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RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE ANGLOPHONE CULTURAL IDENTITY IN CAMEROON 50 YEARS AFTER RE-UNIFICATION

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Abstract

This paper departs from the abundant literature on the political and socio-economic causes of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon to examine current threats (since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1990) to the cultural identity of a people who at several moments since the 1961 reunification with Francophone Cameroon, have threatened to secede from the Republic of Cameroon because of marginalization and in the interest of their cultural identity. An analysis of the data from both primary and secondary sources reveals that although 'ethnic' Anglophones are sentimentally attached to their cultural identity and geographical space, their cultural identity is highly threatened by political divisions, the 'anglophonisation' of the Francophones and the 'francophonisation' of the Anglophone educational system. Therefore the term Anglophone is becoming increasingly ambiguous especially as the term in the present context and as understood in Cameroon, is exclusive, at a time when it is emerging increasingly as one without borders.

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A. Introduction

Cameroon has been officially a bicultural and bilingual country since 1961. It is one of the very few bicultural countries in the world with a constitutionally protected bicultural and bilingual identity. These two cultures and identities, Anglophone and Francophone, are a legacy of the country's colonial heritage, given that Britain and France were the last colonial powers in the territory. Cameroon's long contact with European culture started in 1472 when Portuguese navigators led by Fernando Po entered River Wouri in the Gulf of Guinea and named the area "Rio Dos Cameroes" meaning River of Prawns. From this contact, traders from Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia (Germany), France and Britain visited the coast of Cameroon in search of spices, slaves and tropical raw materials which for climatic and other reasons could not be produced in Europe.

In July 1884, Germany officially annexed the coast of Cameroon after more than 50 years of commercial rivalry with Britain and later France. The Germans gradually penetrated the interior, signed treaties with Chiefs and came out with the territorial boundaries of Cameroon which they considered a German Protectorate by 1902. When the First World War broke out in Europe in 1914, Britain, France, and Belgium invaded Kamerun and defeated the Germans in 1916. The defeat and expulsion of the Germans was followed by the 1916 partition of Cameroon in to British and French spheres. Britain got one-fifth and France, four-fifths. These powers administered their respective spheres of Cameroon as Mandates of the League of Nations.

For administrative convenience, Britain further divided British Cameroons into two: British Northern Cameroons and British Southern Cameroons and administered them as part of the British colony of Nigeria. Following the 1916 partition and the different colonial experiences with the British and the French rule, the two Cameroons developed two different, albeit opposing, styles and attitudes in matters of language, governance, basic freedoms and more.

French administered Cameroon gained independence in January 1960 as *la Republique du Cameroun* while British Southern Cameroons became independent in October 1961 by joining *la Republique du Cameroun* following a UN-organized plebiscite in February 1961. The reunified Cameroon was called the Federal Republic of Cameroon with two federated states, West and East Cameroons. The new 'nation' was expected to preserve and protect the Anglophone cultural identity and the Anglo-Saxon institutions of West Cameroon (former British Southern Cameroons). This was not the case and the outcome was the Anglophone problem in Cameroon politics.

B. Conceptual Issues

For a better reading of this article, it is appropriate to define the scope of the concepts discussed in the research. To begin with, Scholars disagree about the concept of Anglophone in Cameroon. Nkwi (2004) defines an Anglophone as "an indigene in Cameroon whose first foreign and European culture is Anglo-Saxon and whose first problem is that of identity within a cultural milieu which is 85 percent Gaullic (Francophone). The second problem is that of language, and the third equal opportunities with his/her fellow Francophone counterpart". This definition is rather misleading because it limits the Anglophone to his linguistic identity. The linguistic Anglophones will include Anglophones of French Cameroon ancestry who migrated and settled permanently in the British administered Southern Cameroons before independence. This definition also includes the "new Anglophones" who are Anglophones with their ethnic bases and ancestral homes in Francophone Cameroon but who have recently migrated and acquired Anglo-Saxon education and culture in Colleges and Universities in Anglophone Cameroon.

According to Ndobegang (2009) an Anglophone in Cameroon is not just someone who speaks English; not just someone whose parents lived in the former British Southern Cameroons; not just someone who has acquired Anglophone education or culture but precisely someone whose ancestry is Southern Cameroonian. Bobda (2001) clearly indicates that the term Anglophone, as it is understood in Cameroon, has mostly an ethnic connotation. It has very little to do with knowledge of the English language as an Anglophone in the Cameroonian sense does not need to know a word of English. This definition is more relevant because in Cameroon the concept Anglophone is more ethnic, cultural and regional than linguistic. In this study therefore, Anglophones are those Cameroonians whose ancestral origins and ethnic bases are in the former British territory of the Southern Cameroons whether they speak the English Language or not. The term is therefore exclusionary and limited to people of a defined territory, culture and history.

Just as Scholars have disagreed over the concept of Anglophone in Cameroon, they also hold various and varying opinions over the Anglophone Problem. Some Anglophone and Francophone elites claim that there is nothing like the Anglophone problem. Some narrow it down to the problem of ethnic minorities because Anglophones are in only two of the ten administrative regions of Cameroon with less than 30 percent of the population. Those who claim to recognize the existence of the problem, differ in their conceptualization of it. For instance, the Anglophone problem according to Ngoh (2004, p.214) is "broadly speaking, the non-participation of Anglophones, on an equal basis with Francophones, in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the nation. This definition is grossly inadequate because from the definition of Anglophone above, the problem is cultural, ethnic, regional and even nationalist. Nyamnjoh and Koning (1997, p.207) hold that the problem is the self-perception of the former West Cameroonian as a distinctive community defined by differences in official language and inherited colonial traditions of education, law and public administration. It is therefore the problem of a people in search of their identity-an identity blurred by constitutional and political reforms that departed from the spirit of the 1961 federal constitution.¹² The Anglophone problem is therefore defined as a struggle by the ethnic Anglophones (former Southern Cameroon Anglophones) to rescue their cultural identity threatened by the assimilationist policies of the majority Francophones.

This paper focuses on the current threats to the cultural identity of the Anglophone community. This identity was cultivated during pre-colonial times and later shaped by colonial forces. The ethnic Anglophones developed an identity and culture of their own thanks to their geography. Their land was circled by important geographical barriers: The Mungo River to the East, the Matarzim to the Northeast, the Atlantic Ocean to the South, the Adamawa Plateau to the North and Northwest, the Manyu River to the West and Mount Fako to the Southwest. These natural barriers protected the people against invasions from Fulani jihads and other conquerors from Kanem-Bornu. The movement of people in and out of the zone was also difficult. With these barriers, the various chiefdoms and communities intensified inter- chiefdom trade and the exchange of goods and services.

They also developed a better understanding of their ecology and focused on farming and hunting. For one thing, the length and breadth of the territory entirely situated within the tropical rain forest and lush savannah with

an active volcanic range of mountains stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the South to the cool Bamenda Highlands in the North was endowed with some of the richest variety of soils, climates and vegetations and produced an assortment of food and cash crops. (Ndi, 2005, p.33). This accounted for the thousands of hectares of land along the coast that were sequestered by the Germans for plantations. German colonial authorities further promoted contact between these people through the movement of labour from the interior to the coast for plantation agriculture. It was during the 45 years of administration with Nigeria and the years following the union with *la Republique du Cameroun* that the people had prolonged administrative and political contact with other peoples. The contact with Nigerians and Francophones revealed their peculiarities and separate cultural identity- a product of their geography and colonial experience.

What really constituted this Anglophone cultural identity? According to Ndi (2005), the culture was identified with “civility, broad-mindedness, hard work, moral probity, accountability, forthrightness, duty consciousness, and above all, the assertive, fearless ability to stand up for one’s rights and convictions in the face of adversity. It should be added that self-reliance, solidarity and truthfulness were also key virtues of this unwritten ethical code of conduct that became the identity card, the hallmark of the typical ethnic or West Cameroon Anglophone. For this culture and identity, due tribute must be paid to the British Colonial Administration for providing the secured administrative and geographical framework within which the indigenous inhabitants were able to develop the sense of a common history and cultural identity. Again, they deserve to be credited with implanting in the people through their policy of Indirect Rule, principles of personal dignity, integrity, Self-reliance, self-actualisation and self-confidence

C. Factors Threatening the Anglophone Cultural Identity

Since the union with *la Republique du Cameroun* this cultural identity and the ‘Anglophoneness’ of their ancestral land (the former British Southern Cameroons) have been seriously threatened. This study examines the recent threats following the re-introduction of multi-party politics and socio-economic liberalizations since 1990.

1. **The Northwest Southwest Divide:** Solidarity and group consciousness which marked the ethnic Anglophone gradually faded out with the re-introduction of multi-party politics in Cameroon in the 1990’s. Although the cultural, geographic and administrative differences between the two Anglophone administrative regions of Southwest and Northwest existed before the 1990s, these differences never really divided the people as was the case in the 1990’s³. The last exhibition of ethnic Anglophone solidarity was in 1993 when a cross section of the ethnic Anglophone elites concerted in Buea (the then capital of the British Southern Cameroons) in order to advance a common position in the wake of constitutional talks in Cameroon. About 5,000 delegates attended the April 1993 All Anglophone Conference (AAC) in Buea and published a common platform by the Anglophones for constitutional reforms in Cameroon⁴. That same year, the Teachers Association of Cameroon (TAC) and the Confederation of Anglophone Parents Teachers Associations of Cameroon (CAPTAC) brought some ethnic Anglophones together in the struggle for the creation of the Cameroon G.C.E. Board as an independent organ to manage examinations for the Anglophone sub-system of education (Nyamnjoh, 1995).

After these achievements, socio-cultural, economic and leaderships issues coupled with the divide-and-rule strategies of the Biya regime, divided these people. Some ethnic Anglophones even started questioning the oneness or unity of the Anglophones. For example, in 1993, the South West Elite Association even dissociated their region from the ethnic Anglophone entity. In a discussion with Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou following the creation of an Anglo-Saxon type University of Buea, a delegation of the South West Elite Association (SWELA) made it clear to the PM that the term “Anglophone” was deceitful. Rather, “Anglophoneness” had simply made the Southwest an annex of the Northwest. They also pointed out that the use of the term ‘Anglophone’ had made their region to forfeit its share of the national cake to the Northwest. (Kah, 2012, p. 99)

Besides, a few months after the AAC in Buea, government sponsored pressure groups in Anglophone Cameroon such as SWELA and the Northwest Cultural and Development Association (NOCUDA), issued declarations dissociating their respective regions from the deliberations and resolutions of the AAC. The Southwest Chiefs Conference and a section of the Northwest Fons Union also made pronouncements against AAC. (Kah, 2012). All these were due to manipulations of the Yaounde regime but there was more to that.

Commenting on the Anglophone reactions to the constitutional debate in the 1990s, Ngoh observed that despite the occasional moments of solidarity among North westerners and South westerners, they were not united in their demands (Ngoh, 1996, p.326). This was true as N N Mbile, a prominent South westerner in making his views

known in the mid 1990s concerning the Constitutional Consultative Committee, saw no reason for a separate Anglophone identity. He described such an identity as built on a weak plate. (Ibid:93) Mbile did not see how the issue of an Anglophone identity could be taken as a base for political philosophy, let alone make people to fight for it to the extent of giving up their lives. According to Mbile, it was difficult for the Northwest and Southwest regions to work as one. Their differences were later exhibited by the 2002 parliamentary elections during which the Southwest largely voted for the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) while the Northwest opted for the Social Democratic Front (SDF). With the two Anglophone regions politically opposed to each other, they could hardly present a united front against the 'subjugation' from the Francophone leaders.

The Northwest-Southwest dichotomy was largely a product of the policies of the Anglophone Prime Ministers, Simon Achidi Achu (1992-1996) and Peter Mafany Musonge (1996-2004). In the absence of the five year development plans instituted by Amadou Ahidjo, Simon Achidi Achu invented "politics *na Njangi*" (politics is a mutual contract or "one good turn deserves another") and "*scratch my back I scratch your own*" as political and development slogans. This Achidi Achu invented political philosophy or Achidian political doctrine was also practiced by his technocratic successor Peter Mafany Musonge with the aim of limiting development and government sponsored projects to the constituencies that supported the regime. (Tangwa, 2010: 166). Politics had to become a game of interest and compensation had to be proportionate to political commitment to the ruling party. Opposition strongholds were therefore neglected. The consequence was competition between ethnic Anglophone communities for partnership with the ruling party, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). Anglophone broadmindedness, moral probity, forthrightness and above all, the assertive, fearless ability to stand up for one's rights and convictions in the face of adversity disappeared. Some Anglophone sacrificed their democratic culture for roads, schools, special constituencies and other development projects that were denied the opponents of the CPDM.

This greatly divided the ethnic Anglophones who scrambled for the few ministerial portfolios reserved for Anglophones by the Biya regime. For example, after the municipal elections of January 1996, South westerners were eager to take over the mantle of leadership from North westerners. When PM Simon Achidi Achu failed to convince his people to vote for the CPDM in his Santa constituency, Peter Agbor Tabi openly declared his intension to become the next Prime Minister. (Kah, 2012, p.96) When Peter Mafany Musonge (a Bakweri from the Southwest) was appointed PM in 1996, he openly told his South West folk in Buea that Paul Biya has "*scratched their back*" and they in turn had to react since "*politic na njangi*". (Tangwa, 2010, p.167). Musonge also said this was "the first time in our history as a united nation that a South westerner has been appointed PM" and invited his people "to come together to galvanise the second political awakening and to strengthen our position and bargaining power" (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997, p.227). Some ethnic Anglophone elites therefore abandoned the culture of meritocracy in favour of nepotism, tribalism and political lies telling as they struggled to position their regions and to win the sympathy of the Yaounde regime. This was reflected in the appointments of North westerners and South westerners especially in the PM's office in Yaounde. South westerners argued that Simon Achidi Achu was appointed PM in 1992 on the strength of Anglophone lobby but he turned around and 'insulted' the Southwest by filling key positions in his office with North westerners (Koning and Nyamnjoh: 212). When Achidi Achu left the Office in 1996, Musonge replaced almost all North westerners in that office with South westerners. *Politic na njangi* therefore divided the ethnic Anglophones and introduced an unhealthy political competition between the Northwest and Southwest Provinces or Regions

Besides dividing the ethnic Anglophones, *politic na njangi* and back-scratching destroyed the economy through corruption that was not very common in Southern Cameroons. Since Achidi Achu and his ardent catechist (Musonge) did not demand good governance and accountability from their various ministers and general managers of state corporations in line with their Anglo-Saxon culture, back-scratching led to incredible rape, pillage and plunder of Cameroon to the benefit of a handful of crooks⁵. Anglophones joined the Francophones in economic, social and political fraud characterized by tax evasion, corruption, jumping queues, cheating at examinations, bending rules, rigging elections and other vices that were hitherto uncommon in Anglophone Cameroon. It was not therefore surprising that Biya's "operation sparrow hawk" or the anti-corruption campaign revealed that some ethnic Anglophones such as the former Assistant Secretary General at the Presidency and Prime Minister Inoni Ephraim were amongst the corrupt state officials.

Achidi Achu and Mafany Musonge championed the fraud and undemocratic practices as they were seen distributing hundreds of thousands of francs CFA to traditional authorities and CPDM loyalists in the villages in the

name of *politic na njangi*. This was the buying of votes as recipients were constantly reminded to scratch Biya's back during elections. This practice left the treasury almost empty. *Politic na njangi* therefore destroyed the Anglophone culture of moral probity, accountability, transparency, selflessness and honesty. In fact politics may be about interest, but it is not a matter of crudely distributing raw cash or rice and palm oil around. A bridge constructed over a river or a kilometer of road tarred is to everybody's interest. A million francs given to a village chief can not benefit the entire community except the chief is an extraordinary philanthropist. It was this discriminatory distribution of state funds by Achidi Achu and Mafany Musonge that divided the ethnic Anglophones and introduced its elite to corruption and fraud.

2. Francophonisation of Anglophone Educational Institutions. One of the policies of the Ahidjo (1961-1982) and Biya (1982-?) regimes that reinforced the sense of cultural identity amongst the ethnic Anglophones was the policy of official bilingualism and biculturalism. Although successive constitutions of Cameroon since independence always reiterated the policy of official bilingualism, there existed no well defined language policy. French language had a *de facto* dominance over English language in the areas of administration, education and the media. The domination of French was due to the demographic factor, the fact that Francophones continued to occupy top ranking positions in government and the civil service, and also because there was no effective language policy that guaranteed the right of minorities. (Echu, 2004) As a result, the English language became a symbol of in-group solidarity for ethnic Anglophones who could use the language or not in an environment perceived to be linguistically and socio-politically hostile to them.

In line with the constitutional biculturalism of the state, government recognized two educational subsystems in 1961, the Anglophone and Francophone subsystems with two examination systems. The existence of two subsystems of education was confirmed in 1993 with the creation of the *BACCALAUREAT* and G.C.E examinations boards. Unfortunately schools and other institutions of learning in Anglophone Cameroon were later staffed with Francophones who taught lessons and set examinations in the French language and or in Pidgin English. This was the case with technical education which was never given the Anglo-Saxon character in government schools. Government Technical Colleges in Anglophone Cameroon therefore operated under the Francophone subsystem of education since 1972. Such schools had Francophone examinations such as *CAP*, *PROBATOIRE* and *BACCALAUREAT* rather than the G.C.E as their end-of-course examinations. Even after the creation of the G.C.E Board in 1993, Anglophone students from these Government Technical Colleges wrote G.C.E Technical examinations organized by this board as an external examination and not as an obligatory end of course examination. These examinations did not very much promote values cherished by the Anglophones especially self reliance, civility, moral probity and honesty.

With the Francophone character of technical education in Anglophone Cameroon, Government Technical Colleges were therefore staffed with Francophone teachers with a good number of students coming from the neighbouring Bamileke, Mbo and Douala villages in French Cameroon. There was no teacher training college or higher institution to train teachers for technical education for the Anglophone subsystem until 2009 when the Higher Technical Teachers Training Colleges, Bambili was created. At the beginning of the 2011-2012 academic year, Francophone teachers in Government Technical High Schools in Bamenda, Buea⁶, Kumba and Ombe constituted more than 72 percent of the staff strength of these schools. This may be seen as attempts to eradicate the Anglophone culture through the adulteration or pollution of its subsystem of education. Products of these 'francophonised' Government Technical Colleges could not be identified with Anglophone values of moral probity, obedience and civility. These Colleges are known for vandalism and chaos.

The Anglophone culture characterized by honesty, obedience, tender consciences and moral probity were also products of Religious Knowledge and Moral Education. Religious Knowledge and Moral Education were taught in all schools, public or confessional. The teaching of Religious Knowledge was a prerequisite for financial assistance from government for all schools. In 1926, the first Education Code for the Southern Cameroons officially introduced a graded course of Religious Instruction in all Government, Voluntary Agency and Native Authority Schools. The 1944 Education Act made it obligatory in all schools to begin every school assembly with a period of religious worship. Religious Knowledge was a requirement in all teachers' professional examinations, the West African School Certificate and later on the G.C.E. (Ndi, 2005, p.36).

Unfortunately when the Federal Government Bilingual Grammar School was opened at man o'war bay (Anglophone Cameroon) in 1963, Religious Knowledge and Moral Education were excluded from its curricular as

was the case with colleges in East Cameroon. On September 3, 1976, a Presidential Decree no.1976/385 stipulated that a pass in Religious knowledge at the G.C.E was not to be included among the passes for employment. All attempts by the Catholic, Presbyterian and Baptist authorities to reverse the situation failed. Even a compelling memorandum in February 1977 by Jeremiah C. Kangsen of the Presbyterian Church, Pastor Samuel Ngum of the Cameroon Baptist Convention, and Bishops Pius Suh Awa and Paul Verdzekov of the Catholic Church in West Cameroon on this painful issue to the Minister of National Education did not change things.(Ndi, 2005, p.40) Even when the G.C.E Board re-introduced Religious Knowledge in its examination in order to promote the Anglo-Saxon character of this subsystem of education, government refused to consider a pass in Religious Knowledge at the G.C.E for the admission of students in its Universities and for employment. Religious Knowledge which was the cornerstone of Anglophone cultural identity lost its value in schools and this accounted for the steady erosion of the Anglophone cultural identity and the near complete absence of professional consciousness amongst Anglophones especially in the public service.

One of the grievances of the ethnic Anglophone students in the lone bilingual University of Yaounde in 1980's was the predominance of the French language over the English language as the language of instruction. In this University, the lecturers delivered their lectures in the official language he/she mastered better and students took down notes and did tests and examinations in the language of their choice. Studies carried out by Tambi (1973) and Njeck (1992) produced evidence to support the view that many Anglophone students failed examination in Yaounde because 80 percent of the lectures were delivered in the French language and only 20 percent in the English language. Important courses could not even be delivered in English. For example, in 1983, Francophone students in the department of economics protested against Dr. Bisong for teaching Accounting in English and he was replaced. (Mukong, 1990, p.26) This language problem and the university strikes of the 1980s and early 1990s convinced government to set up an Anglo-Saxon University in Buea in 1992 to serve the needs of the Anglophones.

In 2011, Biya created another Anglo-Saxon University in Bambili-Bamenda to solve the problem of congestion in Buea and Dschang Universities. Unfortunately government failed to respect the Anglo-Saxon character of these Universities. For example, in 2011, more than 40 junior lecturers of Francophone background were appointed to teach in these Anglo-Saxon Universities. Some ethnic Francophones without any Anglo-Saxon background were also appointed to top administrative posts in these Anglo-Saxon Universities⁷. Besides, the Higher Teachers Training College and the Higher Technical Teachers Training College, all of the University of Bamenda already had a reasonable number of lecturers of Francophone background before the creation of the University. These lecturers are known to teach in French or in approximate English (not to say Pidgin English). (CATTU, 2006). This was seen by Southern Cameroons National Council, a secessionist Anglophone group as part of government policy to 'francophonise' Anglophone educational institutions in order to produce ethnic Anglophones without the cultural identity of former Southern Cameroon Anglophones.

3. The New Anglophones; Another significant threat to the Southern Cameroon Anglophone cultural identity comes from the new wave of immigrants from Francophone Cameroon. Following the re-introduction of multi-party politics and the liberalization of education in the 1990's, thousands of Francophone youths migrated and are migrating to Anglophone Cameroon for secondary and university or tertiary education. These new Anglophones are Cameroonians of French Cameroon ancestry who decided to adopt the culture of the ethnic Anglophones.

Their admiration for the Anglophone culture and subsystem of education could be explained as follows. First, the globalization trends in the world and the introduction of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) revealed to them that English and the Anglo-Saxon culture dominated the scientific and business world. Secondly, the liberalization of the political and educational landscapes in the 1990's enabled many Francophones to master the values of the Anglo-Saxon system. Their democratic way of life and fine education, inestimable assets that enormously assisted the Anglophones in communal development and self-sufficiency attracted the Francophones. These values were enhanced from 1993 with the creation of the Cameroon G.C.E.Board to manage Anglophone examinations. With the creation of the board, G.C.E. Examination results improved tremendously when compared with the official results of examinations under the *Bac* system or under the supervision of the ministerial departments in charge of education. This again attracted the Francophones. Anglo-Saxon education was also attractive because of the re-introduction of the teaching of Religious Knowledge and Moral Education, subjects that were and are still absent in the school curricular in Francophone Cameroon since independence. There was also the belief amongst Francophones that Anglophone education was cheap. Lastly, the admission of Cameroon into the Commonwealth of Nations in 1996 increased the chances of Cameroonians benefiting from many scholarships and

admissions into British Universities. With all these advantages, wealthy Bamileke, Bassa, Ewondo, Fulbe, Eton and Duala members of the ruling elite or business class opted for the ‘anglophonisation’ of their children through Anglo-Saxon education in boarding schools west of the River Mungo.

In West Cameroon, many of these parents and students opted for Mission Secondary Schools: Catholic, Baptist or Presbyterian. These schools provided lodging or boarding facilities and more importantly regular moral, religious and spiritual education. In these schools, these non-ethnic Anglophones shared with the ethnic Anglophones, the culture of self reliance, discipline, solidarity, and independent-mindedness. The importance of these new Anglophones and their impact on the cultural identity of the ethnic Anglophones can be deduced from the following statistics obtained from some Mission Secondary Schools in Bamenda and Buea in November 2012.

NON ETHNIC ANGLOPHONES IN COLLEGES IN BUEA AND BAMENDA

CLASSES	BHS BUEA	SAHECO MANKON	PSS NKWEN BAMENDA	BHS BAMENDA
form one	30	42	51	39
Form two	46	39	44	45
Form three	32	37	38	41
Form four	41	43	41	38
Form five	46	43	52	44
Lower sixth	52	61	68	53
Upper sixth	37	51	58	58
Totals	284	316	352	318

Source: Data collected with the assistance of Vice Principals of these schools during Fieldwork in November, 2012.

The survey was limited to these schools because of their accessibility. However, we learned in the field that the trends and data are similar in both remote and accessible Mission Colleges especially St Bedes College Ashing Kom, St Augustine College Nso, St Joseph Catholic Comprehensive College Mbengwi, Presbyterian Secondary School Bafut, Presbyterian Girls School Limbe, St Francis College Kumba and Presbyterian Secondary School Buea.(Ntoban, 2012) This trend which started in the 1990s reveals that each year, thousands of ethnic francophones abandon their culture for the Anglo-Saxon education and culture thus adopting a cultural identity hitherto reserved for ethnic Anglophones in Cameroon.

These new Anglophones, holders of GCE Advanced Levels could not be denied admission in the Anglo-Saxon Universities. In this connection, the University of Buea opened its doors to these Cameroonians from 1993. Since then, the number of Bamileke, Eton, Duala, Ewondo, Bassa and Bulu Anglophones continued to increase in this university. With the increasing number of this category of Anglophones, it becomes difficult to distinguish the ethnic from the linguistic Anglophone and for the authentic cultural identity of the Southern Cameroon Anglophone to survive.

To the above group should be added those who remained in Francophone Cameroon but are enrolled in the Anglophone section of the various Government Bilingual Colleges in Cameroon. These colleges could not offer places for the increasing number of applicants and this has resulted in an upsurge in the number of Anglo-Saxon lay private and Mission- owned colleges in Francophone Cameroon particularly in the towns of Yaounde and Douala. This is also an indicator that the number of linguistic Anglophones in Cameroon may in the near future surpass that of ethnic Anglophones. The concept of Anglophone in Cameroon is therefore bound to evolve with these new developments.

Conclusion

The Anglophone problem in Cameroon remains sensitive. After the constitutional and political reforms instituted by Ahidjo and Biya in the 1970s and 1980s to neutralize and assimilate the Anglophones, the ‘wind of change’ that swept across the country in the 1990s brought new threats to the Anglophone cultural identity. The unity of the

ethnic Anglophones was threatened as *politic na njangi* introduced unfair and undemocratic rivalry between the Anglophone communities and regions. Democracy, liberalization and globalization opened the doors of schools in Anglophone Cameroon to ethnic Francophones who in their numbers rushed for Anglophone culture and fine education. This new set of Anglophones is a threat to the authentic and original Southern Cameroon Anglophone culture. If this trend continues, as it is likely to do, the increasing number of new Anglophones and linguistic Anglophones may gradually water down the Anglophone problem in Cameroon politics especially as the Southern Cameroon Anglophone cultural identity, but for its geographical territory, is likely not to survive. It should be remarked that the current 'anglophonisation' of the Francophones is quite significant and comparable with the influx in the Southern Cameroons of political refugees and victims of forced labour who fell in love with the Anglo-Saxon liberal policy and respect for human rights during the British administration. Since this influx was the driving force of Cameroon reunification, the current 'anglophonisation' may serve as the driving force of national unity and integration.

¹ See, S.N.Tata, "The Institutional Roots of the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon", in J.G/Gros (ed), *Cameroon: Politics and Society in Critical Perspectives*, New York, University Press of America, 2003

³ For a detail reading of the history of the Northwest Southwest divide, See Kah, H.K., "The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: The Northwest Southwest Dichotomy from 1961-1996," in *Cameroon Journal on Democracy and Human Rights*, (online), vol.6, no 1, June 2012, pp. 71-103

⁴ For details on the Anglophone grievances and constitutional demands in 1993, see All Anglophone Conferences Standing Committee. *The Buea Declaration*, Limbe, Nooremac Press, 1993

⁵ A careful review of the major corruption cases investigated or under investigation in Cameroon, will reveal that much of the pillage of the state treasury was carried out when Achidi Achu and Mafany Musonge were Prime Ministers. Some of these cases include; the Pierre Desiree Engo affair, Munchipou Seidou affair, Titus Edzoa affair, Marafa Yaya and Ephraim Inoni affair .

⁶ Government Technical Colleges in the remote parts of Anglophone Cameroon are seriously understaffed because these Francophone teachers remained in the towns where this survey was conducted.

⁷ Following the massive recruitment of 25,000 Cameroonians in to the Public Service in 2012, close to 40 young Assistant Lecturers of Francophone culture were posted to the Buea and Bamenda Universities. Both Universities each have a Deputy Vice Chancellor of Francophone background following the appointments of 2012.

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