substantive concepts, are also all male characters. This makes the verbal and visual text of Book F1 all about the activities of male characters towards reunification and by implication suggesting and promoting certain hegemony of men over women in history and historiography.

6.2.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F1

As I have done in the analysis of all the Anglophone books, in this section, I present a conclusion of the analysis of reunification in Book F1 by means of consolidating the findings and articulating them more clearly.

The analysis started with a situation of the text within a historical genre structure. In this regard, it was revealed that the text falls within two broad historical genre types: the explaining genre and the biographical narrative genre. These genre types are used to represent the content of the two chapters in Book F1 that relate to reunification – the former for chapter forty eight and the latter for chapter forty nine. However, the biographical narrative genre used in lesson forty nine also contains elements of explanation making that particular genre a more encompassing one for the entire reunification text. In terms of the first genre type explained, the text is purely explanatory in nature and does not present any controversial details to provoke argumentation or even interpretation. The explanations within the text were seen to be factorial and consequential in nature. On the other hand, the biographical narrative genre was used in the text to narrate the biographies of Foncha and Ahidjo seen in the text as the two main figures behind the reunification of Cameroon. As explained earlier, embedded within this genre, is also the explanatory genre as the biographies are narrated using factorial and consequential explanations. Other factors supporting the presence of these text genres as I have recorded in Table 6.2 are: a very clear narrative structure of the text, a purposive use of chronology to describe the events in the text even

though the chronology is not systematic, a clear narrative description of the different events in the text even though some of the events are given more textual coverage (foregrounded) than others (backgrounded), and lastly, the use of specific and generalised participants.

The next step in the analysis was to unpack the nature of historical knowledge exposed in the text through its representation of reunification. Here, the analysis revealed a highly, overtly and explicitly substantive form of historical knowledge. This was seen through the dominance of substantive or first order historical concepts in the unique and organisational forms. It was seen that this form of historical knowledge is consistent with the explanatory genre of the text making the book consistent in its form of historical knowledge. A highly substantive representation in the text implies that the Book F1 does not promote history as a methodological and procedural discipline that promotes critical thinking and multiperspectivity with sourcing and evidence. There was no evidence in the text of the explicit use of any of the second order concepts. However, the analysis found some procedural concepts emerging from the text albeit in an incidental manner. Some of these concepts found included cause and effect, historical time and historical significance. The manner of their presence in the text was found to be incidental and their usage is implicit rather than explicit confirming the claim of a substantive form of knowledge promoted in the text. This manner of historical genre and knowledge type was important in revealing some of the historical discourses that permeated the text such as the nature of school history and reunification with its focus on a single narrative and the story of big men, the uncritical nature of the history textbooks, male chauvinism, and the idea of promoting a Cameroon identity and nationalism around reunification

With these two findings established, the analysis then progressed to examine the kind of historical discourses espoused by the genre and knowledge types of the text as well as the reunification representation in the text in general. These discourses were then nuanced with the postcolonial theoretical framing of this study. The following discourses emerged.

The first discourse relates to the nature of school history. In this respect, I came to the conclusion that the explanatory and biographical genre as well as the explicitly substantive knowledge type means that the book promotes a kind of school history that does not encourage critical thinking and enquiry skills of learners. Learners are not given the opportunity to engage the content and come up with their own perspectives. The reason behind this kind of history is to avoid exposing

learners to controversies around historical content such as reunification that might cause disruptions in a 'smooth' school system. Therefore school history according to Book F1 is about the promotion of a master historical narrative that falls within the expected national discourse for the purpose of preserving national peace. This kind of school history is revealed through the textbook which also means the textbook is an auxiliary to that cause. In this light, the nature of the history textbook was also seen as a discourse for its uncritical nature and in support of the single narrative which is the established purpose of school history in Cameroon through this book.

In line with the nature of school history, is the discourse of a master narrative. These are agreed upon narratives in history that are intended by textbook stake holders to be taught by teachers and consumed by school learners without alteration in order to achieve certain pre conceived purposes. The master narratives in the text of Book F1 were revealed through the substantive knowledge content that the book relied on at the expense of procedural knowledge. The specific elements of a master narrative found in the text were seen to be the elaborate coverage of Foncha and Ahidjo throughout the text. This gives the notion that the text is intended to celebrate these two individuals as heroes of the reunification. This narrative is supported with the visual text that contains only two images with both being portraits of Foncha and Ahidjo.

However, the idea of celebrating Foncha and Ahidjo in the text of Book F1 also implies that other actors of the reunification are backgrounded. Hence there is also a discourse of Francophone Cameroon superiority over Anglophone Cameroon espoused through the tool of foregrounding and backgrounding of historical characters and events related to reunification in the text. The evidence for the presence of this discourse was revealed through the realisation that in the presentation of the two personalities, Ahidjo was always foregrounded whilst Foncha was backgrounded. This is true in both the verbal and visual text. In the two images that are presented in the text, the first one is the portrait of Ahidjo whilst the second is that of Foncha. Noticeably the portrait of Ahidjo is larger in terms of size than that of Foncha. This kind of presentation implies attaching importance on Ahidjo over Foncha even as both leaders represented territories that were supposed to be of equal status going in to reunification. In postcolonial terms, such representations reflect the notion of internal colonisation in this case of the French Cameroon being foregrounded over the Southern Cameroons being backgrounded.

The next discourse that emerged from the analysis and linked to the other discourses already explained is about elitist historiography. There is a notion from the text that reunification was achieved through the activities of big, powerful, and influential people. These people as represented in the text are politicians representing different political opinions as well as traditional leaders. There is no mention of the activities of the ordinary citizens towards reunification except probably in a very generic role such as the plebiscite. This reflects the idea of history as a story of the actions of powerful men of the past and in postcolonial terms it means the discrimination of the subaltern by denying them a voice and space in historical narratives.

Finally, the analysis revealed a discourse of male hegemony or male chauvinism. As with the ordinary people who are silenced in the text, so too are women. All actors represented in the text of Book F1 are male characters. Whether done purposively or incidentally, such silencing of the actions of women in history promotes the view that history is only a record of the actions of men and women played no role worth recording. This claim would be untrue of the reunification because women were definitely part of the process but their role was just not seen as important enough to be recorded.

This conclusion has consolidated the major findings from the analysis of Book F1. In the next section, I present the findings from the analysis of Book F2 following the same pattern.

6.3 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F 2

The second Francophone history textbook that was analysed in this study in relation to the representation of reunification was Book F2. Even though the book has very scanty text on the reunification of Cameroon, still the analysis followed a similar pattern as with all the other books whereby the verbal and visual texts were analysed in an integrated manner to assess the historical genre type of the text, the historical knowledge type and then the historical discourses espoused. Accordingly I present the findings in the proceeding sections beginning with a description of the historical genre of the text related to reunification.

6.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F2

The nature of this textbook is largely different from all the others analysed in this study (Anglophone and Francophone inclusive). While all the other textbooks detailed the history of Cameroon from where the reunification chapters or sections were then extracted and analysed, this textbook is not exclusively on Cameroon history but rather on the decolonisation process in the African continent. It is on this basis that Cameroon is featured as one of the countries that witnessed the decolonisation process. The portion on Cameroon is very brief and limited and this explains why I consider this book as largely silent on the reunification of Cameroon considering it is an official text prescribed for history in Francophone schools in Cameroon. Therefore it could be said that Book F2 adopted a bigger panafricanist view of history but in the process of this big picture, the small picture of Cameroon and reunification suffered.

Book F2 is broadly divided in to two parts. Part one is titled: “Les etaps de la decolonisation” (pp. 9-112) – (the stages of decolonisation) while part two is titled; “des etats aux nations” (pp. 113-154) – (from states to nations). The broad parts of the book are further divided in to chapters and other sections within those chapters. The text on Cameroon is found in chapter three. Chapter three of the book is titled: “La decolonisation de l’Afrique Francaise” (pp. 53-91) – (decolonisation of French Africa). This chapter contains four topics and the text on Cameroon is found within topic three which is titled: “la decolonisation de l’Afrique occidentale et centrale” (pp. 69-86) – (the decolonisation of French West and Central Africa). This section of chapter three is further divided into three parts labelled A, B, and C with the text on Cameroon contained in part C. The title of part C that contains the text on Cameroon is: “la decolonisation des territoires sous mandat” (pp. 84-86) – (the decolonisation of mandated territories). Only two countries are dealt with in this section C being Cameroon and Togo.

The text on Cameroon is divided into two sections only: section A is titled: “l’evolution de la partie Francophone” (pp. 84-85) – (Evolution of the Francophone region) while section B is “l’evolution de la partie Anglophone” (pp. 85-86) – (Evolution of the Anglophone region). Section A explains the political developments in the French part of Cameroon from the mandate period up to independence. On the other hand, section B, explains the political developments in the British part of Cameroon from the mandate period up to independence and reunification. What immediately

emerges from this brief overview is that the text sees the reunification of Cameroon as part of the political development of Anglophone Cameroons only and not the French Cameroon as seen in the silence of the reunification idea in the text on the political developments of French Cameroon. Table 6.6 is a visual breakdown of the text representing Cameroon and the reunification in Book F2.

Table 6.6 Breakdown of topics in the text of Book F2

Topics	Page number
Evolution of the French-speaking part	84-85
Evolution of the English-speaking part	85-86

As Table 6.6 indicates, only three pages of the book constitute the text on Cameroon and as I have explained earlier, only the section on the political developments of Anglophone Cameroon mentions the reunification. Therefore I can say Book F2 is largely silent on the reunification of Cameroon even as it covers albeit scantily the decolonisation process of Cameroon. Apart from the verbal text, there is also the use of visual text. Two images are used in the text to complement the verbal explanations of the political developments. These two images shown below as Figures 6.3 and 6.4 are both portraits of French Cameroonian politicians. Figure 6.3 represents the activist Ruben Um Nyobé and Figure 6.4 is of André Marie Mbida, the first prime minister of pre independence French Cameroon.



Figure 6.3. Ruben Um Nyobé

AND



Figure 6.4. André Marie Mbida

After the detailed description of the text, I then continued the analysis with an examination of the historical genre in which the text is situated. Table 6.7 below is a summary of the historical genre structure of the text.

Table 6.7 Summary of historical genre type in the text of Book F2

Historical genre type	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre
Historical sub-genre types	Factorial explanation
	Consequential explanation
Chronology	Clear chronological framework. Purposive chronological description of events
Narrative	Clear narrative text structure
Nature of participants and places	Specific participants: Charles Assale, Ruben Um Nyobe, Docteur Aujoulat, Philémon Sa Kouma, M. Okola, André Marie Mbida, Soppo Priso, Jean Ramadier, Ahmadou Ahidjo, Docteur Enderley, Foncha
	Generalised participants and places: L'Union Camerounaise (UC), Jeunesse Camerounaise Française (JeuCaFra), Rassemblement Camerounaise, Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC), Bloc Démocratique Camerounais (BDC), Union Sociale Camerounais (USC), Démocrates camerounais, Mouvement d'Action Nationale Camerounaise, Organisation des nations unies (ONU), République Française, Kamerun National Congress (KNC), Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), Nigeria, Cameroun, Bamenda, Sanaga-Maritime, Bamilékés

	Germany, Cameroon, Nyong-et-kelle, Paris, Yaounde, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons
Historical event description	Armed struggle, rebellion, unification, reunification, integration, autonomy, plebiscite, elections, independence, military support, anti-communist, maquis, WWII. Clear narrative description of many events – abridged and summarised with the help of two images

As gleaned from Table 6.7, the text in Book F2 falls within the Explaining category of the historical account genre. More specifically, the text is characterised by factorial and consequential explanations of political historical events and developments in British and French Cameroons during decolonisation, many of which are not directly linked to the reunification of Cameroon. Most of the factorial and consequential explanations relate to the formation and activities of political parties during the era of the decolonisation of Cameroon and Africa after WWII. For instance in the French Cameroon the text highlights that: “dès 1937, une vie politique se manifeste par la création de l’Union Camerounaise qui se proposait de combattre la propagande allemande » (p. 84) – (From 1937, the political life was manifested with the creation of the l’Union Camerounaise whose mission was to combat the German propaganda). This statement clearly indicates the factors responsible for the creation of the first political party in French Cameroon. Still within this context, the text highlights that:

En 1947, apparaît le Rassemblement Camerounais, section locale du R.D.A., qui donne naissance à l’Union des populations du cameroun (U.P.C) en avril 1958, dont les principaux leaders sont Charles Assalé et Ruben Um Nyobé. Ce parti «réclamait l’indépendance du Cameroun unifié dans un delai à fixer et l’élection immédiate d’une assemblée législative au suffrage universel et au collège unique (p. 84). – (In 1947, the *Rassemblement Camerounaise* was created as a section of the R.D.A, which gave birth to the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) in April 1958 with the main leaders being Charles Assalé and Ruben Um Nyobé. The party demanded the independence of a unified Cameroon within a fixed period and the immediate election of a legislative assembly through universal suffrage and a single college).

Again, the excerpt above from the text provided factorial explanation for the creation of the UPC party. What is interesting here is the idea that even though the text is not explicitly focused on the reunification of Cameroon, the choice of foregrounding the UPC political party and mentioning that its manifesto included not only independence for French Cameroon but also reunification of

the two Cameroons is a masked way of bringing in the concept of reunification as a significant political development of Cameroon and especially highlighting it as a phenomenon that was as important for French Cameroon as it was for British Cameroons. By so doing, the text therefore ensures that reunification is portrayed as a legacy of all Cameroonians across the Cameroon colonial divide and not only for the Anglophone population. Such a claim has the potential of creating unity and social harmony which on the basis of this evidence, is taken as the purpose of the text of this book.

In a different part of the text, the activities of the party seen as an application of the objectives of the party are explained. It is mentioned that:

Parmi tous ces partis, l'U.P.C. qui s'est séparée du R.D.A. en 1950 se distingue par ses prises de positions radicales vis-à-vis de la France et son engagement dans une lutte armée (p. 85). – (Among all these parties, the UPC which separated from the R.D.A in 1950 distinguished itself through its radical position vis-à-vis France and its engagement in an armed struggle).

Lastly with regard to the UPC, it is written that the consequence of the radical and armed method of pursuing its objectives led to «Pendant ce temps, la répression contre l'U.P.C. se poursuivait et Ruben Um Nyobé est tué en 1958 au cour d'une opération militaire contre son maquis» (p. 85). – (a continued repression against the UPC leading to the killing of Ruben Um Nyobe in 1958 during an operation against his 'maquis' group). Still all the above explanations do not relate to reunification but on broader political issues in French Cameroon. It is in the explanations around the British Cameroon politics that we get reunification developments. The first factorial and consequential explanations in the section of the text on the British Cameroons refers to the reasons for the division between the Northern and Southern Cameroons. In this regard the text states that:

Pour des raisons d'ordre administratif et géographique, la zone occupée par les Anglais à l'époque du Mandat fut partagée en Cameroun septentrional et méridional, et rattachée au Nigeria (p. 85). – (Due to administrative and geographic reasons the zone occupied by the British during the mandate period was divided in to Northern and Southern Cameroons and attached to Nigeria).

The next major explanation relates to the rationale for the creation of the KNDP and the consequences thereof. The text notes that:

Tandis que le Dr Enderley souhaite avant tout la création d'une étate fédéré au sien du Nigeria, Foncha, un instituteur de Bamenda, crée en 1955 le Kamerun

National Democratic Party (K.N.D.P.) dont les objectifs essentiels sont l'indépendance et la réunification des deux cameroon français et britannique (p. 86) – (Meanwhile Dr. Enderley desired above all the creation of a federal state within Nigeria, Foncha, a teacher from Bamenda, founded in 1955 the KNDP whose essential objectives were independence and the reunification of French and British Cameroons).

Le 15 Mai 1958, le Dr Enderley est nommé premier ministre mais sa position timorée sur le problème de la réunification entraîne sa défaite aux élections du 24 Janvier 1959. Foncha devient alors Premier ministre (p. 86). – (On 15 May 1958, Dr. Enderley was appointed prime minister but his nervy position on the question of reunification caused his defeat in the elections of 24 January 1959. Foncha then became prime minister).

The two excerpts above are the first overt mention of reunification in the text. The explanations have clear factorial and consequential implications in line with the historical genre nature of the text. The first excerpt explains the rationale behind the creation of the KNDP of Foncha as being due to the need for an alternative to the integration agenda pursued by Enderley. The consequence of the creation of the KNDP of Foncha as explained by the text and represented in the second excerpt above, was that Foncha was able to take over as prime minister of Southern Cameroons with his victory implying the popularity of his reunification stance on the future of Southern Cameroons. However, it should be noted that by narrating the reunification related developments in the British Cameroons around the efforts of two influential politicians from that region in the persons of Foncha and Enderley, the text is creating the impression that those two were invaluable in that process and the role, if at all, of other ordinary British Cameroonians was insignificant. As has been seen with the other books including the Anglophone ones, such manner of presentation relates to elitism in history and creates a sub altern group who were seemingly passive observers to significant historical processes. This claim made on the basis of the representation of people from British Cameroons, is corroborated with the idea of foregrounding the UPC political party as role player in the French Cameroon section.

The explanatory historical genre of the text of Book F2 is compounded by a clear narrative structure and clear description of the events void of interjections. Also, the text makes use of a clear and purposeful chronology even though this is not explicitly explained as a procedural aspect of the text.

Summarily, this section has provided a detailed description of the text in Book F2. The description showed that the text covers political developments in French and British Cameroons as separate topics under the section of the book that deals with decolonisation of Cameroon. It was also revealed that the theme of reunification is largely silent in the text as it is mentioned very sparingly only in the section of the text on British Cameroons. This exclusion on reunification was seen as an attempt by the text to avoid focusing on a controversial topic that could promote contentions and jeopardise social order in Cameroon. By substituting reunification with a broader pan Africanist view of history, the text therefore ensures that history learners can see the challenges of reunification as one of the pitfalls of African colonisation and consequently can use this idea as a tool for national unity. Notwithstanding, reunification was explained as part of the historical genre of the text albeit in the Anglophone section. In this section, the concept was explained through the political actions of Foncha and Enderley thereby portraying elitism and silencing the contributions of ordinary men and women in the process. Moreover, the genre structure of the text that divides the explanations into Francophone and Anglophone sections and not treating both sections holistically also reveals that in reality there are two Cameroons and there is no way the text can present the history of the country without this idea arising. The analysis in this section also situated the text within the explanatory historical genre structure, specifically within the factorial and consequential domain of the explanatory genres. The analysis in the next section was concerned with identifying the historical knowledge types of the text taking from the established genre type.

6.3.2 KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F2

The process here involved identifying whether the text made use of the substantive or procedural historical knowledge forms or both and the discursive implications thereof. The analysis revealed that the text is very substantive in nature. It is entirely characterised by the use of first order concepts of history thereby promoting a substantive view of historical knowledge through the explanatory genre. The substantive concepts were used in the text to explain the political developments of the two Cameroons and the part on reunification. In the process, historical actors and their roles were mentioned, the development of political movements were explained, certain specific events were described and different geographic spaces as well as time were also used. Below is a list of all the substantive concepts obtained from the text of Book F2.

Historical substantive concepts extracted from the text of Book F2

- L'Union Camerounaise (UC), Jeunesse Camerounaise Francaise (JeuCaFra), Rassemblement Camerounaise (RaCam), Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), Bloc Democratique Camerounaise (BDC), Union Sociale Camerounaise, Democrates Camerounaise, (DC) Movement d'Action Nationale Camerounaise, Kamerun National Congress (KNC), Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), Charles Assale, Ruben Um Nyobe, Docteur Aujoulat, Philemon Sa Kouma, M. Okola, Andre Marie Mbida, Soppo Priso, Jean Ramadier, Ahmadou Ahidjo, Dr. Enderley, Foncha, United Nations, Germany, Cameroon, Sanaga-Maritime, Nyong-et-kelle, Paris, Yaounde, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Nigeria, Bamenda, English, Bamileke, mandate period, 1938, 1947, 1950, 1951, 1952, January 1953, 1954, 1957, February 1958, April 1958, 15 May 1958, 24 January 1959, 7 November 1959, 1st January 1960, 11 and 12 February 1961, 1st June 1961, 1st October 1961, Richard constitution, Macpherson constitution, Lyttleton constitution, London conference, legislative assembly, universal suffrage, armed struggle, rebellion, Republic, unification, reunification, integration, autonomy, federal state, plebiscite, elections, independence, military support, anti-communist, maquis, prime minister, president, WWII.

The above list represents a broad extraction of all substantive concepts in the text of Book F2 that justifies the text as promoting substantive historical knowledge. In order to give an even better picture, I categorised the list into unique, organisational and thematic substantive concepts.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F2

Table 6.8 below is a representation of the unique historical substantive concepts captured from the text of Book F2 under the categories of unique people, unique events, and unique places. The implication of these unique concepts in promoting the substantive knowledge of history in the text is discussed after the table.

Table 6.8 Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F2

Unique People/movements	Unique Events	Unique Places
Charles Assale, Ruben Um Nyobe, Docteur Aujoulat, Philemon sa Kouma, M. Okola, Andre Marie Mbida, Soppo Priso, Jean Ramadier, Ahmadou Ahidjo, Dr. Enderley, Foncha, UC, JeuCaFra, RaCam, UPC, BDC, Union Sociale Camerounaise, DC Movement d'Action Nationale Camerounaise, KNC, KNDP,	Armed struggle, rebellion, unification, reunification, integration, autonomy, federal state, plebiscite, elections, independence, military support, anti-communist, maquis, WWII.	Germany, Cameroon, Sanaga-Maritime, Nyong-et-kelle, Paris, Yaounde, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Nigeria, Bamenda, England.

The analysis of these concepts took into consideration the premise that reunification is only alluded to under the coverage of political developments in the British Cameroons and not throughout the text. This implies that even though relevant to the broader narrative on Cameroon political developments during the era of decolonisation, the substantive concepts used under the section on political developments in French Cameroon are not directly linked to the reunification discourse. Notwithstanding, the analysis noted the following in terms of representation of unique historical substantive concepts in Book F2.

In terms of unique people, the names mentioned derive from French and British Cameroons as well as from France as the colonial master of French Cameroon. However, of the eleven names mentioned throughout the text, the specific breakdown indicates seven are names belonging to French Cameroonians, whilst two are of British Cameroonians and the other two of French officials. This large representation of names from French Cameroon indicates the focus of the text is on French Cameroon political developments and not British Cameroons. The fact that the representation of French Cameroon excludes information about reunification then means that the text is purposively silent on the theme. This is also true with the representations of political movements where eight of the ten movements are of French Cameroon with only two from the British Cameroons. This representation is true of the verbal text as it is for the visual text. The visual text presents two images both of which represent French Cameroon politicians not directly linked to any reunification effort. The implication of the representation of politicians from both sections of Cameroon at surface level depicts an effort to present an inclusive Cameroon history that could be used as a source of unity of the nation. However, within this inclusivity, the superior representation of Francophone characters over those of Anglophone origin tells a different story which is that of revealing the inferior and marginalised nature of Anglophone Cameroon within the Cameroon nation and a claim that the efforts of Anglophones in the historical project of Cameroon were less significant than those of their peers on the French Cameroon side. This, therefore implies that post-colonial Cameroon is a French Cameroon effort for which British Cameroons should be grateful.

In terms of unique places, the text mentions places in French Cameroon, British Cameroons, Nigeria, France and Britain as all relevant to the political development of the Cameroons. Here again a similar trend is evident that there are more numbers of places from the French Cameroons.

Actually, the only space from British Cameroons mentioned is Bamenda which is mentioned only once. The other mention is more generic than specific and refers to the two sections of the British Cameroons' territories of Northern and Southern Cameroons in relation to the initial partition of the British Cameroons and the plebiscites that took place in those territories. Again this marginal representation of places in British Cameroon speaks to the idea of their marginalisation as has already been explained.

In terms of specific events we see very few that relate directly to the reunification. Most of the events such as the armed struggle and the rebellion both speak to political developments in French Cameroon particularly the activities of the UPC political party and not reunification. The only events concerning reunification mentioned in the limited section on reunification in the text on British Cameroons are the plebiscites, integration and elections. Again this implies a large extent of silence on reunification in the text and one that, limits the phenomenon to the politics of British Cameroons and not Cameroons as a whole. The insinuation is that, factors other than reunification were more significant in producing the Cameroonian nation and that reunification was only a passive historical event that mostly concerned the people of Southern Cameroons.

Finally, the representation of unique substantive concepts linked to time puts all the events mentioned within the decolonisation of Africa and Cameroon time frame. This time frame according to the text of Book F2 starts from 1938 with the beginning of political pressure groups up to the attainment of independence reunification on 1st October 1961. However, as with the other substantive concepts, not all the elements of time used refer directly to events around reunification. Most of them speak rather to the birth of political parties and other political developments in the French Cameroon. However, the text makes frequent use of the concept of historical time; there is therefore an enormous amount to time frame allocated to the representation of reunification. Time is used to situate the beginning of the two political parties mentioned in the text as well as the different constitutional developments in Nigeria that affected British Cameroons and contributed to the progress towards reunification. Time is also used to date when Enderley took over as prime minister, when Foncha took over from Enderley, when the plebiscites were held in the British Cameroons, when the trusteeship was officially terminated and lastly when reunification was proclaimed. Important is the fact that historical time is frequently used in the text with all major or minor events contextualised within a historical time frame. However, only

the time frame that is used in the political developments in the British Cameroons relates to the theme of reunification for the already mentioned reason that it is that part of the text that covers the reunification of Cameroon.

Organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of book F2

The analysis of the substantive concepts used in the text also reveals certain concepts of organisational nature as broken down and explained in the table below.

Table 6.9 Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F2

Organisational concept	Nature of presentation in text
Armed struggle	The concept of the armed struggle is used in the text with reference to the activities of the UPC political party in French Cameroon and not directly related to the reunification. The text states that the UPC took a radical position vis-a-vis the French by engaging in an armed struggle (p. 85).
Rebellion	Still related to the activities of the UPC in French Cameroon. The text mentions that the armed struggle of the undertaken or adopted by the UPC was characterised by rebellions in certain parts of the territory of French Cameroon (p. 85).
Unification	This concept is mentioned only in the text on the French Cameroon. It is mentioned three times to be very precise. Firstly it is used to highlight the objectives of the UPC upon its creation which was “independence and the unification of Cameroon” (p. 84). Secondly, it is used to indicate the stance of André Marie Mbida who judged by 1957 when he became Prime minister of French Cameroon that the territory was not sufficiently prepared for independence and Unification (p. 85). The last use of the concept is mentioned in the context of the memorandum prepared by the French High commissioner to Cameroon, Jean Ramadier, which contained the UPC demands on independence and unification (p. 85). The use of the concept in all three situations above does not exactly clarify its meaning. It could be taken to mean unification of the French Cameroon’s territory or unification of French and British Cameroons. However I did not analyse it as reunification simply because it was not mentioned as such.
Reunification	This concept is covered only as part of the text that treats the political developments of British Cameroons. Most particularly, reunification is used to indicate the “essential objectives” of the KNDP upon its creation in 1955 which were “independence and reunification of the French and British Cameroons” (p. 86). Then it is used to refer to Foncha out-voting Enderley to become the prime minister of Southern Cameroons because of the former’s reunification stance that was more appealing to the electorate.

	<p>Lastly it is used with reference to the plebiscites in British Cameroons in which reunification was one of the options. Though the term is not explicitly mentioned in this last instance, it is implied in the context of the explanation. The following sentence supports this: “the second [plebiscite] from 11 to 12 February 1961 concerned the problem of attachment to Nigeria or to the Republic of Cameroon” (p. 86). The “attachment” used in the excerpt above is synonymous to reunification.</p>
Plebiscite	<p>Used to refer to two plebiscites organised by the UN in 1959 and 1961. The text mentions that “the one of 7 November concerned only Northern Cameroons which decided to prolong the trusteeship” (p. 86). There is silence on the alternatives of that plebiscite. “The second [plebiscite] from 11 to 12 February 1961 concerned the problem of attachment to Nigeria or to the Republic of Cameroon” (p. 86). With this second plebiscite the text mentions the options for the electorate and also indicates the outcome as “Southern Cameroons voted 705 in favour of the Republic of Cameroon while 60% of Northern Cameroons chose Nigeria” (p. 86).</p>
Independence	<p>This concept is used in both sections of the text to refer to moves towards political independence for French Cameroon and for British Cameroons. In French Cameroon it is largely used to explore the objectives of the UPC that stood for independence but also to refer to the anti-independence position of Andre Marie Mbida – the first prime minister of pre independence French Cameroon. Lastly it is used to indicate that the territory “proclaimed its independence on 1st January 1960 with A. Ahidjo as first president” (p. 85). In British Cameroons, it is used as an illustration of the “essential objectives” of the KNDP of Foncha which were “independence and reunification of the French and British Cameroons” (p. 86). Even though it is only mentioned in the one instance above in the case of British Cameroons, it could also be said that its use is implied in all other instances where reunification is mentioned with the understanding that reunification was coined as one of the options for the attainment of independence for British Cameroons and “the end of British trusteeship in Southern Cameroons on 1st October 1961” (p. 86) also signified independence for Southern Cameroons by reunification with French Cameroon.</p>

Conclusively, the use of organisational concepts in the text of Book F2 concurs with the substantive historical knowledge type of the text and the explanatory historical genre. All the concepts indicated on Table 6.9 are used in a factorial and consequential explanatory manner and not in a manner as to promote critical thinking, multi perceptivity or even historical enquiry. The concepts therefore match well with the nature of school history promoted by Book F2. Moreover, I noted in the nature of presentations of the concepts in Table 6.9 that most of the concepts used

do not relate to reunification as they are used in the section of the text on developments in French Cameroon that is completely silent on reunification.

This silence and passivity on reunification as seen in the nature of the unique and organisational concepts used in the text in a general sense supports my initial observation that the text of Book F2 considers reunification as just another historical phenomenon in the politics of the British Cameroons rather than a very significant political development for the nation Cameroon inclusive of former British and French Cameroons. The next phase of the analysis of historical knowledge was the nature of the use of procedural concepts as a form of procedural knowledge of history.

Historical procedural concepts extracted from the text of Book F2

The analysis of the text of Book F2 revealed a lack of purposeful use of historical procedural concepts in history. There is however a slight exception with the use of historical time where it was realised that there is an effort to link all major and minor events in the text, within a historical time context thereby underscoring the importance of historical time in understanding the events explained in the text of Book F2. However, the fact that this was not set out as one of the objectives of the text means the use of time or chronology is incidental just like a few other historical procedural concepts that I allude to below. The claim is that the reunification related text of Book F2 is not a procedural historical text but a text that overtly promotes a substantive form of historical knowledge.

Procedural knowledge implicit in the verbal text of Book F2

In the section that follows, I present a list of procedural or first order concepts extracted from the text of Book F2 in their incidental or implicit forms.

- **Historical time**

Chronology is one of the procedural concepts that are used in the text of Book F2. Even though this concept is largely used to describe almost all the developments mentioned in the text, my observation is that the use is incidental due to the fact that the time is not underlined as significant in the events they help explain in the text. The last column of Table 6.8 captures the different times used in the text. In the explanations that follow the table, I have explained in a very detailed manner the nature of the use of time in the text. In a manner of summary, time is used in the text to explain the start of different political parties in the two Cameroons. In the British Cameroons, in addition

to helping in explaining the start of political parties, time is also used to refer to the organisation of the plebiscites and the end of the British and French trusteeships in the region.

- **Cause and effect**

Another procedural concept that I found to be used in the text in an incidental manner is cause and effect. In the section of the text covering French Cameroon, the use of cause and effect is identifiable with regard to the reasons advanced for the creation of political parties. It is mentioned in the text for example that the reasons for the formation of Union Camerounaise and Jeunese Camerouniase Francaise were to fight and resist German propaganda (p. 84). The concept of German propaganda relates to the idea of Cameroon returning to its nature as it was under German colonisation. With regard to the UPC party, the text claims that its creation was to “demand the independence and unification of Cameroon within a fixed time frame and the immediate organisation of elections for the legislative assembly through a universal suffrage and unique college” (p. 84). The effect of the creation of the UPC is then explained as leading to the origin of an armed struggle and rebellion against the French colonial authorities (p. 85). It is also highlighted as an effect that the armed struggle of the UPC resulted in the drafting of a memorandum by the French colonial authorities under Jean Ramadier endorsing the independence and unification exigencies of the UPC and by extension, the proclamation of independence for French Cameroon on 1 January 1960 (p. 85).

Regarding the text covering British Cameroons, the first hint of the implicit use of cause and effect is on the explanation given as reasons for the division of British Cameroons in to Northern and Southern Cameroons. The text states that the division was due to “administrative and geographical” (p. 85) factors. Within the context of the creation of political parties in the British Cameroons, the text shows the creation of the KNDP as being due to a need to demand “independence and reunification of the French and British Cameroons”. This explanation is seen as a causal effect of the creation of the party. The effects of this creation as per the text would be the advancement of the reunification agenda as well as the leader of the party, Foncha, becoming prime minister of Southern Cameroons. As already mentioned, these causes and effects are not directly mentioned in the text as such but I was able to analyse them through their implied use within the explanations.

No further procedural concepts were used in the text even in an incidental manner apart from the two that have been explored above. This means that there were no events that were used in a manner that suggest them being of historical significance, there were no suggestions in the text of elements of historical empathy, no aspects of the text to promote historical interpretation or even multiperspectivity.

Overall, the historical knowledge of the text of this book is overtly substantive with an intense use of first order concepts. This substantive knowledge emphasised the memorisation of the actions of political figures in their role towards the decolonisation process of Africa with very little on the reunification per se. With the reunification appearing only in the Anglophone section of the text, their text is sending a message that the event was not more significant for Cameroon as it was rather a passive and negligible part of the history and political developments of British Cameroons only. The idea for such historical knowledge on reunification was analysed as an attempt to avoid exposing Francophone history learners to the debates and controversies surrounding reunification so that they would not have a voice in debate that would risk national integration or would lack the requisite historical knowledge to empathise with any future Anglophone Cameroons' grievances regarding post reunification challenges. This form of historical knowledge and the single master narrative around it was consolidated through the explanatory and descriptive historical genre type of the text as well as the non-use of explicit procedural historical concepts. In the next section, I present the findings on the discourses that emerged from the analysis of the text of Book F2 in general including the genre type and kind of historical knowledge.

6.3.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F2

After the analysis of the genre, historical genre type of the text in Book F2 and the nature of historical knowledge, the last phase of the analysis involved the analysis of the kind of discourses that emerged from the text. The following discourses emerged from that process.

- **Nature of school history and reunification as per Book F2**

A very important discourse that emerged from the analysis of Book F2 is the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon, particularly in French Cameroon as the specific education context that the book represents. The following explanations reflect the nature of school history garnered from the text.

The first idea is that school history is about narration, explanation and description of facts and events supported by historical dates. The analysis of the text historical genre and historical knowledge type reveal that this is just what the text promotes as school history. The analysis of the genre type places the text squarely within the explanatory genre. This means that the emphasis of the text is on providing factors and consequences or effects of the different events explained. This is also true in relation to the focus on the substantive knowledge type in the text and a complete absence of procedural concepts of history.

Secondly, the nature of school history in Cameroon as per Book F2 could also be seen as one that tries to avoid contentious and controversial historical phenomena or topics. The topic in question in this case is the reunification of Cameroon. The very limited textual coverage allocated to reunification of Cameroon in the text and the fact that limited coverage is only done in the section of the text that deals with Anglophone Cameroons justifies the claim that there is a deliberate attempt by the Book F2 not to engage the topic due to its controversial and contentious nature. That being the case, it could then be claimed that school history in Francophone Cameroon as seen in the Book F2 is aimed at promoting civic education, social cohesion and nation building. In these circumstances, it is clear that any historical phenomenon such as reunification that contradicts these objectives will not be encouraged and represented fairly. Moreover, by presenting the history through the actions of political figures only, the text is promoting a view of history that only such people were responsible for creating the history of Cameroon. Therefore school history in Cameroon is about the actions of the big men and those actions carried out by ordinary Cameroonians were insignificant in shaping the country and not worth studying.

- **Discourse of exclusion**

In the same light as the nature of school history explained above, the absence of reunification content in the text invokes a discourse of exclusion. Analysed through the application of the tool on silences, reunification was seen to be completely absent in the section of the text that explains developments in French Cameroon, and in British Cameroons, reunification is mentioned almost passively. This silence on reunification is also true with the visual text whereby the two images represented in the text both embody French Cameroonian politicians who had no links with reunification of Cameroon per se. Even though the verbal text on French Cameroon mentions some politicians who were involved in the reunification process, there is no image of any one of

them in the visual text. It is not surprising therefore that Ahidjo, who later became the prime minister of French Cameroon and then president of the reunified Cameroon, is not represented in the visual text. This I take to be due to his participation in the reunification process which is something about which the text author and producers are not keen on reporting. More evidence for this claim is that even when Ahidjo is mentioned in the verbal text, the text is very silent on the area of his activism towards reunification. It is only mentioned that:

“Le désaveu de Mbida entraîne sa démission et son successeur, Ahmadou Ahidjo, est investi dans ses nouvelles fonctions en février 1958» (p. 85) – (he took over from Mbida because of the latter’s reluctance to embrace the independence agenda for French Cameroon). The next instance when Ahidjo is mentioned is in the context of the independence of French Cameroon on 1st January 1960 as president (p. 58).

Such silence on a very significant aspect of the history of Cameroon in a Francophone Cameroon’s school history textbook at different levels as I have explained in the previous paragraph cannot be accidental. In fact the nature of the silences bears all the semblance of a purposive and manipulative form of silence. A major characteristic of this form of silence is intention (intentionality) to be silent. In the case of reunification in Book F2, I posit that the silence is purposive implying a clear intention from not only the author but other education stake holders who make a deliberate decision to promote such a book in Cameroonian schools. Both discourses on silence and on the nature of school history are characterised by a well-intentioned master narrative. This makes another discourse that is explained below.

- **A master narrative**

Another discourse that emanated from the analysis of the text of Book F2 is that of a Francophone master narrative. In an attempt to portray the kind of school history fostered by the text, Book F2 adopted certain master narratives. These master narratives are encapsulated in the historical genre and knowledge types of the text as well as through other explicit and implicit narratives and explanations. The first master narrative in the text is the notion that reunification is not a very significant development in the history of Cameroon. This is seen in the veiled and the silent or passive approach that the text adopts towards the topic of reunification as I have detailed in the previous paragraphs. As a substitute to the narrative on reunification, the text highlights the development of political parties in both French and English Cameroons as major historical

developments worth learning. This master narrative of shifting the historical focus of Cameroon from the controversial and contested reunification to that of the development of political parties is well intentioned with the objective of avoiding topics that can result in chaos in the Francophone schools and possibly disrupt social harmony or even promote the course of Anglophone Cameroon activism. This master narrative is achieved in the text of Book F2 through two predominant ways: firstly by grossly limiting the verbal and visual textual explanations on reunification. I take note of the fact that not even one of the two images used in the text represent people who had political inclinations favourable to reunification; secondly by not giving agency to the proponents of reunification in the text or linking those proponents to their reunification related activities. Ahidjo for instance is mentioned in the text but not in the context of his reunification related activities. Therefore it could also be said that one of the ways in which the master narrative is promoted is through foregrounding and backgrounding. This I take as another discourse that emerged from the text and is explained below.

- **Francophone nationalism and superiority in Cameroon**

One of the ways through which the text of Book F2 promotes the Francophone master narrative is through foregrounding and backgrounding certain elements. I take it that whether these actions are deliberate or incidental, they have the effect of either attaching importance to those activities or to making them appear less important. However, the analysis of the activities foregrounded and those backgrounded in the text reveal similar trends that fit the general nature and purpose of the text as seen in my explanations on the nature of school history in Cameroon and that of a master narrative. The following examples of foregrounding and backgrounding were extracted from the text to the effect that they unveiled a Francophone nationalism and superiority discourse.

At the very beginning is an issue with the structure of the text. It has already been intimated in section 6.3.1 as well as Table 6.6 that the text is divided into two sections, with the first section on the political developments in French Cameroon followed by a second on political developments in British Cameroons in that order. The placing of French Cameroon before British Cameroons attaches importance to the former over the latter in the treatment of the two. Moreover, the fact that reunification is not mentioned in the foregrounded text on French Cameroon is an indication that the structure is intentional rather than simply incidental.

Moreover, the text foregrounds the creation and development of political parties in both sections of the Cameroons with the dates of their creation and largely backgrounds the activities of those political parties. The rationale for this is that foregrounding the activities of the politicians will bring to the fore the issue of reunification with all its controversies which is an element the text is purposefully trying to avoid.

Noticeably, in terms of visual images, the text foregrounds politicians from French Cameroon by allocating two visual spaces to them and none for any politician from the British Cameroons. This is a clear instance of visual backgrounding of British Cameroons through visual representation with the purpose being not to present an image that can be linked to reunification in line with the fact that the verbal text on British Cameroons has already captured reunification as a theme even though passively. Yet again, even with the two Francophone Cameroon politicians represented in the visual text, there is a deliberate foregrounding of those who are not linked to reunification and a total silence (another form of backgrounding) of the politicians from French Cameroon whose activities cannot naturally be disconnected from the reunification developments. The purpose here is also clear being the deliberate avoidance of anything that can be alluded to the reunification even implicitly.

- **Reunification as an Anglophone affair**

Backgrounding the reunification discourse to the Anglophone section of the text which in itself is also backgrounded in relation to the Francophone part of the text is an insinuation that reunification in the text of Book F2 is not depicted as an event that involved the whole of Cameroon and thereby significant to Cameroon history in general, but rather as an event that only concerned the Anglophone section of Cameroon. Such depiction is not only historically inaccurate but purposefully deceptive of intelligence of the learners who consume the text. The literature reviewed in chapters one and two has shown that the UPC party created in French Cameroon had reunification as one of its objectives and also that Ahidjo of French Cameroon had several meetings with Foncha of the Southern Cameroons in the build up to the plebiscite and after the plebiscite with reunification as main item of their agenda. All these activities on reunification that involved French Cameroon are omitted from the text leaving the reader with a false notion that the event was strictly by and for Anglophone Cameroons.

- **Male chauvinism discourse**

Again, the analysis revealed that the text promotes male hegemony. This is because in the entire verbal and visual text, there is no mention of a female participant as an active participant or even a passive one in any of the events that are explained in the text. The list of people extracted from the text that I have presented in Table 6.7 and also as unique people in Table 6.7 all contain names of male characters. The verbal text shows these male characters in very active roles whilst the visual text contains images of two male characters from French Cameroon's extraction. If ever the text considered women in any role whatsoever, the fact that they are not mentioned means such roles are generic such as in events like the plebiscites that the text mentions in the British Cameroons.

- **Colonial agency**

The last discourse that I analysed from the text in Book F2 is the discourse supporting colonial agency. The text presents colonial institutions as being the basis in the determination of the most significant events represented. The following events gleaned from the text can be cited in this regard. In the text on French Cameroon it is mentioned that:

... les Français, tout en combattant l'U.P.C., avaient fait évoluer le statut politique du pays qui devient, en 1957, une république autonome avec André-Marie Mbida comme Premier ministre (p. 85). – (... The French whilst combatting the UPC, had advanced the political status of the country which in 1947 became an autonomous republic with André Marie Mbida as prime minister).

Or, Paris préparait au même moment le débat sur le Cameroun prévu à la tribune de l'O.N.U. pour 1958. Le nouveau Haut-Commissaire de la République française à Yaoundé, Jean Ramadier, fit préparer un mémorandum qui reprenait les revendications de l'U.P.C. : Indépendance et Unité du Cameroun (p. 85) – (Meanwhile Paris was preparing at the same time the debate on Cameroon to be deliberated at the assembly of the UN in 1958. The new high commissioner of the Republic of France in Yaounde, Jean Ramadier, prepared a memorandum which contained the revendications of the UPC: independence and unification of Cameroon).

In the two excerpts quoted above the colonial authorities are clearly seen as being reactive rather than proactive. However, both excerpts directly give credit of the political advancement of French Cameroon not to the UPC activism but to the French who in reality were only reacting on UPC pressure. This is an attempt to portray the colonial authorities in this case France and the institution of the UN as role players in the advancement of the status of French Cameroon thereby

undermining the activities of the UPC political party in that respect. In the section of the text on the British Cameroons, the only significant events explained are the plebiscites which are also given colonial agency when it is explained that “En 1959 et en 1961, deux plébiscites sont organisés par le Nations unies” (p. 86). – (In 1959 and in 1961, two plebiscites were organised by the UN). Though not disputing the role of the UN in the plebiscites, there were other historical factors around the plebiscite involving British Cameroonians that are silenced by the text because those factors do not support the agency of the colonial instrument which is the intention of the text of Book F2 to promote.

6.3.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F2

In this section, I consolidate the findings from the analysis of the text in Book F2 in order to clearly underline the nature of representation in the book and the discourses that emerged.

The analysis started with detailed description of the text before an examination of the text to situate it within a historical genre type. The description of the text showed that it is comprised of verbal and visual text. The verbal text divided into two sections dealing with political developments in French Cameroon and British Cameroons respectively whilst the visual text contains two images of politicians from French Cameroon. Worthy of note from the description phase was the realisation that the theme on reunification is covered only in the section of the text on British Cameroons and even there the theme is covered in a very passive manner. In relation to the historical genre type, it was revealed that the text is situated within a historical explanatory genre type. The specific category of this genre that best situates the text is the factorial and consequential explanatory genre. The entire text is narrative, descriptive and explanatory in nature compounded by factors or causes of different events and the consequences and the explanations of the roles of different historical figures in the historical developments of both sections of Cameroon.

The analysis of the historical knowledge types led to revelations that linked the type of historical knowledge promoted by the text with the genre type of the text. Through an analysis of the concepts used in the text, it was realised that the text is highly substantive and thereby promotes a substantive form of historical knowledge. This substantive form of historical knowledge was used explicitly and was visible through the first order concepts related to people, events, and places. The substantive concepts were seen to contain two main categories, which are the unique and organisational historical substantive concepts. The unique substantive concepts involved

substantive concepts related to people and movements, historical events mentioned in the text, and places as reflected in Table 6.7. Under the people category, the text was seen to present names of politicians from both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons with one name from France. There is however a high representation of names from French Cameroon compared to British Cameroons. There is a similar trend with regard to the mentioning of political movements with a higher number from French Cameroon than from British Cameroons. This unbalanced representation of people and movements between French and British Cameroons gives a clue as to where the emphasis of the text of Book F2 is situated. A similar pattern is observed with the representation of unique places whereby only one name from Anglophone Cameroons is mentioned in the text compared to French Cameroon. In relation to substantive concepts on events, the analysis showed that most of the events speak to political developments in French Cameroon such as armed struggle and the UPC rebellion that do not relate to the reunification directly. The only event that relates to reunification as mentioned in the British Cameroons section of the text is the plebiscite. Again what this implies is a lack of focus on reunification or better still a view of reunification as an Anglophone phenomenon rather than a Cameroonian one.

The analysis also picked the use of organisational substantive concepts as part of the substantive knowledge used in the text. Six of these concepts were extracted from the text and presented in Table 6.9 together with the context of their use in the text. The six organisational concepts are: armed struggle, rebellion, unification, reunification, plebiscite, independence. Of these six concepts, three are used in the text on French Cameroon (armed struggle, rebellion, unification); while two are used in the text on British Cameroons (reunification, plebiscite), the other (independence) is used across the two sections of the text. The term unification is used in the French section of the text twice and I analysed it to mean unification of the French Cameroon and not unification of the two Cameroons because that option is already used in other places as reunification. Of all six organisational concepts in the text, only two directly link to reunification of Cameroon (reunification and plebiscite) and both are used in the British Cameroons text. This confirms two earlier claims: firstly that reunification is not important for Book F2 and secondly that it is a historical process that concerned only the Anglophone Cameroons and not the entire Cameroon.

As part of the analysis on the historical knowledge types, I also observed that the text made use of certain procedural concepts of history albeit in an incidental manner. Two concepts were extracted from the text under this category being: historical time and cause and effect. I then explained the context in which these procedural concepts were used in the text thereby providing evidence to the claim that they are incidental, implicit and do not therefore help qualify the text as promoting procedural knowledge of history.

Finally, the last stage of the analysis involved the examination of the discourses that emerged from the text as a result of the historical genre of the text and the historical knowledge type. The discourses extracted in this regard are captured and explained in detail in section 6.3.3. A list of the discourses that I extracted from the text are: discourse on the nature of school history in Francophone Cameroon, discourse on exclusion, presence of a master narrative, Francophone nationalism and superiority discourse, reunification as an Anglophone affair, discourse of male hegemony or chauvinism, and lastly a discourse of colonial agency. The most prominent discourse amongst all in the text of this book is exclusion. Exclusion as revealed through the analyses of silence relates to the absence of textual coverage on the reunification in both the verbal and visual text. The discourse on silence is important in understanding all the other discourse listed. For instance, silence on reunification shows a nature of school history that purposefully attempts to discourage exposing students to controversial issues in history that can disrupt peace. Silence also reveals a master narrative that focuses on other historical aspects to give the impression that reunification is not important. Furthermore because the silence is mostly on the section of the text dealing with French Cameroon, the implication is that the text promotes a view of reunification as an Anglophone phenomenon instead of a Cameroonian historical event. With the above explanations, it becomes evident that the discourse of exclusion is the main discourse permeating the text of Book F2. All these discourses are discussed in an intertwined manner because they all relate to and inform each other.

This conclusion has consolidated the major findings from the analysis of Book F2. In the next section, I present the findings from the analysis of Book F3 following the same pattern.

6.4 FINDINGS FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF REUNIFICATION IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F3

The third and final Francophone history textbook that was analysed in this study in relation to the representation of reunification was Book F3. The book is titled: *Mon témoignage. Le Cameroun de l'indépendance (1958-170)*. This is translated as: My testimony. Cameroon's independence (1958-1970). It is authored by Christian-Tobie Kuoh. This last book presents a completely different genre from the rest in the French textbooks category. In effect, the text is a testimony by the author on his observations on various political developments in Cameroon, especially French Cameroon after WWII up to the period immediately after the reunification. The analysis therefore focused on the part of the text that presents his testimony on the reunification of Cameroon. Accordingly I present the findings in the proceeding sections beginning with a description of the genre of the text related to reunification in the Book F3.

6.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXT RELATED TO REUNIFICATION IN BOOK F3

As I have indicated above in the introduction to this book, the nature or historical genre of the book is different from the others that I have analysed in this study including the Anglophone textbooks. This book is a testimony by the author on “what he saw and what he thought he understood” (p. 8) on the political developments of Cameroon from the period after WWII to the immediate post reunification era. The content of the book is therefore a representation of the author's experiences of the events he is narrating in the book.

Book F3 is written in chapters with each chapter focusing on a specific historical development in Cameroon. It comprises a total of nine chapters. The chapter that was analysed for this study is chapter nine (pp. 119-145). It is this chapter that covers the reunification of Cameroon which is the focus of this study. The chapter is titled “Sur la réunification du Cameroun” (p. 119). – (On the reunification of Cameroon). The chapter is further divided in to different sections as Table 6.10 below demonstrates.

Table 6.10 Breakdown of topics in the text of chapter six of Book F3

Topics and sub topics		Page number
The second phase (1953-1955)	Southern Cameroons	121-124
	French Cameroon	125

The third phase: the years 1956-57-58	Southern Cameroons	125-126
	Cameroon under French Trusteeship	126-127
The final battle 1959-1960		127-132
The putting in place of Federal institutions on the eve of 1962	West Cameroon	132-133
	East Cameroon	133-137
What is democracy?	The sovereignty of the people	138-139
	Freedom (second immortal principle)	139
	Equality (third immortal principle)	140-141
The nature of power in our countries, its basis, and its criteria		141-145

Table 6.10 above captures all the topics and sub topics contained in chapter six of Book F3. However, I noted that not all the topics in the chapter as contained in the table above directly relate to reunification. Out of the total six topics, only the first four of them relate to reunification. The last two topics are more generic in nature and relate to broader political understandings of democracy and the concept of political power. Therefore, the analysis centred on the section of the chapter that relates to reunification which is the first four topics listed on Table 6.10 above.

The text on reunification in Book F3 is broadly divided into different phases and also treated separately for French and British Cameroons. The first phase is presented as an introduction to the chapter and not allocated a topic (pp. 120-121), hence its omission on Table 6.10. This first phase covers political developments and reunification initiatives in the two Cameroons from the period immediately after WWII up to 1952. The second phase (pp. 121-125) contains reunification developments in the two Cameroons between the years 1953-1955 while the third phase (pp. 125-127) covers the period 1956-1957 and 1958. The last phase (pp. 127-132) is captured as “la dernière bataille” (p. 127) – (the final battle) and contains direct or immediate developments around reunification in both Cameroons. This last phase could also be seen as the immediate cause of the reunification whilst the previous phases would be the remote causes. In all these phases the narration is divided in to the activities in French and then British Cameroons. The last section that relates to reunification covers post reunification activities in terms of the federal structure that was instituted as a pre requisite for reunification. It should also be noted that the text of Book F2 is entirely verbal and void of visual images to support the verbal text.

After the detailed description of the text, I then continued the analysis with an examination of the historical genre in which the text is situated. Table 6.11 below is a summary of the historical genre structure of the reunification text in Book F2.

Table 6.11 Summary of historical genre type in text of Book F3

Historical genre type	Auto biographical recount	Historical sub-genre types
		Recording or explaining genre
	Historical Account: Explaining historical genre	Factorial explanation
		Consequential explanation
Chronology	Clear chronological framework. Purposive chronological description of events	
Narrative	Clear narrative text structure	
Nature of participants and places	Specific participants: Dr. Enderley, M. Djoumessi Mathias, M. Jabea Dibongue, George Samson, Mbile, J.N. Foncha, Jua, Solomon Tandeng Muna, Dr. Diboue, Chief Mukete, Tamejong Ndoumou, Jacques Kissob, Soppo Priso, British secretary of state for colonies, Ahidjo, Djahal Abdah, Jean-Faustin Betayene, Prof Maurice Duverger	
	Generalised participants and places: Le Ngondo, le Kumzse, UPC, Bakweri Land Committee, Douala, Tiko, Buea, Victoria, Bamileke, Dschang, NCNC, Nigeria, French Cameroon's Welfare, Kumba, KUNC, Union Francaise, Commonwealth, Eseka, ONU, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Bornu, Adamaoua, Benoue, Enugu, Mamfe, Ibo, KNC, KPP, Lagos, KNDP, Bamenda, Bloc Democratique Camerounais, London, New York, Great Britain, France, Iran, Kribi, Ntem, Dja et Lobo, Boulou, Briqueterie, French Union, Foumban,	
Historical event description	Plebiscites, Foumban conference, UN visiting missions. Clear narrative description of many events linked to reunification from British and French Cameroon	

As can be seen from the Table 6.11 above, the text on reunification in this Book F3, just like the entire book is situated at the cross roads of two historical genre structures. On the one hand, the text is an autobiographical recount historical genre. Within this historical genre type, the text falls within the historical sub-genre category of the recording and explaining genre. This historical genre and sub-genre type implies that the text is a record of accounts and explanations of the first hand experiences of the author on reunification developments in the Cameroons. The author through the text is recounting what he saw and heard on the reunification from an insider

perspective. He is a part of and not distanced from the events he is recounting in the text. The first evidence of this historical genre type is in the title of the book itself which is “my testimony”, implying the testimony of the author. Further evidence found within the content of the text relates to the recurrent use of the first person to refer to the author in the description of events. The following examples substantiate this view:

C'est là que je rencontrai pour la première fois en 1958 celui qui allait être sacré l'un des deux pères de la réunification. il venait saluer, ainsi que le veut la politesse africaine, «l'hôte du docteur», leur chef occulte. Nous causions. Je l'interrogeais sur son parti, ses possibilités (p. 130) – (Its then that in 1958 I met for the first time the person who was to be crowned one of the two torch bearers of reunification. He had come to greet, in line with African humility, “the guest of the doctor” their cult chief. We spoke. I interrogated him on his party, his chances)

Cet homme, on l'aura deviné, c'est J.N. Foncha que je retrouvais moins de deux ans après à Buéa (l'histoire va vite) ou, envoyé par le Premier ministre Ahidjo, je venais l'entretenir de certains modalités de l'union (p. 130) – (This person, we would have predicted, was J. N. Foncha whom I was meeting less than two years later in Buea (history goes quickly) where I was sent by the Prime Minister Ahidjo to engage him on certain modalities of the union)

Je le revois encore à Foumban, dans son habit traditionnelle, recueillant au nom de tous ces combattants d'outre Mongo, aux côtés du président Ahidjo... (p. 130) – (I meet him again at Foumban in his traditional attire representing his fighters on the other side of the Mungo, alongside president Ahidjo...)

Le Président me prit, ainsi que Jean-Faustin Betayene, et nous ordonna d'extraire avant seize heures la quintes-sence de tout ce qui était dit depuis le matin (p. 130) – (The president beckoned me and Jean-Faustin Betayene, and ordered us to produce by 4.00 pm a summary of everything that had transpired since the morning)

A cette minute-là, ma pensée se porte instinctivement sur ces combattants anonymes, sur celui qui, à mes yeux, les incarnait, sur le Docteur Dibue resté dans l'ombre, même dans cette circonstance (p. 131) – (At that moment, my thoughts went instinctively on those anonymous fighters, on the person who incarnated them, on Dr. Dibue who had remained in the shadows even under these circumstances)

Scandalisé par ce qu'il vient de voir, d'entendre aussi, il me raconte cette scène:... (p. 134) – (Scandalised by what he had just witnessed and also heard, he recounted to me the following scene: ...)

The excerpts above, culled from the text of Book F3, support the view of the text being an autobiographical recount historical genre. In these examples, the author is also seen as a close associate to Ahidjo (prime minister of pre independent French Cameroon and first president of reunified Cameroon). It is this capacity that enriches him with the experience on the historical events on reunification that he is recounting in the book. The examples show the author clearly part of the reunification narrative of the text.

On the other hand, the text is a historical account and therefore constitutes a part of the Explaining component of that historical genre. More specifically, the text is comprised of personal/autobiographical factorial and consequential explanations as the focus of its historical account of the reunification events. The explanations in the text are done in accordance with its structure, which are the different phases of reunification categorised in the text and the activities in the different sections of Cameroon within these phases. The following factorial and consequential explanations were extracted from the different phases expressed in the text. In the first phase the text states that:

Cette renaissance, favorisée par les accords de tutelle, donna lieu à l'établissement d'un statut écrit dont l'art. 34 stipule: «la faculté d'entrer en coexistence est offerte à nos frères de Tribus voisins séparés de nous. L'Assemblée traditionnelle du peuple douala s'emploiera à réaliser notre union» (p. 119) – (This renaissance, made favourable by the trusteeship accord gave rise to the establishment of a written clause which stated in article 34 “the possibility to enter in to co-existence and offer our brethren from neighbouring tribes who were separated from us. The traditional assembly of the Douala people would work for the realisation of our union).

The above factorial explanation indicates the early initiative that promoted the idea of reunification in the aftermath of WWII in French Cameroon. The text then provided explanations on the consequences of this early initiate in the following excerpts.

Joignant l'acte à la parole, le Ngondo entra immédiatement en relation avec une Association tribal du Cameroun dénommée «Bakweri Land Committee» dirigée par le Dr Enderley et qui groupait les tribus installées à Tiko, Buéa et Victoria, donc proches linguistiquement et géographiquement des Duala (p. 119) – (Matching actions with words, the Ngondo immediately entered in to relations with a tribal association in [British] Cameroons by name “Bakweri Land Committee” under the leadership of Dr Enderley and which regrouped tribes located at Tiko, Buea and Victoria, and linguistically and geographically close to the Douala).

L'UPC, parti politique créé en 1948, apparaît au départ comme un mouvement nationaliste, anti-tribal et revendiquant à la fois l'indépendance et la réunification, cette dernière étant un préalable à la souveraineté nationale (p. 120) – (The UPC political party created in 1948 appeared at the beginning as an anti-tribal nationalist movement whose demands were independence and reunification, the latter being a pre requisite for national sovereignty).

Aussi dans les années 1948, 1949, le Ngondo noue-t-il des rapports étroits avec le French Cameroon's Welfare aux fins d'aider ce mouvement à intensifier son action et de parvenir au but commun. Ces contacts, auxquels devaient se joindre par la suite l'UPC, le Kumzse et même le NCNC, donnent lieu à la création à Kumba en 1952, d'un mouvement dénommé «Kamerun United national Congress (KUNC), sorte de «front commun» pour la réunification des deux Cameroun (p. 120) – (Also in the years 1948, 1949, the Ngondo, entered firm relations with the French Cameroon's Welfare with the aim of assisting the movement intensify its action to attend a common objective. These contacts which were to be joined by the UPC, the Kumzse and even the NCNC, led to the creation in Kumba in 1952 of a movement called Kamerun United national Congress (KUNC), kind of “common front” for the reunification of the two Cameroons).

The events of this first phase are therefore explained as one factor being the desire of the traditional class in Douala to co-exist with the neighbouring tribes especially those across the Mungo who had been separated from them along colonial lines. The consequences of this factor are seen as an emergence of collaboration between associations and groups across the two Cameroons and the establishment of political pressure groups such as the KUNC and political parties like the UPC with a clear reunification agenda.

It is in the second phase that the text of Book F3 starts treating the reunification developments separately for the two Cameroons. Starting with British Cameroons, the imminent factorial and consequential explanations from the text allude to the crises within the NCNC party that gave rise to “on one part the KNC (Kamerun National Congress) in favour of a larger autonomy vis-à-vis Nigeria; on the other part the KPP (Kamerun People's Party) in favour of integration of Cameroon with Nigeria” (p. 123). The text however states that the consequence of the crises within the NCNC was also “the dissolution of the Assembly at Enugu [and] the calling of fresh elections by the British authorities in Lagos” (p. 123). Within this phase, the text also introduces J.N. Foncha to the scene through his creation of the KNDP from a split within the KNC. The consequence of this factor is that the KNDP “goes closer to the UPC and ostensibly adds independence and reunification on its agenda” (p. 124).

Still within this phase, the factorial and consequential explanations in French Cameroon relate to the activities of two political parties, the UPC and the BDC. The explanations speak to the stance of these two parties in favour of reunification and most particularly the fact that the UPC mandated its secretary general to represent the reunification ideals of the party before the different summits of the UN (p. 125).

In the third phase of the developments, and in the text on the British Cameroons, the main explanation is the London constitutional conference where Foncha “presented a memorandum demanding the separation of British Cameroons from the federation of Nigeria” (p. 126). The consequence of this action by Foncha as per the textual explanation is that “the idea of reunification becomes more than ever before a main item of discussion in the premise of the UN, with declarations from the British and French administrative authorities publicly recognising the problem” (p. 126). Within this period in French Cameroon, the explanations centre around two prime ministers with different ideas for the future of the territory. The first prime minister whose name is not mentioned in the text but which historical facts know him as Andre Marie Mbida, is presented as “not according the problem of reunification the place it deserved in his program and did not hide his disinterest” (pp. 126-127). The consequence for this is that his government is overthrown and he is replaced by Ahidjo as new prime minister “whose inauguration declarations placed reunification on the first plan of his agenda” (p. 127).

The last phase of the developments for British Cameroons constitutes two main issues, which are the plebiscites in Southern and Northern Cameroons and the Foumban Conference. The factorial explanations from the text concern the UN resolutions to that effect and serve as the basis for the plebiscites. The text states that: “the Trusteeship commission by the vote recommended that separate plebiscites be held in Southern and Northern Cameroons under the auspices of the UN in order to determine the aspirations of the inhabitants of each territory on the subject of their future” (p. 128). Consequent to this declaration by the UN, the text states that: “the plebiscites took place and the population from Southern Cameroons voted in favour of reunification” (p. 129). This outcome of the plebiscite for Southern Cameroons led to the Foumban conference that the text describes as “a very great success” (p. 131).

Other elements that support the historical genre types hitherto explained include: a purposive chronological framework, a very clear narrative description of events, a clear narrative text

structure, and the use of different categories of specific and generalised participants. These other elements supporting the historical genre types are captured in Table 6.11 but because they constitute a form of historical knowledge, I explain their implications in greater detail under the section on defining historical knowledge types in the text in the next section of this analysis.

However, it should be noted that the auto biographical and factorial explanatory historical genre of this text has certain discursive implications. By looking at history from the perspective of a single individual, who in this case is the author, the book is promoting a big man or elitist form of history based on a singular perspective. It is assumed that what the author heard and says or what he says he heard and/or witnessed could be taken as historical universal truth without contestation or need for corroboration. The idea of the universality of the authors' truth is promoted in this genre in the form of explanations, descriptions and narrations of the historical events, and the absence of procedural methods to check and balance these explanations. The risk here is that the author is allowed to pass on his historical biases and prejudices on the reunification narrative unchecked which the learners then have to accept and memorise. Moreover, this historical genre has revealed an inclusive Anglophone and Francophone collaboration and efforts towards the reunification process. This is seen with collaboration that the text depicts between the traditional tribal groups and the political parties from both sides of Cameroon around the reunification question. The fact that this collaboration is seen to have its roots in the German colonial era and is informed by the partition that followed the ousting of the Germans in Cameroon, is seen as an effort by the text to send a message that the present division of Cameroon along colonial lines should not be used to define the people because they were one people under the Germans. This text therefore has a strong inclusive and Cameroon unity master narrative that is sent out through its historical genre application.

6.4.2 HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF TEXT IN BOOK F3

The historical knowledge type represented in the text of Book F3 is a largely substantive one. This is evident in the use of first order concepts linked to reunification related people, events, and places. The emphasis of the text is on explaining the reunification developments as facts from a predominantly eye witness perspective of the author and not to engage the developments through multiple perspectivity or sourcing. Hence with the exception of the explicit use of historical time, any other form of procedural knowledge in the text is inadvertent. Below is a list of historical

substantive concepts extracted from the text of Book F3 to support the claim of a substantive knowledge emphasis.

Historical substantive concepts extracted from the text in Book F3

- Le Ngondo, UPC, Bakweri Land Committee, Douala, Tiko, Buea, Victoria, Bamileke, Dschang, NCNC, Nigeria, French Cameroon’s Welfare, Kumba, KUNC, Union Francaise, Commonwealth, Eseka, ONU, Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroons, Bornu, Adamaoua, Fouban, Benoue, Enugu, Mamfe, Ibo, KNC, KPP, Lagos, KNDP, Bamenda, Bloc Democratique Camerounais, London, New York, Great Britain, France, Iran, Kribi, Ntem, Dja et Lobo, Boulou, Briqueterie, Dr. Enderley, M. Djoumessi Mathias, M. Jabea Dibongue, George Samson, Mbile, J.N. Foncha, Jua, Solomon Tandeng Muna, Dr. Diboue, Chief Mukete, Tamejong Ndoumou, Jacques Kissob, Soppo Priso, British secretary of state for colonies, Ahidjo, Djahal Abdah, Jean-Faustin Betayene, Prof Maurice Duverger, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1952, 1953-1955, 1956-57-58, 1959-1960, reunification, Germans, French zone, English zone, nationalist movement, anti-tribal movements, independence, national sovereignty, unified Cameroon, French Union, UN visiting mission, anti-colonialism, federalism, integration, House of Assembly, plebiscite, national day.

The list above represents all the historical substantive concepts used in the text of Book F3 to support the substantive knowledge base. These concepts for the purpose of analysis were further divided into unique and thematic and organisational substantive concepts in line with the methodological design of this study.

Unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3

Table 6.12 below is a representation of the unique historical substantive concepts captured from the text under the categories of unique people; unique events, unique places, unique time. The implication of these unique concepts in promoting the substantive knowledge of history in the text is discussed after the table.

Table 6.12 Break down of unique historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3

Unique People/movements	Unique Places	Unique Events	Unique Time
Le Ngondo, le Kumzse, UPC, Bakweri Land Committee, French Cameroon’s Welfare, NCNC, KUNC, Union Francaise, Commonwealth, KNC, KPP, ONU, KNDP, Bloc Democratique	Douala, Tiko, Buea, Victoria, Bamileke, Dschang, Nigeria, Eseka, Northern Cameroons,	Plebiscites, Fouban conference, UN visiting missions,	1947, 1948, 1949, 1952, 1953-

Camerounais, Dr. Enderley, M. Djoumessi Mathias, M. Jabea Dibongue, George Samson, Mbile, J.N. Foncha, Jua, Solomon Tandeng Muna, Dr. Diboue, Chief Mukete, Tamejong Ndoumou, Jacques Kissob, Soppo Priso, British secretary of state for colonies, Ahidjo, Djahal Abdah, Jean-Faustin Betayene, Prof Maurice Duverger, French Union	Southern Cameroons, Bornu, Adamaoua, Fouban, Benoue, Enugu, Mamfe, London, New York, Great Britain, France, Iran, Kribi, Bamenda,		1955, 1956-57-58, 1959-1960
--	---	--	-----------------------------

The first category of the analysis of substantive concepts in the text of Book F3 considered those related to the mentioning of people and movements. In terms of people, the text makes representation of people from the different sectors involved in the reunification. There are names of people from Southern Cameroons, French Cameroon, France and Britain. These people are mentioned in an almost even manner with very little or no foregrounding and backgrounding of some over others. The implication of this even representation of people in the text is an effort by the author to present the reunification of Cameroon as an inclusive achievement and not a preserve of certain individuals. This is also true with the mention of movements. In this latter category, I observed also an inclusive representation of movements and organisations from Southern Cameroons such as the KNDP, KPP, KNC, from French Cameroon such as the UPC, and UC. There is also an inclusive representation of traditional organisations from French and Southern Cameroons such as the Ngondo and the Bakweri Land Committee respectively. Finally, there is a depiction of International organisations such as the UNO and the Commonwealth. The key findings here seen from the intertextuality of the text and the authorial gaze are that the representations of people and movements or organisations in the text of Book F3 are inclusive to the different stake holders of the reunification endeavour with the purpose of undermining the post-colonial Anglo-French division of the country and pushing forward a single and united Cameroon narrative.

The inclusive nature of the representation of the historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3 is also true of the spaces/places mentioned. All the places indicated on Table 6.12 are spread across Southern and French Cameroons as an indication of the practical involvement of these two sectors in the reunification developments. Moreover, the intrinsic link between the reunification of Cameroon and developments in Nigeria is highlighted by the presence of substantive concepts linked to places in Nigeria. Finally, the mention of places in Britain and in France completes the

intention of the text to present an inclusive picture of reunification participation by portraying the role of the colonial masters of both reunified territories.

The text of Book F3 makes mention of many historical events. But because of the historical genre nature of the text, many of those events mentioned are passive and side events that are not directly relevant or related to the reunification discourse. In the majority of the historical events, the author merely describes his being part of the entourage of Ahidjo and their meetings with different officials. The main historical events in the text that are directly linked to reunification are those captured in Table 6.12 being the UN organised plebiscites, the Fouban Conference and the UN visiting missions. Therefore it can be said that the text of Book F3 does not emphasise the importance of historical events in the reunification process but rather its focus is on the role or position of the author in the reunification process. This is not surprising considering the autobiographical historical genre nature of the text of Book F3 where the aim is really to celebrate the historical experiences of the author rather than providing opportunities for methodological critique of the reunification content presented in the book.

Lastly, the concept of historical time seems very significant in the description and explanation of reunification in the text of Book F3. All the different topics and sub topics of the text are identified by time markers and so too are the explanations within those topics. The significance of the historical time frame is that it is situated broadly with the decolonisation process in Africa thereby putting the reunification of Cameroon as per Book F3 squarely within the decolonisation process of Africa. This decolonisation process starts with the end of WWII up to the attainment of independence and reunification in 1961. This makes WWII and decolonisation very important thematic substantive concepts used in the narrative and substantive knowledge presentation of reunification in the text as both are used to foreground the reunification narrative and explanations.

So in a nut shell, the unique historical substantive concepts used in the text of Book F3 aim at portraying reunification as an inclusive phenomenon that was achieved with the active involvement of stakeholders from Southern Cameroons, French Cameroon, as well as tribal associations or groups from the two sectors. It also involved the participation of the colonial authorities from France and Britain. This inclusivity is also seen in the spaces where reunification activities took place represented in the text as being across both sectors of Cameroon and also places in Britain and France. The idea is therefore a kind of historical substantive knowledge that

attempts to present the reunification of Cameroon as a harmonious phenomenon with the possible intention of promoting social cohesion and using the reunification narrative as basis for the creation of possibilities for peaceful coexistence between the Anglophone and Francophone populations of post-colonial Cameroon.

Thematic historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3

Just one historical concept of a thematic nature was evident from the text, which is WWII. Seen as an inclusive concept which transcends time and serves to collect ideas that can be applied in multiple historical contexts, WWII was used in the text of this book to foreground the decolonisation process of Cameroon and Africa in general that saw the creation and rise of political pressure groups and parties. Amongst these groups were those that then went on to propagate the reunification of the two Cameroons such as the UPC from French Cameroon and the KNDP from Southern Cameroons. Therefore, it could be said that the application of this thematic concept was important in the texts' position to portray an inclusive Cameroonian historiography around reunification.

Organisational historical substantive concepts in the text of Book F3

The analysis of the historical substantive concepts used in the text of Book F3 also revealed certain concepts of organisational nature as part of the historical knowledge type. The concepts are captured in Table 6.13 below.

Table 6.13 Break down of organisational historical substantive concepts extracted from the text of Book F3 related to reunification

Organisational concept	Nature of presentation in text
Reunification	This is the overarching concept in the text. The title of the chapter itself justifies that the focus of the text is on reunification. The different sections of the chapter present reunification developments in different stages. Basically, the entire text provides efforts from different quarters (tribal associations, political parties, individuals, international organisations) towards reunification. The text also highlights the anti-reunification stance of certain political parties and some individuals.
Independence	This concept is used in the text in three ways. Firstly to refer to the independence of Nigeria that necessitated a decision to be made on the future of British Cameroons considering the latter was ruled by Britain as an

	integral part of the former. Secondly to refer to the independence of French Cameroon. And thirdly to refer to independence options for British Cameroons, one of which was through reunification with French Cameroon. Notably cited in the text is the position of the UPC in this regard that advocated for “independence and reunification as pre requisites for national sovereignty” (p. 120).
Nationalism	A concept that also runs throughout the text and denotes a post WWII rise in national consciousness and desire for self-rule. This desire as per the text was responsible for the rise of political pressure groups, parties, and tribal associations that demanded amongst others independence and reunification.

Being an autobiographical historical genre, the use of thematic and organisational concepts in the text is very minimal since the main focus of the text was on explaining personal experiences of the author. However, the few organisational concepts that were employed as seen in Table 6.13 above, all relate to reunification and were used in a manner that enhanced the substantive knowledge base of the text. As already mentioned, the historical substantive concepts used in this text as unique, thematic and organisational forms were used in an overt and explicit manner suggesting that the emphasis of the text was in promoting a substantive form of historical knowledge on reunification. Conversely the analysis also revealed the presence of procedural concepts. However, this latter form of historical knowledge used in the text is a rather implicit, unintended or accidental form meaning that the text did not set out to promote the procedural form of historical knowledge. In the section that follows, I present the use of procedural concepts/knowledge in the text of Book F3.

Historical Procedural concepts extracted from the text of Book F3 related to reunification

The analysis of the text of Book F3 revealed the presence of procedural concepts of history. Even though as earlier indicated, the use of procedural concepts in the text was mostly incidental rather than purposive. The following procedural concepts were gleaned from the text.

- **Historical time:**

Unlike the other procedural concepts that are identified in this section, the presence of chronology seems to be the only concept that is used in a purposive rather than an incidental manner. In Table 6.10 depicting the breakdown of topics in the chapter, it is seen that the different sections in the chapter are guided by corresponding time frames situating the eras in question. Apart from the topics, there is equally a very elaborate use of the time marker within the content of the text.

Almost every event in the text is explained within the context of historical time. This makes the notion of time very significant in the explanations and understanding of the events presented in those sections. Moreover, situating the events in the text within historical time frames was helpful in contextualising the events of the text in a post WWII decolonisation process because of the times used in the text and not the use of the term decolonisation. It therefore helped the learner to not only consider the content of the text but also to engage in historical chronology as a procedural form of historical knowledge and make sense of those events explained within the context of historical time.

- **Cause and effect**

The next procedural concept used in the text of Book F3 is cause and effect. This concept is akin to the factorial and consequential explanations which I have identified as part of the genre type of the text. Unlike the concept of time that I have explained as used in a purposive way, the use of cause and effect is incidental. This means that the text did not set out to demonstrate the causes and the effects of reunification events as significant aspects of the text. It was only through the detailed analysis that I was able to identify some elements of causes and effects embedded within the textual content. The following examples support this claim.

Aussi, dans les années 1948, 1949, le Ngondo noue-t-il des rapports étroits avec le French Cameroon's Welfare aux fins d'aider ce mouvement à intensifier son action et de parvenir au but commun (p. 120) – (likewise during the years 1948, 1949, the Ngondo entertained good relations with the French Cameroon's Welfare with the aim of helping the group intensify its activities towards the attainment of a common goal).

The above citation explains the cause of improved relations between the Ngondo which was a traditional association based in French Cameroon with the French Cameroon's Welfare which was a movement created in British Cameroons with the aim of encouraging reunification (p. 120). The effect of this collaboration according to the text was the creation of a common front for the fight towards reunification. This is captured in the citation below.

...donnent lieu à la création à Kumba en 1952, d'un mouvement nommé «Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC), sorte de «front commun» pour la réunification des deux Cameroun (p. 120) – (let to the creation in Kumba in 1952 of a movement called “Kamerun United national Congress (KUNC) , a kind of united front for the reunification of the two Cameroons).

Another aspect of cause and effect drawn from the text of Book F3 is the explanations on the crises within the NCNC party. The text mentions that the Cameroonian deputies at the Enugu Assembly were at logger heads with their colleagues from the eastern Region of Nigeria specifically the Ibo (p. 122). The cause of this disagreement was that “Cameroonians wanted to do away with a kind of guardianship that was beginning to weigh on them” (p. 122). This guardianship was in the form of the control over them from their eastern Nigerian counterparts within the NCNC. An extension of this cause was that “they had come to a realisation on the need to protect their identity starting with a change in the nomenclature of their party” (p. 122). The text then goes on to present the effects of this disagreement and crises within the NCNC as leading to “a split within the NCNC and the creation of two new parties” (pp. 122-123). The new parties in question being the KNC and the KPP with the former “in favour of a greater autonomy within Nigeria [whilst the latter] was in favour of a complete integration of Cameroon into Nigeria” (p. 123). An even further far reaching effect of the NCNC crises mentioned in the text is “the dissolution of the Enugu assembly. A decision by the British authorities in Lagos to undertake new elections and the beginning of elections campaigns” (p. 123). Another aspect of cause and affect worth mentioning from the text of Book F3 is the explanation on the reunification stance of Enderley and the effects thereof. The text states that after Enderley was appointed prime minister of the Southern Cameroons’ region, “the attitude of the new head of government in the exercise of his functions, as well as his views, pushed him more and more away from the reunification objective” (p. 123). In fact the text states that upon becoming Prime Minister, Enderley “openly adopted a pro-Nigerian position” (p. 123). Such change of positions was not without effects. Firstly, “his attitude created friction between himself and some influential members of his party” (p. 123). Secondly, it led to a split within the KNC and the creation of a rival party – the KNDP led by “J.N. Foncha who got closer to the UPC and ostensibly put independence and reunification on his programme” (p. 124). These are some of the instances in which the procedural concept of cause and effects are used in the text of Book F3 in incidental rather than explicit manner.

The two procedural concepts discussed in this section are the only two that were used in the text of Book F3. The two are used in different ways. Historical time is used in the text in a largely explicit and purposeful manner. This is seen through the fact that all the sub topics covered in the text as well as the major events discussed are all done within stated time markers. The opposite is true for the concept of cause and events. Through the analysis, I was able to pick out several

instances to support the use of the procedural concept of cause and effect. However, the use of this particular concept was seen to be incidental and implicit rather than purposeful.

Conclusively it could be said that the text of Book F3 promotes a form of historical knowledge that is highly substantive. This was seen in the explicit use of first order concepts in unique and thematic forms. Only two aspects of procedural knowledge were seen to be applied in the text. This together with the fact that one of the two was used in an incidental manner is evidence that procedural knowledge was not a purpose of the text. Such form of knowledge promoted by the text is in line with the text genre itself that is explanatory and autobiographical. The text therefore makes no attempt at promoting skills and multiperspectivity. This will be discussed further as a discourse emerging from the text under the nature of school history. The next section is therefore the final phase of the analysis in which I present findings on the discourses that emerged from the analysis of the reunification text in Book F3.

6.4.3 REUNIFICATION HISTORICAL DISCOURSES IN THE TEXT OF BOOK F3

After the analysis of the historical genre type of the text and the nature of historical knowledge, the last phase involved the analysis of the kind of historical discourses that emerged from the text. The following discourses emerged from that process.

- **Nature of school history and reunification as per book F3**

A very important discourse that emerged from the analysis is the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon, particularly in French Cameroon as the specific education context that the book represents. The following explanations reflect the nature of school history garnered from the text of Book F3.

Going by the explanatory and autobiographical historical genres of the text, the finding is that school history in French Cameroon is everything but a critical reflection of the historical events of the past. This is because, such historical genre types present accounts from an eye witness perspective as the ultimate truth and do not accommodate other perspectives. What the author saw and/or heard is what is the truth and that is also what should be studied by learners in Francophone Cameroonian schools through memorisation. In this case, this means the author's perspective of the events on reunification is simply acceptable as long as those perspectives fit within the national

narrative. There is no room for checking of any biases, prejudices or stereotypes that the author or publishers might have or even to corroborate the author's perspective against other sources.

A very powerful way of enhancing this form of school history was by presenting the content in a highly substantive manner rather than in a procedural form. The analysis of the nature of historical knowledge promoted by the text has already confirmed that the text supports a highly substantive rather than a procedural form of knowledge. The substantive knowledge is characterised by dense facts on first order concepts. The first order concepts used in the text are all used in a very explicit or purposive manner to suggest their relevance. On the other hand the text is void of procedural or second order concepts that would otherwise give room for critical thinking, multi perspectivity or even sourcing. In a few situations when second order concepts were used in the text such as those related to historical time and cause and effect, their usage was found to be highly incidental. Another way that the text manages to present this substantive kind of school history and historical knowledge is by avoiding the use of visual images in the presentation. The analysis showed that the entire text is made up of verbal content with no visual content that could possibly expose the text for further scrutiny by the learners. More importantly, it was seen that as per this book, school history in Cameroon is intended to present reunification in a manner that shows inclusion and blurs the Cameroonian Anglo-French colonial divide. This was achieved in the text through an inclusive representation of unique substantive concepts in the form of people and places, especially the collaboration between the politicians and traditional groups of the two Cameroons. Moreover, the foregrounding of German Cameroon, the partition of Cameroon and the decolonisation efforts as background to reunification is all meant to express a view that previously Cameroon was one and the division was an ill-fated colonial venture that should not be used as bench mark to define post-colonial Cameroon. This discourse is intended to promote national unity which in this case is seen as the nature of school history in Cameroon with regard to reunification.

- **Presence of a master national narrative**

In line with the nature of school history in the Francophone school, is the discourse of a master narrative. The national narrative refers to a single view propagated by the text that should not be challenged through multiple perspectives. This narrative is to the effect that reunification was a smooth process achieved through the activities of both Anglophone and Francophone activists and was therefore inclusive. Anything outside of this narrative is therefore tantamount to provoking

controversies and contestations that are not necessary for the national harmony which is in the interest of the text to promote.

- **Cameroon nationalism discourse**

The text of Book F3 not only gives seemingly balanced contributions from the two Cameroons on the reunification process, but goes further to present reunification as being achieved thanks to interactive efforts of tribal associations and political initiative of both Cameroons. This also is part of the national narrative that the text tries to pass across, which I was able to analyse as a discourse of Cameroon nationalism. Instances of such collaborative efforts from the text are seen in the following excerpts:

Aussi dans les années 1948, 1949, le Ngondo noue-t-il des rapports étroits avec le French Cameroon's Welfare aux fins d'aider ce mouvement à intensifier son action et de parvenir au but commun (p. 120) – (Also, during the years 1948, 1949, the Ngondo entertained straight relations with the French Cameroon's Welfare with the view of helping the movement intensify its actions and of attaining a common goal).

The two groups mentioned in the excerpt above represented a tribal association from French Cameroon for the former and a political movement for the latter. The idea that these groups worked together to achieve a common goal – of reunification, is aimed at advancing the national narrative that reunification was a combined Anglo-French Cameroon effort and was pursued by both parties in congruence. The text even goes further to highlight that such relations were not limited to bilateral collaborations but were often enlarged to include multiple other partners across the territories. To this effect the text mentions as a continuation to the citation above that:

Ces contacts, auxquels devaient se joindre par la suite l'UPC, le Kumzse et même le NCNC, donnent lieu à la création à Kumba en 1952, d'un mouvement dénommé « Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC), sorte de «front commun» pour la réunification des deux Cameroun (p. 120) – (These contacts which were to be later joined by UPC, the Kumzse and even the NCNC gave way to the creation in Kumba in 1952 of a movement called Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC) a kind of common front for the reunification of the two Cameroons).

Again the associations and political movements above are drawn from across the two Cameroons and the idea that they all unite for a common goal of reunification supports the claim of a national narrative in favour of collaborative Anglo-French Cameroon's effort towards reunification.

Another instance in the text to justify the presence of this discourse is when the text mentions that the reunificationists from Southern Cameroons received material support from French Cameroon's sympathisers of the course. It is written that:

Ces hommes inspiraient des articles contre le PM Enderley, articles que rédigeait et signait sous un pseudonyme le docteur Diboue. Ils disposaient pour ce travail d'une imprimerie, cadeau de M. Soppo Priso (p. 124) – (These men inspired articles against the PM Enderley. These articles were written and signed by Dr Diboue under a pseudonym. They had for this job a printing machine which was a gift from M. Soppo Priso).

The context of the above citation is the idea that Enderley after becoming prime minister of Southern Cameroons turned his back on the reunification drive and started advancing pro-Nigerian integration relation policies. This resulted in a split in his political party with the pro reunificationists group forming a new party to push forward their agenda. The excerpt therefore states that these pro reunificationists tried to sabotage the efforts of Enderley and were materially supported by the UPC party in French Cameroon through its leader Soppo Priso. As a continuation of such collaboration, the text highlights that “after the events of May 1955 in French Cameroon, the KNDP happily welcomed the UPC refugees” (p. 124). The context here is the fact that in 1955, the UPC was banned in French Cameroon. They therefore found a home in Southern Cameroons due to their common positions on the idea of the reunification.

- **Exclusionary discourse**

The analysis of the text of Book F3 also revealed a discourse of exclusion. The specific element of exclusion in the text on reunification was on the deliberations that led to the reunification. These deliberations as a matter of fact constituted of pre and post reunification meetings between Ahidjo and Foncha (official and in private) in their respective capacities as leaders of French and Southern Cameroons, as well as constitutional talks involving delegations from both Cameroons such as the Fouban and Yaoundé Conferences. It also included the Fouban preparatory conference for Southern Cameroons held in Bamenda (the Bamenda Conference). As significant as these developments are for the reunification process, the text is largely silent on them. The only instance where the Fouban Conference is mentioned in the text of Book F3 is done not only in a very passive manner, but also the deliberations and decisions of the conference are not provided. From an eye witness perspective, the author simply states that the president made a speech and was “from time to time interrupted by acclamations [and that] a thunder of applause burst when he

finished his speech” (p. 131). The text then concludes that “the meeting at Foumban was a great success that will forever remain in our annals one of the best pages of our history” (p. 131).

This silence and passive representation of very significant aspects of the reunification in the text denotes a brand of silence known as manipulative silence. It implies a deliberate omission of historical issues that are controversial and contested with the intention of avoiding chaos in school history and so as not to disrupt social cohesion. It signifies an agenda by the author to stay clear of controversy by presenting reunification in very positive and unifying terms. This kind of presentation is also linked to absence of procedural knowledge in the text and supports the kind of school history in Francophone Cameroon that the text seeks to promote.

- **Male chauvinism discourse**

Another discourse that emerged from the analysis of the text in Book F3 is male chauvinism or male hegemony also seen as the representation of big men. This is presented in the text in two ways. Firstly as captured in Table 6.11, there is no mention of a female participant in the reunification developments in the text. All the participants are male figures, meaning that women had no role to play in achieving reunification and are therefore side-lined as historical figures in that respect. Secondly, of the male characters represented, some are foregrounded and given very positive attributes whilst others are backgrounded and either presented as neutrals, villains or given negative attributes. The two personalities given textual prominence and importance over the rest are Ahidjo and Foncha. The following excerpts support this prominence:

Je le revois encore à Foumban, dans son habit traditionnel, recueillant au nom de tous ces combattants d’outre Mungo, aux côtés du Président Ahidjo, les lauriers de cette victoire dont il fut, magnifiquement ces dernières années il faut le reconnaître, l’un de port-drapeau (p. 130) – (I would see him [Foncha] again at Foumban, dressed in his traditional attire representing the rest of the combatants from the other side of the Mungo [Anglophone Cameroons], sitting next to president Ahidjo, the laurels of this victory which he was magnificently the last few years it must be acknowledged, one of the flag bearers).

Le Président et le Premier ministre du cameroun Occidental (qui deviendra, après la réunification, Vice-président) sont sacrés père de la réunification (p. 131) – (The president [Ahidjo] and the prime minister of Southern Cameroons [Foncha] (who would become vice president after reunification), are crowned fathers of the reunification).

Both situations mentioned above depict the manner in which the text of Book F3 views Ahidjo and Foncha as the ‘big men’ responsible for reunification. Such depiction insinuates that the two personalities should therefore be instilled in the collective memory of the learners and celebrated as part of the master or national narrative on reunification as presented by the substantive knowledge of the text of Book F3.

6.4.4 CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT IN BOOK F3

In this section, I consolidate the findings from the analysis of the text in Book F3 in order to clearly underline the nature of representation of reunification in the book and the discourses that emerged.

The analysis started with a detailed description of the text. In this light, it was revealed that the text is a testimony by the author on the things “I saw and what he thought he understood” (p. 8) about the political developments narrated in the book and in the case of this study, the reunification of Cameroon. It is therefore the author’s personal perspective and views on the reunification that are captured in the text. Book F3 is written in chapters with chapter eight focusing on “the reunification of Cameroon” (p. 119) being the focal point of the analysis. The chapter is further divided in to sections with each constituting a phase of the reunification developments. Each phase is further divided in to separate developments for British and French Cameroons respectively. The entire text is verbal in nature and void of visual representations.

In line with the analysis of the historical genre type, it was revealed that Book F3 adopts two forms of historical genres: the first being the autobiographical genre and the other the historical account genre. In terms of the autobiographical genre, the text falls under the category of recording and explanatory genre. This is because; it is a record of the testimony by the author explaining his experiences of the reunification. Therefore the text by virtue of this historical genre type does not portray multiple views and perspectives on the events except those of the author. In other words, it is simply a one sided narrative. Many examples from the text were provided in this report on the persistent use of the first person narrative that supports the presence of this historical genre type. Under the other genre type of historical account, the text is categorised within the factorial and consequential explanations sub-genre. This therefore makes a link between the two genre types of the text in the sense that the testimony and experiences of the author are passed on in the text in the form of factorial and consequential explanation. Many examples from the text were provided in the analysis to support the claim of the presence of factorial and consequential explanations.

Also considered as elements supporting the expressed genre types were factors such as: the use of a purposive chronological framework; a very narrative description of the reunification events; a clear narrative text structure; and the use of both specific and generalised participants. These features are all summarised in Table 6.11.

The analysis then proceeded with an examination of the type of historical knowledge used in the text. In this regard it was observed that the text portrays a highly substantive form of historical knowledge that is in line with the historical genre types of the text already mentioned. This form of historical knowledge is displayed in the text primarily through the use of unique, thematic, and organisational historical substantive concepts. The unique concepts identified relate to the use of names of people and political and tribal movements, the mentioning of places and the use of time. In all these categories, the text endeavoured to present a very inclusive representation of Anglophone, Francophone, and the colonial authorities or groups with the aim of portraying the reunification efforts as being inclusive of the efforts of these different stake holders. For instance, movements such as the Ngondo and the Kumzse were used to represent French Cameroon's efforts while the Bakweri Land Committee was used to represent the initiatives of the Anglophone. Also, a political party like the UPC was used to represent French Cameroon while the KNC, KPP, and KNDP were used to represent Anglophone Cameroons. In terms of people, Foncha, Muna, and Dr Enderley represent the Francophone with Ahidjo and Soppo Priso mentioned for French Cameroon. Moreover, the use of places did not deviate from this pattern. The places mentioned in the text all represent areas in French Cameroon like Eseka, British Cameroons like Bamenda, Nigeria like Lagos and other places in the UK and France. Lastly there is a note on the detailed use of the concept of historical time as an element of the unique substantive knowledge. The time used in the text constitutes the era of decolonisation in Africa that falls between the exact aftermath of WWII and the early 1960s. All these unique substantive concepts are used as factorial and consequential information supporting the explanatory genre of the text. On the other hand, the text makes very little use of thematic substantive concepts. In fact, the only thematic concept visible in the text is the mention of WWII to foreground the decolonisation process in the two Cameroons and the reunification agenda that followed. This situation is similar to the representation or organisational concepts. The few organisational concepts identified include reunification which runs through the entire text as the main concept, with independence, and nationalism constituting the other concepts in that category. With these findings on the historical genre type and nature of

historical knowledge of the text, the analysis proceeded to finding out the kind of discourses that the text presents. The following discourses were exposed.

There is a discourse relating to the nature of school history and reunification in Francophone Cameroon as per this book. The presence of this discourse stems from the revelation on the historical genre and knowledge types of the text which both revealed that the text is not drawn on sources, is not multiperspective and promotes a nationalist narrative. By virtue of such representations, school history in Francophone Cameroon through this book, is therefore supposed to promote factual understanding of history, promoting a master national narrative that is void of historical contestations and controversy and intended to serve patriotic purposes.

In relation to the previous discourse discussed above, the text also highlights a discourse of a master narrative. The master narrative found in the text is that reunification was a smooth process and achieved through inclusive and collaborative efforts. The narrative is therefore expected to serve as a unifying factor through the teaching of history or reunification in schools.

As follow up to the previous discourse, the text therefore promotes the idea of Cameroon nationalism seen through the extensive presentation of collaborative efforts between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians to achieve reunification which in itself constitutes another discourse. Instances of such collaborative efforts are provided in the analysis and include collaboration between tribal groups, political parties as well as individuals and activists from the two sectors of Cameroon. Again, the representation of collaboration is intended to serve a nationalist master narrative of a harmonious relationship between the two Cameroons as a product of a peaceful reunion. Such narrative will then promote a patriotic and nationalist agenda which in this case can be seen as the purpose of school history.

There is also a discourse of exclusion. The exclusion refers to the non-representation of reunification deliberations. Of all the reunification deliberations and conferences including the pre and post reunification talks between the delegations of the two sectors of Cameroon and those done by the leadership of the two sectors the only reunification deliberation mentioned in the text is the Fouban Conference. Even here, the detailed deliberations of the conference such as the participants, the positions adopted, the challenges, and the resolutions are not provided. The conference is covered in a very passive manner. The only event foregrounded in the presentation

is the fact that the president made a speech that was applauded and that the conference itself was a resounding success. This silence is manipulative in nature because it does not reflect the true nuances of the reunification process which in reality involved many controversial moments.

Finally, there is a discourse of male chauvinism or male hegemony in the text of Book F3. This discourse was analysed twofold. Firstly was the fact that all the unique participants cited in the text are male. This implies that women were irrelevant actors in the reunification process and thereby denies women a place in Cameroonian history especially with regard to a very significant aspect of that history. Conversely this discourse is the idea that the text singled out elite men – ‘big men’ as the forbearers of reunification. There is evidence from the text that showers these men with praises as being the “fathers of the reunification” (p. 131). The rest of the men are simply presented as either playing complementary roles to the ‘big men’, are passive or are villains to the course. This again supports the idea of a nationalist history that seeks to foster a common narrative around certain individuals by presenting them as fathers of a united nation. The objective is that such narrative will encourage a desire for common consciousness and patriotism and lead to social cohesion. This in my view is the whole idea of school history in Francophone Cameroon that Book F3 propagates through the manner in which the author represents the reunification of Cameroon.

In this chapter, I have provided findings from the analysis of the three Francophone Cameroons’ history textbooks. The findings were presented under the different sections of the historical genre, the historical knowledge type and the historical discourses in the text. The analysis of the first two categories produced historical discourses on their own which were consolidated in the third category meant for that purpose. All findings were then consolidated under the conclusions of the different textbooks. In the next chapter, I provide details on the comparative analysis of the findings from the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks analysed as well as the discussions of these findings in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two and the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework explained in chapter three.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM CAMEROONIAN TEXTBOOKS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters, I presented the findings from the analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks. In chapter five, I presented the findings from the analysis of the Anglophone textbooks whilst in chapter six I presented those from the analysis of the Francophone textbooks. The analysis for each of the textbooks followed the procedure as explained in the methodology section of chapter four in terms of the historical genre, historical knowledge type and the historical discourses on reunification for both verbal and visual text. I ended the analysis for each book with a conclusion in which I synthesised and consolidated the holistic findings from the analysis of each history textbook whilst in the process infusing the postcolonial theoretical framework as adopted for the study. This procedure was observed for all the textbooks in both the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems of education. The findings accrued through the process as explained above were important in addressing the first research question for this study which is: “How are reunification discourses presented in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?” (p. 43).

Whilst chapters five and six served as the first level of the analysis, this chapter constitutes the second and third levels of the analysis. Being a comparative study, the second level of the analysis, which is the first part of this chapter, is a comparison of the two sets of findings from the previous two chapters. The comparative analysis of findings in this chapter was achieved through different layers of analysis in line with the analytical process itself. First was the comparison of the findings of the historical genre types for the different Anglophone textbooks in relation to reunification. The historical genre comparative exercise achieved for the Anglophone textbooks was then repeated for the Francophone textbooks. The aim was to produce separate comparative findings for the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks analysis in terms of historical genre types. Thereafter I proceeded to perform a comparison of the findings of the historical genre types of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks. Through this process of criss-crossing the comparative analysis of the historical genre types across the textbooks of the sub-systems and then between the

sub-systems, I was able to produce firm findings on the nature of historical genres for the Cameroonian textbooks in relation to reunification.

The procedure explained above was then replicated for the other layers of this second level analysis being the historical knowledge types and the historical discourses on reunification. This was done first amongst the Anglophone books, then amongst the Francophone books and lastly in a comparative manner between the Anglophone and the Francophone textbooks. In the same manner as with the historical genre comparison, the comparison of the historical knowledge types and historical discourses from the two sets of textbooks was important in producing firm findings that I then took to the third level of analysis as will be explained further down. This third level entailed discussions and postcolonial theorisations of the firm findings from both sets of textbooks. A summary of the comparative analysis procedure is captured in Table 4.9 (P. 125).

The outcome of this second level comparative analysis was that I was able to produce findings on the historical genre types, historical knowledge types and historical discourses on reunification between and across the books of the different sub-systems. The comparison done in this chapter equally served to address the second research question underpinning this study which relates to “... the consistent and conflicting discourses from Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks on reunification?” (p. 43). The conclusion of this second level comparative analysis consolidates the findings from the different layers of comparison and provides a thesis statement that supports the outcome of the analytical process.

The third level of the analysis that I performed involved the discussion, theorisation and abstraction of the findings in relation to the research literature that I reviewed in chapters one and two, and the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework for this study as explained in chapter three. The purpose of this third level of analysis was to respond to the third and final question underpinning this study being: “Why are reunification discourses presented in the way they are in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?” (p. 44). The proposed answers to the three research questions were then used to propose my thesis related to reunification, history textbooks and school history in post-colonial Cameroon.

Broadly speaking therefore, this chapter is divided into two sections: a first section on the comparative analysis of the findings related to historical genre, historical knowledge and

discourses on reunification. The firm findings that emanated were then used in the second section on the discussion and theorisations of the findings.

In line with the road map explained above, I therefore begin with the first section of this chapter on a comparative analysis of the historical genre findings from the Anglophone textbooks.

7.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE OF THE TEXTS RELATED TO REUNIFICATION

7.2.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE IN THE ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

As a starting point to the comparative analysis, I will briefly state each of the historical genre findings for the different books before proceeding with the comparison.

The Green Book employed a highly factorial and consequential explanatory historical genre. Applied in a very narrative format, this genre type is used in the text to express simplistic reasons for and consequences of the different reunification related activities of the different Cameroon groups involved in the reunification process. This nature of historical genre presentation in the Green Book insinuates that silences and gaps existed and were evident as certain historical issues were foregrounded or backgrounded. The activities given prominence or foregrounded in the Green Book included: the reasons for the plebiscite; reasons why the different groups voted in certain ways during the plebiscite; the nature of the post plebiscite negotiations between the Southern Cameroons and the French Cameroons delegations; and the circumstances that made the Southern Cameroons to obtain an unfavourable deal at the Foumban Conference. Based on this narrative genre of fixed historical reasons, there was no room in the text of the Green Book for debate and disagreement and no multi-perspectivity in studying the content of the reunification of Cameroon.

Also important in the historical genre type of the Green Book is that it adopts a purposively clear chronological framework of events. Even though this framework is not explicitly expressed as chronological through, for instance, by means of the dates and times, it is evident from the presentation of the historical events that the producers of the Green Book purposively explained earlier events before systematically proceeding to later ones thereby implicitly giving the chosen historical events presented in the text an uncontested simplistic linear chronological time frame.

Still within the framework of the historical genre type of the Green Book, it was realised that the visual text was important in the promotion of the explanatory genre nature of the book. In light of this, all five images used in the book (Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 in chapter 5) were seen to serve mainly informative, explanatory and even decorative functions. Their usage was more consistent with the textbooks' desire to enhance the uncontested understanding of the factorial narrative of reunification provided by the verbal text rather than as a platform for critical engagement of the content and promoting multiple perspectives.

In terms of unique participants and events represented in the narrative explanatory genre of the text, it was found that the text of the Green Book promoted, by virtue of the foregrounding of places in Southern Cameroons and backgrounding those from other parts of Cameroon especially French Cameroon, a pro-British/Anglophone Cameroon historical genre on reunification. The intention therefore was to portray the reunification through this historical genre type as an Anglophone affair thereby promoting Anglophone nationalism and identity. This finding is corroborated with the use of unique concepts related to people whereby the text was seen to mention only Ahidjo for French Cameroon whilst highlighting many more political figures from Anglophone Cameroon such as Foncha and Enderley. Over and above that, by limiting the understanding of the reunification in the text through the actions of political figures, the text is inherently silencing the voices of the ordinary Cameroonians, including women, implying that the narrative historical genre of the text also promotes the idea of big men and male chauvinism in the history on reunification.

With reference to the Red Book, the findings of the historical genre type equally revealed an inclination towards the factorial and consequential explanatory genre. The case of the Red Book is even more glaring as the description of the text on reunification demonstrates that it is written in a numbered and bullets format which by its summative nature is an insinuation of historical facts being presented for the purpose of memorisation or rote learning. This summative format leans towards a summary of notes to be learnt. This allows no room for debate but rather permits the author to simply state and list causes, effects, and other factors under the different themes and topics explored in the text. Such a historical genre of bulleting and listing of factorial and consequential explanations related to reunification as applied in the text of Red Book has a tendency of promoting rote learning as opposed to learning for critical historical thinking by means

of procedural understanding. Furthermore, the complete absence of visual images in the text of the Red Book is an indication of its dominant narrative verbal textual and explanatory inclination and the rejection of visuals which have the potential of enhancing critical thinking. The historical genre of the Red Book on reunification is therefore a glaring example of a history text that diminishes the importance of multiple perspectives as a key factor in historical knowledge construction.

Lastly under the historical genre findings from the Anglophone textbooks is the Blue Book. Similarly to the other two textbooks of this category, the Blue Book also adopted a factorial and consequential explanatory historical genre. For this textbook however, the explanatory historical genre is used in two forms: the explicit and the implied formats. In the explicit format, the genre is evident through the explicit factorial nature of some of the topics on reunification foregrounded in the text such as “factors that led to the holding of a plebiscite in Southern Cameroons” (p. 202); why the [Foumban] Conference? (p. 207); why was a federal system of government adopted? (p. 209). With the exception of the above, the rest of the explanatory examples from the text of the Blue Book are imbedded and implied within the textual narrative of the reunification events and other related developments. Moreover, with few exceptions the entire text of the Blue Book is hardly narrative in nature as it is written in point form. In terms of historical genre, this simplistic summary and listing of historical facts insinuates a view of history as a factual recount which emphasises the accumulation of factual historical data which at best promotes rote learning about reunification.

With the above findings from the historical genre analysis of the Anglophone textbooks, there is a common pattern amongst them being that they all adopted, with reference to reunification, a summative master narrative of factorial and consequential explanatory genre. This implies the existence in all the Anglophone textbooks of a historical genre that emphasises the production of simplistic agreed upon explanations on listed causes and consequences together with other related factual information on reunification. In spite of this general pattern across all three Anglophone textbooks, the manner in which the different textbooks adopted and applied the explanatory genre slightly differed. The differences lie in the finding that, while for the Green Book the explanatory historical genre is reflected in a narrative format of the text as a story that can be read and understood, both the Red and Blue textbooks applied the explanatory genre in a form of text characterised by lists and bulleted explanations. This makes the explanatory genre of the Red and

Blue Books more simplistic and exclusively aimed at rote learning. However, all three Anglophone textbooks presented a genre of history that aimed at presenting facts rather than opportunities for engagement by means of historical thinking on reunification.

Another comparative element of the historical genre type of the Anglophone history textbooks is their use of visual text. The analysis revealed that both the Green Book and the Blue Book made use of visual text whilst the Red Book ignored this form of textual representation. This implies that the history of reunification is seen in the Red Book merely as a form of written text serving the purpose of memorisation and retention. Nonetheless, the observation in this regard was that the choice of visual textual reunification content used in the two instances as explained above and the manner in which the images were used did not give opportunities for the visuals to serve any interpretative purposes. This means that the visual texts were only meant to complement the narrow explanatory functions of the verbal text thereby reinforcing that historical genre type.

Another factor worth mentioning as a function of the historical genre of the Anglophone textbooks is that all three constitute narrations of the actions of influential people related to reunification. Even though it was seen in the books that influential people from Anglophone Cameroons were foregrounded at the expense of those of Francophone Cameroons, the argument remains that the books ignored the contributions of ordinary Cameroonians in the process of reunification as they foregrounded an Anglophone nationalist agenda. This is also true of the idea that these historical actors are predominantly male thereby insinuating that female characters, just like other ordinary Cameroonians, were insignificant in the reunification process.

With the underlying historical genre for all the Anglophone textbooks being factorial and consequential explanatory, narrative, descriptive and simplistic, the implication is that the Anglophone textbooks are rigorous in their rigidity in their presentation of reunification. Such factual rigidity further implies that the purposes of the Anglophone textbooks on reunification are to present the content as factual and agreed upon that are meant to be consumed by the learners with acceptance and without questioning. There is a penchant towards a single narrative of reunification which in a nutshell says history is not provisional and open to debate. Consequently in the Anglophone textbooks other historical genre types that could disrupt such a narrative were not engaged with.

A question that can be asked here is why the authorship of the Anglophone textbooks would prefer the presentation of reunification from the perspective of the explanatory historical genre even as the part of literature reviewed in chapter one revealed claims of marginalisation of the Anglophone population within the union (Awasom, 2003; Fanso, 2009; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997 & 2003). The answer to this question probably lies in some of the characteristics of postcoloniality. In this regard, the postcolonial theory seen through the works of Said and Spivack reveals that subalternism was a practice whereby the previously colonised elites transformed themselves in to the new colonisers over their compatriots upon the attainment of formal independence – a situation that the theory also refers to as internal colonisation (Hamadi, 2014; McClintock, 1993; Tosh, 2009; Walia, 2001;). By adopting a historical genre in post-colonial Anglophone texts that does not seek to uncover ideological representations, the authors and other stake holders of the Anglophone textbooks are creating a subaltern group in their learners through exclusiveness, silencing of their voices and any other history or simply by creating a top-bottom approach to history. From this perspective the Anglophone textbooks and their authorship, in terms of the historical genre adoption, are post-colonial but far from being postcolonial. This is largely so because of their failure to adopt historical genres that encourage critical historical thinking on reunification and that integrate sociocultural approaches of history and giving the subalterns a voice. Therefore, in this state of affairs, the complicity seem to lie with the state as much as the authors and teachers of history who take aim at premising history education and Cameroonian reunification around nationalistic and patriotic agendas rather than as a critical endeavour. Consequently, the historical genres of the Anglophone textbooks could be seen to incline with a discourse of Anglophone nationalism, as a form of resistance to the political status quo – a phenomenon that is akin to and typical of post-colonial Africa.

7.2.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL GENRE IN THE FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

Book F1 for the Francophone textbooks sub-system adopts a dual historical genre format consisting of a historical account and a biographical narrative. These two historical genre types are represented in the two chapters of the textbook that cover reunification. Whilst chapter forty-eight (pp. 247-249) makes use of a historical account genre, chapter forty-nine (pp. 251-253) adopts a biographical narrative genre. The form of the historical account used in the text of Book F1 is the factorial and consequential forms of the explanation historical genre. Within this genre category,

the narrative text of Book F1 emphasised the factors constituting the political developments in both French and British Cameroons including the plebiscites of the Southern and Northern Cameroons as part of the reunification content. In line with these narrative explanations of fixed historical factors on reunification political developments, Book F1 fails to provide possibilities for multiperspective thinking or debates on the reunification content presented. According to Book F1, the reunification content presented in the textbook is supposed to be assimilated by the learners without questioning or challenging. The implications for such a historical genre are manifold: firstly, it promotes a view of history education that side-lines the voices of the learners and the teachers of history as partners in the meaning making process of reunification by presenting the phenomenon in the form of established and agreed upon hard truths. Such historical genre presentations on reunification have the potential of challenging power relations and promoting power imbalances between the producers and consumers of the history textbooks wherein the former is presented as the custodian of the historical truth and the latter is a measly disseminator of that historical truth on reunification. This factual and narrative-explanatory historical genre is an example of the top-down model of historical knowledge that fails to incorporate the socio cultural and other realities and perspectives of the teachers and learners as they engage the reunification content of the textbook. In the postcolonial framing, such a depiction falls within the parameters of historical internal colonisation whereby the stakeholders of the textbooks imposing their historical perspectives of reunification on the learners and teachers through a water-tight historical genre of content presentation is representative of a coloniser and colonised relation within the same education system and country.

In terms of the biographical narrative historical genre, the focus of the text of Book F1 was on the explanation of the stories of the lives of the main protagonists of the reunification who are Ahidjo and Foncha. These biographical stories included the circumstances of their birth, their education and their political careers. The biographical narrative in the verbal text was compounded with visual images in portrait form of the two personalities respectively. Going by this historical genre finding of Book F1, the reunification of Cameroon was driven by two influential individuals or “big men” and the processes should be understood through the uncritical narratives of their actions. Such representation is an adoption of a “big men” style of school history that views historical phenomena and processes from the lens of the actions of certain historically influential people. Within this ‘big men’ hegemonic master narrative, the actions of the ordinary citizens towards

reunification including those of women are silenced as they are presented as having no substantial or significant role worth documenting. This in a sense is an advancement of the subaltern postcolonial ideology by Book F1 wherein the subaltern has lost its voice in the historical process and in the case of Book F1, that voice has been appropriated by the textbooks' authors and publishers who are "big men" themselves viewing the reunification processes from the lens of their fellow historical "big men". Apart from the silencing of the ordinary people through this biographical historical genre, it was also revealed that women were not mentioned in the textbook. This silencing of the contributions of women in the reunification is a manifestation of male chauvinism discourse through the biographical historical genre adopted in Book F1.

Book F2 was largely silent on the reunification of Cameroon. In lieu of reunification of Cameroon, the textbook covered a broader theme on the decolonisation process and challenges of Africa that spans the era in which reunification occurred. So, reunification from the perspective of Book F2 was largely dwarfed by the bigger picture and context of the decolonisation of Africa. Within this broad pan-Africanist theme, the process of decolonisation of Cameroon was explained in the textbook and it was that section that was selected for the analysis because of its coverage of Cameroon which is the focus of this study. In terms of historical genre type, the text of Book F2 was seen to adopt a broad historical account genre with the factorial and consequential forms of the explanatory genre being the specific genre types used in that broad historical genre category. The emphasis on the use of this genre type in Book F2 was seen in the explanations related to the formation of political parties and pressure groups and the general political developments of the French and British Cameroons during the era of post WWII decolonisation in Africa. There was a sense in Book F2 of a purposive and manipulative emphasis on other decolonisation activities of French and British Cameroons other than the reunification phenomenon involving the two Cameroons. The reunification of Cameroon was backgrounded and mentioned sparingly in the section of the text covering British Cameroon but silenced in the French Cameroon section. Hence my allusion above of a purposive and manipulative emphasis on other aspects because removing the French Cameroon's contributions to the reunification equation of Cameroon builds on a discourse in the literature that seek to exonerate the French Cameroon administering authority from any reunification lapses under the guise that it is the Anglophone Cameroonians who initiated the process and followed it through materialisation (Fanso, 2009; Fonchingong, 2010; Konings, 1999). Consequently, the historical genre of the text in Book F2 seemed to promote a discourse of

Francophone Cameroon exoneration of the reunification challenges through a purposive and manipulative silence on reunification in the part of the text on French Cameroon political developments.

Additionally, the explanatory historical genre of the text was revealed through the use of two visual images representing French Cameroon politicians. These images complemented the explanatory essence of the verbal text on reunification. Considering that both images represented French Cameroon politicians and none from the Southern Cameroons aligns with my earlier argument on the verbal text of a non interest on Southern Cameroons and a silence on reunification by portraying it as an Anglophone issue only. I recall that both images represent French Cameroon individuals (Ruben Um Nyobe, p. 85 and Andre Marie Mbida, p. 85) who had no direct links with the reunification per se even from a French Cameroon point of view.

The third Francophone textbook – Book F3 was seen to adopt two historical genre types: the autobiographical recount and the explanatory genres with the former constituting the main historical genre structure of the text and the latter mainly implied in the former. The autobiographical recount genre type is clearly an adoption of the ‘big men’ style of school history or elitist history on reunification in the sense that the textbook allows the historical process of reunification to be seen and understood through the perspectives and interpretations of the author only. The justification of the autobiographical genre is evident from the title of the textbook itself which is a “testimony”. The testimony being that of the author about the things he heard and saw during the reunification process of Cameroon. Therefore in the case of Book F3, the representation of the discourse on “big men” constitutes the author himself as a “big man” as well as the choice of personalities that he interacted with in driving the reunification process such as Ahidjo, Foncha, Enderley, and also the role of influential traditional associations like the Ngondo, the Kumzse, and the Bakweri Land Committee. With this understanding, it was therefore concluded that the text is a recording and explaining form of the autobiographical recount. The factorial and consequential explanatory genre of the historical account was used in the text as a style adopted by the author to express his views on his experiences of the reunification in the form of a testimony. That this testimony from the author of Book F3 on reunification is presented without corroboration from other sources or textual possibilities for learners to challenge and engage such experiences of the author, goes beyond a suggestion of historiographical elitism to a depiction of power roles in

historical custody. In this sense, the author was seen as wielding upon himself the guardianship of historical accounts on the reunification process and suggesting that his account be taken for unchallengeable and incontestable truth. The master narrative of elitism and “big men” depiction of history as seen through the factual narrative genre of Book F3 also supposed that history is a factual recount rather than a provisional endeavour hence the emphasis on the accumulation of historical data on reunification at the expense of multiperceptivity, debates, conceptual development, historical thinking, or basically a lack of textual activities that can encourage students to question the different reunification accounts provided.

In comparing the historical genre type of the Francophone textbooks, I observed that the three textbooks do not apply similar historical genres of text even though there is a point of convergence and certain patterns that run across them. The point of convergence was that all the textbooks contain forms of factorial and consequential explanations which mean they all employ the historical account genre at some stage of their representation of reunification. This convergence was achieved in the textbooks by presenting the content of reunification or events related to it as factual recount with emphasis on accumulation of historical data and absence of possibilities for textual critique. However, this is the only level of historical genre agreement between all the three Francophone textbooks as in addition to it, Book F1 and Book F3 made use of other historical genre types to complement their factual and narrative explanations. Book F1 for instance was biographically narrative in the sense that it recorded and explained the story of the lives of two historical personalities in the persons of Foncha and Ahidjo while Book F3 also made use of the autobiographical recount by providing a record of the events surrounding the reunification from the eye witness perspective of the textbook author in the form of his personal testimony.

There was therefore a pattern of elitist historiography or the history of “big men” represented in the applicable historical genres of Book F1 and Book F3. The nature of the biographical narrative used in Book F1 to account for the lives of Foncha and Ahidjo foregrounded these two as stand out historical individuals on the reunification process at the expense of other less influential but not less important individuals including women or groups towards the reunification process who were largely backgrounded in these texts or their efforts simply silenced. This argument of historical elitism was also applicable to the autobiographical historical genre adopted in the text of Book F3 whereby the experiences of the author were presented as incontestable facts and truths

and other forms of textual checks and balances were not provided. The implication of these historical genre structures for Book F1 and Book F3 were that they failed to portray the discipline of school history on reunification in the light of social change by maintaining instead of disrupting long standing historiographical tendencies of elitism, patriarchy or male chauvinism and general power imbalances in textual depiction of historical phenomenon. Putting together the reunification silence in the Francophone section of the analysed text of Book F2 and the biographical and autobiographical historical genres of Book F1 and Book F3 respectively, there was a sense that the Francophone textbooks purposively view the reunification of Cameroon as either a topic that should be avoided due to its controversial nature (Book F2) or should be factually narrated in a way as to send across certain prepared master narratives such as seen with the focus on Foncha and Ahidjo in Book F1 and the testimony and eye witness historical narrative of the author in Book F3. Whichever way I looked at it, all historical genres in the Francophone textbooks propagated a top-down approach to historical learning and understanding, void of any forms of constructivist initiatives that could involve the historian (learners and teachers of history) in shaping the reunification accounts.

In addition to the comparison as seen through the historical genre findings from the verbal texts of the Francophone textbooks, Book F1 and Book F2 were seen to make use of visual images with the purpose not to assist in textual interpretation but to support the verbal narrative and promote the established explanatory genre type. This was seen in that, the images used in Book F1 for instance were both portraits of the two politicians whose biographies were provided in the text, and for Book F2 there were images of French Cameroon politicians. In both situations, the images were not accompanied by any form of activity or explanation to link the visual and verbal texts whatsoever. This simplistic representation of visual images as portraits and not accompanied by explanations or activity, concur with my earlier arguments made above for the verbal text. Not only were the images constituting the visual text rather decorative than a multi-voiced tool for the learners, they created a more ideological argument of marginalisation on post-colonial Anglophone Cameroons. This argument related to the view that the two images for Book F2 both represented Francophone politicians whilst in the case of Foncha and Ahidjo in Book F1, it was the latter who was represented first (foregrounded) with a bigger portrait compared to Foncha the Anglophone Cameroonian who was depicted second (backgrounded) in the text and with a smaller portrait.

7.2.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL GENRE IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

After achieving the comparison of the historical genre findings for the textbooks in the two sub-systems of education separately, this last stage of the comparative analysis involved a comparison of the consistent and conflicting historical genre findings across the textbooks of the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems with the aim of producing holistic second level findings on the nature of historical genre in Cameroonian textbooks and the implications thereof on the users of the textbooks. The first step in this process was a presentation of a visual version of the firm historical genre findings from the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks as reflected in Table 7.1 below. The information contained in the table provided the basis for the comparative analysis that followed.

Table 7.1 Representation of historical genre findings across Anglophone and Francophone textbooks

Anglophone Historical Genre	Francophone Historical Genre
Historical account	Historical account
Narrative verbal text	Biographical narrative
Explanatory	Autobiographical recount
Factorial/Consequential	Explanatory
Descriptive	Factorial/Consequential
Decorative visual text	Decorative visual text
List and bullets explanations	Cameroon nationalism genre
Anglophone nationalism genre	Big men genre
Big men genre	Male chauvinistic genre
Male chauvinistic genre	

As can be gleaned from Table 7.1 above, the nature of historical genres of the texts from the two sub-systems of education in Cameroon presented certain patterns of similarities as well as divergences with several implications on the reunification discourses that these common and distinct genres promoted.

From a very superficial level, a trend could be seen amongst all the textbooks across the sub-systems on a historical account genre. Even though this was neither seen as strange nor unnatural in a historical sense as it constituted the basis of history, or at least of a certain kind of history, the concern here was the emphasis that all these textbooks placed on the factorial and consequential

explanations as a form of the historical account genre. In light of this, there was therefore a consistency across the board of the textbooks of a summative master narrative consisting of simplistic agreed upon explanations on causes and consequences of reunification events.

However, the explanatory historical genre even though consistent in all the textbooks was not applied in the same way across the books. For instance, within the Anglophone textbooks, it was observed that the Green Book applied a form of the explanatory historical genre that was purely narrative whilst the Red Book and Blue Book adopted the list and bulleted form of expressing the explanatory historical genre. The implication of this difference within the Anglophone textbooks system was that all the textbooks provided simplistic historical reasoning by not providing opportunities to challenge the reunification content. Moreover, the list and bulleted format adopted by the Red Book and Blue Book insinuated an orientation towards rote learning wherein the facts on reunification were presented in the best visible and simplest clear way possible for the purpose of simple memorisation and disgorging when needed. Ultimately, the Anglophone textbooks did not really view history as a provisional endeavour hence their historical genre approach was one that was very rigorous in its rigidity in the presentation of reunification.

In relation to the Francophone books and still in terms of the explanatory historical genre, there was an observed similarity between the narrative and descriptive factorial and consequential explanations adopted and those already explained for the Anglophone textbooks. However, in the case of the Francophone textbooks, the explanatory historical genre was compounded by other historical genre types like the biographical narrative used in Book F1 and the autobiographical recount used in Book F3. Briefly put, the specific historical genres of the Francophone textbooks were as follows: Book F1 – explanatory biographical narrative; Book F2 – explanatory narrative; Book F3 – explanatory autobiographical recount. As much as these other historical genre types of the Francophone Books were largely embedded in the explanatory historical genre, they were also seen to have other implications for the nature of the Francophone textbooks. Firstly, the autobiographical genre reduced the reunification content to the activities of specific historical figures (Foncha and Ahidjo) thereby promoting the notion that history is about the actions of “big and influential men”. Secondly, the recording genre of the autobiographical recount applied in Book F3 gave too much agency to the views and experiences of the author which was the narrative emphasis of the text. These author experiences denied the history learners the possibilities of

holding their own opinions since those of the author were already sanctioned in the text as the ultimate and legitimate truth. In a sense, such a manner of historical presentation equally placed the author in a “big man” category as had been seen already with Book F1.

In addition to the use of the verbal text of all the textbooks to advance the factorial and consequential explanatory genre, the visual images used in the textbooks that made use of them were seen to perform complementary and decorative functions rather than adding historical procedural value to the verbal reunification content. This was in the sense that most, if not all of the images used were merely portrait shots of individuals who did not provide any other information or activity to assist learners in interpreting the reunification content. Such images therefore played a decorative function in the texts and enhanced the explanatory historical genre. However, there was a different interpretation of the use of the visual text in Book F2. In the said textbook, the two images used represented French Cameroon politicians (Ruben Um Nyobe and Andre Marie Mbida) who had nothing to do with the discourse of reunification.

From what has been analysed across all the textbooks, it could be said that Cameroon history textbooks are dominated by a historical genre of textual representation of reunification that promotes rote learning by not giving opportunities for the learners to form opinions and critique the reunification content as a process of historical knowledge development. Cameroonian history textbooks therefore do not view history as a temporal practice whose understandings and interpretations are fluid and flexible and largely dependent on different socio-cultural contextual factors. Rather the kind of historical genres used in Cameroonian history textbooks across the board insinuates that history is used as a tool to pass on incontestable or unchallengeable historical facts especially as it concerns the reunification of Cameroon. In a sense, such historical genre types of history were tools used implicitly or explicitly to promote and advance patriotic and nationalistic agendas. In the case of Cameroon, where the theme of reunification has been largely contested over the post-colonial years and is still highly controversial, it is feasible that the authors of the history textbooks either voluntarily or otherwise, are accomplices with other stake holders such as the government and the textbooks publishers in the production of school history textbooks with historical genres that could mitigate the Anglophone-Francophone Cameroonian tensions and create conditions for social cohesion and harmony. This argument is backed by the presence of the master narratives informed by the explanatory historical genre types used in the text of both sets

of books that propagate a top-down approach to historical learning and understanding and void of constructivist initiatives that could involve the learners and teachers of history in a process of shaping, constructing, and reconstructing the historical accounts around reunification.

Another significant dimension of the historical genre finding was the promotion of the discourse of “big men” or historical elitism especially in the Francophone textbooks as demonstrated by the biographical narrative genre of Book F1 and the autobiographical recount genre applied in Book F3. In both scenarios, the historiography of the reunification is captured through the lens and or actions of certain prominent historical figures to the detriment of the ordinary citizens and even women who as a result of this historical genre type are denied a voice in the history of reunification. Therefore for the Francophone textbooks, it is a discourse of Cameroonian nationalism promoted through grandstanding of the actions, contributions or experiences of certain high profile individuals as basis for historical knowledge and understanding.

7.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE OF THE TEXTS RELATED TO REUNIFICATION

After the comparison of the historical genre findings from the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks on reunification in the previous section, I proceed to the second level of the analysis with a comparison of the findings of the historical knowledge type in the analysed texts. I started this process with a comparative analysis of the historical knowledge findings from the texts of the Anglophone textbooks.

7.3.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN THE ANGLOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

A brief recap of the findings from the Green Book in terms of the historical knowledge type showed that the textbook made use of a highly explicit and overtly substantive form of historical knowledge in its presentation of reunification. Through this form of historical knowledge, the Green Book promoted a view of history as a body of established factual information about the past that needs to be studied through rote learning and not as a systematic, procedural or even scientific process of engaging with that information or providing evidence. By promoting factual, descriptive, and narrative explanations of historical events on the reunification, this historical knowledge type is in line with the already expressed narrative, factorial and consequential explanatory genre nature of the text of the Green Book. There was therefore a correlation between

the type of historical genre in which the Green Book was situated and the historical knowledge type expressed in the textbook. Analysed through the lens of the application of unique substantive concepts, it was realised that the Green Book emphasised the explanations of the role of politicians and traditional rulers as primordial to the reunification process even though these figures were mostly drawn from the Southern Cameroons rather than from French Cameroon. The implication of this realisation was twofold: firstly, by focusing the reunification narrative substantially on the actions of politicians and traditional authorities, the role of ordinary citizens and others in effecting political change and advancement within the context of the reunification of Cameroon was omitted. This is a discourse that counters Te Brake's (1998) premise that different alignments amongst the national rulers, local elites and ordinary citizens are important in understanding historical outcomes and consequences. Such elitist factual historical knowledge on reunification presented in the Green Book seemed to aim at creating national heroes around which learners of history can identify and celebrate as a way of enhancing national unity, a common Cameroonian identity and social cohesion. However, in the process of this elitism, the efforts and contributions of the subaltern ordinary Cameroonians were ignored in the historical enterprise of post-colonial Cameroon by elitist authors and publishers who have to deal with the effects of hybrid identities themselves, in the sense that they were also formerly oppressed in the colonial period. The second implication was linked to the first one explained above. This had to do with a discourse of Anglophone nationalism drawn from the fact that the substantive facts presented in the Green Book were all drawn from reunification actions largely linked to the Southern Cameroons than French Cameroon. With the exception of the Fouban and Yaounde Conferences and also the mentioning of few French Cameroon politicians like Ahidjo, all other activities and personalities mentioned verbally and visually related to Anglophone Cameroons. This was an indication that the Green Book had more inclinations on reunification as a Southern Cameroons' preoccupation and wanted the Anglophone learners studying the book to see the reunification of Cameroon as efforts of their Anglophone ancestry rather than a Cameroonian one.

Furthermore, the analysis of the historical knowledge type of the text of the Green Book found an implied rather than actual use of procedural or second order concepts like cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance in the reunification narratives. These concepts were seen to be embedded in the text as the narration and explanation of the historical events and developments of reunification unfolded rather than an explicit attempt by the textbook to promote

them as a form of historical knowledge on reunification. Therefore their use was incidental rather than purposive. Cause and effect was implicitly applied narratively in the explanations of the factors and consequences of the different reunification events while historical significance was identified through the processes of foregrounding, backgrounding, silencing and agency given to certain events and people over others in the reunification process. Moreover, apart from the view that the visual images used in the text promoted elitism and supported a discourse of Anglophone nationalism as hitherto highlighted, these visuals were also analysed to be supportive of the substantive form of historical knowledge promoted by the Green Book in the sense that none of them was accompanied by activities or other study opportunities for critique and engagement with what they represented. On the contrary, the images were either simple portraits of political elites involved in the reunification or images of politicians in a reunification related event. In both circumstances, the images served the purpose of reinforcing the historical substantive content already provided by the verbal text of the Green Book.

Moving on to the Red Book, the historical knowledge type of the analysed text was also seen as overtly and explicitly substantive. This form of historical knowledge also fell in line with the explanatory genre already identified as the historical genre type for the Red Book. This means that through the explanatory historical genre, the text of the Red Book promoted a factual form of historical knowledge on reunification through emphasis on the memorisation of reunification content knowledge rather than as efforts to grasp that knowledge through systematic procedure. Further to this was also the finding from the analysis that the substantive knowledge was enhanced by the emphasis on the presentation of politicians and traditional rulers mainly from the Southern Cameroons as part of the unique substantive concepts. This was also interpreted as an adherence to elitism in historiography by driving the reunification process through the lens of certain influential figures of Anglophone Cameroon history. This inclination of “Big Men” in history was supported by a view that the overall focus of the text on reunification of the Red Book was on Southern Cameroons’ history and its role in the reunification of Cameroon rather than reunification as a broader and more inclusive phenomenon involving both sections of Cameroon. Therefore the Red Book also promoted a discourse of Anglophone nationalism in its presentation of the historical knowledge on reunification. Another factor of the historical knowledge type of the Red Book was that the factual content on reunification was presented in bullet and list format rather than in narrative explanatory or simple prose format. This form of presentation makes for simplistic

grasping of the content as historical knowledge and promotes rote learning and memorisation instead of engagement with the historical content of the text. In spite of the overwhelming use of the substantive form of historical knowledge, the analysis of the historical knowledge type in the Red Book also found the use of procedural concepts albeit used in an implied manner. The concepts identified in this respect were: historical time, cause and effect, historical significance, and change and continuity. The thorough analysis of the use of these concepts provided a conclusion that their use was incidental and not intended as a form of knowledge on critical historical thinking to be acquired by the learners as a result of studying the reunification through the Red Book.

Finally in the category of the historical knowledge type of the Anglophone books is the Blue Book. This textbook just like the others already mentioned within the Anglophone textbooks' category displayed a high level use of the substantive form of historical knowledge on reunification. Again this form of historical knowledge was akin to the already exposed explanatory genre of the text, implying that by virtue of the historical genre and the historical knowledge type, the reunification text of the Blue Book was overtly explanatory, narrative and descriptive of the content as factual rather than contested knowledge that should be studied through different procedural methods of doing history. The unique substantive concepts of the Blue Book analysed the use of people and places in which I observed that the text made extensive use of political figures in explaining the reunification developments. Again the emphasis on politicians was to ensure that the elite class of history is seen as the riders of historical progress and development and in this case, the reunification process. The implied second order concepts identified in the text of the Blue Book included cause and effect, historical time, and change and continuity. The text also made use of visual images in a manner that supported its substantive knowledge focus. This was in the sense that the images were all presented with descriptive captions only and no activities to provoke critical thinking or multiperspectives from them. Moreover, the authorities seen in the images were all politicians supporting the argument that the visual text complemented the "Big Men" male chauvinistic or hegemonic discourse of the verbal text.

Comparing and contrasting the historical knowledge types of the three Anglophone books whose findings have been individually described and analysed above, there was a clear link between the text historical genre and the nature of historical knowledge of the texts. This implies that, each

genre had implications for the kind of historical knowledge that the particular text espoused. It emerged that all the Anglophone textbooks adopted an overt and explicit use of the substantive form of historical knowledge with regard to their representation of reunification which aligns with the explanatory historical genre already seen as the genre specificity for all the texts. Matching this similar pattern to another similarity on the use of the explanatory genre for all three textbooks, the indication was therefore that Anglophone Cameroonian textbooks encourage a factual explanation of the content of reunification without any opportunities to entertain and engage different narratives and perspectives. In line with the substantive knowledge emphasis of all the textbooks, the trend was also that different elements of second order procedural concepts were used in all the textbooks in an incidental rather than purposeful manner. Some of the procedural concepts found in the textbooks included cause and effect, historical significance and change and continuity. However, used incidentally implied that the textbooks did not intend to promote those concepts as a form of historical knowledge that students should acquire as a result of studying reunification in the textbooks but that the concepts only emerged as a part of the textual narratives. The consequences of a substantive form of historical knowledge was that the Anglophone textbooks promoted established narratives on the reunification that foregrounded Southern Cameroons and protected such narratives through not giving opportunities for learners to form their own opinions and to critique the text through different procedural historical forms. This leaves learners and teachers of history vulnerable to the ideas of the authors and other stake holders of these textbooks who are able to indoctrinate their ideas and perspectives on the reunification largely unchallenged.

Another feature of the comparison was the use of visual images. In this regard, it was evident that the visual images used in the Green and Blue Books were used in a manner so as to support the substantive knowledge of the texts. This was because the images were mainly portraits of individuals presented without accompanying sources or activities that could provoke critical engagement with them. Therefore the images were only used as support for the already factual and substantive content expressed in the verbal text on reunification. This was not the same situation with the Red Book which did not make use of any visual image. However, the lack of visual text in the Red Book was also analysed as a deliberate means by the author to steer clear of any other form of textual representation that would have the potential of promoting different perspectives

from the verbal content and consequently jeopardise the substantive historical knowledge mission of the Red Book.

Further into the details of the use of the substantive historical knowledge in the texts, a trend was observed for all three Anglophone textbooks on the use of the unique substantive concepts related to representation of people. In this regard, I noticed that for all the Anglophone books, the unique substantive people mentioned in the reunification texts all fall within the categories of political figures and traditional rulers. These people, who could be referred to as “big or influential men” such as Foncha, Ahidjo, Enderley, were therefore presented by these texts as the main architects of the reunification. What the focus on these “big men” also implied was that the textbooks did not consider any role of ordinary citizens or women as historically significant in the reunification endeavours. The argument could therefore be made that the Anglophone textbooks in terms of the application of unique substantive historical knowledge related to people, displayed a form of elitist and patriarchal or male chauvinistic history that also denied a historical voice to the Cameroonian subaltern. Taking this further, was the consideration of the regional extraction of these political figures and traditional authorities represented in the texts. The analysis of the unique substantive concepts in terms of people further indicated that the political figures and traditional authorities highlighted in the texts were largely of Southern Cameroons’ extraction and very few from French Cameroon. What this tells, is that the textbooks present reunification as the active efforts of Southern Cameroonians and a passive French Cameroon participation. This was interpreted as an attempt by the Anglophone texts to promote Anglophone nationalism through their depiction of the reunification process as driven solely or largely by Anglophone efforts. That being the case, the Anglophone textbooks could therefore be implicitly sending a message that issues around reunification including contemporary ones should be resolved by the Anglophone community considering that the process from its beginnings was controlled by them as the analysis of the historical knowledge of the Anglophone textbooks has proven.

7.3.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN THE FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

In this section, I provide a comparative analysis of the historical knowledge type in the Francophone textbooks analysed. The procedure observed was the same with the Anglophone textbooks performed in the previous section, that is, I started by providing the historical knowledge

type findings for the different textbooks before comparing and contrasting those findings across all three textbooks. The order of presentation followed the order in which the textbooks were analysed at the first level, which is from Book F1 to F2 and then F3 in that order.

The analysis of the historical knowledge type in Book F1 indicated the presence of the substantive and procedural forms of historical knowledge. Whilst the text was seen to make explicit or overt use of the substantive historical knowledge form, the procedural type was rather used in an implicit and largely incidental manner. The explicit use of first order concepts in the text of Book F1 as in the other two Francophone textbooks was elaborately explained in the relevant sections in the previous chapter on data analysis. However, for the purpose of supporting this comparative analysis, the evidence for this claim is further substantiated in the paragraphs below alongside the various implications of this historical knowledge type in the text for school history in Cameroon and for the postcolonial theory.

To start with, the substantive historical knowledge in the text of Book F1 constituted narrative explanations of fixed historical facts that comprised largely of factors for and consequences of different political developments in British and French Cameroons such as the plebiscite in British Southern and Northern Cameroons and the reunification of British Southern Cameroons with French Cameroon. Moreover, the substantive historical knowledge in the text was seen to focus on the actions of certain key political figures depicted as reunification protagonists either in capacities as leaders of political parties or in their personal capacities as elites of their respective constituencies. When analysed through the lens of the representation of unique substantive concepts in the category of unique people and movements, it was seen that the text of Book F1 focused largely on a genre of historical knowledge pertaining to the actions of high profile Cameroonian politicians predominantly Foncha and Ahidjo of Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon origin respectively. This historical knowledge type emphasis was consistent with the biographical historical genre of the text already established in the preceding sections of this chapter whereby the two hitherto mentioned politicians were foregrounded in the textbook as leading figures. Apart from the elaborate coverage and emphasis on these two political figures in the verbal text, another significant aspect of their foregrounding was seen in the visual text wherein the only two images used in the entire text were portraits of Foncha and Ahidjo as leading faces of the reunification endeavour. The implications on this emphasis of historical knowledge around these

two influential politicians on the process of the reunification of Cameroon are that the verbal and visual text of Book F1 promotes a discourse on “Big Men” and elitism in Cameroon history pertaining to reunification. By so doing, the actions, voices, contributions and efforts of ordinary Cameroonians from both sections of Cameroon are silenced. In a postcolonial sense, such representation aligns with the views on the creation and marginalisation of the subaltern who in this case is denied a historical voice and their roles are limited to generic activities like the plebiscite and thereby considered as insignificant.

Another dimension on the analysis of the substantive historical knowledge type in Book F1 regarding the foregrounding of Foncha and Ahidjo was the discourse of inclusiveness that it promoted. The inclusiveness here was in the sense that each of these two figures represented each of the two sections of Cameroon that came together in the reunification. The idea here was therefore that there was an attempt by the text of Book F1 to present reunification in a manner that makes all Cameroonians from both sides of the divide to relate with it and claim it as part of their heritage by identifying with a historical personality from their own side of the Cameroonian colonial divide. In this way, it could be said that the intention of this form of historical knowledge is to serve as tools for nation building and social harmony. This form of inclusive historical knowledge representation of persons is also true with the representation of unique places whereby places in British Cameroons and French Cameroon were presented in the text almost in the same ratio. Not only was this inclusive form of historical knowledge representation of unique concepts in terms of people and places seen as a deliberate attempt by the textbook stakeholders to counter the complexities and nuances of reunification as a historic event, it also gave an indication that the text seeks to promote the idea of unity and social harmony by ensuring that the learners are able to develop a greater sense of holistic Cameroonian citizenship and patriotism.

However, in spite of the presence of this inclusive substantive knowledge type, there was also a finding on the backgrounding of Foncha in relation to Ahidjo in all three Francophone books. The evidence in this regard came from both the verbal and visual text of Book F1. In the verbal text, it was found that in all situations where the two politicians were mentioned, Ahidjo, the Francophone Cameroonian politician, was made to appear before Foncha, the Anglophone. In a similar manner, the portraits of the two politicians that appear in the text of Book F1 have Ahidjo appearing first with Foncha following. Of note was that the portrait of Ahidjo is bigger than that of Foncha. What

this meant was that, even as the text of Book F1 attempts to display an inclusive historical knowledge on reunification, there is still that element of a marginalised and inferior Southern Cameroons vis a vis French Cameroon that comes across. Whether this is done by accident or by design is inconsequential to my argument as at the end of it all, it is the consumers of the textbook who are left with those different feelings which then becomes counterproductive to the social cohesion goal initially stated as the historical knowledge type objective of Book F1.

In spite of the exclusive use of substantive conceptual historical knowledge in the text of Book F1, the analysis, also indicated that certain forms of procedural concepts of history were found embedded within the substantive narrative explanations. These second order concepts were seen as incidental and implied rather than a purposive attempt by the text to promote them as overt historical knowledge types. The procedural concepts unpacked from the text in this regard were: cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance. For instance, the following circumstances of representations in the text were helpful in deducing situations of incidental historical significance in Book F1: the foregrounding, repetition and greater textual coverage of events like the plebiscite over other events like the Bamenda All Party Conference and the Yaounde Tripartite Conference, is an indication of the historical significance that the text of Book F1 places on the plebiscite as a key moment in the reunification process over the other events. On the other hand, the backgrounding of Foncha in relation to Ahidjo in both verbal and visual texts also indicates a lesser historical significance of the former in relation to the latter in the reunification endeavour.

Moving to Book F2, just as in Book F1, this textbook was seen to adopt and promote a largely substantive form of historical knowledge. It should be recalled that this textbook was analysed as being largely silent on reunification. The silence on reunification in Book F2 was manifested in two ways: Firstly, that the textbook generally adopted a more pan Africanist approach to historical knowledge with the different sections of the textbook addressing different decolonisation processes around the African continent. In light of this, the section of the textbook dealing with Cameroon as part of that pan African emphasis is more on the decolonisation struggles as a whole rather than on the theme of reunification. Secondly, in the section of the textbook that deals with Cameroon, which is the section that was considered for analysis in this study, reunification is only scantily and passively narrated in the Anglophone section of the text and not mentioned at all in

the Francophone section. This reunification historical knowledge silence as explained above was seen as purposively dubious and manipulative in nature and analysed as a cautious attempt to avoid exposing history students to historical knowledge on the complexities and nuances of reunification in a nation that seemingly needs more initiatives to unite the diverse groups than to expose them to types of historical knowledge that could risk creating chaos and disrupt the school system or puncture the national master single narrative. Rather than taking such risk, the textbooks' stance is to present a form of historical knowledge around the idea that Cameroon is one nation that fought and conquered colonisation alongside its African peers.

The substantive knowledge type of the text in Book F2 relates to the already established historical genre which is narrative, descriptive, factorial and consequentially explanatory. The nature of the substantive explanations in the text of Book F2 was on the role of historical actors on a more generic political development of Cameroon within the era of decolonisation rather than on the reunification per se. Within the framework of this role, the creation of political parties and institutions together with the activities of political figures were mostly emphasised. Analysing the substantive historical knowledge nature of the text in the context of unique people, I observed that even though the text generally mentioned names of people from both French and Southern Cameroons, there was a far greater percentage or proportion of names mentioned in the category of French Cameroon than from Southern Cameroons. Names such as Ahidjo, Ruben Um Nyobe, Charles Assale, Soppo Priso, Andre Marie Mbida and Philemon Sa Kouma amongst others were mentioned in the Francophone category as opposed to only Enderley and Foncha in the Anglophone section of the text. This disproportion in representation was made even clearer in that the only two images used in the visual text as seen in Figures 6.3 and 6.4 in the previous chapter, are both representative of Francophone politicians – Ruben um Nyobe and Andre-Marie Mbida respectively. That none of the two politicians used in the visual text of Book F2 has a direct link to the reunification endeavour is more evidence in support of the already argued point on the reunification historical knowledge silence in the text. This trend was seen to continue with the analyses of the unique substantive concepts in terms of movements, places and events in the text wherein a greater representation was observed for political movements, places and events from French Cameroon extraction than from the Southern Cameroons.

The explanation of this form of historical substantive knowledge in Book F2 was therefore that the text did not consider the reunification of Cameroon as a significant aspect of the history of Cameroon but as a passive element of the historiography of the Southern Cameroons. In postcolonial terms, such a situation was contextualised within the internal colonisation framework wherein the silencing of the reunification generally and its limitation to the Anglophone section of the text together with the emphasis of the text on substantive concepts directly linked to French Cameroon at the expense of Southern Cameroons all constitute pointers to a discourse of internal colonisation of French Cameroon over the Southern Cameroons in both physical/practical and textual terms. In this light, it is expected that Cameroonian history learners will decipher varying forms of historical knowledge on reunification from the text: whilst French Cameroon history learners will see power, hegemony and superiority, learners from Southern Cameroons extraction will decipher marginalisation and a positioning of inferiority status and second class citizenry within Cameroon. This implies therefore that as much as at surface level one can see that French and Southern Cameroons are represented in the text, the deeper analysis indicates a kind of historical knowledge akin to deep discourses of power, hegemony, oppression and marginalisation.

Notwithstanding this high focus and emphasis of the text on substantive historical knowledge through first order unique concepts as explained in the preceding paragraphs, it was also realised that certain instances in the text displayed forms of procedural historical knowledge like historical time and cause and effect though these were used in a manner that was largely incidental and implied and with no indication that the text intended on promoting those forms of historical knowledge. For instance, chronology was identified as one of the procedural concepts used in the text to contextualise different developments such as the start of different political parties in the two Cameroons, the organisation of the plebiscites and the end of the British and French trusteeships in the region. However, the reason this use of time was observed as incidental is because the use of time is not underlined as significant in the events they help explain in the text thereby not intended to provoke critical thinking and multiperspective reasoning in the learners.

Therefore, as much as the substantive historical knowledge type of the text indicated evidence of representational bias in favour of French Cameroon and the general silencing of reunification, there was a sense of fear by the textbook stake holders that any opportunities provided for learners to critically engage with the text through provision of explicit procedural historical knowledge

forms would expose these biased tendencies to the learners and create a kind of learner awareness that could be detrimental to the agenda of the promotion of Francophone superiority over Anglophone Cameroon or to some extent as seen in the reunification silence, the need for protection of national unity and social cohesion.

Lastly, Book F3 which was analysed as falling under the biographical and explanatory historical genre category was also seen to make use of the substantive form of historical knowledge in its representation of reunification. In light of this historical genre type, the substantive historical knowledge was then used in the explanation of the eye witness views of the author regarding the reunification process of Cameroon. An analysis of the use of unique substantive historical knowledge in Book F3 revealed a more evenly inclusive representation of people, movements, and places from both Anglophone and Francophone regions of Cameroon. This meant the book plays a more conciliatory and unifying role in its handling of reunification by expressing the phenomenon of reunification as a national historical process and moment rather than belonging to a particular section of the country. Even the traditional groups mentioned in the text such as the Ngondo, the Kumzse, and the Bakweri Land Committee, were extracted from both sections of the country and represented almost evenly. Seen through the lens of the autobiographical historical genre adopted by the text, there was a sense that the textbook promotes a “big men” or elitist form of historical knowledge. This was because the unique substantive people mentioned in the text such as Ahidjo, Foncha, Enderley as well as the author himself are all representations of the elite class of society. However, that these “big men” mentioned in the text including the author whose views are represented in the text as hard truth, were interjected by the actions of ordinary people represented in the roles of members of the mentioned traditional associations, provided a sense of historical inclusiveness. Therefore, it was concluded that Book F3 attempts to promote a balanced historical knowledge approach on reunification in terms of actions involving both sections of Cameroon and the actions of people of different social status, that is elites and ordinary people. This move seemed to have the intention of serving patriotic and national unity functions as a means of mitigating the societal contentions about the reunification of the country.

The comparative analysis of the knowledge types of the three Francophone textbooks whose findings in this category I have positively discriminated in the preceding sections produced both consistent and conflicting outcomes. The first element of consistency was that all three textbooks

fall within the substantive knowledge category of history. That means their representation of reunification was in a factual way void of any opportunities for learners to engage in the content. This finding for all the books is linked to the earlier finding on the historical genre type of the books. The factorial explanatory, narrative and biographical historical genre of Book F1, the explanatory, descriptive and narrative historical genre of Book F2, and the explanatory, narrative, and autobiographical historical genre of Book F3 are all pointers to a form of historical knowledge that deprives its recipients of opportunities to participate in the historical knowledge construction on the reunification of Cameroon. By presenting the reunification as sets of agreed upon hard or tangible truths and facts that should be memorised by the learners without possibilities of critical engagement, all three Francophone textbooks are guilty of adopting a top-down approach to historical knowledge in the sense that the authors and producers of the texts are seen to wield monopoly over the form of historical knowledge on reunification that should be transmitted by history teachers and received by the learners in Cameroonian schools. The challenge with this top-down model of historical knowledge that I term “historical indoctrination” is its failure to incorporate the socio-cultural and other knowledge perspectives of the learners and the teachers in the history meaning-making enterprise. This is also a promotion of a view of history as a body of fixed and tangible facts as opposed to the view that the facts are interpretations and constructions of socio-cultural and other realities that can change over time and space.

Furthermore, all three textbooks were seen to make use of first order concepts of historical knowledge in a very explicit and overt manner. Substantive historical knowledge of the content was evident in both verbal texts of all the books and in the visual texts of Books F1 and F2 (the only two books that employed visual content). The purpose for such representation was seen as an effort by the Francophone texts to discourage possibilities of different views on reunification that will disrupt an intended master narrative of national unity, patriotism and social harmony and cohesion between the two Cameroons. It also aimed at presenting Cameroon as a one, united and indivisible country. In the verbal text, this was seen through the analysis of the specific choices of unique and organisational concepts used where by the texts included names of people, places, movements and events from both French and Southern Cameroons in the narration. However, the foregrounding of French Cameroon’s names such as Ahidjo over those from Southern Cameroons in all three books but especially in Books F1 and F2 provided a sense of superiority and marginalisation respectively for those two sections of Cameroon. This was in addition to the

structural organisation of the text that saw the French part of the narration coming first followed by the Southern Cameroons' story in the two books mentioned above. Whilst in the visual text, the substantive historical knowledge element was revealed through the choice of images in the form of portraits with the absence of corresponding activities for Book 1 and Book 2 as well as the absence of any visual text at all for Book F3. Actually, Books F1 and F2 each contain two visual images to complement the highly dense verbal text whilst Book F3 is completely void of any visual text.

The nature of the visual texts, in the cases where they were used, was also important in understanding the historical knowledge type. The two visuals in Book F1 are portraits of Ahidjo and Foncha in that order. A foregrounding of Ahidjo and backgrounding of Foncha corroborated a similar pattern in the verbal text and was interpreted to denote a more powerful status for French Cameroon against the Southern Cameroons thereby serving the argument that the Anglophone Cameroon is a marginalised entity within Cameroon. Moreover, considering that the pictures are mere portraits that do not reflect any reunification activity whatsoever, was analysed as a form of silence or exclusion and an indication of a lack of seriousness on the phenomenon of reunification itself in Book F1. Presented otherwise, would have a potential of disrupting the national master narrative already mentioned. On the other hand, the two visuals provided in Book F2 are both personalities from French Cameroon, both of whom were not directly linked to reunification. This kind of presentation supports the idea that Book F2 is purposefully and manipulatively silent on reunification and that the text gives very little value to political developments from British Cameroons. This use of substantive historical knowledge was in line with the historical genre type of the texts that had already been analysed as being largely explanatory. Therefore there was a direct link between the explanatory historical genre of the texts and the substantive type of historical knowledge employed.

In spite of the consistent nature of historical knowledge type for all the books, the analysis of the detailed application of the substantive historical knowledge in the Francophone texts produced certain findings that were not uniform to all the texts. For example, in the category of representation of unique concepts, it was observed that Books F1 and F3 produced concepts that relate to a very inclusive representation of reunification for both Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons. In Book F1 like in Book F3, the unique substantive concepts showed a very equal

representation of people, movements and spaces for French and Southern Cameroons. Even though there is the addition of people, and places linked to the colonial masters like Britain and even the UN, it was the balanced Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon representation in both texts that provided the idea of an inclusive reunification representation. In addition to the above, Book F3 went a step further to include traditional groups also derived from both sections of Cameroon with a representation that showed collaboration between the different groups across Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons. This inclusive nature of reunification representation was seen as an attempt by both texts to give the phenomenon a national character thereby using it to serve goals of national unity, social cohesion and integration and using the texts as a smokescreen to downplay claims of Anglophone marginalisation in the reunified Cameroon. The exception to this however was found in Book F2 that not only generally presented reunification in a very limited way and restricted it to the Anglophone section of the text, but an overwhelming majority of its unique substantive concepts such as names of people and places used were found in the French section of the text and were people and places of French Cameroon origin. Therefore, contrary to the other Francophone books, Book F2 is disinterested in reunification historical knowledge and shows this through the large silence of the phenomenon in the text generally. Considering that it mentions only as part of the narrative of the Anglophone political development means reunification as per the book is an Anglophone issue that is insignificant in the broader historical knowledge of Cameroon. Instead of reunification, Book F2 emphasises the process of decolonisation through the actions of political activists such as Ruben Um Nyobe, Charles Assale and Andre Marie Mbida, with pressure groups and political parties like the UPC. Despite the silence on reunification in Book F2, the interpretation was that the book takes a position of avoiding the phenomenon because of its contentious nature as it seeks to use history to serve patriotic purposes. Since this same interpretation was given for the nature of the presentation of the substantive historical knowledge in Book F1 and Book F3, it was therefore concluded that even as the Francophone textbooks present the reunification historical knowledge in different ways, they all have the same purpose of promoting national unity and using history as a tool for patriotism in the schools.

Furthermore, the type of historical knowledge in the Francophone books as informed by the representation of unique substantive concepts of people and nature of genres for Books F1 and F3 supports the views of an elitist history. The evidence supporting this claim is that Book F1 reserves a substantial portion of the text for the explanation of the biographies of two powerful and

influential Cameroonians in Ahidjo and Foncha as torch bearers and driving forces of the reunification. In the process, the text excludes the actions of less influential and ordinary people whose contributions are consequently considered insignificant. This trend is corroborated in Book F3 by virtue of the auto biographical recount historical genre in which the author presents the facts on reunification from his personal perspective, thereby giving himself an elitist voice and failing to give room for other perspectives on reunification. However, in the case of Book F3, this elitism is slightly mitigated by the inclusion of traditional tribal associations like the Ngondo and the Kumzse that are used to create a perception that the ordinary people played a role somehow through their participations in these tribal associations.

In terms of procedural historical knowledge, I have already mentioned that the texts are all overtly substantive. In spite of this realisation, certain procedural concepts were seen to be implicitly or incidentally used in the texts. Second order concepts such as cause and effect were evident in all the books. This first order concept was used in a very implied manner as a natural result of the attempt by all the texts to narrate and explain the historical events advanced. It seems natural that there was no other way such events would have been explained without glimpses of their causes and their consequences. In this light therefore, the first order concept of cause and effect could not be seen as an intention of the books but as an incidental inclusion. Moreover, historical time and historical significance were visible especially in Books F2 and F3. In relation to historical time, the texts linked all major events to certain time frames and even the sub topics of Book F3 were seen to be contextualised in terms of specific historical time. But again, it all ended at that level and there were no further activities in the text that needed readers to problematise the reunification historical content in relation to the different chronological markers provided thereby indicating that time marker was not an intended procedural element of the texts. Instead the presence of the different procedural elements in the Francophone text books was interpreted as a mere spill over effect of the need to send across the hard historical facts of the reunification. Again, the absence of procedural emphasis was seen as an intentional move aimed at avoiding the possibilities of learner engagement with the text and to ensure that the textbooks do not become tools for upheavals through awareness creation on the complexities and controversies around the reunification of Cameroon.

7.3.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE TYPE IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

In this section, I proceed with this second level of analysis by comparing and contrasting the findings on the historical knowledge types across the texts of the Anglophone and Francophone books analysed. The intention in this section was to produce firm findings that consolidate on the type of historical knowledge promoted in Cameroonian history textbooks generally, as a function of what emerged from the books of the two sub systems. Table 7.2 below is a visual representation of these findings to facilitate the cross analysis.

Table 7.2 Representation of historical knowledge findings across Anglophone and Francophone textbooks

Anglophone Historical Knowledge	Francophone Historical Knowledge
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Substantive</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explicit / overt first order concepts 2. Use of substantive visual text 3. Factual explanations 4. Master narrative of Anglophone nationalism 5. Anglophone Cameroon nationalism through foregrounding of Southern Cameroons 6. Rote learning / memorisation 7. “Big men” or elitism 8. Patriarchy or male chauvinism 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Substantive</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explicit / overt first order concepts 2. Visual text – images in form of portraits 3. Master narrative of unity, patriotism, citizenship and social harmony 4. Manipulative silence on reunification 5. “Big men” or elitist representation 6. Patriarchy or male chauvinism 7. Cameroon nationalism through inclusive representation and collaboration 8. Foregrounding of French Cameroon to some extent
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Procedural</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incidental or implied use of second order concepts 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Procedural</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incidental or implied use of second order concepts

The comparative analysis of the findings on the historical knowledge types from the two sets of books produced certain consistent and conflicting observations as can be deduced initially from Table 7.2 above. A key factor in the historical knowledge representation consistency is that all the textbooks across the two subsystems promote a highly explicit and overtly substantive form of historical knowledge in their representation of reunification. This was seen through the analysis of both the verbal and the visual texts with the visual texts seen to mostly complement the verbal text in this substantive historical knowledge domain. In the verbal text, the historical knowledge emphasis on the books across the board was on the explanations of the causes, consequences and

procedures of reunification as hard and tangible facts that should not be critiqued. A pointer to this historical knowledge type was already hinted at in the established historical genre types of all the texts. In this regard, a link could be drawn between the narrative, descriptive and factorial explanatory historical genre that was seen to compound all the texts across the board, with a kind of historical knowledge that deprives learners from opportunities to apply critical enquiry skills in the process of historical knowledge construction. Even the biographical narrative historical genre of Book F1 and the auto biographical account of Book F3 were already pointers of a form of historical knowledge type constituting of fixed tangible facts. Therefore, it could be argued that the Cameroonian textbooks analysed are authoritative in their demonstration of historical knowledge on the reunification of Cameroon as they fail to see history as a scientific and evolutionary discipline whose meaning and interpretations are allowed to change over time and space and with learners having a role to play in this change process.

However, this nature of school history knowledge for Cameroon as seen through the overwhelming use of substantive historical knowledge concepts and informed by the historical genre types of the books, also insinuate that the textbooks should serve specific agendas as prioritised by the stakeholders of these books such as the authors, publishers and government. In this case the agendas were revealed through different master single narratives and symbols that emerged as explained in the subsequent paragraphs. Complementing the substantive historical knowledge focus of the books was the manner in which visual images were utilised. The choice of some of the images as portraits of characters (as in the Green Book, Books F1 and F2) as well as the lack of corresponding exercises or activities to these images gave them mere decorative functions in the text and enhanced their substantive functions rather than serving as modes for historical enquiry on the reunification. However in spite of the purpose for which the substantive historical knowledge was prioritised, the conclusion was that such form of historical knowledge leads to the promotion of rote learning and memorisation of the desired reunification historical knowledge.

As Table 7.2 above points out, the agendas behind the established form of historical knowledge and the implications thereof were seen as common and different for the different sets of textbooks under varying circumstances. For instance, on the one hand the Anglophone textbooks were seen to promote a form of Anglophone nationalism through the representation of knowledge that leans highly on the efforts of Anglophone Cameroonians towards the reunification. The basis for this

argument was seen in the representation of the unique substantive concepts in the Anglophone books that showed more emphasis on reunification content, names of people, places and events directly linked to the Anglophone part of Cameroon than the Francophone part. The Francophone textbooks on the contrary made efforts to be more inclusive in their representation of reunification. These books endeavoured to cover reunification historical content, people, political parties and historical places that relate to both sections of reunified Cameroon than their Anglophone counterparts. The interpretation therefore from an Anglophone perspective was that as a minority group and a seemingly marginalised section within the post-colonial Cameroon union, there appear to be efforts to use the Anglophone textbooks as a means to secure and protect an Anglophone identity within the broader Cameroon system. Such identity will ensure that the Anglophone history and heritage is not eroded in a majority Francophone Cameroon union. On the other hand, the Francophone textbooks seem to use the textbook media as an opportunity to protect and preserve the status-quo by representing the reunification as a holistic Cameroonian affair thereby promoting in the process the ideas of unity, patriotism, social harmony, and a common Cameroonian citizenship. From the Francophone texts' point of view, reunification is a legacy of all of Cameroon and not just one part of Cameroon. It should however, be noted that not all the Francophone textbooks analysed represented this point of view. Book F2 for instance ignored and excluded reunification in the Francophone section of the text and presented it only in the Anglophone part even though passively. Apart from this exception in Book F2, the other two books in the Francophone section present a more inclusive and collaborative reunification narrative as seen in the cooperation between traditional associations such as the Ngondo and the Bakweri Land Committee highlighted in Book F3 and the political leadership cooperation of Ahidjo and Foncha demonstrated across the two sections of Cameroon seen in Books F1 and F3.

The analysis of the substantive historical knowledge type of the texts across the two subsystems also revealed a high focus on the influential role played by political figures as individuals and through different political groups as well as traditional leaderships in the reunification process. The case of the traditional rulers was more evident in all the Anglophone textbooks giving that institution greater agency in that part of the territory. In the Francophone books on the other hand, a traditional leadership role was evident in Book F1 and Book F3 with similar effect as in the Anglophone books. From the above perspective, it could therefore be said that Cameroonian textbooks present an elitist or "Big Men" version of historical knowledge and also a patriarchal

male chauvinistic historical knowledge due to the view that the elites mentioned in the texts as orchestrating the reunification agenda are all influential and male characters. In doing so, the books ignore the role of the ordinary Cameroonians in the history of the nation and their efforts towards the reunification are largely side-lined. In postcolonial terms this phenomenon is referred to as a deprivation of the voice of the subaltern in post-colonial national history. The case of Book F2 was interpreted as an isolated instance of the foregrounding of Francophone Cameroon that did not represent a common trend in the Francophone Cameroon texts generally. Even though Book F2 is largely silent on reunification, the interpretation yielded similar results in line with the agenda of the other texts of that category in the sense that silence on the topic means Francophone history learners are not given the opportunity to learn a contentious topic of their history that might risk chaos in the school system and jeopardise the national agenda/narrative of social integration. For the Francophone books therefore, the agenda is one of using the history books and the phenomenon of reunification as a tool for the promotion of national unity, social integration and patriotism while for the Anglophone books, the agenda is to contextualise the reunification as a purely Anglophone affair for the purpose of enhancing an Anglophone nationalism and preserving an identity within the context of claims over marginalisation and internal colonisation.

Moreover, second order procedural concepts were found within the texts of all the books but the manner of their application was seen as incidental rather than purposive. Prominent amongst the procedural concepts uncovered in all the texts were elements of cause and effect, historical significance and historical time. Cause and effect for instance was analysed as a default concept rather than an intended presence in the sense that it had to be there as a spill over effect of the factorial and consequential explanatory genre framework of the books. In light of this argument, it is seen that the historical genre nature of the texts already ensured that the second order concept of cause and effect was ever going to be implied in them as a form of historical knowledge. This argument also holds true for the use of historical time where in it was observed that most if not all the major events of the texts like the Plebiscites, the Bamenda, Fouban and Yaounde Conferences, the formation of political parties, and the proclamation of independence and reunification were contextualised within clearly stated historical time frames but such time markers were not used further as means of provoking historical enquiry. The same is true of historical significance where in some events and personalities were only seen as significant in the text to the extent that they were foregrounded over others and given more comparative verbal and

visual textual coverage. Therefore, the analysis of these procedural concepts did not affect the stance of the books as being wholly substantial in historical knowledge.

Equally important in the comparative analysis was the realisation that the entire books across the board promote history from a “Big Men” or elitist point of view. In the Anglophone textbooks, this was done mainly through the foregrounding of the activities of influential political figures and traditional rulers as leading personalities in the reunification endeavour in both verbal and visual text. In the verbal text of the Anglophone books, the main influential figures used recurrently in the text were seen to be Foncha and Ahidjo and to a lesser extent Enderley, Ntumazah, Jua and Muna. Meanwhile the traditional authorities also analysed as “Big Men” were mostly represented by the actions of the members of the House of Chiefs who included the Fons of Bali, Mankon, Bansa, Bafut as well as chiefs Kimbongsi, Buh, Oben, Ebanja and Dipoko¹¹. In addition to their use and presence in the verbal text, the visual text of these books was also seen to complement and emphasise their significance by portraying their images in the forms of portraits as individuals or pictures of the politicians together at different reunification related events. With the exception of the Red Book that is completely void of any visual image whatsoever, the other two Anglophone books contain several images to support the above claim. There were no instances in the texts of the Anglophone books where the voices and actions of ordinary people were explicitly expressed and represented in the reunification process except in implied forms through the mention of events such as the plebiscites and the referendum in which it is normally expected that the ordinary people took part. The same argument could be made for the Francophone texts in terms of elitism, but the situation for this latter category of books is even stronger as they went beyond the textual representation of these “Big Men” to be compounded by the choices of the biographical account and the auto biographical recount historical genres used for Books F1 and F3 respectively. In Book F1, part of the historical genre structure of the text involved the narration of the biographies of Ahidjo and Foncha in relation to reunification thereby elevating these two figures to the status of icons and heroes of the reunification. This narrative is then supported by visual portraits of the two as emphasis of their importance and significance. Meanwhile for Book F3, the notion of “Big Men” is denoted from the fact that the text in itself is the experience of the author himself on the reunification that is presented as incontestable historical truth that is not countered through other

¹¹ The title of Fons and Chiefs are widely used to refer to traditional rulers in the Northern and Southern zones of Southern Cameroons respectively

perspectives or views. This observation reflects the nature of subalternism in a post-colonial context of Cameroon whereby the ‘new elites’ in the form of the textbooks’ authors seek to replace the privileges of the former colonial masters with their own privileges thereby continuing the vicious circle of colonisation this time in an internal sense by depriving the Cameroon subaltern of a historical voice.

7.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REUNIFICATION DISCOURSES IN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

The last phase of this second level analysis dealt with the comparison of the discourses that emerged from the analysis of both the Anglophone and Francophone sets of textbooks. Unlike in the previous sections of this chapter where I analysed the comparison of the two sets of textbooks separately in terms of their historical genre and knowledge type representations before proceeding to their comparative nature, in this chapter I conducted the comparative analysis of the discourses as a single unit for all the textbooks across the two sub systems, only positively discriminating the different individual textbooks or sets of textbooks as examples supporting arguments in the process of explaining the discourses. The rationale for this approach was based on the realisation that the previous sections have already produced firm comparative findings and therefore analysing the discourses separately would entail much repetition that is in my interest to avoid. Moreover, it is important to note that the discussion of the discourses in this section will in some instances accommodate some of the discussion points that would otherwise have been reserved for the section of the discussion of the findings further below. Therefore, this section should normally be read and understood in conjunction with the discussion of the findings.

It is important to note that there were instances from the text where the meanings of the discourses overlapped each other. Due to this element of confluence, the discourses cannot be seen as totally independent of each other but to a certain extent as a holistic explanation of the findings from the text in a sort of continuum and interdependence manner, meaning that, these discourses are more mutually complementary than mutually exclusive. I was able to show this connection between the different discourses as I presented them in the findings in the previous two chapters as well as in the previous sections of this comparative analysis chapter. However, in spite of this interconnection, there are also very clear specific issues that the individual discourses relate to with respect to the findings and for specific texts under specific sub systems. Hence, the

comparative analysis of the discourses takes into consideration their integrated nature as well as their exclusive nature and text specificity.

The discourses discussed in this section all emanated from the historical genre and knowledge comparison of the texts and took the form of dominant and supporting discourses wherein, the role of the supporting discourses were to add flesh in the elaboration of the dominant discourses. Therefore, the conceptual logic of this section constituted the identification of dominant discourses as a function of the historical genre and knowledge type comparative findings and their subsequent discussions along the historical genre and knowledge lines. In the sections that follow, I discuss the discourses that emerged from the comparative analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks.

7.4.1 DOMINANT HISTORICAL DISCOURSES FROM ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

- **Discourse on the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon**

The identification of this discourse was informed by the findings of the historical genre type and knowledge type espoused by the texts of both sets of books. Going by the historical genre template explained in Table 4.4 under the methodology chapter of this study, all the texts were found to promote a historical genre type falling in the category of “Historical Account: Explaining genre”. This means that, there was no evidence from the texts – Anglophone and Francophone alike that they promote the other aspects of the historical account genre such as the argumentative and the interpretation. Even more specific within the explanatory genre is the realisation that the texts were all found to promote the factorial and consequential forms of the explanatory genre at the expense of others such as the exposition and multi-sided perspective. In this way, the focus of the texts was found to be on explanations of the notion of what leads on to what and on what leads on from what. The absence from the texts of problematic interpretation that needs justification and presentation and evaluation of conflicting viewpoints means this historical genre element of the text endorses a one-sided perspective of the reunification.

In addition to the factorial and consequential explanatory historical genre that was found to be contained in all the texts, it was also found that some of the textbooks adopt other genre types. Book F1, for instance, has a section of the reunification text that contains the biographical narrative historical genre. This genre type which depicts the recording and explaining of the story of

someone's life is linked to the text of Book F1 through the section that explains the life stories of Ahidjo and Foncha (this finding is also discussed under the discourse on elitist historiography or Big Men representation) as the main architects of the reunification. Also, Book F3 contains the autobiographical record genre which is the story of the life of the author as he experienced the reunification developments in Cameroon. The biographical and autobiographical genres were seen as complementing rather than conflicting the explanatory genres as they too are void of opportunities for multiple perspectives in appreciating the reunification content.

Closely linked to the different historical genre types highlighted above, is the form of historical knowledge that is propagated by the texts through its various genres. It was found that all the texts promote a substantive form of historical knowledge related to reunification at the expense of the procedural knowledge. This was found as a result of the analysis of the unique, organisational and thematic concepts in the verbal and visual texts that revealed emphasis on explicit use of first order concepts relating to people, movements, time, places, and events. The lack of activities to provoke enquiry skills, critical thinking, multiperspectives and other forms of procedural knowledge implied that the texts did not explicitly present the reunification content as a procedural narrative and did not view history as a scientific and methodological form of enquiry into the events and activities of the past. Even when some second order concepts were identified in the texts such as cause and effect as well as historical time, their use was found to be completely incidental or implied rather than deliberate and was therefore not enough to claim any sort of procedural knowledge status for the texts. In terms of the visual texts, the absence of visual images in some of the texts such as Book F3 and the Red Book was interpreted as a means of avoiding visuals that could be used to promote multiperspectives in history. Moreover, some of the visuals such as those of Book F1 and F2 and one in the Green Book are portraits of people who do not show them in any reunification related activity or any other activity for that matter. This too was seen as a promotion of substantive historical knowledge in the text through the manner of representation of visual images or the lack thereof. The link between the substantive form of historical knowledge promoted by the texts and the different historical genre types is very clear. They are explanatory, descriptive, narrative, factorial and consequential, one-sided, biographical, autobiographical, and common sensical. All these different elements put together provide a picture and summary of the purpose and nature of school history across the two sub systems in Cameroon.

Therefore, the purpose of school history in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon especially in relation to the reunification is to nurture docile learners into a culture of respecting state sanctioned historical content without any possibility of engaging that content. A form of history that could also be seen as indoctrination because such learners will simply be expected to memorise and reproduce the reunification content delivered to them by the designers of the curriculum and the textbook authors. A more silent agenda in such a case would be the desire to avoid any situation in which any controversial and contested historical topic could be taken advantage of by the school to create national chaos, therefore, learners are not allowed to take part or have a voice in the public historical debate but to take the position of the government through the substantive content they are unilaterally exposed to and made to believe as ultimate truth.

Moreover, school history in Cameroon relating to reunification is intended to promote the idea of big men in history. This is so because the analysis of all the text revealed that the actors who are presented as anchoring the reunification process are all influential and elite Cameroonians from both the Anglophone and Francophone sides of Cameroon. This elitism is reflected through the large emphasis on presentation of politicians and traditional leaders in the reunification process. More so, elitism in the text is enforced through the genre types such as those of the autobiographical recount that give too much agency to the author as an elite himself. Therefore, the manner in which reunification is presented in this text portrays that school history in Cameroon is an uncritical discipline that is written by big men (academic historians) to advance the stories of other historical big men. To achieve this agenda, school history has to be taught as a memory discipline and this is seen in the highly substantive form of historical knowledge promoted in the texts of all the books.

- **Discourse on school history and textbooks and reunification in Cameroon**

The implication of this discourse is explained further down in this chapter when I discuss and theorise the findings. However, for the purpose of this comparative analysis I would say that in line with the discourse on the nature of school history related to reunification in Cameroonian textbooks explained above, there is also in the text, a discourse that speaks to the nature of history textbooks in Cameroon as seen through the manner in which the texts present reunification. The manner in which textbooks are written is vital as they are influential and indispensable resources for teaching and learning and dissemination of information in promoting a certain kind of school

history. Therefore textbooks and school history inform each other in nature. The explanatory and narrative historical genre nature of the texts together with their emphasis and focus on historical first order concepts at the expense of second order procedural concepts imply that these textbooks are not meant to be critical but are rather to agree around a master narrative advanced by the authorship of the text. The textbooks are loaded with pre conceived narratives aimed at defining a certain kind of citizenship in the learners through using the books for studying history. By presenting single narratives on reunification, the history textbooks analysed in this study are therefore meant to unite students around those single agreed upon facts and truths on the reunification. Through backgrounding, foregrounding, silencing, and topicalising some historical people and events over others as well as the application of other forms of intertextuality, the textbooks are seen as operating beyond a pedagogic agenda to promoting the political and ideological initiative of the elitist authors and publishers for their own interest and for the government that endorses them. The textbooks are therefore not meant to be critical but to be read as uncontested and as incontestable facts and truths about the reunification of Cameroon.

7.4.2 SUPPORTING HISTORICAL DISCOURSES FROM ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE TEXTBOOKS

- **Discourse on national identity vs. other identities as it relates to reunification in Cameroon**

This discourse relates to the idea of nationalism that was evoked in the analysis of the different texts. The question that arises is to know what kind of identity the learner is left to feel as a result of studying the books. Basically two kinds of identities were identified from the analysis of the texts: Anglophone nationalism discourse present in the Anglophone textbooks and a Cameroonian nationalism for the Francophone books. For the Anglophone books, an Anglophone version of nationalism was seen to be promoted through the manner in which the different reunification activities were presented such that a sense of a struggle for British Cameroonians to secure an identity is perceived. In all three Anglophone textbooks, there was a greater proportional representation and agency of Anglophone Cameroonians vis a vis the Francophones and the presentation of the Anglophones as collective victims of reunification. Going by the Anglophone textbooks, reunification was more an Anglophone affair than a Cameroonian one and the learners using the books are expected to feel an Anglophone identity by seeing themselves as collective Anglophone victims of reunification and as a means of surpassing the post-colonial reunification

impasse in Cameroon. Such sentiment is however, not the case with the Francophone books which are in favour of the promotion of nationalism in a broader Cameroonian sense. The evidence for this lies in the realisation from an almost equal representation of people, events and places related to reunification in the Francophone texts. This is also compounded by the presentation of collaborative initiatives between the people, political parties and tribal associations between British and French Cameroon. The examples in this regard culled from Book F3 include collaboration between Ahidjo and Foncha (political personalities), UPC and KNDP (political parties), and the Ngondo with the Bakweri Land Committee (tribal associations). It is important to note that by emphasising colonial constructed identities in this process of promoting identities, the textbooks are failing to realise that the nation of Cameroon is a conglomerate of different local identities. Notwithstanding, the analysis of this discourse suggested that the reason for emphasis on a Cameroonian nationalism in the Francophone textbooks is because it is in the political and economic interest of the majority French Cameroon to maintain and promote Cameroon in its present reunified dispensation whilst on the other hand Anglophone Cameroons which is in the minority and the group which has been crying foul on the nature of reunification feels a sense of creating and promoting an Anglophone version of nationalism in an effort to secure a more dignified status within the Cameroon (re)union and check purported claims of marginalisation and ‘Frenchification’ of Cameroon.

- **Discourse of big men as it relates to reunification in the textbooks**

In line with the nature of school history on reunification explained earlier, it was realised that one of the significant single narratives signifying this form of school history is the idea of historical elitism or big men in history. This view was revealed in all the texts for both the Anglophone and the Francophone sub systems. Elitism in this sense refers to the idea of portraying historical events through the actions of big or powerful men at the expense of ordinary people. In the analysis of the individual texts, I provided tables that depict the representation of historical substantive concepts in terms of unique people. In all these tables and for all the books it is observed that the reunification process is portrayed as driven by political leaders, traditional authorities or religious figures. In the Anglophone textbooks, there is mention of the House of Chiefs as an institution wielding traditional authority in that part of Cameroon. With all these representations falling under the elite category or class of society, it implies that Cameroonian history textbooks across the board not only view reunification as an achievement of the actions of these influential people, but views

history in general as a narration of the actions of big men of the past. None of the textbooks highlights or gives agency to the actions of ordinary Cameroonians towards the reunification process. Such actions of the latter group of people are at best represented in an incidental or generalised manner that does not reveal any sense of agency. Their unimportance is also highlighted through the kind of platform that the books use to describe the activities of these ‘important’ personalities. Platforms used in the texts such as UN general assembly, the parliaments or legislatures, and conferences (e.g. the Bamenda, Foumban and Yaounde Conferences) are platforms that do not identify with activities of subaltern but with elitism. Such implicit representation of the ordinary people includes the mentioning of activities like the plebiscite and referendum that speak to more generalised participation. The case of elitism is even stronger for the Francophone textbooks as revealed through the adoption of the biographical and the auto-biographical historical genres. In both historical genres, the idea is to view reunification through the lens of certain big men like the case of Ahidjo and Foncha for Book F1 and through the personal experiences of the author as it is with Book F3. In postcolonial terms, this historiographical elitism alludes to the idea of the subaltern. The elites in this case being the big men represented in the text as well as the author and publishers while the subaltern represents the ordinary people who are being denied a voice in history and historiography by their own post-colonial compatriots. Through this kind of representation, the author and the textbook could be seen as post-colonial and not postcolonial for failing to capture the historical actions and activities of the subaltern in the representation of reunification

- **Discourse of male chauvinism as it relates to reunification in the textbooks**

Linked to the discourse of big and influential men is the realisation that the elite actors represented in the texts with influential roles on the reunification are of the male gender. There is therefore an attempt at portraying the male gender as more significant and important in history than the female. While this is very explicit in the verbal and visual text of the Francophone books as none of the images used refers to a woman, in the Anglophone texts, the visual text of for instance the Green Book contain certain images that feature woman in the background. However, such representation can only be seen as passive as the women occupied only background positions while the foregrounding was reserved for the male main actors such as Foncha, Ahidjo, Enderley and Muna. Also, since such women who featured in the visual text of the Green Book were not further mentioned in the verbal text is a justification of their lack of significance in the reunification

endeavour and in the history of Cameroon in general. Their visual textual presence could be explained more as an accident than by design. Therefore all the texts were seen to be dominated by strong men who drive the master narratives in the text thereby promoting a sense of male chauvinism. The insinuation is that women had no active role worth documenting in so far as the reunification is concerned. Putting this disregard of women representation in all the texts into perspective, this is not to insinuate that women should have been represented in roles where they were not involved – that would have been tantamount to historical fallacy. Rather the implication is two-fold: firstly that the societal culture and other similar constructions of that moment in history discouraged women from participating in active politics and from taking traditional and religious leadership roles and secondly, that the textbooks' failure to represent women even in the menial roles they played during the reunification process does not exonerate their producers from patriarchal and chauvinist tendencies.

- **Discourse of Cameroon and reunification as an imagined community/country**

With the explanation of the discourse on identities, the question that comes to mind therefore is what is Cameroon? Is it a nation state or simply an imagined community? The evidence from the analysis of the texts indicate that the answer would best resonate with the latter suggestion. The representation of reunification in the different textbooks has exposed the frailty of Cameroon as a nation. It has exposed the idea of different textbooks promoting different forms of nationalisms and identities all linked to colonial heritages and vestiges at the expense of other identities that defined Cameroon in the pre-colonial period. By studying the reunification of Cameroon through these textbooks, and having a sense of the different identities that the textbooks propagate, learners from Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons cannot therefore have common understandings of what the country is. The absence of the promotion of their local identities in the texts further exacerbates the situation and highlights the claim that the country is an imagined community. This is also a claim that could be explained beyond the analysis of the different Anglo-French textbooks, to the current political and Anglophone crises plaguing the nation in which open claims for secession or for restoration of the Anglophone statehood are being pronounced whilst concurrent claims of tribal and ethnic affiliations are also heard.

In this section I have explained the nature of the reunification discourses that emerged from the analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks. The discourses were explained in the form

of dominant and supporting discourses. Two discourses were identified under the dominant discourses category. These two were the discourse on the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon and the discourse on history textbooks and reunification in Cameroon. In the first dominant discourse I explained that school history in Cameroon is meant to serve rote learning purposes as well as the memorisation of the actions of certain influential people towards reunification. By so doing, school history in Cameroon promotes a single narrow master narrative on reunification with different ideological agendas intended. While for the Francophone textbooks the agenda for such school history is seen as one to promote a Cameroon nationalism and use the discipline of school history as a tool for securing national co-existence, the agenda for the Anglophone textbooks was seen as encouraging an Anglophone form of nationalism as a means to voicing their plight within the nation. This idea on school history in Cameroon was unpacked in the texts by means of the establishment of an explanatory, narrative and descriptive historical genre and a highly substantive application of historical knowledge but also through the biographical recount and the autobiographical genres used in Books F1 and F3 respectively. This discourse can therefore be explained as a consistent discourse on reunification for the Anglophone and the Francophone textbooks by virtue of the explanatory genre and substantive knowledge together with the implications thereof, but also as a conflicting discourse due to the presence in the Francophone texts of the additional genre types of biographical account and autobiographical recount that propels the idea of elitism to an all high level than with the Anglophone texts.

The next dominant discourse from the analysis referred to is the nature of history textbooks and reunification in Cameroon. This discourse relates strongly to the nature of school history in the sense that the textbooks are official pedagogic tools used in the dissemination and propagation of a certain kind of school history. In this regard it was revealed that by virtue of its emphasis on substantive historical knowledge and the absence of explicit forms of second order concepts, school history textbooks in Cameroon are consequently conspirators in the propagation of single master narratives. Part of the reason why school history in Cameroon is not a disciplinary discipline as seen above is because of the uncritical nature of the textbooks used. Again this discourse is consistent for the Anglophone and the Francophone textbooks analysed for this study.

The analysis then proceeded with an examination of the supporting discourses that emerged as a function of the dominant discourses. These supporting discourses included: Discourse on national

identity versus other identities as it relates to reunification in Cameroon; Discourse of big men as it relates to reunification in the textbooks; Discourse of male chauvinism as it relates to reunification in the textbooks; Discourse of Cameroon and reunification as an imagined community/country. Amongst these supporting discourses, the one that depicted conflict representation in the textbooks of the two sub systems is that on nationalism and identity. In this regard, whilst the Francophone textbooks were seen to promote the idea of a Cameroonian identity, those of Anglophone Cameroon portrayed an identity linked to Anglophone Cameroon by representing the reunification largely and almost exclusively through the lens of their own direct ancestry to the exclusion of French Cameroon historical actors. With the exception of this discourse that suggested conflicting representation, the others were all seen as consistent for both Anglophone and Francophone sets of textbooks.

7.5 DISCUSSION AND THEORISATION OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

The comparative analysis achieved in the previous sections of this chapter consolidated the findings of this study in relation to the nature of representation of reunification discourses in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks. Through the comparative analysis in the preceding section, I was able to establish the consistent and conflicting discourses on reunification in the textbooks of the two sub systems analysed. However, the analysis presented in the previous sections does not give meaning as to why reunification discourses are presented in the way in which they are in the different textbooks. To address this third critical question for this study and make meaning of the aforementioned analysis and its implications, I present in this section – 7.5, a discussion and reflection of the major findings and discourses that emerged from the analysis in relation to the research literature (Section 7.5.1) that was achieved in chapters one and two and the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework (Section 7.5.2) that I adopted for this study and explained in chapter three. Some of the theoretical and research implications were already highlighted in the process of the analysis for both the individual textbooks as well as for the different layers of the comparative analysis. This section would therefore consolidate those implications already presented but also provide further insights on aspects that have not been discussed. The discussion of the findings is informed by the findings on the comparative analysis of the discourses established in section 7.4.2 above as well as were applicable to other findings from the individual textbooks.

7.5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS RELATED TO RESEARCH LITERATURE

The first dominant discourse that was identified from the analysis is the discourse on the nature of school history and reunification in Cameroon. In very brief terms, it was seen that school history in Cameroon has the desire to nurture docile learners into a culture of respecting state sanctioned historical content without any possibility of engaging that content. This is a form of history that could also be seen as indoctrination because such learners will simply be expected to memorise through rote learning and reproduce the content delivered to them by the designers of the curriculum and the textbook authorship. A more silent agenda in such a case would be the desire to avoid any situation in which any controversial and contested historical topic such as the reunification of Cameroon could be taken advantage of by the schools to create chaos and disrupt social harmony. Therefore, learners are not allowed to take part or have a voice in the public historical debate but to take the position of the government through the single master narratives and highly substantive historical content they are unilaterally exposed to and made to believe as hard facts and ultimate truth.

However, this substantive and patriotic nature of school history education in Cameroon has a historical root looking back at the purpose of education generally and the manner in which it was dispensed during the era of German colonisation as I have explained in chapter one. The literature in this regard states that all German educational initiatives in Cameroon were directed towards the promotion of the German language, culture and administrative policies (Ndangoh, 2011). This was done through a kind of curriculum that vanderPloeg (1977, p. 104) referred to as “assimilative”, and geared towards German efforts to “placard and subvert” the coastal peoples who possessed the monopoly of commercial access to the interior. Ngome (2012) also concurred with the above appraisal of the purpose of German education in Cameroon by referring to it as a tool for cultural colonisation. The implication here is that the German colonial curriculum in Cameroon was never intended to empower Cameroonians into becoming critically minded people but as a substantive body of knowledge that the people were expected to acquire as a way of promoting and protecting German interest in the country. It could therefore be argued that being a former colonial master of Cameroon prior to the 1916 Anglo-French partition, it is that German kind of education generally that has filtered through into present day Cameroon as a form of German education legacy and is manifested in the form of school history and reunification.

The literature further indicates that a similar trend of colonial education continued under the British and French trusteeship period in their respective areas of Cameroon. According to Ngome (2012) and Ngoh (2012) the French used education as a tool to impose and implement their foreign policy of assimilation in Cameroon and this was evident in for instance the imposition of French language as the only language of instruction in the schools by 1924. On the part of the British, the same authors above note that even though the system of education was more decentralised than that practiced by the French, the indirect rule policy nonetheless ensured that education served the British agenda of training civil servants for purposes of colonial exploitation. Again the argument here is similar to that made for German education in the previous paragraph. The kind of school history in Cameroon as it relates to reunification is therefore living up to its colonial heritage in the form of the systems and purposes of education performed by the German, French, and British colonial masters in their different colonial periods in Cameroon.

Therefore even with the decolonisation of the two Cameroons and the reunification that came with it, the colonial model of education comprising of single master narratives and rote learning seem deeply entrenched in the country to the extent that the trend has simply been made to continue in line with this finding on the nature of school history in the two Cameroons. This is in spite of the fact that efforts have been made in post-colonial Cameroon through for instance the creation of the CGCEB and the BAC with responsibilities of designing the curriculum, overseeing the process of examinations and deciding on the kind of textbooks to be used in Anglophone and Francophone sub systems respectively in consultation with the Ministry of Secondary Education. However, the explanation for the inability of the different sub systems to act independently could as well lie in the overseeing role of the government through the Ministry of Education in the curriculum designing and textbooks selection processes. From this angle, it seems obvious that the government of Cameroon has the agency to implement its views on the kind of education for the country but most especially and in the context of this study, on the kind of school history that does not give opportunities for critical thinking and multiperspectivity on its content.

In controlling the manner in which reunification as part and parcel of the textbooks' content is depicted in Cameroon schools, the government is taking advantage of the indispensable role of the textbooks as a pedagogic tool in the classroom universally. This pedagogic role has been established by several authors amongst whom are Lin, et al. (2009); Pingel (2010); Romanowski

(1996); Sewell (2004). For instance, a study conducted by Wakefield (2006) concluded that 94% of secondary school teachers who taught social studies had reported that their learners used textbooks in class at least once a week. The same study revealed that 66% of social studies teachers only used print material other than textbooks in the classroom. The above study was concurred by a UNESCO (1949) report that states that although teachers and those who make programmes of study to a large extent directly influence the attitudes of learners and the content used in the classroom; it is from textbooks that most children obtain a connected view of human history and culture of the world in which they live. Therefore accordingly, history textbooks may be said to define what is significant in a country's history and they are the medium through which official history, as sanctioned by the government, is made public. Citing the USA as a nation that places great faith in textbooks, Romanowski (1996) submits that these tools are used significantly in the country as means of providing USA children with an understanding of their history (official history). This implies that the nature of school history in Cameroon as seen through the manner in which reunification is presented, is also the official government position on that historical process, which is taking advantage of the pedagogic indispensable nature of history textbooks in disseminating the official content of reunification history in Cameroon schools and the Cameroonian public.

Still in line with the pedagogic role of the textbooks as an explanation for the perceived kind of school history on reunification in Cameroon, Maric (2016) notes that if the purpose of history education is to build a critical, active, and responsible citizen, it chooses sensitive and controversial topics to develop critical thinking, acquires the concept of multiperspectivity, and fosters dialogue. On the other hand, he continues that if history education serves simply to transfer certain preconceived, one-sided narratives, then it excludes the variety of experiences and dialogue on interpretations, and does not foster inquiry. Considering that the Cameroon history textbooks were all analysed as falling within the latter category as seen through the explanatory historical genre and substantive historical knowledge types of the texts, the answer therefore would be that the textbooks in Cameroon are tools promoting the official history on reunification being one-sided narratives without interpretations. But what this implies is that as much as the Cameroon textbooks are pedagogic materials for disseminating historical content, the presence in them of single master narratives, master symbols and absence of procedural initiatives are all allusions to political and ideological undertones. This means that the textbooks are not neutral, innocent disseminators of

reunification content, but are simultaneously highly charged political and ideological instruments employed to serve different agendas both collectively for all the textbooks across the board as well as separately for the Anglophone and Francophone sub systems. Again this phenomenon of textbooks used for ideological purposes is not unique to Cameroon. The literature supporting this position and role of textbooks abound and was reviewed in chapter two under different contextual realities. One example is the study conducted on apartheid era history textbooks in South Africa by du Preez (1983) which indicated the high presence of master symbols supporting white superiority and Afrikaner nationalism whilst demeaning South African blacks and portraying them as inferior. The study further revealed that counter symbols to those mentioned above were produced in other textbooks such as English literature and English language textbooks with efforts to undermine the effects of the pro-apartheid symbols and uplift the dignity of the blacks. Within the same regional context, a study on post-apartheid textbooks revealed new stereotypes such as silences and omissions regarding the whites, their aspirations and their leaders, all deliberately presented in order to counter apartheid stereotypes (Engelbrecht, 2008). All these scenarios in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa makes the textbook landscape in that country a battleground for ideology and politics through the use of master symbols/stereotypes and therefore in a similar manner to the Cameroonian history textbooks and reunification.

Other contexts in Africa where the literature was reviewed with similar effect as that of South Africa included Kenya and Ghana. The former which involved a textbook study on the Kenya – Somalia conflict and the representation of the Kenya born Somali refugees, revealed an ideological agenda of the Kenyan government regarding the refugees to the extent of portraying them as the “bad guys” in Kenya (Fould, 2016). Meanwhile, in the context of Ghana the issues revolved around contemporary political influence in the representation of Nkrumah’s legacy on the developments around the post-independence violence in Ghana (Sefa-Nyarko, 2016). A common factor amongst these three cases reviewed in the literature is that they portray common patterns of ideological and political use of textbooks in post-colonial African countries. In this regard, the explanation to the nature of the school textbooks in Cameroon could be that textbooks by their nature are bound to be ideological as seen in other places of Africa. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) summarise this position succinctly by claiming that “texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the

political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power” (p. 3). This is supported by other authors whose stance were also reviewed in the literature such as: Crawford (2000); Lin, et al. (2009); Maric (2016); Pingel (1999; 2010); Polokow-Suransky (2002); Rodden (2009); Romanowski (1996); Sakki (2010); and Schissler (1989-1990). The positions of these different scholars reflect studies from different countries and continents. However, one other source that was cited in relation to the ideological use of textbooks is Germany. This source is important as it reflects a similar scenario to that of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Captured by Rodden (2009), it is revealed that the post WWII, communist government of the GDR from 1945 used history textbooks in the same way as had the Nazi government before them, that is, for “propagandist purposes”. In this context, the history textbooks were accomplices of the ideological shifts from Nazism to communism in the eras separated by WWII.

Another discourse that warrants addressing in relation to the literature is the reason why the two sets of textbooks present reunification discourses differently especially along Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon lines. In this regard, I revert to Gham (2015) and Ngome (2012) who explained that during the immediate aftermath of reunification, there was a general sense of excitement on the possibility of harmonising the two inherited educational systems in order to create a single national educational system adaptable and responsive to Cameroonian needs, in terms of political, economic, social and cultural aspirations. However, both authors also indicate that such harmonisation effort did not see the light of day due to the reluctance and bad faith of the Francophone authorities who under the guise of harmonisation instituted a systematic process of assimilation of the Anglophone system of education. Realising this bad faith, the Anglophone minority embarked on a series of resistance measures that mounted pressure on the Cameroon authorities to enact policies to protect their Anglo Saxon styled educational heritage (Gham, 2015; Ngome, 2012) highly linked to the findings of Anglophone identity and nationalism in this study. The sustained pressure from the Anglophones then led to the creation of the GCE and BAC boards respectively to cater for the Anglophone and Francophone sub systems of education in Cameroon. It is this absence of harmonisation and a functional dual system of education in the country that had made it possible that school history and textbooks in the different systems can produce different discourses that seek to promote certain narratives and agendas suitable for that particular system.

One such narrative that emanated from the analysis is a discourse on Anglophone nationalism and identity for the Anglophone books and a holistic Cameroonian nationalism and identity for the Francophone textbooks. The question here is why would Anglophone textbooks push forward an agenda that is more pro Anglophone than pro national? The answers are captured in the aspects of literature reviewed in chapters one and two. As a start, we recall Hart-Landsberg (2009) who suggested that it is not possible to view reunification as an unambiguously good process but, rather, it should be viewed as a highly contested process. Going by this call, it could be said that the differences in the representation of reunification discourses in the different sets of textbooks go beyond the nature of school history and textbooks in Cameroon as has been previously seen, to also include the contested nature of the reunification phenomenon generally. More seriously though the desire to promote an Anglophone identity could be explained in terms of the perceived marginalisation of the Anglophone Cameroonians by the Francophone Cameroonians in a majority dominated Francophone Cameroon. This marginalisation is captured in chapter one through authors such as Awasom (2003); Chem-langhee (1995); Fanso (1999 & 2009); Fonchingong (2010); Konings (1999); Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003); Nfi (2014); Tangwa (2011). The bottom line argument pressed by the above authors is that the federation that followed reunification was a sham federation which although safe for appearances, was actually a preparatory stage for the annexation of Southern Cameroons through the assimilation of their territory into a highly centralised Francophone unitary state. Significantly amongst these sources are Piet Konings and Francis Nyamnjoh whose scholarship has focused largely on what they term the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997). They claim that contrary to Anglophone expectations, reunification far from providing for equal partnership between Anglophones and Francophones and guaranteeing cultural continuity for the former, turned out to be nothing but absorption, assimilation, marginalisation, and exploitation of the Anglophone minority by the Francophone dominated state and even by the Francophone population as a whole (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, 2000). These grievances that are political, economic and social in nature relate to: the under representation and inferior role of Anglophones in national decision making councils; the neglect of the region's infrastructure; the massive exploitation and drain of the region's rich economic resources such as oil and attempts at "Frenchification" or "Francophonisation" (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, p. 21; 2000, p. 12). The quest for an Anglophone identity and the promotion of Anglophone nationalism as revealed in the

Anglophone textbooks could be explained as part of the Anglophone resistance to their perceived marginalisation and treatment as second class citizens in reunified Cameroon as well as to counter the ‘Frenchification’ efforts of the Francophone led regime. These French efforts are consistent with the already discussed bad faith from the Francophone side that led to the failure of the harmonisation of education. The fear seemingly is that should these French efforts go unchecked and unchallenged; the Anglophone historical, political, cultural, social, and economic identity would be wiped out and replaced with those from Francophone Cameroon.

Another factor explaining the Anglophone textbooks’ emphasis on an Anglophone identity and nationalism is a result of the contentious nature of the plebiscite questions and the view that the British Cameroonians were denied the possibility of a third option of unilateral independence. In light of this claim, I highlighted in chapter one an expression from the Fon (traditional ruler) of Bafut during a political and traditional leadership opinion conference organised in Mamfe in which he said: “We rejected Dr. Enderley because he wanted to take us to Nigeria. If Mr. Foncha tries to take us to French Cameroon we shall also run away from him. French Cameroon is fire and Nigeria is water. I support secession without unification” (Fanso, 2009, p. 7). This expression highlights the view that the option for unilateral independence which was rejected by the UN had a popular backing. Unilateral independence would have preserved the Anglophone identity, heritage and legacy. Because the option for that form of independence was not provided, it seems normal that the Anglophone textbooks are being used in this post-colonial era as a means of creating awareness of an Anglophone identity amongst learners but also as a way of protecting that identity from adulteration in a reunified Cameroon.

Cameroon is not unique in such a situation of tensions and discrepancies in reunification representations. A very similar and consistent situation to the one experienced in Cameroon and as reflected in the discourses from the textbooks is the case of Germany that I reviewed in chapter two. Just like Cameroon which is divided along Anglophone and Francophone lines, so too is Germany divided along West and East Germany lines, with similar claims such as those of the discrimination towards the former GDR citizens as “second rate” citizens (Behrend, 2011, p. 64) and bearing the “brunt of German reunification” (Scholz, 1994, p. 108). Hence the reunification of Germany has been described in some circles as merely the one-sided and fast absorption of East Germany by West Germany (Hart-Landsberg, 2009; Liu, 1999). All these descriptions for

Germany are consistent with the discourses on reunification in Cameroon in the sense that Anglophone Cameroons mirrors the former GDR citizens of East Germany while Francophone Cameroon symbolises West Germany. It is for these reasons that have already been explained, the nature of the history textbooks and school history in Germany mirrored that of Cameroon with the presence of narratives aimed at undermining and exploiting the minority Anglophone population in the reunified Cameroon.

7.5.2 DISCURSIVE POSTCOLONIAL THEORISATION OF FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

In this last section of the third level analysis, I discuss the findings from this study in relation to the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework. The discourses on reunification in the light of the postcolonial theory are reflections of the colonial condition or condition of coloniality (Hitchcock, 1997) on the premise that postcolonial theory reflects the political, socio-cultural, economic and other conditions of societies as informed by the historical processes of their colonisation and decolonisation. As I explained in chapter three, even though the discursive postcolonial theory was used to problematise and understand the findings of this study, not all the discourses were understood or could be explained by the theory. This is in line with the argument advanced by Maxwell (2010) that some aspects of the phenomenon being investigated are always omitted by the theory used. Therefore, whilst the postcolonial theory adopted in this study was seen to reveal some aspects of the reunification reality in Cameroon, it at the same time distorts or conceals other aspects (Maxwell, 2010).

It is important to recall from the onset that the country called Cameroon in its present dispensation is a colonial construct. As I explained in chapter one prior to European colonisation, the people that make up present day Cameroon existed as sovereign ethnic entities and tribes that had settled in the region as a result of the push and pull factors of migration and were ruled by the Lamibe in the north and the Chiefs, Fons or kings in the south (DeLancey, Mbuh, & Delancey, 2010; Ngoh, 1996). Even though the status and nature of the country has changed severally over time from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods, it is on record that it was the Germans who “negotiated and established the country’s international boundaries, set up the institutions for modern administration and gave rise to the idea of belonging together or being Cameroonian amongst the people of the various ethnic groups and traditional states of the territory” (Fanso, 1999, p. 282).

With this in mind, it becomes clear that most of the discourses on reunification that have emanated from the analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks all speak to conditions of coloniality in the sense that they relate to the struggles of the nation and the people of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon to deal with the ramifications of colonisation and decolonisation. Therefore the authors and producers of the textbooks analysed are victims of the postcolonial condition of hybridity in the sense that they are caught in the mix of being post-colonial individuals, some of whom have studied through colonial type education in the West, writing on conditions of their coloniality informed by a colonial phenomenon (reunification) through the medium textbooks that they themselves are products of colonialism (Maposa, 2014; McLeod, 2000). This hybrid and complex situation in which the authors of the textbooks find themselves is by design rather than choice but explains to some extent why the different textbooks present a different stance of reunification with some bearing semblance of an African and decolonisation history like Book F2 while the rest emphasise the idea of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons being all postcolonial constructs.

Going further, the nature of school history and reunification identified from the analysis to contain single narratives with master symbols are synonymous to the idea of postcolonial Orientalism. Propagated by Edward Said, it is said that Orientalism examined how the Western imperial powers ‘the Occident’ formed certain forms of knowledge and representations of their colonies – ‘the Orient’ in order to justify the continual subjugation of the latter (Hamadi, 2014; McLeod, 2000; Tosh, 2009; Walia, 2001). In this sense, the authors of the textbooks and producers of school history and reunification in Cameroon including the government as endorsing authority are signifiers of the Western imperial powers – the Occident playing the role of creating biased forms of historical knowledge on reunification in order to achieve that hegemonic role over the ordinary Cameroonians. This hegemonic role has as its purpose maintaining their control of society by creating a certain kind of docile citizenry as seen with the factual narrative historical genre of the texts and the high use of first order concepts of historical knowledge. The learners and other consumers of the textbooks and of these modes of school history are consequently the Orient who is at the mercy of the Occident textbooks’ authors, producers and the government.

The Cameroonian idea of Occident and Orient explained in line with the nature of school history in Cameroon and the textbooks’ situation could also be used to unpack the finding on the extensive

representation of big and influential men in all the texts across the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks at the expense of the ordinary Cameroonians. In this case, the big men represented in the texts as well as the authors of the texts are indicative of the Occident while the ordinary Cameroonians represent the Orient. The difference however is that while postcolonial theory according to Edward Said views the texts produced by the Occident as highly biased, depicting the Orient as the irrational, strange, and weak, feminized "Other", contrasted with the rational, familiar, strong, masculine West (Hamadi, 2014), the Cameroonian Occident does not focus on the Orient, rather the voice of the Orient is merely silenced in the text and the biases presented are given the form of single master narratives that the learners should consume through a substantive historical knowledge type. This also implies that the Orient in the Cameroon sense could also be the learners because of the lack of opportunities that the texts present them for engagement and perspectives offering. On the basis of this silencing, and the internalisation of such stereotypes by the learners, the big men authors could then legitimise their authority over the ordinary Cameroonians just like the "civilized" West over the inferior "primitive" East using the logic of a "civilising mission" (Walia, 2001 p. 40).

Still within the context of the representation of big men in the text, Said coined the term subaltern to refer to the colonised 'Orient' explained above and to denote a "disempowered social group" (Tosh, 2009, p. 292). This disempowered social group by virtue of the Cameroonian text is the ordinary Cameroonians whose voices are silenced from the text and the learners who are not given opportunities to engage the kind of reunification knowledge offered them. In support of the above is a reflection of Gayatri Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" where she deals with the problem of the subaltern groups in the Third World as being powerless and unable to express themselves and hence their experiences are inevitably distorted by the perspectives of the elite, such as academics, who are describing them (Hamadi, 2014).

Moreover, the discourses of identity and nationalisms identified differently for the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks equally relate to the postcolonial notions of internal and imperial colonisations (McClintock, 1993). Whilst the use of the concepts of Anglophone and Francophone are all signifiers of colonial constructs, the finding in relation to an Anglophone identity rather than a Cameroon one as informed from a perceived Anglophone marginalisation by the Francophones is indicative of internal colonisation. In this sense, the post-colonial denotes that the

physical presence of the colonial master is not there as the country has achieved a political independence and reunification. However, within this political independent and reunified nation has emerged a new coloniser in the form of the Francophone majority led regime. Hence the efforts by the Anglophones to use their textbooks and school history as a mean of ensuring that their identity is not obliterated. In this case it could be explained that the focus of Anglophone nationalism in the Anglophone textbooks is a reprisal effort on internal colonisation in post-colonial Cameroon. In all these, it is the role of the postcolonial (textbook) researcher to uncover ideological representations and exclusiveness and then find a voice for the silenced subaltern within the history textbooks.

To sum up this theorisation section, I have looked at the findings and the discourses from this study in line with certain tenets of the postcolonial theory. I have indicated the futility of trying to use one theory to explain the integrity of the phenomenon hence my position that the postcolonial theory can only cover certain aspects of the reunification representation findings from this study. I indicated that the differences in the nature of representation of reunification discourses in the textbooks lie largely with the hybrid nature of the textbooks themselves as well as with the authors and producers of these textbooks. Textbooks by their nature are colonial vestiges that are supposed to represent postcolonial conditions in a post-colonial Cameroon. This is further nuanced by the fact that some of the authors of these textbooks are products of colonial education and backgrounds making their objective writing on colonial conditions challenging. Moreover, I also highlighted the view that the representation of elite figures and big or influential men at the expense of ordinary Cameroonians relates to the postcolonial depiction of the silencing of the subaltern's voice in the post-colonial scene for the purpose of preserving a new found elite hegemony. I indicated that the subaltern group in Cameroon is both the ordinary public whose voice is not contained in the representation of reunification as well as the history learners' users of the book who through a highly substantive form of historical knowledge on reunification are not afforded opportunities to provide their own perspectives and critically engage the content. The depiction of the Cameroonian subaltern also mirrors Edward Said's idea of Orientalism whereby the Cameroon subaltern takes the form of the Orient while the Occident west is the textbooks' authors, producers and the Cameroon government who wields the agency to promote the single narrative and push forward their intended agenda. Finally, I evoked in this section the idea that the representation of Anglophone nationalism in the Anglophone texts and the quest to create awareness on and preserve

the Anglophone identity is an indication of what McClintock (1993) termed internal colonisation or colonisation within a nation.

7.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I conducted the second and third levels of the analysis for this study. The second level analysis involved the comparison of the reunification findings from the different individual textbooks and across the textbooks of the two sub systems. This process enabled me to establish the consistent and conflicting discourses on reunification in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks which is research question two for this study. In the third level of the analysis, I discussed and theorised the findings and discourses in line with the research literature on reunification and on textbooks that were reviewed in chapters one and two as well as the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework of the study seen in chapter three. These discussions and theorisations of the findings were important in unpacking some of the reasons why reunification discourses are presented in the ways in which they are in the textbooks. Therefore all three research questions in this study have been answered through the different levels of the analysis in chapters five, six, and seven. However, a summarised version of the extent to which these research questions were addressed through these different chapters is presented in the next chapter.

The next chapter will conclude this study by reviewing the entire research process in a summarised manner. Some reflections will be made on the suitability of the methodology used in this study and also reflections on my personal and professional self. The chapter will also produce a thesis statement that captures that outcome and the contributions of the study to literature, policy and to practice.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING THE STUDY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study, I set out to compare the representations of reunification discourses in selected Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks. Six history textbooks were purposively selected from across the two sub systems of education in Cameroon in a ratio of three per sub system. The first level analysis of the textbooks was performed in chapters five and six for the Anglophone and Francophone books respectively. In the previous chapter, which served as second and third levels of the analysis, I conducted a comparison of the findings from the two sets of textbooks in the categories of historical genre nature; historical knowledge types, and the historical discourses that the analysis produced. These findings were then compared and contrasted first amongst the individual textbooks of the different sub systems and then amongst the two sub systems to produce consistent and conflicting discourses from amongst the textbooks of the different sub systems. This process enabled me to create second level analytical findings from a comparative analysis of the initial findings. I then moved on to discuss the first and second level findings in relation to the research literature and in line with the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework of this study. The discussion and theorisation process produced third level firm findings, answering the third research questions for this study on why reunification discourses are presented in the way they are in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon history textbooks. This chapter aims at finalising this study by reflecting on the broader implications of its findings, the suitability of the methods applied, the implications of the study on me as a person and as a professional history educator and textbooks' researcher as well as the implications of the study on policy and practice.

As a way of bringing this study to a close, I have organised this final chapter into the following sections: I start by providing a summary of the findings by means of relating those findings to the research questions underpinning this study. After the research questions, I then reflect on the methodology and methods that I applied in this study in order to appreciate their suitability and effectiveness. This is followed by my personal and professional reflections on the research process.

I then look at the implications of this study on policy and practice as well as on further research, leading to the conclusion that draws the study to a close.

8.2 REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The three research questions that underpinned this study have been addressed through the different analytical phases of this study achieved in the three previous chapters in different ways as I have already explained. In this section, I consolidate those findings by means of summarising and linking them to the specific research question one by one.

8.2.1 Research question 1: How are reunification discourses presented in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?

Reunification discourses are presented in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks through a narrative explanatory historical genre of simple and uncritical facts. These facts relate to specific reunification events and actions of certain high profile historical individuals that are to be studied through memory or rote learning. The explanatory historical genre which is used to situate the reunification content in the textbooks also implies an emphasis on certain first order substantive historical knowledge. All the textbooks were seen to promote this form of uncritical historical knowledge in their presentation of the events and their corresponding actors on reunification. The few forms of procedural historical knowledge that were found in the texts such as cause and effect, historical time, and historical significance, were all seemingly to be applied by default rather than design. Their use was implied in the text and therefore not seen as part of the purpose for school history on reunification through the different textbooks. Therefore as far as the representation of reunification discourses are concerned, the textbooks showed signs that school history in Cameroon is not a disciplinary discipline but rather a tool that is used to promote and propagate certain agreed-upon narratives.

In addition, reunification discourses in Cameroon are presented in the textbooks through a means of historical elitism. Historical elitism was seen in the textbooks through the foregrounding of historical elite personalities as active agents of the reunification process at the expense of ordinary Cameroonians. These elites were presented in the roles as politicians, traditional rulers and religious authorities. Their actions as portrayed in different high profile events and places were seen to be significant moments that made reunification possible. Examples of such high profile

personalities used in the textbooks are Ahidjo, Foncha, Enderley, Charles Assale, Um Nyobe, and Muna. Whilst in the Anglophone textbooks, these big men are generally presented as anchoring the reunification process, in the Francophone books the autobiographical recount historical genre used in Book F3 also gives the author a big man status to complement the big men represented in the text. Therefore, the discourse of big men in history is evident in all the textbooks across the board, but is more pronounced in the Francophone textbooks by means of the biographical and the autobiographical historical genres adopted in these texts.

In line with the discourse on big men, it was revealed through the analysis of the verbal and visual texts that Ahidjo was given textual prominence over Foncha in every situation where the two were presented together. It should be recalled that these two personalities had much in common as they were both leaders of the two Cameroons that went into reunification in 1961. The foregrounding of Ahidjo in the text and backgrounding of Foncha insinuates a more influential big man in Ahidjo and a less important one in Foncha. Considering that these two figures represent the two sections of Cameroon, it could be concluded that the texts present a superior Francophone over an inferior Anglophone in the Cameroon union. Such representation connotes with the postcolonial idea of internal colonisation and explains in many ways the Anglophone Cameroon position on their marginalisation in the reunified Cameroon.

Furthermore, there is a discourse on male chauvinism in the textbooks analysed. This discourse revealed that all the actions and events around reunification as presented in the different textbooks centred on male characters (see table 5.5 for instance). This was also seen in both the verbal and visual textbooks. What this means is that the school history and history textbooks' enterprise in Cameroon is largely a domain for males. Evidence for this claim goes beyond the overwhelming representation of male figures in the reunification narratives and knowledge to also include the view that the authors of the different textbooks are male characters themselves. It is therefore a scenario of male authors writing about masculine contributions to the reunification of Cameroon. Women are therefore seen as having played no historical role worth documenting in the reunification process. In Cameroon therefore, as seen through the lens of these textbooks, school history is a male discipline that studies the actions of big men of the past.

Moreover, reunification discourses were also seen as represented in a manner so as to promote the idea of identity and nationalism. By presenting an inclusive representation of people, events and

places related to reunification in the Francophone textbooks, these texts were analysed as promoting the idea that reunification is a legacy for all Cameroonians as it was achieved through the efforts of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon historical figures together. The collaboration of traditional associations seen in Book F3 such as the Ngondo from French Cameroon and the Bakweri Land Committee from Southern Cameroons is an example in this regard. The idea therefore, from a Francophone perspective, is that the textbooks or reunification can be used to enhance social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and national integration through the promotion of the idea of a one and indivisible Cameroon. On the other hand, the people, events and places depicted in the Anglophone textbooks are almost exclusively from Southern Cameroons origin and Francophone Cameroon seems to be mentioned only passively or by default in the Anglophone textbooks. This means that reunification from the Anglophone point of view is an Anglophone effort and legacy rather than a Cameroon one. Therefore the idea of the Anglophone textbooks is to use the reunification of the country to instil in Anglophone learners of history a sense of an Anglophone identity by highlighting the contributions of their ancestry in the historical process.

Also, as part of the single narrative nature of the textbooks, there is a sense that the texts employ efforts to avoid certain controversial issues around reunification. These issues that are well documented in research literature such as a purported deal that Foncha had struck with Ahidjo prior to the Bamenda and Foumban Conferences is not mentioned at all in all the Francophone textbooks and in two of the Anglophone books. In fact only the Blue Book mentions this accusation of Foncha as part of its narrative on the Foumban Conference and the weaknesses of the Anglophone delegation. This exclusion of a very significant aspect of the reunification that is very well talked about in the public and academic domain is an attempt by the textbooks to stay clear of controversial issues that could disrupt the single narrative intentions of the texts. Consequently, the reunification process is presented as an unambiguous smooth event void of controversies so that learners cannot have grounds for further enquiry in to the process. This silence fits well with the substantive historical knowledge nature of the textbooks.

8.2.2 Research question 2: What are the consistent and conflicting discourses from Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks on reunification?

From the manner of representation of the reunification discourses explained above, the following consistent and conflicting discourses were identified.

- **Consistent discourses**

All the textbooks applied the explanatory narrative historical genre in their representation of reunification. Through the use of this form of historical genre, the textbooks were able to promote certain single narratives using factorial and consequential explanations that do not give opportunities for multiperspectivity and critical enquiry from the learners. This genre type indicated a form of school history characterised by rote learning.

All the textbooks made use of an overt substantive form of historical knowledge in the representation of the reunification narratives. Where some elements of second order concepts were identified, these were seen to be used in an incidental rather than purposive manner. By making use of this form of historical knowledge, the textbooks were seen to promote a top-down approach of school history on reunification that encourages rote learning. Substantive historical knowledge on reunification in the textbooks implies that the textbooks are not critical tools and so school history in Cameroon is not a disciplinary discipline.

All the textbooks advance big men form of historical knowledge. The different reunification events represented in the books were all done through the actions of big and influential men. These big men took the form of politicians, traditional rulers and religious personalities. Their actions were also presented through events linked to elitism such as the general assembly of the UNO and conferences such as the Bamenda, Fouban, Yaounde Conferences as well as others in the UK. Consequently, the voice of the subaltern Cameroonian is silenced in the textbooks.

All the textbooks foreground Ahidjo over Foncha in their representation of activities relating to the two personalities. This textual prominence of Ahidjo implies that the textbooks present him as a more significant figure than the latter in the reunification endeavour. By virtue of Ahidjo being the representative of French Cameroon, his foregrounding in the text also implies a more powerful French Cameroon over the minority British Cameroons.

All the textbooks make use of male chauvinism or male hegemony as a discourse. This is in the sense that all the explanatory narratives of the texts and the actions of the elite group explained above are centred on male characters. This is true for both visual and verbal text. Women just like ordinary Cameroonians are not seen as having played any role in the reunification process in

Cameroon. School history in Cameroon on reunification is therefore a report or historical narrative by male elite authors about the actions of male historical figures.

- **Conflicting discourses**

The discourse on nationalism and identities appeared in the texts in different ways for the two sets of textbooks. While the Francophone books present a form of identity or nationalism that is national or Cameroonian in nature, the Anglophone textbooks on the other hand promote the idea of an Anglophone identity or nationalism. In this process, both sets of textbooks are silent on local identities that existed prior to colonisation and still exist in Cameroon. These local identities are over shadowed by umbrella colonial informed identities thereby advancing the view of present day Cameroon as an imaginary state.

The Francophone textbooks were also seen to go beyond the explanatory historical genre used in all the textbooks, to also make use of other genre types such as the biographical account for Book F1 and the autobiographical recount for Book F3. These genre additions for the Francophone books make them more inclined to a big men form of historical knowledge than their Anglophone counterparts. The autobiographical recount of Book F3 gives the author a very elitist position as he is the source of the historical knowledge on reunification presented in the book and a part of the reunification actions alongside the other historical figures. His experiences on the reunification are therefore presented as factual and incontestable historical knowledge and truth, making the case of the textbooks not being critical.

8.2.3 Research question 3: Why are reunification discourses presented in the way they are in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonian history textbooks?

In line with the findings on the nature of reunification discourses and the conflicting and consistent discourses, the following explanations were advanced as to why the discourses are represented in the way they are in the textbooks. These explanations were the outcome of the discussion of the findings achieved in the last section of chapter seven.

That nature of school history in Cameroon in the form of the explanatory historical genre and substantive historical knowledge was seen to be linked to the history and nature of colonial education in Cameroon. I explained in the discussions of the findings that the Germans followed by the British and French all implemented a kind of education system during their different spells

in Cameroon that did not favour critical enquiry. In effect the form of education that was promoted and dispensed by the colonial masters was aimed at promoting their colonial values in the form of language, religion and other forms of cultural domination (Ndangoh, 2011; Ngome, 2012; Ngoh, 1996; vanderPloeg, 1977). The fear was that any form of education that encouraged the colonised Cameroonians to develop critical skills would risk empowering these locals to the extent that they would then become a threat to the colonial agenda. The form of school history in Cameroon on reunification and education in general could therefore be explained as a legacy or inheritance of colonial education.

It was also explained in the discussion of the findings that after reunification of Cameroon, attempts were made at harmonising the Anglophone and the Francophone inherited systems of education into a single educational system that would be suitable for the needs of the new country. Unfortunately these attempts failed because of supposedly bad faith on the part of the Francophone authorities who sought to use the guise of harmonisation as a way of assimilating the English educational system and promote a French one instead (Gham, 2015; Ngome, 2012). As soon as such bad faith became obvious to the Anglophone population, Gham (2015) notes that the harmonisation idea was rejected and a series of upheavals followed that resulted in the government succumbing and granting the GCE and the BAC boards to cater for the Anglophone and Francophone school systems and exams respectively (Ngome, 2012). The creation of two education sub-systems therefore implied that each sub-system would control its curriculum and manage its textbooks industry. It is within this context that the differences and discrepancies identified in the representation of reunification in the two sets of history textbooks are explained. Therefore each sub-system portrays reunification in a manner that suits the needs, imagined or real, of that specific sub-system and consequently a lack of a unified message on reunification in the two sets of textbooks.

Furthermore, the indispensability of textbooks as pedagogic tools was also explained as a vital element for the representation of reunification in certain ways. Different studies were highlighted in the discussions to demonstrate this indispensable pedagogic role of the textbooks universally. Because these texts are vital elements for teaching and learning and for disseminating history knowledge in the classrooms, it is then used by governments as means to promote certain agendas and narratives such as those found in the analysed Anglophone and Francophone textbooks in this

study with the view that no alternative teaching resource can substitute the use of textbooks in the teaching-learning process of history.

Moreover, apart from their pedagogic roles, textbooks and history textbooks in particular are political and ideological tools. Examples of different contexts where textbooks have been used to promote government political and ideological agendas were provided in the discussions. These contexts include apartheid (du Preez, 1983) and post-apartheid South Africa (Engelbrecht, 2008), the GDR government of post-WWII Germany (Rodden, 2009), the case of Kenya and the representation of Somali migrants (Fould, 2016), the ideological representation of Nkrumah and the post-independence violence in Ghanaian textbooks (Sefa-Nyarko, 2016). These contextual representations were grounded on the claim that “texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3). These observations and revelations are an indication that the history textbooks in Cameroon are naturally bound to contain political and ideological tones in line with how these books have been used over time and space for similar purposes.

Another explanation advanced in the study related to the discourses of Anglophone identity promoted by the Anglophone textbooks and that of a Cameroonian identity advanced by the Francophone textbooks. Apart from the reasons already provided that could justify this scenario, I also explained in the discussions that this has to do with the nature of the reunification phenomenon itself. The suggestion by Hart-Landsberg (2009) that it is not possible to view reunification as an unambiguously good process but, rather, as a highly contested process was used in this regard. Because reunification is never smooth, so too is its representation in textbooks that would normally adopt one or more of the different contested views and positions.

Moreover, the idea of an Anglophone identity in the Anglophone textbooks was explained in light of the claims of marginalisation and assimilation of Anglophone Cameroon by the Francophone majority government in the reunified Cameroon (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, 2000). A situation also referred to in the literature as ‘Frenchification’ or Francophonisation of Cameroon (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, p. 21; 2000, p. 12). Presenting a discourse of Anglophone identity in the Anglophone textbooks is therefore seen as a means of combating that marginalisation and ensuring that the inherited Anglophone values and systems are

not eroded in a majority Francophone Cameroon. The discourse of an Anglophone identity was explained further as due to the imposition of only two options to Southern Cameroonians during the plebiscite of 1960 even as it was clear that a section of the population was in favour of a third option on unilateral independence without any association. An excerpt of a speech made by the Fon of Bafut in the period leading to the plebiscite was cited in which he said: “We rejected Dr. Enderley because he wanted to take us to Nigeria. If Mr. Foncha tries to take us to French Cameroon we shall also run away from him. French Cameroon is fire and Nigeria is water. I support secession without unification” (Fanso, 2009, p. 7). Considering this view, an Anglophone nationalism discourse in the Anglophone textbooks is seen as a way of reminding the Anglophone populations that they deserved to be an independent nation but were cheated in to joining French Cameroon. It is that idea of an Anglophone nation that seems to be present in the Anglophone textbooks by means of the Anglophone identity discourse.

In terms of the postcolonial theory, the different nationalism discourses between Anglophone and Francophone textbooks relate to the idea of internal colonisation as advanced by (McClintock, 1993). In this sense, the Anglophone quest for an identity using the textbooks is a result of their marginalisation within the country that is then termed internal colonisation or recolonisation.

Another postcolonial explanation of the findings of this study relates to the idea of the subaltern. This idea is in line with the realisation that all the textbooks present the reunification of Cameroon from the perspectives of big men of an elite standing thereby undermining the role of ordinary Cameroonians, including women, in the process. The ordinary citizens are therefore linked to the postcolonial idea of the subaltern whose voice is silenced in the new nation by an emerging elite class who seeks to maintain their privileges in the post-colonial nation (Hamadi, 2014; McLeod, 2000; Tosh, 2009; Walia, 2001). Still within this perspective, the marginalised and silenced voice is explained as that of the former Occident while the elite authors are representative of the Orient. Lastly, I mentioned the view that there is a hybrid postcolonial discourse that explains the struggles of the authors and even the nature of the textbooks in representing reunification. With the authors, this issue of hybridity has to do with the notion that some of these authors are beneficiaries of Western styled education leaving them with the challenge of writing objectively on the reunification of Cameroon which is a post-colonial phenomenon. Along these lines, there is the paradox of the textbooks as vestiges of colonisation having to capture and account for a post-colonial phenomenon. Considering these perspectives, both the authors and the textbooks seem to

be caught in the hybrid dilemma of staying true to the colonial agenda which is imbedded in their education training (for the teachers) and which is the purpose for its creation (for the textbooks) or reverting to postcolonial critique in a post-colonial Cameroon. The inconsistent representations of reunification in the different textbooks are a result of the challenges of bridging that grey area between these two extremes.

8.3 POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

In this section, I reflect on the implications of this study starting with the implications for policy and practice before looking at those for further research. The implications are informed by the findings of the study achieved in the different levels of analysis in chapters five, six and seven as well as the summarised findings provided earlier in this chapter. The implications discussed in this section also take the form of recommendations that I draw from the study

8.3.1 Possible implications for policy and practice

It was found in this study that reunification is represented in different ways amongst the individual textbooks and also between the two sets of history textbooks. These different ways of representing reunification through different historical genres and knowledge types also had implications on the types of historical discourses that these textbooks promoted. In light of this, it is recommended that a certain level of harmonisation of Cameroonian history textbooks needs to happen such that learners and teachers of history should have a clear understanding of what is expected of them as they study reunification through the means of the history textbooks in Cameroon. This implies that clear guidelines have to be put in place for selection of textbooks at national level by the different Ministries of Education in Cameroon¹² to achieve this harmonisation of historical content on reunification. This could mean that history education content curriculum developers from the two sub-systems of education in Cameroon would have to work together in order to agree on the content of reunification historical knowledge that should be taught in Cameroonian schools across the board. This is however not to say that the content should be word verbatim similar or factual as this would lead back to the idea of rote learning which this study has identified as problematic in the textbooks. But rather that at a national level, the message on reunification should be representative of the Anglophone and Francophone positions on the phenomenon in an inclusive

¹² Three Ministries exist in Cameroon which are responsible for education: The ministry of Basic Education and Training; Ministry of Secondary Education and Training; and the Ministry of Higher Education and Training.

and agreeable way. Of course for this to happen, lessons have to be drawn from previous failed attempts at education content harmonisation in Cameroon immediately after reunification. This failed experience relates to the explanation provided by Gham (2015) and Ngome (2012) that the Francophone majority government tried to use the harmonisation initiative as a means to assimilate the English system and ‘Francophonise’ education in Cameroon. Therefore any future effort by the government of Cameroon at harmonisation of education content has to be done in an inclusive and transparent manner and grounded on good faith by both parties for their mutual benefit.

Furthermore, a finding from the historical genre and historical knowledge types of the texts revealed that reunification in Cameroonian textbooks is presented in an uncritical manner. This was evident in the explanatory genre adopted for all the texts and the addition of the biographical narrative for Book F1 together with the autobiographical recount for Book F3. In the analysis of the historical knowledge types of the texts, it was revealed that all the textbooks presented reunification by making use of the substantive form of historical knowledge. In instances where procedural concepts were used, these were seen to be used by default rather than by design. Going by this finding, school history on reunification in Cameroon is not a disciplinary discipline as it promotes a simple factual recount of reunification. This manner of presenting reunification and school history is not a novelty in Cameroon. For instance, I explained in the section on personal reflections from the study about my experience studying secondary school history in Cameroon when my teacher would tell us “you give me wrong facts, I give you wrong marks”. There is therefore a lack of possibilities of learner or even teacher engagement in a critical manner with the reunification content in the teaching-learning process. This is another aspect of the finding from this study that the education authorities in Cameroon have to address. Learners cannot be passive consumers of historical knowledge. The curriculum and the textbooks must be constructed with initiatives to accommodate the historical perspectives and prior knowledge and experiences of the learners in historical understanding. Apart from promoting changes in the history curriculum and the textbooks, moves also have to be taken at the level of the education of history teachers so that this new breed of history teachers can go in to the system ready to teach history as a disciplinary discipline rather than a recount of a baggage of history facts meant for simple narration, memorisation and regurgitation. In line with the training of history teachers, the education ministries in Cameroon should also conduct workshops for in-service history teachers to familiarise them with this historical knowledge paradigm shift.

Moreover, it was found in this study that the contributions of women towards the reunification of Cameroon are absent. The substantive historical knowledge of the texts did not feature women in both verbal and visual texts of all the books analysed. I recommend that the marginalisation of women in the texts needs to be addressed in order to improve the representation of women in Cameroonian history textbooks generally, but especially as it relates to their contributions towards the reunification of Cameroon. This has to start at the level of curriculum development where selection of content for the subject is analysed as textbooks in Cameroon are produced in response to the syllabi. Consequently the Ministry of Education through its curriculum development unit needs to train personnel on the issue of gender who will subsequently be able to develop curricula that ensure balanced representation of historical experiences of both women and men. Once the curriculum incorporates more topics on women just like those on men, the textbooks will obviously follow suit because publishers will want to ensure a market for their materials to make a profit which is their primary goal for publishing textbooks (Apple, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

The recommendation on the gender balanced representation in school history textbooks also applies to the finding on the representation of big men. It was also revealed in this study that the textbooks presented reunification through the actions of big and influential men whilst silencing the contributions of the ordinary Cameroonians whom I have referred to as the Cameroonian subaltern group in line with the postcolonial theory. It is important that the Cameroonian subaltern who in most cases is also the learner of history be made part of the historical narrative. Again the curriculum developers need to ensure that in the development of historical content for school history in Cameroon, the actions and contributions of the ordinary Cameroonians just like those of women are not omitted. This would ensure that all classes of society feel part of the historical content and history so that a shift from the view of history as a study of the actions of big men of the past to a more inclusive one that accommodates the major and minor contributions of the different classes of society as well as different genders can be possible.

8.3.2 Possible implications for further research

The sample of the study included secondary school level history textbooks from the Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems of education in Cameroon. This implies that we cannot generalise the findings of this study to textbooks of different levels of education in Cameroon such as primary

and higher education. Therefore further research needs to be conducted on textbooks at these different levels. This would provide a more holistic picture on how reunification discourses are presented in history textbooks across the different levels of education in Cameroon.

Moreover, as this study dealt with only history textbooks, further research needs to be conducted on textbooks of other social science disciplines that also cover the reunification phenomenon such as citizenship education. Such studies will help uncover the manner in which reunification discourses appear in other textbooks outside of the history discipline.

This study was conducted in the interpretive paradigm which means the purpose of the study was on understanding the phenomenon and explaining the reasons for its representation in certain ways in the textbooks (Cohen, et al. 2011). Further research could be conducted on the same phenomenon and context but within a critical paradigm. The critical paradigm would go beyond understanding the concept to challenging issues of power and hegemony in the textbooks with the view of promoting emancipation and liberation of the textually oppressed groups (Fairclough, 2013).

Finally, with the notion of textbook research being a novelty in Cameroon, it is my hope that this study will inspire the beginning of many other studies not only on history textbooks but on textbooks in general across disciplines and methods.

8.4 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

In this section, I reflect on the methodological choices that I employed in this study to address the underpinning research questions. I should start by saying that this was not my first experience conducting research in history textbooks. In fact, my Masters Degree research (<https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/8495>) which I concluded in 2012 focused on the analysis of South African Grade 10 History textbooks with regard to the nature of their representation of heritage. In that study, I used Critical Discourses Analysis (CDA) as Methodology via Fairclough's suggested CDA three level of analysis method of description, interpretation and explanation of the text. Even with that prior experience, it was still challenging creating a methodology for this PhD study not only for the fact that every study is unique and so no one methodology can naturally fit all studies, but also because of the nature of textbooks research wherein it has been observed by Nicholls (2003) and Pingel (2010) that the methodologies

and methods for history textbooks' analysis have not been fully organised and centralised and are not developed and described explicitly in the literature. Against this backdrop, I therefore had to take a tour through the plethora of textbooks analysis methodologies to select one which best accommodates the uniqueness of my study. At the end, it was not one method, but a bricolage of different methods that constituted my analytical tool as I explain later below.

When I started this study in early 2013, my intention was to continue with CDA as an extension of my Master's Degree. Consequently, when I defended the proposal in 2013, the methodology of choice at that time was the CDA. It was based on the comments from the proposal defence panel that gave me cause to rethink CDA as my methodology. The main concern was that many forms of CDA methods relate to functional linguistics (Breeze, 2011; Tenorio, 2011, Rogers, 2004; Gee, 1999) and its relation to hegemony and relational discourses in a capitalist world (Fairclough, 2013). Consequently, CDA aligns more with critical research rather than the interpretivist paradigmatic orientation of a study. I therefore had to develop a methodology that will be less linguistic in nature but would give me the ability to analyse the content of the text from where discourses on the reunification phenomenon would be espoused. The methodology also had to accommodate the verbal and visual elements of the text since the nature of my study required that both aspects be analysed concurrently. It was on the basis of these considerations that I settled on the qualitative content analysis methodology. Within this methodology, I was able to start by situating the text within a particular historical genre and assess the type of historical knowledge promoted in the text using a framework adapted from Martin (2012) that speaks directly to History Education as my field of study. The third level then involved the consolidation of discourses that emerged from the historical genre and knowledge types of the text together with other discourses that could emerge as a function of the application of an analytical construct for the identification of discourses in text that I condensed from McGregor (2003). In order to accommodate the visual aspects of the text, I then had to buy into the argument by LaSpina (1998) and Väisänen (2008) that all data found in textbooks is text, even if they are made-up of images, since it has a certain meaning that it conveys. A view that is corroborated by Janks (1997) though from a CDA perspective who submits that text comprises signs which can be either verbal or visual. On the basis of these arguments, I was able to analyse the verbal and visual texts in an integrated rather than exclusive manner through the different phases of the analysis process. With these analytical methods, I was able to effectively address my first two research questions on how reunification

discourses are presented in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks and on the consistent and conflicting reunification discourses in the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks. The third question on why reunification discourses are presented in a certain way was answered through discussion of the findings for the first two questions in relation to research literature and the discursive postcolonial theoretical framework. Even though I can argue that the methods that I employed in this study proved to be very effective and suitable for the study, this did not happen without challenges and complications as I explain in the subsequent paragraphs.

The first challenge I had was to create a workable bricolage of qualitative content analysis methods that will encompass the kind of things I wanted to analyse from the textbooks. As an example, I realised that one of the Francophone textbooks – Book F2 (Figure 4.5) was largely silent on reunification implying that whatever method I choose to use, had to be one that would provide me with a possibility to analyse textual silences or absences. This necessity stemmed from the premise that silences and absences are also discursive (Huckin, 1997; McGregor, 2003), that inclusion and occlusion both work to manifest certain constructions in the textbooks (Millas, 1991; Wertsch & Rozin, 2000), and that what is absent from the text is as important as that which is present (Huckin, 2002). Therefore, whether the silences are deliberate or unintentional is inconsequential as they reveal certain perspectives, biases and positions about the author and the text in relation to the phenomenon under investigation. To address this situation, I had to involve part of McGregor's (2003) framework for analysing discourses in text as seen in Table 4.8 on page 126 since that framework includes the analyses of silences (What is missing? The Said and the Not-Said). With this aspect sorted, I now had an effective tool that allowed me to analyse the textbooks in their verbal and visual forms as well as the silences in the texts.

Another methodological challenge that I experienced in the process of conducting this study had to do with the dilemma on how to handle the French language issue in the Francophone textbooks as part of the analysis. The issue at stake here was more of ethics rather than language barrier because I personally possess the competency to understand, read and write French fluently. During the different fora where I presented my methodology, different opinions were provided on the question. Some advised that for ethical reasons, it was necessary that the portions of the textbooks to be analysed be translated into English by an accredited and professional translator so that I then analyse the English version. Another position suggested that I do the translation from French to

English in person, and then provide my translated copy to another French language user to verify and then I could proceed with the analysis. Then the last view was that I use my French language ability to analyse the texts in their original French form and during the report I would then provide references to the text in French but also the English translations of those references adjacent. It should be noted that the literature consulted is not very clear on the issue of translation vis a vis rigour in research. Since I understood that the ultimate aim of the different suggestions was to help improve the trustworthiness of my study, I then discussed the three alternatives with my supervisor and we were able to agree on the third option from the three mentioned above. This was decided because we found no established ethical concerns in doing research in that manner and we concluded that my analysis of the French text in its original language was not going to jeopardise the rigour and integrity of the study. Therefore, I did not have to translate the French textbooks to English as a starting point for the analysis. I used my French language abilities to analyse the texts in their original language. In reporting on the analysis as seen in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I quoted direct excerpts from the French text and provided the English translation immediately after. In order to check for errors in translation, slippages, and to increase trustworthiness, I then employed the services of a French speaker who went through those chapters to make sure that my use of the French language was in order.

8.5 PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

Undertaking this study enriched me enormously at both the personal and professional levels. At a personal level, the experience is related to my personal motivations for conducting the study as I earlier explained in the relevant section in chapter one. In that section, I had described how my childhood as a young boy raised in the Francophone part of Cameroon by Anglophone parents was intricately affected by the discourses of reunification especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s when there was an upsurge of Anglophone nationalism and consciousness about their plight in the supposedly reunified and ‘united’ Cameroon. These discourses were manifested through several forms including name calling wherein the Francophone children would often refer to their Anglophone peers in very demeaning and derogatory ways like “les Anglofous” (Anglo fools) to suggest their insignificant status within the union. My inability to succeed in public exams in Cameroon and the fact that my Anglophone community attributed such lack of success to my Anglophone heritage rather than an inability to compete with the best, gave me a strong desire to

want to study the phenomenon deeper in order to understand even better the dynamics of the country I called mine. Doing this study has therefore exposed me to immense and important literature on the reunification contentions and controversies to the extent that I now have a better understanding of why we were calling each other derogatory names as children along the divides of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons. Moreover, the discourses that have emerged as a result of the analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone textbooks in this study and the postcolonial theorisations that I conducted on those findings have provided me with an opportunity to add my voice to this debacle by exploring and exposing the public to a postcolonial dimension of comprehending the reunification crises plaguing post-colonial Cameroon. To think that through this study I have made an academic contribution to not just a much contested aspect of the finding on a historical event of Cameroon, but also one that affected me personally, is most self-fulfilling.

I should also add that my experiences explained above and the personal challenges I faced linked to reunification and being an Anglophone in Cameroon meant that I am an insider in this study. I have researched on a phenomenon that affected me personally. As such I have to declare that in several instances in the study I let this positionality be clearly exposed. The one instance throughout the study is when I have to mention Foncha and Ahidjo together as pioneer leaders of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroons. As I realised that in all the texts when such situations occurred, Ahidjo was always given visual and verbal textual prominence through foregrounding him and backgrounding Foncha, I therefore made a deliberate decision to reverse the other in my report by foregrounding Foncha and backgrounding Ahidjo. This representation in the report might seem insignificant but it is my own way of giving some agency in this study to Foncha the Anglophone over Ahidjo the Francophone and could be seen in the context of my commitment to my own identity as an Anglophone Cameroonian.

On a micro level, conducting this study was a personal challenge for me. As a young person living in Cameroon to undertake postgraduate studies in South Africa meant I had to leave my family behind. Initially it was very difficult being away from my family as the separation anxiety affected my concentration level on my studies. With time however, I was able to create good friendship ties which helped to provide the much needed moral support that I was unable to get physically from my family. Nevertheless, the sacrifice of being away from family gave me an added impetus to succeed in my studies so that in the end we could all say the separation was worth it. Moreover,

being a self-sponsored student meant that I had to juggle my studies with part time work on and off campus in order to meet the financial requirements of my studies and personal up-keep. Looking back, I am happy I took up these jobs as it gave me the work experience that has since made me employable – my employment as a lecturer with the National University of Lesotho came in the course of my Ph.D. study. However, the experience came at a cost of my not being able to fully dedicate myself to my studies and most often the latter suffered, hence this study has taken more years to complete than the normal expected duration.

Finally, conducting research on a politically sensitive topic in Cameroon like the reunification presented a dilemma for me. I was not sure how my study when completed would be received by the authorities of my home country – Cameroon where critical research just like public discussions on politically sensitive topics is highly despised. In fact, there is evidence of people languishing in Cameroon prisons for expressing the opinions on issues deemed politically sensitive in Cameroon. This was exacerbated by the fact that when I started the study, the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon which has a direct link with the reunification of the country was gaining momentum and that momentum kept increasing as I progressed with the study. The following reports from different news outlets in and outside Cameroon provide highlights on different phases of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon as occurred and captured during the course of this study: A BBC (November, 2016) report on protests and mass arrests in the Anglophone town of Bamenda; a BaretNews (February, 2017) report of discussions on the Anglophone crises in the British House of Commons; a report by *Al Jazeera News* (December, 2016) on the Anglophone teachers and lawyers' strike; a CNN (March, 2017) report on internet shutdown in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon as government reaction to Anglophone protests; a report by RFI's Finnan (February, 2017) on the trial of jailed Anglophone Cameroon activists; and lastly a report by *Africa Times* (January, 2017) of the arrests of leaders of the Anglophone opposition groups in Cameroon. All these news reports cited above refer to the Anglophone crises in Cameroon and linked directly to the lapses of the reunification of the Anglophone and Francophone parts of the country. I was therefore, in this study, dealing with a phenomenon that is politically sensitive back at home and the fear was always in me that my work would be misconstrued as Anglophone activism rather than scholarship.

However, as I discussed these issues with my supervisor, I was motivated by his advice that I focus on the research element rather than fears of backlash back at home. He could tell that my study

had the potential to contribute to historical knowledge and textbook research generally and according to him, that should be the major concern of a genuine academic which I aspired to be. Even as I finish this study, I am still not sure exactly how my study will be received back at home especially within the context of the stalemate on the Anglophone crises which stems from the fall out of the reunification of the country. I am however consoled by the fact that my study was conducted within strict acceptable research procedures and ethics and with the contributions that this study would make in the knowledge pool of history education and history textbooks' research. I am also happy that my study is a pioneer in the field of textbooks research in Cameroon. Hopefully, this study could serve as a pathway for research into textbooks and other forms of educational media in Cameroon.

My professional reflection starts with my research outlook. As a researcher in history textbook studies, conducting this study was an opportunity to experience other methods of analysing texts in different contexts. I had already mentioned the fact that I did my Masters dissertation on textbooks using a method from the CDA tradition. Doing the PhD on textbooks using a different methodology has broadened my scope on possible methodologies that could be used in analysing textbooks. This has had a positive impact on my textbooks' analytical skills and given me such confidence going forward, such that I can visualise establishing myself as a Cameroon textbook researcher especially in the comparative category. Moreover, this study has illuminated me on the symbiotic relation that exists between actual history, the content of the textbooks and the teaching of the subject. I have been able to establish in this study the complex relationship between these dimensions of history in Cameroon to the extent that the Cameroonian textbooks through their conflicting manner of presenting and portraying the reunification of Cameroon and the discourses that emanate from their diverse historical genres and historical knowledge types have been confirmed as reflections of the contemporary post-reunification Cameroonian societal reality. As a classroom teacher and lecturer of history, doing this study has enlightened me to understand that texts have deeper meanings and should not be taken at face value as ultimate truth(s). They are written by real people with real agendas and contain master symbols and master narratives that help in propagating certain values and agendas. I have understood that whether these agendas are propagated deliberately or merely implicitly in an unintentional subconscious manner is inconsequential as they contribute to shaping learners' thinking in certain ways on specifically reunification and school history and cannot therefore be seen as neutral. Therefore in my teaching

career, I have to be very aware of biases, stereotypes, and prejudices with my students and encourage a spirit of multi-perspectivity so that every learner of history in my class can have a voice. It was also mentioned in my rationale for doing this study that I sought to problematize the notion of school history in Cameroon as understood from a substantive vantage point void of procedural elements. This was supported by my personal experience as a student of history in Cameroon with the famous citation by one of my former history teachers in Cameroon that “you give me wrong facts, I give you wrong marks”. Professionally therefore, doing this study has exposed me to the effects of teaching history from a purely substantive nature as a memory and not a disciplinary discipline and the reasons for such manner of teaching school history in Cameroon. Going forward after this study, I now understand the need to teach history as a disciplinary discipline wherein the perspectives of the learners will count with the help of multiple sources of information to support their different views on the content.

8.6 CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter was to reflect on the experiences of the entire research project. This I did by first introducing the purpose and motivation that formed the basis for the study. I then proceeded to revisit the specific research questions where I provided summarised explanations on how I managed to address them. I also reflected on the suitability and effectiveness of the methodology that I employed to address the individual research questions. Further, I provided some reflections of the study on me personally and as a professional – teacher/lecturer of history education and a textbooks researcher. This was followed by a discussion of the implication of the study on policy and practice and further research in which I also provided some recommendations from the study.

The study revealed that Anglophone and Francophone textbooks in post-colonial Cameroon contain consistent but also conflicting discourses and representations on the reunification of the country with certain implications on the nature of school history and textbooks in Cameroon. By presenting a factual and substantive form of historical knowledge on reunification, it could be argued that school history in Cameroon is largely an uncritical discipline with a top-down model of content dissemination. This approach of disseminating the content gives room for government authorities and other textbook stake holders in Cameroon to infuse certain narratives such as the silencing of the voice of the subaltern and the propagation of big men historiography. A review of the history curriculum to one that promotes multiperspectivity, enquiry skills and sourcing is

therefore suggested as a pathway to improve the relevance of history education in Cameroon and make it a disciplinary discipline.

REFERENCES

- Abanime, E. P. (1985). The image of the white man in African Francophone literature: The case of the German in pre-World War 1 Cameroun. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africae l'Oriente*, 40(2), 303-313.
- Adam, H. M. (1994). Formation and recognition of new states: Somaliland in contrast to Eritrea. *Review of African Political Economy*, 21(59), 21-38.
- Africa Times. (January 2017). *Cameroon bans Anglophone opposition groups; leaders arrested*. Retrieved 11 February, 2017, from <http://africatimes.com/2017/01/18/cameroon-bans-anglophone-opposition-groups-key-leaders-arrested/>
- Ahmed, I. I., & Green, R. H. (1999). The heritage of war and state collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: Local-level effects, external interventions and reconstruction. *Third World Quarterly*, 20(1), 113-127.
- Al Jazeera News. (December 2016). *Cameroon teachers, lawyers strike in battle for English*. Retrieved 13 January, 2017, from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/cameroon-teachers-lawyers-strike-english-161205095929616.html>
- Ambe, H. N. (2004). The Anglophone-Francophone marriage and Anglophone dramatic compositions in the Cameroon Republic. In P. M. Marsden & G. V. Davis (Eds.), *Towards a transcultural future: Literature and human rights in a 'post'-colonial world*. (pp. 71-80). Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi.
- Anonymous. (2002). Government recognition in Somalia and regional political stability in the horn of Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(2), 247-272.
- Apple, M. W. (1991). The culture and commerce of the textbook. In M. W. Apple & L. K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 22-39). New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. (1991). The politics of the textbook. In M. Apple & L. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 1-21). New York: Routledge.
- Ardener, E. (1962). The political history of Cameroon. *The World Today*, 18(8), 341-350.
- Ardener, E. (1967), 'The nature of the reunification of Cameroon', in A. Hazlewood (ed.), *African Integration and Disintegration: Case Studies in Economic and Political Union*, pp. 285-337, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnett, E. J. (1938). The French mandate in Cameroon. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 37(147), 191-198.

- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2002). *The empire writes back: theory and practice in post-colonial literature* (2nd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2007). *Post-colonial studies. The key concepts* (2nd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Atanga, B. A. (2017). *An analysis of the representation of citizenship education in contemporary grade six South African Social Sciences textbooks*. (Masters), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Awasom, N. F. (2000). The reunification question in Cameroon history: Was the bride as enthusiastic as the groom? *Africa Today*, 47(2), 90-119.
- Awasom, N. F. (2002). Negotiating federalism: How ready were Cameroonian leaders before the February 1961 United Nations plebiscites? *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 36(3), 425-459.
- Awasom, N. F. (2003-2004). Anglo-saxonism and Gallicism in nation building in Africa: The case of bilingual Cameroon and the Senegambia confederation in historical and contemporary perspective. *Afrika Zamani*, 11, 86-118.
- Asiwaju, A. I. (1985). *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984*: C. Hurst.
- Atangana, M. R. (1997). French capitalism and nationalism in Cameroon. *African Studies Review*, 40(1), 83-111.
- BaretaNews. (February 2017). *Anglophone crises discussed in British House of Commons*. Retrieved 11 April, 2017, from <http://bareta.press/anglophone-crisis-discussed-in-british-parliament/>
- BBC News. (November 2016). *Bamenda protests: Mass arrests in Cameroon*. Retrieved 13 January, 2017, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38078238>
- Behrend, H. (2011). Viewpoints on German partition and reunification. *Social Semiotics*, 21(1), 55-65.
- Betts, R.F. (2005). *Assimilation and association in French colonial theory, 1890-1914*. iu, NE: Unkiversity of Nebraska Press.
- Blackshire-Belay, C. A. (1992). German imperialism in Africa: The distorted images of Cameroon, Namibia, Tanzania, and Togo. *Journal of Black Studies*, 23(2), 235-246.

- Bloomberg, L. D., & Volpe, M. (2008). *Completing your qualitative dissertation: A roadmap from beginning to end*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Bourdillon, B. (1944). British colonial policy. *World Affairs*, 107(2), 82-86.
- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics*, 21(4), 493-525.
- Brock, I. W. (1932). French colonial possessions of today. *The French Review*, 5(6), 479-484.
- Bryden, M. (2004). Somalia and Somaliland: Envisioning a dialogue on the question of Somali unity. *African Security Review* 13(2), 23-33.
- Cameroon. Dept. of Cultural Affairs. (1985). *The cultural identity of Cameroon*: Ministry of Information and Culture, Department of Cultural Affairs.
- Carr, W. (1979). *A history of Germany 1815-1945*. London: Edward Arn.
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*: Princeton University Press.
- Chamberlin, P. F. (2004). Cultural dimensions of Korean reunification: Building a unified society. *International Journal on World Peace*, xxi(3), 3-42.
- Chem-Langhëë, B. (1976). *'The Kamerun plebiscites 1959-1961: Perceptins and strategies'*. PhD thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Chem-Langhëë, B. (1995). The road to the unitary state of Cameroon 1959-1972. *Paideuma*, 41, 17-25
- CNN. (March 2017). *Cameroon goes offline after Anglophone revolt*. Retrieved 11 April, 2017, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/03/africa/internet-shutdown-cameroon/index.html>
- Coffin, C. (2006). *Historical discourse: the language of time, cause and evaluation*. London: Continuum.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education* (Sixth ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research methods in education* (Seventh ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Conforti, J. M. (1999). The China model of Korean reunification. *East Asia/Winter*, 1, 54-77.
- Crawford, K. (2000). Researching the ideological and political role of the history textbook - Issues and methods. *International Journal of History Learning, Teaching and Research*, 1(1), 1-8.

- Crawford, K. (2003). The role and purpose of textbooks. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2), 5-10.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*: SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Davidson, B. (1994). *Modern Africa: A social and political history* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Longman.
- DeLancey, M. W. (2013). German Kamerun (1884-1916). Retrieved 30/11, 2014, from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/90925/Cameroon/281016/German-Kamerun-1884-1916>
- DeLancey, M. D., Mbuh, R. N., & Delancey, M. W. (2010) *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Denzin, N. F., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2003). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Devernois, G. (1959). Cameroons 1958-1959: From trusteeship to independence. *Civilisations*, 9(2), 229-234.
- de Vos, A. S (Ed.). (1998). *Research at grassroots. A primer for the caring profession*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Dillow, C. (2009). Growing up: A journey toward theoretical understanding. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15(8), 1338-1351. doi: 10.1177/1077800409339581
- Domegan, C., & Fleming, D. (2007). *Marketing research in Ireland: Theory and Practice*: M.H. Gill & Company U. C.
- Dowlo, A. (2003, 4 Spetmeber 2003). Somaliland issue is not so clean cut, *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, p. 28.
- du Preez, J. M. (1983). *Africana Afrikaner: Meestersimbole in Suid-Afrikaans skoolhandboeke*. Alberton: Librarius Felicitas.

- Durrheim, K. (2006). Research design. In M. Terry Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 33-59). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Elango, L. Z. (1985). The Anglo-French “Condominium” in Cameroon: The myth and the reality. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 184, 658-710.
- Elizabeth, H., McEneaney., & Nieswandt, M. (2006). Constructing school knowledge after the wall: The case of textbook publishing in the former German Democratic Republic. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(3), 337-355. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14767720600955378>
- Engelbrecht, A. (2006). Textbooks in South Africa from apartheid to post apartheid: Ideological change revealed by racial stereotyping. Retrieved 16 November, 2010, from www.web.worldbank.org
- Engelbrecht, A. (2008). The impact of role reversal in representational practices in history textbooks after apartheid. *South African Journal of Education*, 28, 519-541.
- Erler, F. (1956). “The struggle for German reunification”. *Foreign Affairs*, 34, 382-383.
- Page, J. D., Oliver, R., Oliver, R. A., & Sanderson, G. N. (Eds.). (1985). *The Cambridge history of Africa*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research*. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.
- Fanso, V. (1999). Anglophone and Francophone nationalism in Cameroon. *The Round Table*, 350, 281-296.
- Fanso, V. (2009). Constitutional problems in the construction and legality of the unitary state in Cameroon. *Cameroon Journal on Democracy and Human Rights*, 3(2), 4-16.
- Fanso, V. (2011). *Professor Fasno on Professor V.J. Ngoh's reaction to his valediction address*. Bamenda: Langa research and Publishing Common Initiative Group.
- Finnan. (2017). *Cameroon: Anglophone activists plead not guilty to terrorism*. Retrieved 15 April, 2017, from <http://en.rfi.fr/africa/20170213-cameroon-anglophone-activists-plead-not-guilty-terrorism>

- Fombad, C. M. (2011). National monographs - Cameroon. In A. Alen & D. Haljan (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia for Constitutional Law*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Fonchingong, T. N. (2010). Anglophone Cameroon in search of identity: Obstacles and prospects. *Africa Insight* 40(3), 19-38.
- Foster, S., & Crawford, K. (Eds.). (2006). *What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age.
- Foucault, M. (2000). The Discourse on language (1970). In L. Burke, T. Crawley, & A. Girvin (Eds.), *The Routledge language and cultural theory reader* (pp.231-240). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fould, K. (2016). The Somali question: Protracted conflict, national narratives, and curricular politics in Kenya. In D. Bantrotovato, K. Korostelina & M. Schulze (Eds.), *History can bite: History education in divided and postwar societies* (pp. 45-59). Gottingen: V & R Unipress
- Frost, R.A. (1945). Reflections on British colonial policy. *Pacific Affairs*, 18(4), 309-320.
- Fru, R. N. (2012). *Heritage in contemporary grade 10 South African history textbooks: A case study* (Masters), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. London: Routledge.
- Gham, N.G. (2015). The varied nature of history textbooks in the teaching of history in Cameroonian schools. *Yesterday & Today*, 14, 267-275.
- Griffith, M. (1998). *Educational research for social justice: Getting off the fence*. England: Open University Press.
- Haenen, J., & Schrijnemakers, H. (2000). Suffrage, feudal, democracy, treaty... history's building blocks: learning to teach historical concepts. Historical Association. Retrieved 10th January 2014, from <https://www.history.org.uk/secondary/resource/1691>
- Hagan, S.M. (2017). Visual/verbal collaboration in print complementary differences, necessary ties, and an untapped rhetorical opportunity. *Written Communication*, 24(1), 49-83.
- Hamadi, L. (2014). Edward Said: The postcolonial theory and the literature of decolonisation. *European Scientific Journal* [Special Edition], 2, 39-46
- Hammarlund, K.G. (2012). Promoting procedural knowledge in history education. In D. Ludvingsson (ed.). *Enhancing student learning in history: Perspectives on university history teaching* (pp. 117-130). Uppsala: Uppsala University.

- Hancock, B. (2002). *Trent focus for research and development in primary health care: An introduction to qualitative research*. Nottingham: Trent Focus Group.
- Hansen, S. J., & Bradbury, M. (2007). Somaliland: A new democracy in the horn of Africa? *Review of African Political Economy*, 34(113), 461-476.
- Hart, C. (2003). *Doing your masters dissertation*. London, California and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Hart-Landsberg, M. (2009). The promise and perils of Korean reunification. *Monthly Review*, 1, 50-59.
- Henning, E. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research* (First ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Henwood, F. (2006). A contribution to the case for Somaliland's recognition. *African Renaissance*, 3(5), 105-111.
- Hitchcock, P. (1997). Postcolonial Africa? Problems of theory. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 25(3/4), 233-244.
- Hofstee, E. (2006). *Constructing a good dissertation: A practical guide to finishing a masters, MBA or PhD on schedule*. Sandton: EPE.
- Hong, S. (2002). Reunification issues and civil society in South Korea: The debates and social movement for reunification during the April revolution period, 1960-1961. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), pp. 1237-1257, 61(4), 1237-1257.
- Horn, J. (2007). *The industrial revolution: Milestones in business history*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Huckin, T. N. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. Miller (Ed.), *Functional approaches to written text: Classroom applications* (pp. 78-92). Washington: ERIC.
- Huckin, T.N. (2002). Textual silence and the discourse of homelessness. *Discourse & Society*, 13(3), 347-372.
- Hurst, P. (2012). Somaliland's democratic lesson: Radio Somaliland.
- Jarausch, K. H. (2010). Beyond the national narrative: Implications of reunification for recent German history. *German History*, 28(4), 498-514.
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical discourse analysis as a research tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3), 239-242.

- Kerlinger, F. N. (1970). *Foundations of behavioral research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Klerides, E. (2010). Imagining the textbook: Textbooks as discourse and genre. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 2(1), 31-54. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2010.020103>
- Klette, K. (2012). Introduction: The role of theor in educational research. The research Council of Norway. Retrieved 16, March, 105, from <file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Rapportmarsseminar2011WEB,0.pdf>
- Koekomoer, M. (2012). *Analysing the dominant discourses on the holocaust in grade 9 South African history textbooks*. (Masters), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Konings, P. (1999). 'The "Anglophone problem" and chieftancy in Anglophone Cameroon. In E.A.B van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal & R. van Dik (Eds), *African chieftancy in a new socio-political landscape*. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 181-206.
- Konings, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. B. (1997). The anglophone problem in Cameroon. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 35(2), (1997), 207-229.
- Konings, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2000). Construction and deconstruction: Anglophones or autochtones? *The African Anthropologist*, 7(1), 5-32.
- Konings, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. (2003). *Negotiating and anglophone identity: A study of the politics of recognition and representation in Cameroon*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kress, G.R., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. New York: Routledge.
- Kumar, M. (2000). Postcolonial theory and cross culturalism: Collaborative 'signposts' of discursive practices. *Journal of Education Enquiry*, 1(2), 82-92.
- LaSpina, J. A. (1998). *The visual turn and the transformation of the textbook*. Mahweh, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lee, A., & Schutz, K. (2012). Comparing British and French colonial legacies: A discontinuity analysis for Cameroon. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 7, 1-46.
- Leung, P S. (1993). Division of Germany after WWII. Retrieved 02/02, 2015, from <http://www.scmp.com/article/19696/division-germany-after-wwii>
- Lévesque. (2008). *Thinking historically: Educating students for the twenty first century*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

- Lin, L, Zhao, Y, Ogawa, M, Hoge, J, & Kim, B K. (2009). Whose history? An analysis of the Korean war in history textbooks from the United States, South Korea, Japan and China. *Social Studies, 100*(5), 222-232.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Liu, M. (1999). An obsessed task: Prospects, models, an impact of Korean reunification. *East Asia/Winter, 1*, 30-53.
- Lodico, M.G., Spaulding, D.T., & Voegtle, K.H. (2006). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Maposa, M. T. (2014). *An analysis of the construction of African consciousness in contemporary South African history textbooks* (PhD), University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Maric, D. (2016). The homeland war in Croatian history education: Between "real truth" and innovative history teaching. In D. Bentrovato, K. Korostelina & M. Schulze (Eds.), *History can bite: History education in divided and postwar societies* (pp. 85-109). Gottingen: V & R Unipress.
- Martin, J. R. (2007). Construing Knowledge: A functional linguistic perspective. In F. Christie & J. Martin (Eds.). *Language, knowledge and Pedagogy: Functional linguistic and sociological perspectives* (pp. 34-64). London: Continuum. pp. 34–64.
- Martin, G. (2012). *Thinking about Historical Thinking in the Australian Curriculum: History*. Victoria: University of Melbourne.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1998). Designing a qualitative study. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *Handbook of applied social science research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: sage.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2010). Review of Jean Anyon. Theory and educational research: Towards critical social explanation. *Education Review, 13*, 1-9. Retrieved 13 June 2013, from <http://edrev.asu.edu/reviews/rev882.pdf>
- Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (applied social research methods)*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- M'bow, A.-M. (1981). Methodology and African prehistory. In J.Ki-Zerbo (Ed.), *UNESCO general history of Africa. Volume 1* (Vol. I, pp. XVII-XXI). California: Heinemann.
- McClintock, A. (1993). The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term "Post-colonialism". In R.J Patrick Williams & L. Chrisman (eds), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

- McLeod, J. (2000). *Beginning postcolonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- McGregor, S. L. T. (2003). Critical discourse analysis: A primer. Retrieved 10/01, 2013, from <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>
- McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (2006). *Research in education: Evidence-based inquiry* (6th Ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.
- Merriam, S. B. (1985). The case study in educational research: A review of selected literature. *Journal of Educational Thought*, 19(3), 204-17.
- Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2011). The long-run effect of the scramble for Africa. Retrieved 25 January, 2013, from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17620>
- Millas, H. (1991). History textbooks in Greece and Turkey. *History Workshop*, 31. 21-33. Retrieved 28 April 2014 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289049>
- Mitchell, M. L., & Jolley, J. M. (2007). *Research design explained*: Thomson Wadsworth.
- MINEDUC. (2013). The national textbook commission in Cameroon. Retrieved 11 February 2015, from http://www.minesec.cm/index.php?p=marches-publics-2&hl=en_US
- Moore, R. & Young, M. (2001). Knowledge and the curriculum in the sociology of education: towards a reconceptualisation. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22(4), 446-461.
- Morgan, K. (2006). Of 'wealthy industrialists' and 'white protestant Europeans' - the history of race racism as portrayed in a South African textbook. *IARTEM e-Journal*, 3(1), 72-92.
- Morgan, K. (2010). Reflexive grappling with theory and methods of text analysis: Race and racism represented in history textbooks. *South African Historical Journal*, 62(4), 753-770. doi: 10.1080/02582473.2010.519942
- Morse, J.M., & Field, P. A. (1996). *Nursing research. The application of qualitative approaches* (2nd Ed.). Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Ltd.
- Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your masters and doctoral studies: A South African guide and resource book* (First ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Msila, V. (2007). From apartheid education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for identity formation and nation building in South Africa. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 16(2), 146-160.
- Mugo, F. W. (2002). Sampling in research. Retrieved 02/10, 2014, from https://profiles.uonbi.ac.ke/fridah_mugo/files/mugo02sampling.pdf

- Müllendorff, P. (1902). The development of German West Africa (Kamerun) (Delivered at the Ordinary General Meeting of the African Society on October 28th, 1902). *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 2(5), 70-92.
- Nama, C. A. (1990). "A history of translation and interpretation in Cameroon from precolonial times to present". *Meta : journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, 35(2), 356-369. doi: 10.7202/003694ar
- Ndangoh, M. S. (2011). *The impact of French and British colonial rule on the HE system in Cameroon: From the perspective of students*. (Master's Programme in Development and International Relations), Aalborg University.
- Nealon, J., & Giroux, S. S. (2012). *The theory toolbox: Critical concepts for the humanities, arts, and social sciences* (2nd ed.). Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC.
- Nene, N. (2014). *An analysis of the visual images of women in grade 12 South African history textbooks*. (Masters), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Neuman, D. (2012). Training teachers to think historically: Applying recent research to professional development. *The History Teacher*, 45(3), 383-403.
- Nfi, J. L. (2011). The question of insecurity in the Southern Cameroons reunification debate. *Leeds African Studies Bulletin*, 73, 53-66.
- Nfi, J. L. (2012). Ethnic tensions during the 1961 plebiscite and reunification in the Southern Cameroons. *Cameroon Journal on Democracy and Human Rights*, 6(1), 58-70.
- Nfi, J.L. (2014) *The Reunification debate in British Southern Cameroons: The role of French Cameroon immigrants* Mankon Bamenda: Langaa Research & Publishing CIG.
- Ngoh, V. J. (1996) *History of Cameroon since 1800*. Limbe: Presbook.
- Ngoh, V.J. (2001). *Southern Cameroons 1922-1961: A constitutional history*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Ngoh, V.J. (2011a, Monday, June 13). 50 years after reunification: Prof. Victor Ngoh unveils hidden facts. *Summit Magazine*, 17, 9-14.
- Ngoh, V.J. (2011b). *The untold story of Cameroon reunification: 1955-1961*. Limbe: Presprint Plc.
- Ngoh, V.J. (2012). Cameroon (Kamerun): Colonial period: German rule. Retrieved 30/11, 2014, from <http://patachu.com/cameroon-kamerun-colonial-period-german-rule/>

- Ngome, E.N. (2012). *Education in Cameroon. A historical perspective of Cameroon educational system*. Retrieved 10 January 2015, from <http://powergrassroots.blogspot.com/2012/05/education-in-cameroon-historical.html>
- Nicholls, J. (2003). Methods in school textbook research. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2), 11-26.
- Nicholls, J. (2005). The philosophical underpinnings of school textbook research. *Paradigm-Journal of the Textbook Colloquium*, 3(3), 24-35.
- Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007). Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques. In K. Maree (Ed.), *First steps in research* (First ed., pp. 70-79). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Nikander, P. (2006). Constructionism and discourse analysis. In J.A. Holstein & J.F. Gubrium (Eds.) *Handbook of Constructionist Research*, Guilford Publications.
- Njeuma, M. Z. (1995). Reunification and political opportunism in the marketing of Cameroon's independence. *Paideuma*, 41, 27-37.
- Njoh, A. J. (2000). Continuity and change in Cameroonian land policy. *Planning Perspectives*, 15, 241-265.
- Norval, A. J. (1996). *Deconstructing apartheid discourse*. London: Verso
- Nozaki, Y. (2002). Japanese politics and the history textbooks controversy 1982-2001. *International Journal of Educational research*, 37, 603-622.
- Odendaal, R, & Galloway, F. (2008). Self - publishing of academic textbooks in South Africa: Fact or fiction? *Mousaion*, 25(1), 71-89.
- Ortiz, P. (2014). Tearing Up the Master's Narrative: Stetson Kennedy and Oral History (Vol. 41, pp. 279-289).
- Olson, D. (1989). Sources of authority in the language of the school: A response to "Beyond Criticism." In S. de Castell, A. Luke, & C. Luke (Eds.), *Language, authority, and criticism. Readings on the school textbook* (pp. 380-382). London: Falmer/Taylor and Francis
- Ovendale, R. (1995). Macmillan and the wind of change in Africa, 1957-1960. *The Historical Journal*, 38(2), 455-477.
- Partington, G. (1980). *The idea of an historical education*. Slough: NFER.
- Peacock, H. L. (1982). *A history of modern Europe: 1789-1981* (Seventh ed.). London: Heinemann Educational books.

- Peled, K. (2014). Palestinian oral history as a source for understanding the past: Insights and lessons from an oral history project among Palestinians in Israel. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50(3), 412-425. doi: 10.1080/00263206.2013.871705
- Philip, L.J. (1998) Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to social research in human geography – an impossible mixture? *Environment and Planning A*, 30(2), 261–276.
- Pingel, F. (1999). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision* (U. A. J. Becher Ed.). Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Pingel, F. (2010). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision* (2nd Revised and Updated ed.). Braunschweig: UNESCO.
- Podeh, E. (2000). History and memory in the Israeli educational system: The portrayal of the Arab-Israeli conflict in history textbooks (1948-2000). *History & Memory*, 12(1), 65-100.
- Polakow-Suransky, S. S. (2002). *Historia amnesia? The politics of textbooks in post-apartheid South Africa*. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Punch, K.F. (2009). *Introduction to research methods in education*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Ratner, C. (2002). Subjectivity and objectivity in qualitative methodology. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(3), 16.
- Remlinger, K. (2002, August). *Crossing methodological borders: Critical discourse analysis and dialectology*. Paper presented at the Methods in Dialectology XI Conference, University of Joensuu, Finland
- Ridington, R. (2014). DANE-ZAA ORAL HISTORY: Why It's Not Hearsay. *BC Studies*(183), 37-62.
- Ritter, G., & Hajdu, J. (1989). The East-West German boundary. *Geographical Review*, 79(3), 326-344.
- Rodden, J. (2009). Ideology as core curriculum? Textbooks and German re-education in May 1945. *The Midwest Quarterly*, 5(3), 267-283.
- Rogers, R. (2004). Critical approaches to discourse analysis in educational research. In R. Rogers (ed). *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education* (pp. 1-18). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Romanowski, M.H. (1996). Problems of bias in history textbooks. *Social Studies*, 60(3), 170-173.

- Rukundwa, L.S. & Van Aarde, A.G. (2007). The formation of postcolonial theory. *Theological Studies*, 63(3), 1171-1194.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books
- Sakki, I. (2010). *A success story or a failure? Representing the European intergration in the curricular and tsetbooks of five countries* (K. Helkama, I. Jasinskaja-Lahti, K. Liebkind, A.-M. Pirttila-Backman, K. M. Vesala, M. Wager & J. Lipponen Eds.). Helsinki: Social Psychology, Department of Social research, University of Helsinki.
- Salomon, M, & Ket, V.D. (2007). Doi Moi, education and identity formation in contemporary Vietnam. *British Association of International and Comparative Education*, 37(3), 345-364.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research* (Third ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schissler, H. (1989-90). Limitations and priorities for international social studies textbook research. *The International Journal of Social Education*, 4(3), 81-89.
- Scholz, H. (1994). East-West women's culture in transition: Are East German women the losers of reunification? *Journal of Women's History*, 5(3), 108-116.
- Sefa-Nyarko, C. (2016). Competing narratives of post-independence violence in Ghanaian social studies textbooks, 1987-2010. In D. Bantrotovato, K. Korostelina & M. Schulze (Eds.), *History can bite: History education in divided and postwar societies* (pp. 61-84). Gottingen: V & R Unipress
- Sewall, G. T. (2004). *World history textbooks: A review*. Paper presented at the American textbook council, New York.
- Shlaim, A. (1985). The partition of Germany and the origins of the cold war. *Review of International Studies*, 11(2), 123-137.
- Smith, E. (2005). 44 years of Cameroon's unification: Has it been success? *African Renaissance*, 2(6), 88-92.
- Siebörger, R. (2008). *Don't deprive pupils of chance to study history*. *Cape Times*, 12 June 2008. Retrieved 14 March 2015, from http://www.education.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/104/dontdeprivepupilsofchancetostudyhistory.pdf
- Sinclair, M. (2007). A guide to understanding theoretical and conceptual frameworks. *Evidence Based Midwifery*, 5(2), 39.

- Starecheski, A. (2014). Squatting history: The power of oral history as a history-making Practice. *Oral History Review*, 41(2), 187-216.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7(17). Retrieved November 9, 2013 from <http://PAREonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17>
- Stevens, P., Schade, A., Chalk, B., & Slevin, O. (1993). *Understanding research: A scientific approach for health care professionals*. Edinburgh: The Alden Press.
- St-Pierre, P. (1997). Multiple meanings and contexts: The diversity of the post-colonial. *Langues, traduction et postcolonialisme*, 10(1), 9-17.
- Strydom, H., & Delpont, C.S.L. (2011). Writing the research report. In A.S. De Vos, H. Strydom, Fouché C.B. & Delpont C.S.L (eds.). *Research at the grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions* (4th ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Tangwa, G.B. (2011). Philosophy, democracy and development: History and the case of Cameroon. *Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice*, 177-195.
- Te Brake, W. (1998). *Shaping history: Ordinary people in European politics, 1500-1700*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tenorio, E. H. (2011). Critical discourse analysis, an overview. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 10(1), 183-210.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Histories of the present: Social science research in context. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 1-17). Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Terre Blanche, M., Kelly, K., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Why qualitative research? In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 271-284). Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Tosh, J. (2009). *The pursuit of history*. London: Routledge
- Tromble, K. (2007). Reunification definitions: To promote consistency in state data reporting for the timeliness of reunification federal outcome measures: Child Welfare League of America. National Working Group to Improve Child Welfare Data (NWG).
- UNESCO. (1949). *A handbook for the improvement of textbooks and teaching materials as aids to international understanding*. Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

- Väisänen, J. (2008). Visual texts in Finnish history textbooks. Paper presented at the *Textbooks and Educational Media in the Learning Environment workshop*.
- Van Eeden, E .S. (2008). Transcontinental reflections in the revised South African history curriculum on globalism and national narratives (and its reflection in grade 12 textbooks). *Yesterday & Today*, 3, 11-39.
- van Dijk. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 95-120). London: SAGE Publications.
- vanderPloeg, A. J. (1977). Education in colonial Africa: The German experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 21(1), 91-109.
- Van Langenhove, F. (1961). Factors of decolonisation / Les facteurs de la decolonisation. *Civilisations*, 11(4), 401-428.
- Wakefield, J. F. (2006). *Textbook usage in the United States: The case of U.S history*. Paper presented at the International seminar on Textbooks, Santiago, Chile.
- Walia, S. (2001). *Postmodern encounters. Edward Said and the writing of history*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- Wassermann, J. (2009). History textbook burning and censorship in South Africa – the case of the *In search of History Grade 12 - Learner's Book*. Paper presented at the *History textbook analysis: methodological issues* conference, Braunschweig, Germany.
- Webster, M. (1985). *Webster's ninth new collegiate dictionary*. Meriam: Webster Inc.
- Wellington, J., Bathmaker, A.-M., Hunt, C, McCulloch, G. & Sikes, P. (2005). *Succeeding with your doctorate*. London: Sage.
- Welman, C., Kruger, F., & Mitchell, B. (2005). *Research methodology* (3rd ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Werner, W. (2000). Reading authorship in texts. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 28(2), 193-219. doi: 10.1080/00933104.2000.10505904
- Wertsch, J.V., & Rozin, M. (2000). The Russian Revolution: Official and unofficial accounts. In M. Carretero & J.F. Voss (Eds.), *Learning and reasoning in history. International Review of History Education*, 2. London: Woodburn Press.
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its development. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1-13). London: SAGE Publications.

- World Bank. (2008). *Textbooks and school library provision in secondary education in sub-saharan Africa*. Africa Human Development Series. World Bank Working Paper No. 126. Retrieved 22 November, 2014, from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPSEIA/Resources/OtherTextbooks.pdf>
- Wolf Jr, C. (2006). Korean reunification: how it might come about and at what cost. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 17:6, 681-690, 17(6), 681-690. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10242690601025690>
- Wu, S. (2014). A multimodal analysis of image-text relations in public books. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(7), 1415-1420.
- Youngblood-Coleman, D. (2017). *Country Review: Cameroon. (Geopolitical and Economic Background Review)*. *CountryWatch*. Retrieved January 25, 2017, from <http://www.countrywatch.com/Content/pdfs/reviews/B35Z5356.01c.pdf>
- Zuma, B. (2011). State of the nation address. Retrieved 22 March, 2011, from <http://www.peherald.com/news/>

APPENDIX 1 – ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



23 December 2013

Mr Nkwant R Fru (209530158)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/1528/013D
Project title: A comparative analysis of reunification discourses in Cameroonian history textbooks

Dear Mr Fru,

No Risk Approval

In response to your application dated 29 November 2013, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc: Supervisor: Professor JM Wavermann
cc: Academic leader Research: Dr MN Davids
cc: School Administrator: Mr Thokoz Mthembu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag 954001, Durban 4001
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 2947/59004657 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4900 Email: ethics@ukzn.ac.za / ethics@ukzn.ac.za / ethics@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Scenic Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Madisa School Pietermaritzburg Durban

APPENDIX 2 – TURN-IT-IN REPORT

feedback studio fru nkventi | A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REUNIFICATION DISCOURSES IN CAMEROONIAN HISTO -- /0 < 1 of 1 > ?

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REUNIFICATION
DISCOURSES IN CAMEROONIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

BY

RAYMOND NKWENTI FRU

118
Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
School of Education
History Education

Match Overview X

7%

1	Submitted to University... Student Paper	1%	>
2	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	<1%	>
3	repository.nwu.ac.za Internet Source	<1%	>
4	146.230.128.141 Internet Source	<1%	>
5	www.friendsofcameroo... Internet Source	<1%	>
6	www.peuplesawa.com Internet Source	<1%	>
7	herkules oulu.fi Internet Source	<1%	>
8	siteresources.worldban... Internet Source	<1%	>

Page: 1 of 393 Word Count: 152587 Return to Turnitin Classic

APPENDIX 3 – LETTER FROM LANGUAGE EDITOR

Angela Bryan & Associates

6 La Vigna
Plantations
47 Shongweni Road
Hillcrest

28 July 2017

To whom it may concern

This is to certify that the Doctoral Thesis: *A comparative Analysis of Reunification Discourses in Cameroonian History Textbooks* written by Raymond Nkwenti Fru has been edited by me for language.

Please contact me should you require any further information.

Kind Regards

Angela Bryan

angelakirbybryan@gmail.com

0832983312