

# **The Impact of Civic Education in a Divided Society: the Case of Cameroon**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The goal of this thesis is to make an analysis of the role of civic education policies initiated by Cameroon in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division. In this study, the research question is raised: Is civic education effective in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon? In an effort to provide an answer to this question and accomplish the goal of this study, the researcher made use of a qualitative research method. Data collection in this study was obtained through publications from Cameroon Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education and non-governmental organizations, academic articles, textbooks, journals, documentaries and internet material. In examining the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division, the researcher made use of the liberal civic education model. This model provides an explanation on how core civic liberal values such as the rule of law, equality, tolerance, mutual respect, good governance, freedom of expression, freedom of worship and respect of minority rights can overcome division in a society. The conclusion reached is that civic education should be given greater concern and resources. Furthermore, there is a need for political will to effectively implement core civic values by the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education.

**Keywords:** Civic Education, divided society, education, civic, society, Cameroon

## ÖZ

Bu tezin ana amacı Kamerun’da başlatılan eğitim politikalarının Fransızca/İngilizce konuşanlar arasındaki ayrımın üstesinden gelmekteki rolünü analiz etmektir. Bu çalışmanın ana araştırma sorusu şudur: Kamerun’da kamusal eğitim Fransızca konuşanlar/İngilizce konuşanlar ayrımının aşılmasında etkili midir? Bu soruyu cevaplamak ve bu çalışmanın amacını gerçekleştirmek amacıyla ,araştırmacı nitel bir araştırma yöntemi kullanmıştır. Bu çalışmadaki veriler, Kamerun Gençlik İşleri ve Yurttaşlık Eğitimi Bakanlığı’nın yayımladığı kaynaklar, sivil toplum örgütlerinin yayınları, akademik makaleler ,ders kitapları, gazeteler, belgeler ve internet yayınlarından elde edildi. Araştırmacı, toplumsal eğitimin bölünmenin üstesinden gelmedeki etkinliği incelerken, liberal yurttaşlık eğitim modelini kullanmıştır. Bu model, hukukun üstünlüğü, eşitlik, hoşgörü, karşılıklı saygı, iyi yönetim, ifade özgürlüğü, iş özgürlüğü ve azınlık haklarına saygı gibi temel liberal yurttaşlık değerlerinin toplumdaki bölünmeyi nasıl aşabileceğini açıklamaya yardımcı olur. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen sonuç, yurttaşlık eğitimine daha fazla ilgi gösterilmesi ve kaynak ayrılmasının gerekli olduğudur. Bundan da ötesi, Gençlik İşleri ve Yurttaşlık Eğitimi Bakanlığı’nın temel vatandaşlık değerlerini etkili bir şekilde uygulayabilmesi için siyasi iradeye ihtiyaç vardır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Yurttaşlık Eğitimi, Bölünmüş Toplum, Eğitim, Yurttaş , Toplum , Kamerun.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to any oppressed people around the world

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

As I come to the close of this journey, I turn to Jim Valvano who states, “don’t ever give up.”

I immensely appreciate the following people who have made this journey to be possible. My appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak. He is the best academic I could have wished for. Also, my appreciation to Asst. Prof. Dr. Umut Bozkurt for her guide and continuous collaboration.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

|       |                                                                               |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DEIA  | Duke of Edinburgh International Award                                         |
| CPDM  | Cameroon People's Democratic Movement                                         |
| EFA   | Education for All                                                             |
| EU    | European Union                                                                |
| MIF   | African Union                                                                 |
| LONT  | League of Nations Trusteeship                                                 |
| UN    | United Nations                                                                |
| USA   | United States of America                                                      |
| WW1   | World War I                                                                   |
| UNDP  | United Nations Development Program                                            |
| NCPBM | National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and<br>Multiculturalism |
| USIP  | United States Institute for Peace                                             |
| USSR  | United Socialist Soviet Republic                                              |

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Historical Background and Introduction

In the late 1980s, most Sub-Saharan African states introduced civic education in school curriculum as a policy to foster democracy and patriotism in their various countries coupled with the collapsed of the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>. Its importance in a society with diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic background cannot be over emphasize. Nowadays, the issue of civic education has become more crucial among governmental and non-governmental organizations. It demonstrates why organizations such as the European Union (EU), Commonwealth, African Union (AU), Mo Ibrahim Foundation (MIF), and the United States of America (USA) provide financial, material and human support to most sub-Saharan Africa countries in the area of civic education, with the main objective to encourage democracy and good governance<sup>2</sup>. It is beleieve that division in a society can be overcome through civic learning. That is, the learning that encourages citizens to be tolerant to one another in a society is essential to maintain unity and peace among different groups in a society.

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<sup>1</sup> In Lange, D. (Ed.). (2013). *Schools, Curriculum and Civic Education for Building Democratic Citizens* (Vol. 2). Springer Science & Business Media.. 19-39

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Office for ECOSOC Support and Coordination (2008), *Achieving Sustainable Development and Promoting Development Cooperation–Dialogues at the ECOSOC* 11-14

Sub-Saharan Africa countries in general and Cameroon in particular have witnessed different colonial administrations which have contributed to its diverse historical and linguistic background. The British colonial administrators introduced indirect rule in its colonies to prepare Africans toward self-governance. The French on the other hand, introduced assimilation with the main objective to assimilate the colonial people of Africa with the French way of life. The civic education initiative in Cameroon is centered on how to integrate these two cultures and identity so as to encourage national unity and harmony among these two people with different colonial and historical past. This has positioned Cameroon as the only country in Africa with a complex colonial past and with English and French as official languages. It was first colonized by the Germans in 1884 until the outbreak of World War I (WWI), which led to its partition between Britain and France as League of Nations Trusteeship (LONT) territories after Germany was defeated during the war.

On January 1, 1960, French Cameroun gained independence from France with Ahmadou Ahidjo as the first president. The case was slightly different in British Southern Cameroons because they were to achieve independence from Britain through a plebiscite organized by the United Nations (UN), and to decide either to join the independent Federal Republic of Nigeria or the independent French Cameroun. The outcome of the vote was in favor of joining French Cameroon to form a two states federation in 1961. This is the root of the Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon. The supporters of unification wanted a Cameroon where the two people can integrate and live together as brothers and sisters with equal rights and opportunities.

In 1972, President Ahmadou Ahidjo dropped the autonomy of British Southern Cameroons within the federation. Consequently, the name of the country was changed from the Federal Republic of Cameroon into the United Republic of Cameroon. This changed of name was opposed by Anglophone nationalists. Again, in 1985 Paul Biya who took over from Ahidjo as president through a Presidential decree continued with Ahidjo's policy and eventually changed the name of the country again from United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This was seen by Anglophone lawyers such as Fon Gorji Dinka as an act of aggression or secession by La Republic du Cameroun. This event led to uprising across Anglophone Cameroon. Paul Biya's administration argued that the changed of name was necessary because the country is placed in the face of diverse cultural, ethnic, linguistic and historical backgrounds and it was to strengthen national unity and integration. The diverse nature of the country and the political discontent in English Speaking part of the country qualify's her to emphasize on civic education and patriotism coupled with the high rate of corruption, tribalism, loose moral standards, ethnicity and bad governance.

The internal and international pressure on Paul Biya since 1990s and the escalation of the Anglophone discontent in late 2016 has triggered political uncertainty in Anglophone regions that could further deepened the Francophone/Anglophone divide. This emphasizes the essential of promoting learning that encourages tolerance, honesty and mutual respect.

Cameroon's complex historical, cultural and colonial past provides a better understanding to observe the impact of civic education in a divided society. The Francophone/Anglophone division can easily be overcome through civic education

initiatives. This has to do with proper policies and the will to implement such policies.

It is also important to have a brief history of civic education as some scholars see it as problematic to exactly situate with certainty the era that civic education started in the world. However, some scholars argue that civic education is something that started centuries ago, and that there is ample prove to substantiate such arguments. They date the origin of civic education as far as the writings formulated by Confucius in ancient China on civics virtues and the writings of Plato in ancient Greece. For instance, ancient Greek City States were considered as educational community. The fundamental objective of civic education or City states during this era was to transform people into better citizens. Civic education for the ancient Greeks was a life-long evolution process whose primary objective was for everyone in the society or city state to be a blessing to his/her brother, sister, friend, family and community. This issue of individuals becoming assets prompted the emphasis on basic community ethics and ideals. It was this period that civic education was taught to citizens through subjects such as philosophy, mathematics, politics and sciences.

Ancient and medieval philosophers hold that good governance and citizenship were taken seriously into teaching programs because the successes of any government depends on the active participation and support from the citizens. In Aristotle's Therefore, civics, ethics and virtue education was very essential in a democracy as well as in oligarchy.<sup>3</sup> The United States is at the center of the development of civic education. Civic education can be traced from school curriculum of the United States which started centuries ago with the Americanization of immigrant policy. It was an

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<sup>3</sup> Keyt, D., and F.D. Miller, Jr., (1991), *A Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press

attempt to assimilate the immigrants to welcome American values, culture and ethics. The measure taken by the United States during this era of ideological confrontations with the USSR was seen by some scholars as a pressure cooker. It is important to note that the United State had an enormous support from its citizens during this period and the aim of civic education was to strengthen citizens patriotism.

In Cameroon as demonstrated in the table below, civic education can be trace from the various ministerial designations since 1959 as demonstrated below.<sup>4</sup>

Table 1: History of Civic Education in Cameroon

| Year                 | Ministerial name                                                                                                           |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 18 June 1959         | Secretary of state for Mass Education, Information for Youth and Sports                                                    |
| June 1962-March 1963 | Secretariat of State for National Education, in charge of Technical Education, Youth and Sport                             |
| March 1963-May 1965  | General Commission for Youth, Sports and Mass Education                                                                    |
| 25 May 1965          | Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture                                                                                   |
| 20 May 1967          | Suppression of the post of a fully exercising Minister, to maintain an auxiliary minister of Education, Youth and culture. |
| 12 June 1970         | Ministry of Youth and Sports                                                                                               |
| 24 August 2002       | Ministry of Youths and Sports, with a Secretariat of state in                                                              |

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<sup>4</sup> MINJEC (June 2013). *The Reference Guide to Civic Education and National Integration for Cameroon*, 13

|                      |                                               |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
|                      | charge of Youth                               |
| 8 December 2004      | Ministry of Youth Affairs                     |
| 09 September<br>2011 | Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education |

This thesis seeks to investigate if civic education can be effective in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon. To better understand this research, it is quite interesting to note that despite the much talk about Cameroon being united, Cameroon is a deeply divided country, that is, Anglophone and Francophone division and also along tribal and regional lines.

## **1.2 Aim and Research Question**

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of civic education in a divided society and Cameroon as a case study. The study shall analyze civic education initiative in Cameroon and the ministerial reference document on civic education in Cameroon. In this study, the following question will be raised:

- a. Is civic education effective in overcoming the Anglophone/Francophone division in Cameroon?**

After an in-depth examination of the research question, the researcher shall recommend policies that can overcome the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon. It is glaring clear that teaching process which is directed towards the living together of people with diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds with mutual respect and equal opportunities for all will always provide

a positive impact in the society.<sup>5</sup> In regard to this, a learning process that encourages people to live together will be suggested as a solution to solve the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon.

### **1.3 Purpose and Importance of Research**

The purpose of this study is to determine the impact of civic education in a divided society. Some important elements made the researcher's choice of Cameroon to analyze the impact of civic education in a divided society in so many ways. To start with, Cameroon is a country of about 250 ethnic groups with two colonial legacies; educational, judicial, cultural and even governance. That is, the Anglo Saxon system which follows the British way of life, education and judiciary, and the French which follows the French system. The problem now is to initiate civic education programs that can integrate and encourage tolerance in this diverse society.

Civic Education advocates believe that if civic education programs are effectively implemented, democratic values such as tolerance, respect for human rights, good governance and equal rights and opportunities would not only sustain but flourish. It means that proper implementation of civic education programs in Cameroon can overcome the Francophone and Anglophone division.

Another research purpose is to describe what factors stakeholders can take into account to promote civic education in a divided society. This study will enable stakeholders to efficiently design and implement responsive policies that can

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<sup>5</sup> Quisumbing, L. R., & de Leo, J. (2005). *Learning to Do: Values for Learning and Working Together in a Globalized World. An Integrated Approach to Incorporating Values Education in Technical and Vocational Education and Training*. UNESCO-APNIEVE Sourcebook No. 3. UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training. UN Campus, Hermann-Ehlers-Str. 10, 53113 Bonn, Germany.

strengthen a democracy in a country where democratic values such as tolerance, mutual respect and freedom of opinion are at risk. Thus, the research will enable Cameroonian authorities to understand specific civic education policies that can help to overcome the division in Cameroon.

Furthermore, it is to describe how civic education can affect a divided society such as Cameroon. This means that a successful implementation of civic education programs will effectively overcome division in a society.

One of the significance of this research is that Cameroon is usually regarded as Africa's in miniature. Meaning it has all the characteristics of almost all countries in Africa. The unification of British and French Cameroon at independence was seen by Pan-African activist and leaders as a positive step toward the re-unification of the continent of Africa.

Also, the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon can be seen as a clash of culture where the majority attempts to assimilate the minority. This division can be traced as far back as 1972 when the federation between the two Cameroons was abolished. This is the reason I want to examine if civic education can effectively overcome the division in Cameroon and encourages the living together of all Cameroonians. Thus, creating an atmosphere of peace and political stability.

Furthermore, the complex colonial history of Cameroon is quite interesting for this study. It was first a German colony between 1884 to 1916 before the allied forces led by Britain and France defeated Germany which led to the partition of Cameroon. This complex colonial past makes the Cameroonian society very diverse. Thus,

making civic education to be very important school subject to be promoted by the state.

Another interesting aspect is that civic education was initiated in Cameroon since its re-unification. It will be of paramount interest to investigate the effectiveness of civic education initiative in the country and its effectiveness in uniting a country with a diverse linguistic and cultural background.

As highlighted above, it is glaring clear that a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon as a specific case will better our understanding of the effectiveness of civic education in a divided societies as a whole.

#### **1.4 Thesis Structure**

This research is basically about the importance of civic education in a divided society. Chapter one is made up historical background, aim and research question as well as the importance of this study. It also includes an outline of the thesis.

Chapter two is literature review. It gives us a theoretical understanding of the impact of civic education in divided society. It also provides an understanding of the nature of civic education in Cameroon, conceptual understanding of a divided society, and the nature of the Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon.

Chapter three is the methodology and it provides a broad understanding of what have been done in the research with justifications. It shows how data was collected, method, means and conditions of data collection in the study. It also gives us an

understanding of the researcher's efforts in making the study fulfills the validity and reliability tests in the collection of data as well as the limitations and merits.

Chapter four is the analysis chapter and it makes an analysis of all the various civic education initiatives in promoting the living togetherness of all Cameroonians using liberal civic education model. The analysis is to demonstrate the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon.

Chapter five is the conclusion and it discusses the results of this research. It also provides recommendations for further research.

## Chapter 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical understanding of civic education. Also, it talks about the nature of civic education in Cameroon, indicators of a divided society, and the nature of Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon.

### 2.1 Conceptual Framework

Recently, civic education has become an important field of academic research that is drawing numerous pedagogic controversies amongst scholars, civic educators and stakeholders. This has positioned civic educators in an academic environment that is poorly defined and also in a sensitive political system coupled with the individual political behaviors of learning institutions within the state. Orit insinuates that it is not only a difficult task but an unimaginable dream to think about having a common civic identity in a society where there is little or no agreement on issues of public interest.<sup>6</sup> He is interested to know if institutions of civic learning together with civic educators can overcome social divide in a society and provide a common ground for civic identity. To him, civic educators are influenced by some important elements such as their ideological beliefs, qualification and stands on societal key issues. Also, the time and resources directed towards civic education determines its importance.

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<sup>6</sup> Orit, I. (2003). Teaching civics in a divided society: The case of Israel. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 13(3), 219-242.

There is a general consensus among civic education scholars that citizen's engagement in classroom learning process paves the way for them to easily grasp some fundamental key values of a democratic system such as tolerance, mutual respect, equal opportunities for all and justice. Nevertheless, the debate in this field centers around the aims, nature and teaching method. The heated debate explains the transformation taking place within the field of civic education. Thus, the change from classical frameworks of civic education to new areas of civic education that has to do with the understanding of civic engagement and the goals of civic education. In the midst of this innovation is the debate between two school of thoughts, that is, a group who believe knowledge can be acquired through classroom work with the teacher. We also have those who argue that knowledge can be gotten through socializing with people in a community and experiences. These school of thoughts have instigated controversies on the issue of civic education being an important means to gained knowledge about governmental systems, and the aim of inculcating acceptable moral values into citizens by means of engaging into civic actions.

Basically, civic education is defined and seen as a learning process that changes people's behavior. It is practically impossible to accurately define the concept of civic education.

UNDP defines civic education to include a learning process that promotes citizens to participate in issues related to the development of the nation, and also in decision making and implementation processes.<sup>7</sup> This could be seen as an effective way to empower citizens to actively participate in nation building. Also, it can be seen as a

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<sup>7</sup> UNDP (2004), *UNDP Civic Education: Practical Guidance Note*. United States

means to prepare youngsters to be able to take up responsibilities for the benefit of the society as a whole.<sup>8</sup> It is believe that civic education can effectively overcome division in a society by promoting tolerance, good governance, respect for human and minority rights and even provide conducive environment for development.

Ugandan think tank defines civic education as the procedure of erecting consciousness and providing of details and teaching skills to furnish and allow citizens to engage constructively in the democratic affairs of their local areas, national and international.<sup>9</sup> This presents the essential role that civic education can play in overcoming division in a society. Other authors however add flesh to this understanding, such as A. Ross who notes that civic education is also elucidated to include the association between the citizen and institutions of governance, between the self and others.<sup>10</sup>

In this research, the citizen is seen as part of the society and his or her role is clearly stipulated. It gives participants a better understanding of the political society they found themselves in. This line of thought is also borrowed by Tilahun Meron who opines that inside any political or cultural heritage, civics can be seen as the schooling in the duties and prerogatives of citizens epitomized under a cultural practice or tradition of a society.<sup>11</sup> Let us embrace the general definition of civic

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> UPIMAC (2014). *Uganda Project Implementation and Management Centre: Civic Education for Effective Participation of Ugandan Citizens*.

<sup>10</sup> Ross, A. (2012). Education for active citizenship: Practices, policies, promises. *International Journal of Progressive Education*, 8(3), 7-14.

<sup>11</sup> Tilahun Meron (2006). *Civic education & students of higher learning: a case study Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference in Private Higher Education in Ethiopia*, St. Mary's University College, Addis Ababa.

education which sees it as a field of study whose primary focus is to deal with the obligations and prerogatives of the citizenry.

The emphasis on civic education curriculum in school is very essential for policy considerations. Every child starts interacting with people from home, church groups, social media or on the street. A school of thoughts argue that schooling produces a communal wealth which falls within the powers of the state. Taking into account that citizens can also apprehend a better understanding of the environment from diverse social-economic, cultural and political institutions, the state can exercise authority over education which is not really related to other forms of socialization. Nevertheless, what is impacted into children through education can only cement or oppose other forms of socialization. Although this schooling process may be vulnerable to so many weaknesses but it is the ultimate avenue to nourish future generations with the culture of democratic principles such as tolerance and good governance.<sup>12</sup>

Some aspects of civic education can be seen in the writings of classical liberalist such as John Locke. He analyzed the importance of civic learning in sustaining democratic values such as tolerance. The main idea in Locke's writing was based on civic education, with more interest on teaching citizens on their basic rights and moral values.

James Madison, one of the classical liberalist advocated and encouraged in his writings for citizens and leaders to embrace acceptable societal behaviors in

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<sup>12</sup> Millum, J. (2010). How do we acquire parental rights?. *Social theory and practice*, 36(1), 112.

whatever they do. This to him, will enable citizens to be able to elect responsible politicians into positions of authority who will intend formulate and implement laws that will maintain peace and stability in a society.

Also, civic education can be seen as a policy to influence the ways in which people operate in society.<sup>13</sup> Catherine & David assert that children are always exposed to the social values even before they get to know the key values or processes of how to socialize with others in a society. They highlighted two different arguments; normative and communal views.<sup>14</sup> Culturally, children are exposed to norms and values that help them to avoid conflicts with people. They are advised to be sociable through their daily interactions with friends, relatives, members of the community and organizations or associations where they belong. This normative argument is very essential in that children are inculcated with social moral behaviors that they do not necessarily need some references or teaching to remind them of their moral duty in the society. On the one hand, Catherine & David's provide a second argument in what they term as 'pragmatic and individualistic model'. They hold that the moral behavior of children in a society is controlled by direct or indirect rules which make children to understand the consequences of their actions. Thus, citizens will always respect rules and regulations because they are always negative or positive consequences for such actions.

In response to the imperative relationship between civic education and liberalism, scholars such as Macedo articulated the essential role liberals can play to shape a

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<sup>13</sup> Simpson, D. J. (2001). John Dewey's concept of the student. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'education*, 183-200.

<sup>14</sup> Matheson, D., & Matheson, C. (Eds.). (2000). *Educational issues in the learning age*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 49

civic culture, tolerance, mutual respect and good governance in a society which are key factors in maintaining unity in a society. Macedo notes that liberal moral and political values are not originated by any visible or invisible factor. He argues that liberals must take civic education as a master plan for their existence.<sup>15</sup>

This implies that the state, via its educational system must instill in its citizens those liberal and political values that promote democratic principles such as tolerance, mutual respect, protection of minority rights and good governance. The argument that the state through its educational systems must create conditions to promote liberal beliefs does not compel Macedo to minimize the importance of other forms of school that people will prefer to attend. This means that parents have the choice to decide which school to send their kids to study. Nevertheless, Macedo does not reject choice in education and his choice does not appear to challenge state monopoly of the funding of education. It is interesting to note that Macedo and other scholars such as Gutman, acknowledges that government institutions are placed in a better place to teach moral ethics than private institutions. However, there is no evidence to substantiate his claim, and also his endorsement of limited choice for parents to decide where their kids can study. We begin to wonder about his argument that liberal democracy can only survive with a pluralistic system of educational system. Again, Macedo takes it further that it is the right of parents to restrict their children from civic education programs that stand against their family values. For Macedo, what is important is not to know if some ethical teaching curriculum are against the religious beliefs of some households, but whether the programs can achieve its main goal of instilling in students democratic values such as tolerance.

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<sup>15</sup> Callan, E. (1994). Beyond sentimental civic education. *American Journal of Education*, 102(2), 190-221.

Macedo has failed in his analysis to substantiate his claim by presenting more convincing argument on how liberal democracy can only survive if more kids receive civic education through government schools. The key argument here is, whether we can back up the claim that for liberal values to flourish, it requires it to overtake religious beliefs (dogma) as endorsed by Macedo. He seem to be reluctant to address this issue adequately .This is because any time to do so will undermine his own argument for a unified system of education under government control. Macedo pinpoints that the capacity to make a rational argument should be the yardstick to justified the civic education implemented by the state in producing liberal conscious citizens. This implies that, it must be accepted by a majority of people with different responsibilities. To Macedo, political liberalism can be regarded as forging an ideal citizenship who has the capacity to stand and defend the key principles of democracy based on the understanding we may gather from public debate with varying options. It is therefore, unacceptable to force children to practice values, whether liberal or religious character.

Taking into consideration Macedo's argument on the manner we should take positions on national debate, it becomes necessary to understand the main liberal principles that civic education curriculum must encourage. He had earlier argued that there is no doubt that civic education can effectively overcome division in a society. He talks of tolerance, mutual respect, and critical thinking in his theory where he attempted to analyze the relationship between liberalism and civic education. Critical thinking in his model has to do more with politics. That is the ability of citizens to be able to debate, engage, analyze and understand political processes, and also able to make rational decisions.

Putnam emphasized the importance of citizen's behavior, awareness and moral values on institutional successes.<sup>16</sup> This means that political stability and unity in society together with economic development, stronger political institutions are an outcome of citizen's behavior in a polity. That is to say the bond of love, solidarity and community spirit emerge from the social environment such as village development association, football club, and fan clubs. Thus, the belief that additional aspects like economic advancement together with popular political culture is essential in a democracy is not a new theoretical debate. The assumption here is that the individual attitude is resulted from knowledge and values instilled in them through civic community. His argument is constructed on the key characteristics of civic education: standard societal norms, political insight and normal attitude.

The theory is constructed on a distinction bounded by esteemed situated perspicacity of society, that is, an individual and community points of views.<sup>17</sup> It is easy to identify at the individual level the liberal perception in the above argument pinpointing the position of individual in a societal set up, and it encourages ethics like tolerance, mutual respect, truthfulness and cynical thinking.<sup>18</sup> The communistic end stands for the republican as it portrays the community context of citizenship in a societal set up and the connection of the individual to the locality or the nation state.<sup>19</sup> This framework could be regarded as a critical model to enable stakeholders and academicians to master the development and debate in the field of civic education.

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<sup>16</sup> Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1994). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton university press.

<sup>17</sup> Habermas, J. (1994). Three normative models of democracy. *Constellations*, 1(1), 1-10.

<sup>18</sup> Rawls, J. (2009). *A theory of justice: Revised edition*. Harvard university press.

<sup>19</sup> Sandel, M. J. (1984). The procedural republic and the unencumbered self. *Political theory*, 12(1), 81-96...

It is necessary to demonstrate the various explanations that provide more light on the understanding of civic education.

One of these explanations include liberal civic education which has as its main premises that community is possessed of individuals, and that the role of civic education is to inculcate the essential responsibility that individuals take in an open society.<sup>20</sup>

In an effort to advance this role, advocates usually pose two important questions; “does the citizen possess sufficient knowledge concerning his/role in a community?, and is the “citizen capable to take initiative in this public position?” It is interesting to highlight here that an individual is identified as a self-governing being, anticipated at fulfilling his/her own particular objectives. This means that the strength of the individual to be effective in society is observe as significant in order to achieve these particular aims. In this regard, the understanding of civic education reiterates the imperative scholarly and rational apparatus mandatory for activity in a democratic state. Nevertheless, insistence here is implanted on methodological expertise and self-absorbed morals. This program encourage citizens with values such as tolerance and mutual respect in a society. Thus, promoting unity and harmony in a society.

In addition, diversity civic education is another explanation which perceived civic education as essential in the upbringing of citizens. According to this framework, civic education objective could be observed as the desire to create conscious-ness

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<sup>20</sup> Nie, N. H., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996). *Education and democratic citizenship in America*. University of Chicago Press.

regarding the social happenings, and specifically the domination of diverse social groups by the powerful forces of society.<sup>21</sup>

This understanding of civic education will focus on the means by which an individual can analyze the social environment where they live. This model differs with liberal civic education in that attention is diverted from the citizen but to the society. This shift is not by coincidence as it is to reexamine the power of diverse social set ups to respond to different situations, and to implement and provide a better explanation of the social reality that could sustain the issue at hand. Therefore, the focus on school curriculum is on the nurturing of a watchful, successful, and strong citizen that is able to adapt to the reality of the social environment.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, critical civic education framework sees civic education from the premises that the world is pictured as a war arena amid the social pressure, where the powerful authority operates in different ways that are aimed to maintain their class status by dominating the less powerful player in the political, social and economic arena.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, proponent of this argument challenged the notion of universality and un-bias knowledge, and reiterates the classical and social background of knowledge and of social controversies, which can be regarded as undeniable knowledge. Therefore, civic education is portrayed as a tactic of encouraging democratic values such as tolerance, social justice and capacitate students with critical minds. This framework emphasizes the significance of building personal abilities such as critical

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<sup>21</sup> Griffin, J. D., & Newman, B. (2007). The unequal representation of Latinos and whites. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(4), 1032-1046.

<sup>22</sup> Marri, A. R. (2005). Building a framework for classroom-based multicultural democratic education: Learning from three skilled teachers. *Teachers College Record*, 107(5), 1036-1059.

<sup>23</sup> Kincheloe, J. L. (2011). Critical pedagogy and the knowledge wars of the twenty-first century. In *Key works in critical pedagogy* (pp. 385-405). SensePublishers.

analysis of crucial societal issues in order to better comprehend and respond to the biased truth of society.<sup>24</sup>

Together with Putnam's republicanism theory initially formulated by Niccolo Machiavelli and many others came under strong criticisms from Hobbes, Locke and their liberal apologists, and with Madison's publication on checks and balances as well as his argument for institutional success. This approach has put Putnam and his proponent's argument to test. Other thinkers such as Golberg have pointed out that Putnam's analysis on Italy are triggered by major inter-regional differences such as religion. This goes to say religion becomes an important factor to calculate the intra-regional correlation for the North and South respectively not necessarily civic virtue as argued by Putnam.

The nature, method and goals of civic education remain a controversial topic among academicians.<sup>25</sup> The obvious thing is the manner in which civic educators and stakeholders disagree on the aim and what to teach children. In some countries the state decides on the curriculum and nature of civic education. In others, educators decide on the curriculum. In Cameroon, the nature, method and goals are determined by MINJEC. It is believed that civic education can effectively overcome division in a society by promoting tolerance, mutual respect, equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. This study falls in line with this objective as it is believed that civic education can effectively overcome the Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon. Children are oriented to live a life style that will avoid them from

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<sup>24</sup> Apple, M. W. (1993), Constructing the 'other': Rightist reconstructions of common sense. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichtlow (Eds.), *Race, identity, and representation in education*. New York: Routledge 24-33

<sup>25</sup> John. S Brubacher, (1939). *Modern Philosophies of Education*. McGraw-Hill publication, New York and London. 70

engaging into conflicts with their friends, relatives or anyone within the community.<sup>26</sup> This type of childhood orientation is what the minister of youth affairs and civic education is encouraging parents to do in Cameroon.

Peters asserts that the word education has normative implications. It has the criterion built into it that something worthwhile should be achieved. In elucidating this argument he continues:

“it implies that something worthwhile being or has been intentionally transmitted in a morally accepted manner. It would be logical contradiction to say that a man had been educated but that he had in no way changed for the better or that in educating his son a man was attempting nothing that was worthwhile. Such a connection between education and what is valuable does not imply any particular commitment to content. It is further question what the particular standards are in virtue of which activities are thought to be of value and what grounds there might be for claiming that these are correct ones. All that is implied is a commitment to what is thought valuable.”<sup>27</sup> In essence, Cameroon government is interested in promoting civic education because they know the positive outcome of education. It is a powerful tool to cement societal division and encourages unity in a society.

John Dewey asserts that the aim of education is more education. He pinpoints that this more education can bring unity and harmony between people who are separated thousands of miles away from each other than people who stay in the same house. It is through civic education that both Anglophones and Francophones can gain

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<sup>26</sup> Matheson, D., & Matheson, C. (Eds.). (2000). *Educational issues in the learning age*. Bloomsbury Publishing. 49

<sup>27</sup> Barrow, R & Woods, R, (1997). *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education*. Routledge publication: Third Edition. 9

knowledge about each other and with this information the people will understand each other much better. He argues that people cooperate with each other base on common interest, aim and results. In essence, when people are aware of the common interest of living together for a common interest and regulate their behavior they will form a united society. Dewey asserts that this involves communication. Members in the community must be able to properly educate about each other's purpose and progress. In elucidating this view Dewey pinpoints that;

“individuals use one another so as to get desired results, without reference to the emotional and intellectual disposition and consent of those used. Such uses express physical superiority, or superiority of position, skill, technical ability, and command of tools, mechanical or fiscal. So far as the relationship between parents and child, teacher and pupil, employer and employee, governor and governed, remain upon this level, they form no true social group, no matter how closely their respective activities touch one another. Giving and taking of orders modifies action and results, but does not of itself effect a sharing of purposes, communication and interest.”<sup>28</sup>

Dewey's argument substantiates the claim that civic education can be effective in a divided society. Thus, communication is educative and can be a powerful tool in a society with diverse cultural, religious, ethnic and political backgrounds such as Cameroon. Educated people can easily change their experiences or modified their views.

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<sup>28</sup> John Dewey, (2008). *Democracy & Education*. Filiguarian publication. P.9

Nevertheless, the process of living together requires communication; it educates; enlightens experience; stimulates and enriches imagination; it creates responsibility for accuracy and vividness of statement and thought.<sup>29</sup>

Also, every child starts interacting with people from home, church groups, social media or on the street. A school of thoughts argue that education provides a public resource which falls under the national political sphere of influence. While individuals gain an understanding of their social world from many institutions, a nation has a level of control over schooling which does not exist with other modes of socialization. Furthermore, what learners are taught in the classroom can confirm, complement, or counteract such knowledge; this learning experience may be limited but it is “the only place where we, as a collective, self-conscious public try to shape our children to live in a more tolerant society.”<sup>30</sup>

Some scholars seem to disagree with Dewey’s claim of growth.<sup>31</sup> He presents his argument as if a child must interact with people or sociable to have growth. For him living in isolation prevents growth. This view seems to be problematic in the sense that an International Relations student who interacts only with friends from his field of studies will not have growth in his area of studies.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid p.10

<sup>30</sup> Millum, J. (2010). *How do we acquire parental rights?*. *Social theory and practice*, 36(1), 112.

<sup>31</sup> Nel Noddings, (1998). *Philosophy of Educatio*. Stanford University: Westerview Press publication. 1, 23

R.S. Peter shares Dewey's views that the aims of "education should not be conceived of as ends intrinsic to education, but he felt that Dewey was mistaken using aim and purpose as synonyms."<sup>32</sup>

According to Freida M'cormak, civic education can be seen as the process of giving information and teaching to allow citizens to actively engage in societal activities.<sup>33</sup>

In President Paul Biya's address to young Cameroonians on Youth Day 2013,<sup>34</sup> whose theme was: "Civic Responsibility and Participation in the Development Process," he said in his speech that citizens should embrace morality, civic ethics and acceptable behaviors. He equally encouraged parents to take up their parental role by nurturing children toward this direction of a moral, tolerant, ethical and responsible behavior in the society because that is the bedrock of any prosperous society. He emphasized in his speech that houses of God should become a teaching environment where good citizens with ethical, moral, rigor and responsible behaviors are nurtured. His appeal to young Cameroonians to embrace ethical, moral and responsible behavior, presents the nature of civic education in Cameroon as expatiated in the ministerial reference paper on civic education in Cameroon. The President's speech brings the issue of civic education in Cameroon to every citizenship in all aspect of the Cameroonian society. To the Head of State, President Paul Biya this behavior includes key issues that cements the national unity and integration of Cameroonians, which to him, citizens should take Cameroon as a community good that must be protected for the general interest.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p.26

<sup>33</sup> Freida M'Cormack (2011), *Helpdesk Research Report: Approaches to civic education in Africa*. Publication of Governance and Social Resource Development Center (GSRDC)

<sup>34</sup> Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon: <https://www.prc.cm/en/news/speeches-of-the-president/17-president-paul-biya-calls-on-youths-to-uphold-moral-standards>

Civic education is a top government policy in Cameroon especially in the face of the growing Francophone/Anglophone division. The government believes that it is only through civic education that a country like Cameroon with a complex colonial past, ethnic, historical and cultural diversity can easily integrate. That is, the living togetherness in harmony of Francophones and Anglophones. It is from this background that the government has created the National Commission for the promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism<sup>35</sup> In order to strengthen this civic education goal of overcoming the Francophone and Anglophone division.

In Cameroon, the minister of youth and civic education has the responsibilities to formulate and implement policies that encourages civic education; engage young Cameroonians into development projects; and encourage the ethics of peace such as tolerance, responsible behavior and good citizenship.<sup>36</sup> It is in this effect that the national civic service for participation in development was created by the ministry in charge of civic education. This agency was enacted into law by the Cameroon house of parliament and promulgated into law by the head of state.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This research is basically about the impact of civic education in a divided society. It shows the positive impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society. Thus, if civic education is effectively implemented in schools curriculum in societies with diverse historical, racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds, democratic values such as tolerance, mutual respect, equal rights and opportunities will not only

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<sup>35</sup> Presidential Decree No. 2017/013 of 23 January 2017 to lay down the Establishment, Organization and Functioning of the National Commission for the promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism.

<sup>36</sup> Ministry of Youth and Civic Education in Cameroon  
<http://www.minjec.gov.cm/index.php/en/component/search/?searchword=mission&searchphrase=all&Itemid=151>

flourish but survive. The hypothesis for this study shall therefore be; **civic education has an effect in a divided society. A divided society deepens more when there is no civic education (Null hypothesis).**

In Galston's theory known as Liberal Purpose, he argued that it is the duty of any government to teach children what can maintain the stability of any nation, but may not want them to be exposed to teaching that might mastermind the stability of the state.<sup>37</sup> He favored John Locke's writings concerning education that any government has the right to seek contribution from those who are willing to participate in maintaining its stability within their competence. According to Galston, it is the duty of a democratic nation to provide a learning environment that will promote democratic principles, moral virtues, and encourages political stability. He argued that peoples' representatives must have an excellent moral and democratic virtue before they can be selected or elected into positions of authority. He talks of citizens holding their representatives accountable as well as leaders must be accountable to the citizens. In the judiciary, Galston demands judges to make fair judgment and nobody should be above the law.

William Galston clearly supported the issue to instill two important complex moral values in the citizenry. That is, the free will of living together in harmony with the ways of life acceptable by society rather than individual's own, coupled with the ability to think critically and analyze public issues.

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<sup>37</sup>Galston, W. A., & Galston, W. A. (1991). *Liberal purposes: Goods, virtues, and diversity in the liberal state*. Cambridge University Press.189

The debate shies away to provide substantial argument of states obligations towards children's education. It is important to note that individuals are always willing to maintain what has to do with their conscience as well as kids can be taught in schools to protect moral virtues that has to do with "freedom of conscience". Any government has a duty to take all necessarily action and promote avenues that can help citizens attain their dreams and moral conscienceness which will tend to sustain the stability of the state. This responsibility can only be inculcated into citizens through civic education which has as its ultimate goal of instilling moral virtues and loyalty to state institutions as highlighted above.

Contrary to this debate, Gutmann sees compulsory civic education from a completely different perspective. She argued that civic education curriculum must be able to instill democratic and moral virtues that can sustain a democracy. To her, the state must take all necessary efforts in sharing authority in the educational sector in order to instill in citizens the skills and knowledge to actively take part in the democratic processes. Her model presents a mutual correlation between civic education and democratic values such as tolerance and mutual respect. According to her, the importance of civic education has to take into considerations the key principle of democracy which is centered around delegation of powers and political sovereignty.<sup>38</sup> She has raised two important issues in her theory which is realistic and with conventional elements. In Gutmann's argument, two important issues are required to delegate political sovereignty. This include the behavior of those in position of authority and citizenry critical perceptions about those in authority. The ultimate goal of her democratic learning is to instill in students liberal democratic

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 198

values and moral virtues which a good citizenry has to show. She claims that deliberative citizens of a nation are devoted in learning virtues that will enable them to adapt their daily activities into a democratic life as well as being the watch dog of the society. This empowers them with knowledge to be able to hold authorities accountable if the basic principles of democracy are threaten. Gutmann favored the state to provide all necessary conditions that can instill democratic values of power and responsibility sharing in children. Authority sharing is the core in her argument. Important to note that delegation of power is not only necessary in a divided society but can effectively overcome division and discontent among different groups in a society.

Contrary to Galston, Gutmann argued that civic learning entails teaching children the knowledge related with autonomy. There is one key issue in her theory, which is that of authority. That is, who should have educational authority? Gutmann encouraged the participation of the masses in formulating and implementing decisions. For her, this will be the basis for an objective public opinion. It is important to note that tolerance is an important aspect of a democratic society which has to start with mutual respect. In a democratic society, people tend to accept others points of views irrespective to their political, religious, racial or social backgrounds. The core idea in Gutmann's theory is that the state must provide educational programs that will instill in children democratic values, tolerance, moral virtues, mutual respect and also instill critical skills in children to be able to critically analyze issues of public interest.

The liberal debate between Galston & Gutmann on the nature of civic education can be critically analyzed from diverse liberal foundations. Two things stand out clear in

Galston's theory and the way he observes a liberal state. He puts more importance in freedom and diversity. This implies that there is bound to be different opinion on issues of national concern due to the diverse cultural, ethnic, religious and traditional beliefs. In essence, citizens should learn to be tolerant to other views that differ with what they believe. This is where the state has to step in to initiate policies that encourages and unified the "living togetherness" of all citizens. Contrary to Galston, Gutmann favored a system that provides avenues for democratic argument. That is, citizens active participation in issues of national interest. In her theory, citizens have the obligation to participate in issues that are of interest to them. Her argument shares some similarities with Galston's views on what should be instill into citizens in order to have a just state. This triggered some misconceptions with both arguments.

Galston for instance, argued that it is problematic to empowers the state to instill its core values in future generation because it undermines liberal legitimacy. The main argument is that it is a violation of human right to instill certain values in children who cannot critically think or analyze things by themselves. This is because there is no valid argument to prove that these kids would have supported it on the basis of their own judgment.

Galston's civic education theory seems to show less concern on customary ethics. This can be seen with the obstacles faced by his critical theory on civic education. Although he identified the moral and civic virtues that can overcome division in a society and thus maintained good relationship between the state and the individual. He favored citizen's autonomy because they do not need the support of others. He talks of virtues such as work ethics, be able to adapt with diversity, the ability to

analyze a candidate vying for public office and to examine the competence of those in power as well as other important virtues which includes the respect of the rule of law. Also the ability to put national interest over personal interest and respect of the constitution.<sup>39</sup>

Galston's argument favors citizen's independence and his analysis on how civic virtues be instilled into citizens so that they can respect state institutions seems to be problematic because they tend to expose state propaganda and deception policy that might cause political unrest. His lack of clarity can be seen in his recommended content of civic education curriculum to be instilled in children. Instead of instilling in students moral virtues and democratic values, civic educators are prescribed not to expose everything about the state to citizens whose allegiance to the state is derived. It is easier to maintain citizen's loyalty to the state when they know the truth than when the reality about the state is hidden from them through deception and propaganda which is inculcated in the civic education curriculum.

Galston's theory seems to be more in principle than actual reality. His argument about civic education as a means to attain legitimacy is dubious and misleading which can instigate division in a society. His civic education content has the objective to hide the truth from citizens. To him, the core objective of civic learning is to nurture citizens to think in a particular way which entails misleading of children and depriving them from acquiring the ability to have critical thinking and well

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid p. 221

informed opinion about issues of national interest which is the key element of a democracy.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, Amy Gutmann's argument seems to show lesser limitations than that of William Galston. Her argument on civic education portrays some fundamental elements which instills critical thinking in children to be able to analyze issues of public interest. Gutmann's argument is less vulnerable to the criticisms that liberal values are inculcated into children under situations that are unacceptable. This paves the way for the future generation to challenge such dubious values. To Gutmann, you cannot tell kids that homophobia is not a moral ethic by providing it as one of the inception of life that one would like to live and at the same time subjecting it to weaknesses based on the facts that homophobists do not agree with others inception of what is good. This means that kids are initially good before being corrupted by bigots which make them to see the reasons to be intolerant. The liberal attempt to dismiss bigotry seem to be unsuccessful because of the unavailability of empathy.<sup>41</sup>

Her insistence on the teaching of moral and democratic virtues to children as a means to encourage critical thinking sounds interesting. The key argument in autonomy education is that critical analysis of evidence is the best source of knowledge than civic curriculum formulated by authorities with specific objectives to teach children. The setback is that children might start to raise questions where they have to be taught before they can start analyzing and criticizing issues of

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<sup>40</sup>Callan, E. (1994). Beyond sentimental civic education. *American Journal of Education*, 102(2), 190-221.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 43

national interest. This is because autonomy education has an objective to empower children with critical thinking abilities to analyze and evaluate issues of national interest.

Gutmann does not in any way prescribed the encouragement of critical thinking that undermines the institutions of a democratic government. Her only argument is that citizens should actively engage in activities which can pressurize the key principles of a political sphere of influence. That is to say, the stability of a state rests on the critical ability of its citizens than its legitimacy. Her method of civic education pedagogy empowers children with critical thinking. The fundamental problem with Gutmann's model is that she over raised a lot of controversial issues about a democratic citizen. Citizen participation is not really an issue of debate in a democracy because it is the foundation of a democracy. She took citizen participation to be a controversy topic in her theory. Her argument is problematic in the sense that she does not recognize citizen's duties to the state. Also, she sees citizens as not being obliged to perform such responsibilities in nation building. To her, what qualified a good kid include the ability to recognize with and taking part in activities that are good for their families and that of the political life of their country. Good citizens will always participate in their country's democratic system. But Gutmann's theory raises issues which go against the main principles of democracy.

In conclusion, the numerous civic education literature as presented in this chapter focused on one central issue. That is, citizenship, rights and duties of citizens in a society. The researcher made use of William Galston's Liberal purpose theory to analyze the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society. It also analyze some major indicators of a divided society.

### 2.3 Indicators of a Divided Society

There is a controversy among scholars on the definition of the concept of a divided society. J.P Lederach defines the concept as societies facing military conflicts at one of the stages identified by Wallenstein.<sup>42</sup> It include a minor, middle, and physical armed struggle rather than limited to linguistic, cultural, religious or racial disparities.<sup>43</sup> Pierre identified four indicators in defining a divided society by taking into consideration the nature of the conflicting groups attachment to their culture, the political significance of such a culture, the areas of disagreement that are debated along tribal allegiance, and the presence of other social factors that can instigate political or social unrest.<sup>44</sup> He focused more attention on the sociological aspects that can trigger division in a society. Contrary to Paul Lederach, the most substantive definition is that given by Guelke who perceived the term divided society as a situation where there is an existence of conflicts rooted across some lines with some elements of conflicts erupting across such segments. His definition incorporate both that provided by John Paul and Ian Lusticks.

These scholars disagree on what constitute the main indicators of a divided society.<sup>45</sup> The most common indicators of a divided society may include linguistic, ethnic , racial and religious as well as foreigners against nationals.<sup>46</sup> The Anglophone and Francophone division in Cameroon can be observe along linguistic and ethnic lines. Identity is one of the most determining factor that is associated to the individual and

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<sup>42</sup> Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies.,(United States Institute for Peace: Washington, DC.).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 11

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 12

<sup>45</sup> Toit, P. D. (1989). Bargaining about bargaining: Inducing the self-negating prediction in deeply divided societies—the case of South Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33(2), 210-230.

<sup>46</sup> Gutaj, P. (2014). Politics in Deeply Divided Societies by Adrian Guelke. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 178pp.,£ 15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4850 7. *Political Studies Review*, 12(2), 289.

both the community as a whole. The Anglo Saxon identity is one of the most essential aspect that Anglophone Cameroonians identify themselves with as a people in general and individual in particular. This is one of the motivating factor of the nationalist movement who are laying their claims to this cultural and linguistic identity inherited from the British. Guelke asserts communities that have fought inter-ethnic and tribal wars and such communities are deeply divided along this line which is usually shifted into politics. Thus, creating division in a society.<sup>47</sup> Politicians usually establish political parties along ethnic and linguistic backgrounds for personal interest or make no efforts to address issues that can threaten the living togetherness of all members of a society. David et al hold that there is a relationship between the state and everything that happens in the society. That the state must not shy away from such issues on the grounds that societal issues are not political and should take full responsibility in addressing such problems.<sup>48</sup> This entails the state to take all necessary democratic measures in respecting the rights of minority in a political system as well as equal representation in government. Ian asserts that a divided society is an outcome of borders drawn between conflicting groups that can easily separate members and states.<sup>49</sup> He pinpoints that one of the major characteristic of a divided society is its divergent nature of uncontrollable groups or movements whose grievances are historically rooted. For instance, the Anglophone community in Cameroon and Biafra in Nigeria.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 290

<sup>48</sup> Carment, D., Samy, Y., & Prest, S. (2008). State fragility and implications for aid allocation: An empirical analysis. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25(4), 349-373.

<sup>49</sup> Lustick, I. (1979). Stability in deeply divided societies: consociationalism versus control. *World politics*, 31(3), 325-344.

One major indicator of a divided society that can easily be transformed into conflict is identity. Nationalist doctrine always attempt to close this gap by appealing to individuals who feel they have lost their identity by the greater community identity.<sup>50</sup> The argument is that nationalist do not even lay their claims on identity that has existed before but they put claim to a new identity. Nationalism surpasses groups identity that has been assimilated by a larger group. It must be identified and accepted by a group with historical and cultural grievances, and transformed into a political agitation such as what is happening in Anglophone Cameroon. Hagopian granted an interview to one of Serbia nationalist fighter who attempted to draw a line between Serb and Croat and the root causes of armed conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. The soldier made it clear that the two people had nothing in common and the root cause of the conflict could be seen as a struggle for class domination, and his acknowledgment that the two people are same no matter some of the issues that divide them.<sup>51</sup> A clash of civilization can easily be identified from the rhetoric of the foot soldier. But it is essential for someone who has engaged into such fight to be able to distinguished between myth and reality and look for the root cause of the conflict.<sup>52</sup> Cultural memories such as inter-tribal wars fought centuries ago do derail proper understanding of the conflict and perception of a neighbouring country. This presents a vivid picture on how some separatist foot soldiers perceive the relationship between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon. First, they see Francophone Cameroon as having nothing with them in common and the struggle is against the domination of their identity by the Francophone majority.

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<sup>50</sup> Hagopian, Elaine, (2000). *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* .Peace Work: Cambridge publication.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

Moreover, the Serbian foot soldier saw his identity as a comparable word, portraying in numerous instances that Serbs and Croat identities have absolutely nothing in common. It is important to note that the soldier is not agitating for his own identity, rather against the identity of the opposing community. Thus, it is a fight for survival as he and others perceived their identity under threat of domination.<sup>53</sup> Nationalist takes advantage of minor societal issues and transform into a bigger problem that can create division in a society. They always take advantage of minor division in a society by instigating conflicts and substantiating their claims.

Nationalism is an important indicator of a divided society as it plead both emotionally and intellectually.<sup>54</sup> It is an undisputable fact that politicians do make use of nationalism to rally support and feelings of nationalism consist of sensitive issues that encourages division in a society such as language and ethnic background. For instance, the rise of Donald Trump in the USA is as a result of controversial nationalist rhetorics.

Ethnic division in any society is a time bomb for conflicts. It could degenerate into an ethno-nationalism as the rights of the minority might be threaten by the overwhelming majority.<sup>55</sup> Ethnoc nationalism has erupted across the globe as we can see with Biafra secessionist movement in Nigeria and Ambazonia in Cameroon. In Kenya, an opposition politician Raila Odinga after failing to emerge winner in a presidential election made ethnic rhetorics that his tribal region was going to break away from the Republic of Kenya. These are major key issues of concern.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> Chisholm, M., & Smith, D. M. (Eds.). (2016). *Shared space: divided space: essays on conflict and territorial organization*. Routledge.

<sup>55</sup> Andrian, G. (2012). *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nevertheless, one must not fall into the temptation that such nationalistic feelings are erupted as a result of racism, ethnic and religious hatred, but simply as a failure of political institutions and will in providing avenues where divisive issues can accurately be addressed. Thus, all ethnic groups in a country should be allocated an equal representation in government and balance development.

Language is also an important indicator which can instigate division in a society.<sup>56</sup> It is at the center stage of the Anglophone and Francophone division in Cameroon. Scholars agree that language is sufficient to mobilize a community and this can only be realistic if the group in general share a common historical and cultural past.<sup>57</sup> For instance, Anglophone community in Cameroon identify themselves with the English language within the country and they constitute about twenty percent (20%) of the total population of about twenty-seven (27) million inhabitants. The linguistic divide is rooted in the country's colonial past.

Nevertheless, religious differences is another important element of a divided society. Religion is a very sensitive issue that can instigate serious division in a society. We have witnessed sectarian conflicts in Central Africa Republic triggered by religion and many other conflicts around the world.

Political elites as well can trigger division in a society.<sup>58</sup> They can do this through false and anti immigration rhetorics such as Julius Malema in South Africa and Le Pen in France. There are sensitive issues that politicians usually used to make

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Wilmsen, E. N., & McAllister, P. A. (Eds.). (1996). *The politics of difference: Ethnic premises in a world of power*. University of Chicago Press.

<sup>58</sup> Rothchild, D., & Hartzell, C. A. (1999). Security in deeply divided societies: The role of territorial autonomy. *Nationalism and ethnic politics*, 5(3-4), 254-271.

political gains by instigating conflicts between different groups of people in the society. Thus, a majority against the minority group which is supported by politicians from the majority ethnic group. It is not always a situation of the majority against the minority but minority politicians may capitalize on the incompetencies of the central government in protecting their rights as a minority by instigating division. For instance, the government of Cameroon continue to blame Anglophone opposition politicians for instigating unrest in Anglophone parts of Cameroon.

Elements such as imbalance development in a country can triggers a national divide. Citizens in certain regions might feel that the regime has little or no concern about the development of their local area and this can turn into conflicts. For instance, Anglophones in Cameroon have long complaint about marginization in all aspects from insfrastructural development to positions in top government jobs. These are issues that are causing division in Cameroon. Any responsible government that wants to promote national unity and integration must take pre-empt measures that equitably distribute the national cake amongst the various groups in a society and make an avenue for balance development in order to maintain national unity and integration.

There is a general consesus among civic education scholars that states which devolves power and share resources equitably among different segments of the society are likely to avoid division, conflicts, ethnic tension, national and linguitsic division such as the situation in Cameroon.

To cement our understanding of a divided society is to understand the model of consociationism formulated during the 1960s-1970s by Arend Lijphart in an effort to

provide explanation to the stability of some deeply divided countries in Europe at the time and this thought has been elevated to over a wide range of issues in a divided societies. Lijphart has identified four (4) indicators that are necessary to overcome division in a society. First, he identified power sharing coalition with the political elites representing various ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds.<sup>59</sup> In this type of power sharing deals, minority rights are not only protected but there is inclusiveness in governance structure which promotes national unity. Thus, overcoming division in a society. Lijphart pinpointed that in a society where the interest of the minority is not considered, there is an open room for social tension. He encourages regimes that promote coalition politics rather than opposition, a system that incorporate each and everyone in a society rather than a system that rest more on majority rule.

Secondly, rewards through a top down approach is very vital. The model holds leaders at the top should motivate and empower those at the local level because devolution of power is an important aspect to overcome division in a society. In essence, regimes that concentrate powers at the center without the inclusion of local people in decision making and implementation processes are likely to fall into ethnic conflicts. Thus, division in a society.

According to Lijphart, democracy based on consensus is an essential aspect to overcome division in a society. This means that decision making and implementation should be done in consultation with all stakeholders in a society and the right of minority be respected. This means all groups in a society irrespective of the

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<sup>59</sup> Lijphart, A. (1969). Consociational democracy. *World politics*, 21(2), 207-225.

population must be consulted in any decision or be represented in all spheres of the national life.

## **2.4 Cameroon National Divide**

The political debate in Cameroon is dominated by what is now known as the Anglophone crisis which right groups have earlier warned could result to a serious armed conflicts. The problem is a serious threat to the national unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cameroon. The crisis has led to the continues shutdown of schools and courts in the Anglophone regions since October 2016 till date with the separatists' movement gaining momentum.<sup>60</sup> The separatist see their Anglo Saxon identity, educational and legal system inherited from Britain under threat as they accused the Francophone dominated government by trying to assimilate their identity. Konings et al situates Anglophone problem in Cameroon as far back as 1961 when the former French Cameroun and British Cameroons with different colonial backgrounds decided to reunite to formed the federal republic of Cameroon.<sup>61</sup> In 1972, a new constitution was adopted following a referendum that abolished the federal system of governance to introduce a centralized Unitary State dominated by the Francophone majority. As a result, Cameroon was split into 10 regions; eight Francophone, and two (2) regions Anglophone. The marginalization of the Anglophones by Francophone majority in all aspects of national life and little government efforts to develop infrastructure in this region have contributed to the tension between Francophone and Anglophone in Cameroon.

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<sup>60</sup> Okereke, C. N. E. (2018). Analysing Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(3), 8-12.

<sup>61</sup> Piet Konings& Francis Nyamnjoh (1997:207+229), *The Anglophone Problem. The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 35, 2 .Printed in the United Kingdom by Cambridge University Press

At a time where English language is considered as the most important language in the world, to be born an English speaker in Cameroon is considered a curse than a blessing.<sup>62</sup> Government entrance examinations into elites schools where top administrators are trained such as ENAM, IRIC, EMIA and many others conduct their activities mainly in the French language and Anglophones with ambitions willing to enter such school are compelled to take French language classes in order to compete with others in such exams. Again, French is the sole language of training in the armed forces and these are issues that are creating tension among the two people in Cameroon. Anglophones find themselves in this position as a result of the colonial legacy that divided German Kamerun between France and Britain. It resulted to the Anglophone minority uniting with the French majority in a federal union that attempts to absorb their identity which is causing division.

Since 2016, Anglophone Cameroon have been protesting against French domination in a system they perceived to be discriminatory. Government response with a hard hand has dragged Cameroon into a serious crisis. This crisis is one of the greatest Paul Biya has faced for his 36 years in power. This threatens the concept of Cameroon as a united country as the crisis continues to deepen division between Francophones and Anglophones in Cameroon.

Another critical area of concern is the legal system in Cameroon and we can identify three main sources; customary law; the French law derived from the French colonial legacy in French Cameroon, and the Common Law derived from the British Colonial

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<sup>62</sup> The Telegraph News:  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/18/nation-divided-tensions-mount-cameroon-english-speakers-marginalisedby/>

Legacy in British Southern Cameroons. Since 1970s, they have been numerous efforts by the successive Francophone dominated government to unified the legal system in Cameroon. In 2005, the two legal systems practice in Anglophone and Francophone parts of Cameroon were harmonized to have a unique legal system for the country. Although it has always faced strong opposition from the Common Law Lawyers who believe the harmonization process is a government effort to assimilate citizens of former British Southern Cameroons into the French majority. It remains a controversial and sensitive area considered by Anglophone as the most important characteristic of their identity in Cameroon which cannot be altered by the central government. It is in this regard that common law lawyers initiated the peaceful strikes that has gradually escalated into a conflict situation in Cameroon.

The legal system in Cameroon has structures in all the administrative head quarters across the country with the supreme court being the highest court in the country. The judiciary ought to be an independent institution void from executive influence as seen in the Western countries but the executive in Cameroon is supervised by the executive under the minister of justice. According to the Nations Encyclopedia, Cameroon judicial system is corrupt, inefficient, and vulnerable to political manipulation.<sup>63</sup> It is undeniable fact that a society with weak legal system risks to be divided because the oppressed groups who feel discriminated without any legal framework to make their case will result to arm resistance. It has happened in other parts of Africa.

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<sup>63</sup> Nations Encyclopedia : <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Cameroon-JUDICIAL-SYSTEM.html#ixzz4qHmRvhQh>

The Supreme Court in Cameroon has constitutional powers and makes ‘final judgment’ on all cases received from the regional courts of appeal which are found in all the ten (10) regions of the country. The country has (58) administrative headquarters known as divisions with courts of first instances headed by magistrates who pay allegiance to the head of state. The constitution talks about an independent judiciary, although it is mere in papers than in practice. The executive through the Minister of Justice has an upper hand in the judicial process in Cameroon. The arbitrary arrest of Justice Ayah Paul Abine, a sitting Anglophone Judge at the Supreme court and the warrant of arrest against Hon. Joseph Wirba, Anglophone member of parliament simply because both shown solidarity with the grievances of Anglophone Cameroonians portrayed the divided nature of the Cameroonian society. Human rights defenders continued to cry about unlawful arrest, torture, maiming of citizens in Cameroon with perpetrators of such acts not taken to face justice. The judiciary is the foundation of any society and it seems to be an extension of the ruling elite. Majority of Cameroonians do not believe in the judicial process in the country because it is like a commodity that can be bought and sold in the market.

According to Amnesty International report, citizens are vulnerable to unlawful arrests, detention, trials in military courts with outrageous charges such as the case of a journalist Ahmed Abba of France International Radio. The report states that such trials are characterized by irregularities that makes the whole process questionable. The said journalist was sentenced for not reporting terrorists acts to authorities, and he was put under confined prison without communication.

In Cameroon, there is no freedom of expression, association, and assembly if it is not pro-government of President Paul Biya. Supporters of President Paul Biya are

always free to organize pro-government protests without any interruption from security officers but the opposition has never organized a peaceful protest without interruption from security men. The government always applied a hard hand to suppress opposition protest such as the demonstrations in Anglophone regions of Cameroon on September 22 to October 4, 2017, according to Amnesty International report. The report further stated the arbitrary arrest of female politician, Edith Kah Walla and her party supporters President of the Cameroon People's party who have been victims of several illegal arrests alongside her party members. Freedom of assembly, movement especially in Anglophone regions of Cameroon, gathering and peaceful protests continued to be at risk in Cameroon.

## Chapter 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this study, the researcher employed qualitative data and descriptive research in an attempt to gather particular information which will enable us understand the subject matter. Also, the researcher used Cameroon as a case study. The study focuses on the case of Cameroon as a divided society. It entails content analysis and case study. It made use of qualitative research in analyzing the effectiveness of civic education overcoming division in a society in general and Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon in particular.

The study made use of data gathered basically from secondary sources. The research employed Kimberly's four indicators in evaluating my choice of documents used in the study which are: (a) reliability, (b) validity, (c) accuracy, and (d) precision.<sup>64</sup>

In fulfilling Kimberly's standards, the researcher attempted to collect valid, accurate and precise information from reliable sources. Taking into consideration that the case study of the impact of civic education in overcoming the Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon is still a new area of research and with limited

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<sup>64</sup> Neuendorf, K. A., & Kumar, A. (2006). Content analysis. *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*. P,2

publications, the researcher has taken a step further in gathering precise data from reliable sources. Data collection was obtained through the following:

a) Information from the publications of Cameroon's ministry of Youth Affairs & Civic Education, Non-Governmental Organizations, academic publications, Journals, media, newspapers, and internet sources contributed greatly as the main source of data in this study.

In making a case study analysis of the impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society, the researcher made use of the following important elements:

a) The historical background and nature of the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon. Also, the researcher endeavored to provide an explanation on the root cause of the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon and government efforts in addressing the division.

b) The civic education initiative and innovation undertaken in Cameroon by the ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education.

c) The rationale for the deepening division despite government attempts through civic education and other innovative ideals in addressing the situation.

### **3.2. Research Design: Case Study and Qualitative Research**

Considering the study's objectives, the research design attempts explanation to the research question asked by the researcher:

- i.) Is civic education effective in overcoming the Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon?

Two faces symbolize the research design; qualitative, quantitative, and case study.

### 3.3 Qualitative Study

Weiss holds that qualitative study is the issue of multiple and differentiation in researching the case by which rules are set without any external factors.<sup>65</sup> He took a step further by arguing that ‘‘one can be battered to understated and the multiplicity of the process in this type of research.’’ Werle & Schmidt elucidated on the problems of handling a research base on rules advancement and highlights the challenges involve in empirical studies.<sup>66</sup> The conclusion from this experimentation is not even about formulating theories in qualitative research. The authors hold that, the fundamental problem involve in this research can be observed at the final analysis but not that of theorizing about standardization. They pinpointed that the problem is that of empirical lapses of understanding the environment of rules formation methods which in return can tend to be one of the fundamental weaknesses to research process. In this study, the qualitative research method is directed towards innovation, description and holistic comprehension of processes and events was the main area of focus. The researcher attempted to sideline some of the fundamental premises of qualitative research and relate them to the study of civic education and divided societies.

It is imperative to state the key assumptions of qualitative research in order to better our understanding of the subject matter. One of the key assumptions is that it can ease a holistic view. The argument here is that a general problem can be under examination and the complexities of the system makes it difficult to break the complex variables and linear casual relationships. Patton elucidates the merits of

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<sup>65</sup> Weiss, R. S. (1995). *Learning from strangers: The art and method of qualitative interview studies*. Simon and Schuster..

<sup>66</sup> Schmidt, S. K., & Werle, R. (1998). *Coordinating technology: Studies in the international standardization of telecommunications*. MIT press.

qualitative demonstration of holistic settings and effects is that of bigger concern that can be directed to nuance, setting, independencies, complexities, idiosyncracies, and context.<sup>67</sup>

In interpreting data in this study, I made use of qualitative data in analyzing the impact of civic education in a divided society. Also, the study made use of content and discourse analyses.

a) Content Analysis to Rossi, Antonio & Belmiro, can be defined as a research methodology that has to do with reasonable and accurate conclusion about data in its originality.<sup>68</sup> Sources of content analysis include the following; TV, print media, documentaries, films, documents, and articles. Nevertheless, the researcher employed content analysis in this study to examine document on the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society in general and Cameroon in particular.

Despite some of its advantages, content analysis has some weaknesses. First, its result is limited to a specific audience and cannot be generalized to a wider audience because its results are never tested to be sure of statistical importance.

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<sup>67</sup>Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. SAGE Publications, inc. 15

<sup>68</sup> Bedinelli Rossi, G., Serralvo, FA, & Nascimento João, B. (2014). CONTENT ANALYSIS. *REMark: Brazilian Journal of Marketing* , 13 (4).

b) Discourse Analysis can be defined as the study of language.<sup>69</sup> This type of research includes the analyzing of voice, letters or signs of language. I made use of discourse analysis to analyze letters, voice and signs on the subject matter.

This work was done with the help of exploratory and descriptive research as an attempt to gather particular information which will enable us to understand the subject matter and the researcher used Cameroon as a case study. In chapter two, the researcher highlighted the significant literature in civic education and divided society. The chapter also highlighted different theoretical and conceptual explanations of civic education and divided society. Chapter three entails the research design and methodology. It comprises of content analysis and research methodology. It further highlights how civic education can be important in a divided society in general and how it can effectively overcome the Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon in particular.

As observed in chapter two, the theoretical conceptual model portrays a combination of qualitative study directed towards a holistic comprehension of the impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society. Another important assumption is that qualitative studies are basically descriptive. Description in this study involves the examination of civic education and divided society. The objective of this work was to described the impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society and for that description to better the researcher's understanding of the concept.

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<sup>69</sup> Linguistic Society of America, (2016). *Discourse Analysis – What Speakers Do in Conversation*

### **3.4 How Civic Education can overcome division in a society**

It is clear to state here that the legitimacy and acceptability of any political system depends on the participation of its citizens. This explains why many governments and non governmental organizations around the world have engaged in the promotion of civic education as a means to foster and sustain democracy.

To enlighten our understanding on this debate on how civic education can affect a divided society, it is necessary to look at civic education from a conceptual point of view. Many scholars in the field of civic education are unanimous that at the center of civic education is the enlightenment of citizens on their rights and obligations in a country. Lawrence & Gary consider civic education to be ‘‘a new field of study which focuses on civic and ethical education, tightening citizens skills, ‘‘creating the way and laying foundation for free and responsible actions for their, ‘‘personal development which benefits the society.’’<sup>70</sup>

EFA Global Monitoring Report assesses civic education as the development of skills by conveying the same skills, duties in a specific community. Individuals in democratic states should have high information about the day to day functioning of their government, its leadership and political events.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, values such as tolerance, divergent opinion should be accepted by individuals. In essence, individuals in a democratic society should be participating in political issues such as elections, make clear their political demands through local elected representatives or political elites through democratic means. It takes a central stage in a democracy by

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<sup>70</sup> Saha, L. J., & Dworkin, A. G. (Eds.). (2009). *International handbook of research on teachers and teaching* (Vol. 21). Springer Science & Business Media.

<sup>71</sup> Barnes, S. H., Allerbeck, K. R., Farah, B. G., Heunks, F. J., Inglehart, R. F., Jennings, M. K., ... & Rosenmayr, L. (1979). *Political action: Mass participation in five western democracies*. 381-407

inculcating in citizens democratic values and principles, thereby, promoting a democratic culture.<sup>72</sup> Contrary to this view Hibbing, holds that “individual trust, tolerance, orientation of the critical mass is very dangerous in a democratic society.”<sup>73</sup> They elucidate this claim by providing justifications for the low level of democratic trust in the United States. The absence of public trust is a hindrance to the functioning of the government to enact good policies and provide public goods.<sup>74</sup> This issue of the absence of public trust explains the rise of populism that has contributed greatly to the rise of Donald Trump in the United States and other populist political parties and politicians in Europe. Others such as Gibson, argues that democracy requires some level of skepticism from the people. Mishler et al, concur that government need trust from its people, but much trust will trigger apathy and it will be difficult to control citizens which might make the government unstable.<sup>75</sup> This according to the author undermines democracy.<sup>76</sup> A general conclusion can be drawn that civic education promotes democracy and these thinkers present substantial and realistic analysis which challenges the cynical scholars.

A general conclusion can be drawn that civic education promotes democracy and these thinkers present substantial and realistic analysis which challenge the cynical scholar. Also, in this chapter the researcher made an examination of qualitative data and descriptive research with the aim of gathering specific information for the study. The focus of the study was the impact of civic education in a divided society and its

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<sup>72</sup> Quigley, C. N. (1998). Civic education: Recent history, current status, and the future. *Alb. L. Rev.*, 62, 1425.

<sup>73</sup> Gibson, J. L., Duch, R. M., & Tedin, K. L. (1992). Democratic values and the transformation of the Soviet Union. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(2), 329-371.

<sup>74</sup> Lipset, S. M. (1997). *American exceptionalism: A double-edged sword*. WW Norton & Company.

<sup>75</sup> Gibson, J. L., Duch, R. M., & Tedin, K. L. (1992). Democratic values and the transformation of the Soviet Union. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(2), 329-371.

<sup>76</sup> Mishler, W., & Rose, R. (1997). Trust, distrust and skepticism: Popular evaluations of civil and political institutions in post-communist societies. *The journal of politics*, 59(2), 418-451.

effectiveness in overcoming division in a society. In this chapter, the researcher made an analysis of content and discourse analysis in examining the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society in general and Francophone and Anglophone division in Cameroon in particular.

## Chapter 4

### ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

In analyzing data in this study, I made use of qualitative data in explaining the impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society. Also, the study made use of content and discourse analyses.

Content Analysis to Rossi, Antonio & Belmiro, can be defined as a research methodology that has to do with reasonable and accurate conclusion about data in its originality.<sup>77</sup> In order to have an insight of how civic education can effectively overcome division in a society, the researcher made a bench mark analysis of the civic education initiative implemented by the USIP Sudan. Moreover, the researcher employed content analysis in this study to examine the government efforts in harmonizing the educational and legal sub systems in Cameroon as a policy to encourage national unity and integration; its failures; and the various civic education initiative.

#### 4.2 Civic Education Initiatives in Cameroon

As part of the initiative to promote civic engagement in Cameroon, the Cameroon Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic education works together with different partners in achieving its goals. In 2017, the ministry with support from Duke of Edinburgh

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<sup>77</sup> Bedinelli Rossi, G., Serralvo, FA, & Nascimento João, B. (2014). CONTENT ANALYSIS. *REMark: Brazilian Journal of Marketing* , 13 (4).

International Award (DEIA) organized a workshop to empower youth with civic skills and knowledge. Youth groups in selected communities all over the national territory were tasked to reflect on creative, innovative and educative programs that can encourage civic and moral values amongst young people. The participants received training on leadership so as to become better leaders in the society through the knowledge acquired in this workshop. This project was validated by experts from DEIA with participants across Cameroon. This initiative focuses on young Cameroonians from all social backgrounds and it is not limited to students in schools. Youth from the private sector with specific skills and talent identified by the ministry as ‘physical recreation, skills, community service and adventurous journey.’<sup>78</sup>

Also, 11th February of each year in Cameroon is significant in so many ways. First, most of its themes are centered around civic education. For instance. The theme for 2017 was ‘youth and challenges of building an exemplary, indivisible, strong and emergent nation.’<sup>79</sup> The key message in this theme is indivisible which is our main focus in this research. The republic of Cameroon puts the country’s foundation on the concept of civic education and patriotism as a means to unite all Cameroonians. This is the main task of the ministry of youth and civic education and the regime is quite aware that for all Cameroonians to live in harmony despite their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, civic education must be a top priority to make this happen.

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<sup>78</sup> Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education: Training Trainers For Skills Today and Tomorrow.

<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education, Challenges in Building An Exemplary Nation

Youths are the main focus of the civic education initiative in Cameroon. The government believe that they are the foundation to cement the national unity of Cameroon through civic skills and learning. That is why the government has created a ministry specifically for youths affairs and civic education to formulate and implement policies in this direction. Also, they must reject calls to divide Cameroon and take responsibility to promote the unity and indivisibility of Cameroon. This explains why youth day celebrations every 11th February are characterized by civic and patriotic messages displayed by different primary, secondary and high schools.

The ministry of youth Affairs and civic education have provided a guidebook as a reference paper before any other material that teachers or trainers intend to use in schools to teach students/children about civic education. The guidebook has some lapses especially there is no clear roadmap on how the program will change participants behavior and also the government policy of national integration. The reference document should provide an avenue where the trainee can get that sense of belonging in a society in this era where the world is a global village.

In Cameroon, different ministerial departments are tasked with different functions to initiate projects that promote national unity and integration. For the past years, we have experienced a drastic increment in other areas of concern such as moral education, ethics education and civic history. The experts noted a dropped in participants who are mostly youths as other programs were added.

Harmonization is also a civic initiative by Cameroon government with the aim of eradicating areas that can be a source of division in Cameroon. Conceptually, harmonization is concern with the establishing of standards. Cameroon is a country

with a complex colonial past which has contributed to its linguistic and cultural diversity. It is a bi-cultural and bi-jurial systems inherited from Britain and France. The Anglo Saxon system of education and the common law is practice in the English speaking regions while the French civil law is practice in the Francophone areas. Government efforts have always been to create an environment where the two systems can easily integrate without any issues so as to promote national unity and patriotism. Thus, this is a government policy to overcome the rift between Francophone/Anglophone in Cameroon. The initiative is to have a harmonized system which promotes the uniqueness and living togetherness of all Cameroonians irrespective of their cultural and linguistic background. The main goal is to establish a unique system for the country in order to overcome the linguistic and cultural divisions.

In Cameroon, the term harmonization does not only instigate controversies, but perceived by the Anglophone minority as an attempt by the Francophone dominated government to assimilate them and do away with their culture, identity, educational and legal systems.<sup>80</sup> This has been a major challenge for the harmonization program in Cameroon.

### **4.3 Experiences and lessons learned from Civic Education Initiatives**

For a better understanding of the concept of civic education in Cameroon context, let's look at the definition provided by UNESCO. It asserts that civic education

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<sup>80</sup> Banfegha, V. (2014). Harmonization of the Educational Sub-Systems of Cameroon: A Multicultural Perspective for Democratic Education. Creative Education

initiatives should be global oriented addressing diverse issues that is applicable to all stakeholders in the educational community. It is important to make a bench mark analysis of civic education initiatives in some selected countries.

In Canada in general and Quebec in particular, experts came to the conclusion that the country's enormous cultural diversity together with its inter-culturalism position Canada to consider different means of migration, the diversity of the local communities and the minority groups, those who have been displaced as a result of one thing or the other.<sup>81</sup> For instance, Canada accepted to take Syrian refugees and such migrant need to be integrated into the Canadian society and this can only be done through civic initiatives. They can easily adapt into the society through language and civic education. Through this they will be taught as being equal like any other Canadian citizen with an equal opportunity and destiny. This substantiate the claim that civic education can effectively overcome division in a society.

Another country that has formulated civic education policy is Niger where moral and civic education are considered as school subject. Though the inadequate trainers in the field makes the teaching content delivered in any way even without respecting pedagogic standards of teaching. Most of the civic educators are not trained with little or no expertise knowledge continue to manage the initiative despite the fact that little or no resources are allocated by the state for such programs.

Senegal a west African country also initiated civic education policies which are compulsory school programs with focus on human rights and civic knowledge.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid,36.

The analysis of the various civic education initiative draw us to the conclusion that civic education initiative should be effectively implemeted as make it a compulsory subject in school curriculum.

Civic education has potential of uniting a divided society and thus preventing the society from going into war toward establishing fruitful political relationships, through which issues of controversies can easily be address in a peaceful manner.<sup>82</sup> The effectiveness of civic education in a divided society is linked to the conception of establishing the state as the ultimate object that citizens have and pay allegiance to. This civic orientation will motivate citizens within the state to engage into activities that promote the unity and the living togetherness of all citizens in harmony without any conflicts. This makes civic education to be an important area of learning. Also, effective political institution that can promote and protect minority rights and identity in a community can overcome division in a society.

#### **4.3.1 Weaknesses of Civic Education**

Despite its merits, civic education can as well have a negative side. The issue of maintaining national unity and identity nourishes support for autocratic government. This can foster the crackdown or assimilation of minority groups, which may result to the use of military force against minority groups. Moreover, internal conflicts are always likely to occur in a totalitarian government, where this conflicts arises in a country with a legacy of civic education, the legacy will be problematic. This is because most governments use civic education to indoctrinate it citizens with information that benefits the state. For instance, in North Korea kids are indoctrinated with hatred against the USA, and same with countries like Iran. In

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<sup>82</sup> Levine, D. H., & Bishai, L. S. (2010). Civic education and peacebuilding. *Special Report: United States Institute of Peace*, 1-16.

Cameroon, the government has indoctrinated Francophones with a distorted history of the country which is problematic and at times raises division amongst intellectuals from both sides.

Democracy is perceived differently in the Western world and citizens do see it as a means where everyone has an equal opportunity, equal rights and freedom and also a fair chance to influence the political process of their country without favoring any one group. This is not always the case in divided societies where people engage in the political process of the country not necessary on competence, but along tribal and ethnic lines. Thus, the group with numerical strength will always dominate the politics of such a society. For instance, Cameroon politics is dominated by Francophones who make up 80% of the entire population. Thus, promoting civic education can also be seen as a threat to those in authority. This can be explain in two ways; most politicians and those in power use societal divide to nourish their desire for power. President Paul Biya of Cameroon has been using Francophone and Anglophone division to strengthen his stay in power. They are certain key government positions such as minister of defense, external relations, finance and some key positions that are strictly reserve for Francophones.<sup>83</sup> These are issues that have contributed enormously in creating the Francophone and Anglophone division. This tribal politics is familiar in many countries that have been plague by ethnic conflicts. Thus, the purpose of civic education is to encourage tolerance, equal opportunities, mutual respect and fair treatment of all citizens which turns to disregard this societal division indirectly promoted by politicians. Also, civic education knowledge is very important because it empowers citizens with

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<sup>83</sup> <http://www.cameroonintelligencereport.com/biyas-tribal-extremism-pushing-cameroon-to-be-another-flash-point-in-africa/>

knowledge on how government function and citizens too are well organize to participate in activities that are good for the community. It is argued that when this civic knowledge becomes a threat to those in authority, resistance from the status quo becomes inevitable.

Lastly, the legacy of civic education programs gives allegiance to the state. Issues such as compulsory military programs and indoctrination that civic educators are bend to change were once a government policy initiated by autocratic regimes to strengthen their stay in power. Introducing civic education in the midst of this indoctrination is a challenging task for educators. In Cameroon, the indoctrination given by the regime is based on the ideology that Cameroon is one and indivisible and that citizens must protect at all cost the indivisibility of the country.

#### **4.3.2 Successes and Lessons learned from Civic Education Initiative**

For the purpose of this chapter, and to have a better understanding of the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society, the researcher made use of the results of civic education gathered by the United States Institute for peace between the period of 2006 to 2010 in Sudan.

United States Institute for peace initiated civic education projects in Sudan after an indepth evaluation of the situation that led to an end of hostilities between the rival communities. One of the outcome of the negotiations that ended the fighting was to organize an referendum for South Sudanese and also to organize a transitional government. All these happened within a framework of power sharing deal under a new constitution. It became challenging to hold successful election in a country that has been fighting for more than twenty years. This is where USIP came in with a civic education program to educate citizens about the new constitution, the

importance of citizens getting familiar with the electoral process. This program was supported by local partners and trainees were selected from the civil society, political leaders, teachers and students with the main goal of inculcating into participants a mastery of their duties and responsibilities as citizens.

As part of the project to sensitize and educate citizens on their civic rights and responsibilities, the USIP together with its local partners held a conference on the subject matter at Al Ahfad university in the Sudanese capital Khartoum. Educators at the workshop were experts in the field of civic education and democracy with experiences on organizing a successful election and uniting South Africa after the fall of the apartheid regime. Trainees were tasked to do a quick reflection on democratic change in their country and the idea that a successful election in Sudan where people are demoralized with the civil war that has lasted for almost twenty (20) years demand the active engagement, mastery of civic duties and responsibilities from the population. Small segments of the Sudanese society were targeted to formulate programs and spread civic duties and responsibilities across all communities in Sudan. These activities were done in various ways such as dramas with the population to understand their civic rule and responsibility in the election. Also, political rallies were held with educators encouraging citizens of their rights to openly support and vote any candidate of their choice.

Only a year of implementation, trainees were interested to know more about the electoral system and certain key issues in the election. In this regard, USIP made attempts in addressing this key concern and allocated more resources and projects that were realistic. Projects for electoral violence prevention was designed collectively between USIP personnel and the local partners to be implemented across

Sudan before the election. This program in Sudan drew lessons from civic models on some cases in Africa and various ways in managing electoral conflicts, duties and responsibilities of stakeholders in solving their own issues at the community level without threatening peace in a society.

USIP noted and appreciated the success of the initiative in Sudan by preventing election violence and restoring peace in the country through power sharing and resources in both communities. The initiators made the following recommendations in Sudan

- Innovative and proper use of arts work in educating and training participants. Music, films and documentaries are effective means to reach out to communities with messages that can easily be discussed or listen amongst family members, on the streets and public places.
- Noted that civic education programs implementation at the national level demands more time and proper follow up.
- Innovate others means in teaching civic education and it must not be through school curriculum. Again, other means to reach out to all citizens with civic education knowledge should be utilize at all cost and the programs should not only be limited to school environments.
- USIP concluded that civic education unite divided societies that has been into conflicts. It can also cement the relationship between various groups of people in the society such as a police officer and a citizen who are educated about their rights and duties.

#### **4.4 The Impact of Civic Education on Francophone/Anglophone Division in Cameroon**

The civic education program in Cameroon as initiated by the government is not quite clear. Not only is a kind of programs design to suit government's own agenda, but the program seems not to be effective or compulsory in all schools from primary to the university level.

The ultimate goal of civic pedagogy in Cameroon looks more of a disguise government policy to destroy all Anglo-Saxon institutions in the country in the name of national unity and integration, but academicians emphasize on the content to cover areas such as tolerance, good governance, and diversity in opinion which are all at stake in Cameroon. These groups encourage the teaching of the country's civic and political history to all in order for them to know the country's past and present history. It is interesting to note that the government has been reluctant to teach the history or celebrate historic dates which are of significance to the country. The main reason has been to distort the country's history of two Cameroons that formed the Federal United Republic of Cameroon in 1961.

Cameroon has been ranked twice as the most corrupt country in the world. Corruption are indicators that can divide a country. Good governance, moral values, community service, volunteerism, registering and voting in elections should be at the heart of civic education studies in Cameroon. The interesting thing is whether the government can encourage genuine civic education programs in schools in a country where untruthfulness, corruption, tribalism, intolerance and state terrorism have been institutionalized. This brings us back to the ultimate goal of civic education

programs which is to enlighten ordinary citizens about their rights and duties in a state; instill moral values and community spirit in them. Steven Finkel extends this thought, adding that; ‘programs that provide instructions about the social and neighborhood problem solving, solving programs that bring individuals in contact with local authorities and promote collective action, programs combating election violence, and vote-buying, and programs promoting tolerance and peaceful resolution of political disputes in post conflicts settings’<sup>84</sup> are some of the important roles of citizens in a democratic system. Elections malpractices such as multiple voting, buying of votes are very common and the ruling Cameroon Peoples’ Democratic Party (CPDM) that has been in power since 1982 has never won any election citing opposition sources. The CPDM elites have continuously used money to buy votes or corrupt local polling agents to change results in their favor. This explains why donors such as the World Bank and UNDP have added civic education as a means of promoting democracy through aid. These organizations have devoted resources to civic education programs in Cameroon to foster democratic values and behaviors among ordinary citizens.

Based on the research carried out by USAID<sup>85</sup> in Sub-Saharan Africa, three key components of civic education were listed. The findings shows that ‘civic education programs do contribute to the development of a democratic political culture amongst participants. The civic education contents evaluated in these countries provide that there is a significant increase in individual ‘political information, feelings of empowerment, and levels of political participation’. Basically, our purpose here is

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<sup>84</sup> Finkel, S. E. (2014). The impact of adult civic education programmes in developing democracies. *Public Administration and Development*, 34(3), 169-181.

<sup>85</sup> Finkel, S. E. (2014). The impact of adult civic education programmes in developing democracies. *Public Administration and Development*, 34(3), 169-181.

to see whether civic education can effectively overcome the Francophone/Anglophone division. Findings from the research suggest that many young Cameroonians are not politically conscious about their civic rights and duties in a democratic state. I also suggest that many knows little or nothing about the country's history and colonial legacy of two separate Cameroons that came together to formed a union. It tends to support the argument that civic education can promote unity through communication because groups or people that knows nothing about each other will likely have misunderstanding due to lack of communication.

In conclusion, to better our understanding on the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society, the researcher made use of the civic education initiatives in Sudan that was conducted by USIP. Also, the researcher employed content analysis in this chapter to examine the effectiveness of civic education and came to the conclusion that the civic education initiative in Cameroon has failed to accomplish it goals but succeeded in other countries like Sudan by preventing election violence after the end of the civil war.

## **Chapter 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Summary**

The main purpose of this study was to determine the effectiveness of civic education in overcoming division in a society. To fulfill this objective it became essential to reach some required objectives. Explaining the concept of civic education and how it can overcome division in a society assumed an important position in the literature review carried out for this thesis. In relation to that effect, it became important to better understand the concept of divided society and civic education. Also, it is necessary to draw a model that explains the relationship between civic education and divided society. This chapter talks about the conclusion and policy recommendation that emanated from this research.

#### **5.2 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to determine whether civic education can be effective in overcoming division in a society. This research was specifically essential taking into consideration the increasing agitation in Anglophone parts of Cameroon. The main objective of civic education in Cameroon is to promote national unity, integration and civic participation.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the deepening division between Anglophone and Francophone where soldiers or separatist fighters killed on both sides and are celebrated publicly shows that more still need to be done as far as civic

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<sup>86</sup> Ministry of Youths and Civic Education Cameroon <http://www.minjec.gov.cm/index.php/en/2016-04-12-10-19-35/flowcharts>

education program is concern in Cameroon. Moreover, the government should change it strategy and implement a more creative and innovative ways to pass on this civic learning to Cameroonians.

The government of Cameroon through the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education specializes in areas that encourages civic values through school curriculum programs, seminars and training within the context of civic education.

Ultimately, the research attempted to address the following research question

- i.) Is civic education effective in overcoming Francophone/Anglophone division in Cameroon?

The empirical analysis in chapter four provides us with a detail understanding of the research question which was carried out through an investigation of the possible impact of civic education in overcoming division in a society. The study concluded that civic education has an important role in a divided society. Comprehensively, civic responsibility encourages and empowers citizens to take active role in formulating and participating in decisions making processes that concern them directly or indirectly in the society. Active participation here includes moral values, equality, freedom of expression, association, tolerance, human rights, and good governance. It concluded that civic education provides citizens with infomation and knowledge to be able to actively engage in national debate and a comprehensive understanding of a societal problem that the society is faced with and a possible solution to the problem.

The study was considered very important in the Cameroon context which has unreservedly seen struggling to encourage civic education as a moral lesson through official government activities. It encourages tolerance, national integration, youth's empowerment politically and economically, and also emphasizes citizens to be aware of their civic rights and duties in a state.

The study found that civic education and divided society is significantly correlated. The empirical analysis found that a society's level of unity, tolerance and mutual respect are significantly related with civic education. This study contributes to the existing debate on the essential role of civic education can play in a divided society by providing an understanding of some factors that may strengthen the living together of citizens as a result of civic education. The research methodology presents the effect of civic education in a divided society, its relationship with civic responsibility, tolerance, moral values and knowledge. This was specifically observatory. Note should be taken that the result of this study is/are faced with some major weaknesses. The first limitation is that the data is limited in scope. The choice of sample was basically as a result of the limited time and resources. A general conclusion cannot be made base on the weaknesses in this study. Despite the weaknesses, the results of the study are still very significant in the ongoing civic education and divided society debate.

The importance of civic education in a divided society has been acknowledged by many think tanks, International Organizations and some Western government. The debate on this subject has been ongoing for centuries and there are still avenues for more research to completely comprehend the essential role of civic education in a divided society. This study provides another fresh empirical impetus to the civic

education and divided society literature. Furthermore, the recommendations open another avenue for investigation for the Cameroon government through the ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education. The strived to comprehend an insight of how to inculcate a responsible, morally, democratic and conscious young people is very important for the survival and acceptable democracy in Cameroon.

## **5.2 Policy Recommendation**

Though, the Ministry of Youths Affairs and Civic Education reference guide to civic Education and National Integration for Cameroon promote Civic Education in school curriculum. But government actions continue to undermine the core values that Civic Education promotes. Thus, the Cameroon Ministry of Youths Affairs and Civic Education reference guide to Civic Education and National Integration for Cameroon – June 2013 highlight the important role of Civic Education.<sup>87</sup> This includes;

- Citizenship and social integration;
- Citizenship and cultural integration;
- Citizenship and economic integration;
- Citizenship and international integration.

After independence and the unification in October 1, 1960, Cameroon has gone through several constitutional changes which seek to centralized power. Proponents of centralization such as former president Ahmadou Ahidjo argued that Centralization will strengthen national unity and social, cultural, and economic integration.<sup>88</sup> In this situation of a fragmented society with a diverse historical, colonial, linguistic, economic and cultural background, civic education plays an

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<sup>87</sup> Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education (June 2013). The Reference Guide To Civic Education and National Integration for Cameroon.

<sup>88</sup> Johnson, W. R. (2015). *The Cameroon Federation: political integration in a fragmentary society*. Princeton University Press.

essential role in a country such as Cameroon. Although, there is no legislative, ministerial or presidential directives on the principles, implementation, structural, organizational, legal and financial sources of civic education programs.

Unlike many other sub-Saharan African states where civic education is regarded as ‘‘education for democratic citizen’’ the Cameroon Ministry of Youths Affairs and Civic Education stated that ‘‘civic education is the issue of bringing citizens to develop by themselves the sense of citizenship for their good, that of the community to which they belong, that of the state in which they live, and that of values that they accept.

The recent Human Development Report (HDR) for Cameroon highlights strategic areas of concern such as education, social and economic diversification within the Cameroonian society. However, the ministerial reference document pays little attention to the non-respect of democratic principles in Cameroon schools. For instance, the restriction and suspension of Students’ associations by university officials, continuous appointment of educational stakeholders by ministerial and presidential decree. Also, the politicized nature of appointment in government schools in Cameroon undermines academic freedom to impact quality knowledge to students.

Civic education should not only be an abstract subject in Cameroon schools, but a realistic school subject that empowers students with democratic values. To build a democratic Cameroon, the government in place need a ‘‘civic oriented minded’’ people who possesses civic values. Schools are the only place where these values can easily be transferred to students. Nevertheless, civic education has an important

role in transforming students into better citizens. It now becomes necessary for civic educators to encourage students to actively engage in any democratic process be it in the classroom, community, regional or national level.

In conclusion, there is an advantage for civic educators in Cameroon to engage with students both in formal and informal settings so as to promote tolerance and democratic culture amongst Cameroonians. The most important reference document to achieve this objective is the constitution which is the guiding documents to educators.

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